

Christian-Muslim Relations
A Bibliographical History

History of Christian-Muslim Relations

Editorial Board

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

Volume 24

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

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

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

Christian-Muslim Relations A Bibliographical History

Volume 7. Central and Eastern Europe, Asia,
Africa and South America (1500-1600)

Edited by
David Thomas and John Chesworth
with John Azumah, Stanisław Grodz̄,
Andrew Newman, Douglas Pratt



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2015



Arts & Humanities Research Council

Cover illustration: This shows the *tuğra* (monogram) of the Ottoman Sultan Murad III, affixed to a letter sent in 1591 to Sigismund III Vasa, king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the letter, Murad recommends – he neither orders nor requests – that the Tatars in the Christian Commonwealth should be allowed to build mosques and pray. The original letter is held in the Central Archives of Historical Records (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych), Warsaw, Dział turecki, karton 71, teczka 269, no. 500. Reproduced with permission.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Christian Muslim relations : a bibliographical history / edited by David Thomas and John Chesworth; with John Azumah . . . [et al.].

p. cm. — (The history of Christian-Muslim relations, ISSN 1570-7350 ; v. 24)

Includes index.

ISBN 978-90-04-29720-3 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. Christianity and other religions—Islam. 2. Islam—Relations—Christianity. 3. Christianity and other religions—Islam—Bibliography. 4. Islam—Relations—Christianity—Bibliography. I. Thomas, David.

II. Chesworth, John III. Azumah, John. IV. Title. V. Series.

BP172.C4196 2009

016.2612'7—dc22

2009029184

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual “Brill” typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1570-7350

ISBN 978-90-04-29720-3 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-29848-4 (e-book)

Copyright 2015 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.

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

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

Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

CONTENTS

Foreword	vii
Abbreviations	xi
Martha Frederiks, <i>Introduction: Christians, Muslims and empires in the 16th century</i>	1
Alan Guenther, <i>The arrival of European Christians in India during the 16th century</i>	15
Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1500-1600	27
Central and Eastern Europe	29
Middle East and North Africa	549
Asia, Africa and South America	743
Index of Names	933
Index of Titles	946

FOREWORD

David Thomas

This volume of *Christian-Muslim relations. A bibliographical history* (*CMR* 7) continues the history of relations between Christians and Muslims according to the original sources in the period 1500-1600. *CMR* 7 focuses on works from Eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East, South Asia, East Asia and the Americas. It shows that many of the attitudes and prejudices known from the Middle Ages were still current, among them on the Christian side the sense that Muslims had been misled by a false prophet and were morally directionless, and on the Muslim side that Christians had abandoned the bases of their faith and needed guidance in their beliefs. At the same time, new fears were also evident as a result of open confrontation between powers that called themselves Christian and Muslim, sometimes balanced by admiration. In eastern and south-eastern Europe Christians looked on the advancing Ottomans as heartless aggressors who treated them with depraved cruelty, and reneged on promises they had made, though Christian authors also commented on the discipline among Ottoman troops and their efficiency in the field; in western India Muslims looked on the Portuguese invaders as virtual animals who subjected their women to rape and their sacred buildings and texts to desecration, though the Mughal emperor sought out Jesuits for their erudition and godliness. While Christians and Muslims encountered one another in new regions of the world, their uncertainties about one another were slow to change.

The intention of the *CMR* series is to provide full accounts of all the known works written by Christians and Muslims about one another and against one another. These are intended as a foundation for more detailed investigations in historical and current contexts. As in earlier volumes, the editors have been generously assisted by both new and established scholars to produce a collection of entries that reflect the latest research, and in some instances take it forward and extend it beyond what was previously known.

Like its predecessors, *CMR* 7 starts with introductory essays that survey the political and religious situation in the world of the 16th century outside Western Europe. Following these come the entries that make up the bulk of the volume. The basic criterion has been to choose works written

substantially about or against the other faith, or containing significant information or judgements that cast light on attitudes of one faith towards the other. Thus, by their very nature, apologetic and polemical works are included, while letters, addresses, plays and works of travel and history also frequently qualify. Everything has been included that is thought to contribute in a significant way towards building the picture of the one faith as seen by followers of the other, and of attitudes between them.

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

Each entry is divided into two main parts. The first is concerned with the author, and it contains basic biographical details, an account of his (all authors appearing in this volume are male) main intellectual activities and writings, the major primary sources of information about him, and the latest scholarly works about him. A small number of entries are concerned with a group of authors, in which case they are situated in their place and time as appropriate. Without aiming to be exhaustive, this section contains sufficient information for readers to pursue further details about each author and his general activities.

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

With this coverage, *CMR* 7 should provide sufficient information to enable a work to be identified, its importance appreciated, and editions and studies located. Each work is also placed as far as is possible together with other works from the same time written in the same region, though

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

The composition of *CMR* 7 has involved more than a hundred contributors, who have readily and often enthusiastically agreed to write entries. Under the direction of David Thomas, the work for this volume was led by John Chesworth (Research Officer), Lejla Demiri and Claire Norton (Ottoman Empire), Martha Frederiks (West Africa), Abdulkadir Hashim (East Africa), Stanisław Grodź (Eastern Europe), Alan Guenther and Gordon Nickel (South Asia), Şevket Küçükhüseyin (Germany), Emma Loghin (Project Secretary), Andrew Newman (Persia), Peter Riddell (South East Asia), Umar Ryad (Muslim Arabic works), Serge Traore (South America), and Carsten Walbiner (Christian Arabic works). These are members of a much larger team that comprises 25 specialists in total, covering all parts of the world. Many other scholars from various countries devoted their interest, energy and time to identifying relevant material in their specialist areas, finding contributors and sharing their expertise. Without their help and interest, the task of assembling the material in this volume would have been much more difficult, if possible at all. Among many others, special gratitude goes to Attila Barany (Hungary), Peter Cowe (Armenia), Ioana Feodorov (Romania), Festo Mkenda (East Africa), Dino Mujadzevic (Croatia), Radu Păun (Romania), Vlado Rezar (Croatia), and Denis Savelyev (Russia). In addition, Carol Rowe copy edited the entire volume, while Alex Mallett took on the exacting work of compiling the two indexes, and also provided links with the staff editors at Brill. The *CMR* team are deeply indebted to everyone who has contributed in any way.

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

Strenuous efforts have been made to ensure that information is both accurate and complete, though in a project that crosses as many geographical as disciplinary boundaries as this it would be not only presumptuous but also entirely unrealistic to claim that these efforts have succeeded. Details (hopefully only minor) must have been overlooked, authors and works have maybe been ignored, new works will have come

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

ABBREVIATIONS

- BL
British Library
- BNE
Biblioteca Nacional de España
- BNF
Bibliothèque Nationale de France
- Brockelmann, *GAL*
C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2 vols and 3 supplements, Leiden, 1937-49
- BSOAS*
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
- DİA*
Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, Ankara, 1988-2013
- EI*₂
Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition
- EI*₃
Encyclopaedia of Islam Three
- ICMR*
Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations
- JAOS*
Journal of the American Oriental Society
- MW*
Muslim World
- Q
Qur'an
- Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*
M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*, Leipzig, 1877
- Vat
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Introduction: Christians, Muslims and empires in the 16th century

Martha Frederiks

The fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 had far-reaching consequences that not only stretched through the rest of the 15th century but also reverberated through the greater part of the 16th century, too. With their power consolidated on the European side of the Bosphorus, the Ottomans quickly extended their territory through south-eastern and central Europe, and threatened regions much further west. Their defeat of the Mamluks in 1517 brought the heartlands of Islam under their rule and opened up routes to the Indian Ocean, gaining them connections with Muslim rulers in western India and influence along the African seaboard.

The Muslim Ottomans were a matter of pressing concern in royal courts throughout Christian Europe, though they were not perceived as the only major problem. Within Catholic Christendom itself, the fear of rupture under the pressure of claims from Protestant reformers, and dissensions over questions of succession in Hungary and Poland meant that public appeals for unity against the common foe went unheeded. Without a united and strong opposition, Ottoman power in eastern Europe rapidly spread, and the map was changed for centuries.

In the west, the powers of Portugal and Spain planned direct confrontation with the Ottomans in the Mediterranean, and also sought indirect means of circumventing their hold on trade routes. The discovery of sea passages into the Indian Ocean offered routes to unimaginable wealth, and also opened new theatres of confrontation with Ottoman interests and a new arena for hostilities between Muslims and Christians.

As a period of expansion of Muslim and Christian rule, the 16th century is a time of unprecedented confrontation far away from the old sites of contest, but with many of the same attitudes and prejudices, as well as the same accusations and recriminations.

The Ottoman Empire

In the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire was at the height of its power. In the east, Ottoman warships challenged the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, while in the west all the Muslim rulers of North Africa except Morocco submitted to Ottoman suzerainty and thus brought Muslim naval power into the western seas and even to the Atlantic, where corsairs from North Africa raided as far as the British Isles.¹

The Ottoman invasion of Europe had started as early as the 14th century, and even at that time Murad I (1362-89) used his control over large parts of the Balkans to institute the *devşirme* system – an annual ‘levy’ of Christian boys who were forcibly converted and trained for absolute loyalty to the sultan and life-long service in one of the imperial institutions. The *devşirme* system, which lasted until the early 17th century, generated much resentment against the Ottomans.²

Under Murad’s later successors, Murad II (1421-51) and Mehmed II (1451-81), the Ottoman state developed into an international empire. Mehmed made conquests in the Balkans in order to curb Habsburg expansion and block a possible corridor for Christian crusading expeditions. Among his many military triumphs, the siege and capture of Constantinople in 1453 was his most memorable feat, an event of great symbolic and religious significance whose consequences reverberated through both the eastern and the western worlds.³ Mehmed transformed the impoverished city into the bustling centre of his empire, renaming it Istanbul (though it continued to be known by its old name for centuries).⁴

Mehmed II was succeeded by his son Bayezid II (1481-1512), who consolidated his father’s conquests. Bayezid’s son, Selim I (1512-20), made treaties with the nobility in the Balkans to ensure their allegiance, and

¹ B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, London, 1982, p. 23.

² D. Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 67-69; G. Yilmaz, ‘Becoming a *devşirme*. The training of conscripted children in the Ottoman empire’, in G. Campbell and S. Miers (eds), *Children in slavery through the ages*, Athens OH, 2009, pp. 119-32. Goffman (*Ottoman Empire*, p. 68) argues there is evidence that a number of the boys taken in the *devşirme* maintained contact with their places of origin, and offered protection and financial assistance, thus binding Christian areas to the Ottoman Empire.

³ R. Armour, *Islam, Christianity and the West. A troubled history*, Maryknoll NY, 2004, pp. 114-21.

⁴ S.J. Shaw and E.K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey*, vol. 1: *Empire of the Gazis. The rise and decline of the Ottoman Empire 1280-1808*, Cambridge, 1978, p. 60.

concentrated on curbing the growing Safavid influence in the eastern part of his empire.⁵ Ottoman-Safavid confrontations in the Caucasus region eventually ended in the Peace of Amasya (1555) between Selim's son and successor, the great Sultan Süleyman I, 'the Magnificent' (1520-66), and the Safavid Shah ʿĀhmāsp I (1524-76), which resulted in the partitioning of the Caucasus buffer zone between the two empires.⁶ The Safavid and Ottoman usurpation of this area, which was home to large Orthodox Christian communities, was remembered by Georgian and Armenian Orthodox churches as a period of martyrdom. Although active persecution was rare, individuals resisted Ottoman and Safavid control out of religious motives. They were often executed and were later declared martyrs by their churches.⁷ Meanwhile, Ottoman conquests in Europe came to a temporary halt.

Selim I not only waged war on the eastern borders of his empire, but also fought on the western frontiers, attacking the Mamluks in an attempt to gain control of the silk and slave trade. Military expeditions against the Mamluk Empire had already begun in the 1480s, but under Selim I they resulted in the conquest of Syria and Palestine in 1516, and in the defeat of the Mamluks in 1517. This victory not only brought about the incorporation of Egypt, the Levant and the Arabian Peninsula into the Ottoman Empire, together with the much-coveted holy cities of Islam, but also secured Ottoman control over the overland spice route.⁸ The Ottoman conquests of Palestine, Egypt and other areas with large non-Muslim communities led to the production of a great quantity of legal documents and royal decrees (*firmans*) pertaining to the status of non-Muslims in the empire, regulating conversion, the *jizya*, the permissibility of changing churches into mosques, the rights of non-Muslims in court, the right to celebrate non-Muslim religious festivals, the rights of pilgrims and so on.⁹

⁵ Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, pp. 55-79.

⁶ A. Brisku, *Bittersweet Europe. Albanian and Georgian discourses on Europe 1878-2000*, New York, 2013, p. 22.

⁷ M. Vapori, *Witnesses for Christ. Orthodox Christian neomartyrs of the Ottoman period 1437-1860*, New York, 2000; S. Nobel and N. Treiger (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab world 700-1700. An anthology of sources*, DeKalb IL, 2014, pp. 112-35, 308-12.

⁸ Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 99.

⁹ U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine, 1552-1615. A study of the firman according to the Mühimme Defteri*, Oxford, 1960; M. Gervers and R.J. Bikhazi (eds), *Conversion and continuity. Indigenous Christian communities in Islamic lands*, Toronto, 1990; M. Winter, *Egyptian society under Ottoman rule 1517-1798*, London, 1993; R. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean world 1571-1640*, New York, 1993;

Selim's successor, Süleyman I, followed in his great-grandfather Mehmed II's footsteps. After consolidating his power in Egypt, he turned his attention to Central Europe, capturing Belgrade in 1521, defeating the Hungarian armies at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 and unsuccessfully laying siege to Vienna in 1529. In 1532, he made a second attempt to capture Vienna but was waylaid by the Croatian commander, Nikola Jurišić at Köszeg, near Sopron in present-day Hungary. A third attempt to capture the city, again unsuccessful, was not made until 1683, and this marked the end of Ottoman expansion in Central Europe and the rise of Habsburg control over Hungary and Transylvania.¹⁰

Ottoman advances in Europe were facilitated by the absence of any united resistance. Complaints that Hungarian nobles were more concerned with petty squabbles among themselves than with the advancing enemy were common in the 16th century, while it became almost routine for prominent scholars and writers from threatened areas such as Croatia to address often elaborate speeches to the pope or the emperor, or to gatherings of national leaders. They had little apparent effect. One of the main impediments to resistance against the Ottomans was the contest over the Hungarian throne. After King Louis II was killed at the battle of Mohács in 1526, two candidates emerged, John Zápolya, a leading Hungarian general, and Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, brother-in-law of Louis II and brother of Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor. Both had themselves proclaimed king, dividing the loyalties of the Hungarian nobles, and in 1527 Ferdinand's forces moved against John Zápolya's. Zápolya was forced to flee, and in 1529 he sought the help of Sultan Süleyman, ceding Hungary as an Ottoman vassal state. He was thus enabled to take his throne, but never secured it against the Habsburg threat, and at one point was forced to name Ferdinand as his successor. He died in 1540, leaving an infant son, John Sigismund. Ferdinand came forward to claim his throne, and Süleyman advanced against him, taking possession of central Hungary. The dispute over the rightful ruler continued for years, with the Habsburgs and Zápolya's successors fighting against each other, rather than against the Ottomans.

During the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, the Ottoman armies acquired a reputation for unrivalled cruelty, both to their enemies in the

A. Lopasič, 'Islamization of the Balkans with special reference to Bosnia', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 5 (1994) 163-86; B. Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab world. The roots of sectarianism*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 1-40.

¹⁰ Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 80-111; Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 89-109, 145-54.

field and to their captives, including women and children. They were portrayed as savage and unrestrained in their actions, given to breaking their oaths and to physical excesses, most typically sodomy. At the same time, they were envied as a disciplined fighting force, and as fearless against any odds. Visitors to the empire commented on the just way in which Ottoman society was run, with a fairness and consideration for others that they were often compelled to admire. Christians living within the empire could not imagine themselves as equal to Muslims, though they could appeal to the law to support their demands, and under such a pragmatic chief judge as *Şeyhülislâm* Ebussuud Efendi (see the entry in this volume) they were accorded treatment that approached equality with Muslims.

At sea, the increasingly versatile Ottoman navy successfully challenged Venice for its strongholds in the Aegean Sea in a series of wars, and quickly expanded its hold over both the eastern and parts of the western Mediterranean, capturing the strategic locations of Rhodes (1522) and Cyprus (1571). In response to the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, the Holy League assembled a fleet under Don Juan of Austria to oust the Ottomans from the island. During the ensuing clash in the Gulf of Corinth in 1571, the Battle of Lepanto, the Holy League won the first victory over the Ottomans since the 15th century. This victory was widely celebrated in Europe as the tide finally seemed to be turning.¹¹ However, it would take yet another century before Ottoman hegemony over the Balkans and central Europe was decisively challenged.

Ottoman occupation of the Balkans and central Europe evoked a flood of pamphlets and publications in Europe dedicated to the ‘Saracen scourge’ or ‘Turkish threat’, vilifying the Turkish ‘other’ and calling for crusading campaigns against the ‘Turks’ (a corpus known as *Turcica*).¹² The writings of people such as Desiderius Erasmus and Martin Luther also reflect on this Ottoman threat to the heart of Europe.¹³ David Blanks

¹¹ A.C. Hess, ‘The Battle of Lepanto and its place in Mediterranean history’, *Past and Present* 59 (1972) 58–78; H. Bicheno, *Crescent and cross. The Battle of Lepanto 1571*, Phoenix AZ, 2004.

¹² In addition to the entry in this volume, see, e.g. C. Göllner, *Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert. Turcica Band III*, Bucharest, 1978; A. Höfert, ‘The order of things and the discourse of the Turkish threat. The conceptualisation of Islam in the rise of occidental anthropology in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries’, in A. Höfert and A. Salvatore (eds), *Between Europe and Islam. Shaping modernity in a transcultural space*, Brussels, 2004, pp. 39–70; P.T. Levin, *Turkey and the European Union. Christian and secular images of Islam*, New York, 2011, pp. 79–123.

¹³ Armour, *Islam, Christianity and the West*, pp. 114–21; K.R. Stow, ‘The “De Judaeis et aliis infidelibus” of Marquardus de Susannis. A key to understanding papal Jewry policy

and Michael Frassetto summarise European attitudes in the 16th century as follows:

Thus the Western need to construct an image of the Muslim, of the 'other,' was a twofold process that came to dominate the pre-modern discourse concerning Islam. On the one hand, it created an image of the Saracen, Moor, or Turk that was wholly alien and wholly evil. (...) On the other hand, the creation of such a blatantly false stereotype enabled Western Christians to define themselves. Indeed, the Muslim became, in a sense, a photographic negative of the self-perception of an ideal Christian self-image...¹⁴

Yet despite military clatter and verbal vilification, people living on the various sides of the borders shared a Mediterranean cultural heritage and merchants were weaving their webs of trade across the borders of empires.¹⁵ Venetian and Genoese merchants had already settled in Alexandria, Aleppo, Constantinople and the like in the late medieval period, acting as middlemen between the Middle East and Europe in the trade in slaves, silk and spices; occasional visits by ambassadors, such as the Venetian emissary Domenico Trivisan's visit to the Mamluk Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in 1512, were intended to underscore and enhance the privileges granted to the mercantile community.¹⁶

Trade concessions were regulated via the so-called 'capitulations'.¹⁷ Initially (1352-1517) Italians, and chiefly Genoese and Venetians, had an exclusive monopoly on trade with the Ottoman Empire, but after

and Catholic thought about Jews in the sixteenth century', New York, 1980 (PhD Diss. Columbia University); L. Hagemann, *Martin Luther und der Islam*, Altenberge, 1983; M.J. Heath, *Erasmus and the infidel. Twelfth annual Bainton Lecture* (Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook), s.l., 1996; F. Konrad, *From 'Turkish menace' to exoticism and orientalism. Islam as antithesis of Europe, 1453-1900*, Mainz, 2011, pp. 1-18; N. Berman, 'Ottoman shock-and-awe and the rise of Protestantism. Luther's reactions to Ottoman invasions of the early sixteenth century', *Seminar. A Journal of Germanic Studies* 41 (2005) 226-45; A.S. Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam. A study in sixteenth-century polemics and apologetics*, Leiden, 2007.

¹⁴ D.R. Blanks and R. Frassetto (eds), *Western views of Islam in medieval and Early Modern Europe. Perception of other*, New York, 1999, p. 3.

¹⁵ See e.g. Blanks and Frassetto, *Western views of Islam*, pp. 1-53; A. Contadini and C. Norton (eds), *The Renaissance and the Ottoman world*, Farnham, 2013.

¹⁶ Z. Pagani, *Viaggio di Domenico Trivisan, ambasciatore Veneto al gran sultano del Cairo nell' anno 1512*, ed. N. Barozzi, Venice, 1875; A. Wolff, *How many miles to Babylon. Travels and adventures to Egypt and beyond, 1300-1640*, Liverpool, 2003, pp. 94-96.

¹⁷ See e.g. H. Inalcik, *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1: 1300-1600, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 180-217; M.H. van den Boogert and K. Fleet, *Ottoman capitulations. Text and context*, Nallino: Istituto per l'Oriente, 2003; M.H. van den Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system. Qadis, consuls, and beraths in the 18th century*, Leiden, 2005.

the conquest of Egypt in 1517, Selim I renewed the Ottoman capitulations to include Mamluk concessions to the French and Catalans. From 1581 onwards, other European nations were also given trade concessions, although under strict conditions.¹⁸ A wealth of material in Venetian, Genoese, Ottoman, British and other archives attests to the way in which the practicalities of these trans-religious commercial ventures and capitulations were regulated, stipulating taxes, the legal status of resident traders, bankruptcy and inheritances, and so on.¹⁹

The capitulations also provided a base for the activities of diplomats, missionaries, scholars and travellers. Letters and journals of diplomats and their staff (e.g. Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq and Jean Thenaud) as well as travelogues, such as Giambattista Ramusio's *Racolta de navigazioni et viaggi* (1550-59) and Nicolas de Nicolay's *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales* (1567), which became 16th-century bestsellers, also provide rich material on European representations of the Muslim other.²⁰

After 1453, commercial enterprises became a joint affair, with Ottoman merchants beginning to trade outside the empire. Armenian and Greek Orthodox Christians, Turkish Muslims and Jews from Egypt, the Levant and Istanbul used the Ottoman Empire as their linchpin to connect east and west. Trading in fabrics, silk, merino and spices, they linked Istanbul and Izmir with Venice and Marseilles, and travelled as far as Antwerp and Amsterdam to conduct their business.²¹

¹⁸ H. Goddard, *A history of Christian-Muslim relations*, Edinburgh, 2000, p. 112.

¹⁹ S. Faroqhi, 'Venetian presence in the Ottoman Empire 1600-30', in H. Islamoğlu-Inan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and world trade*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 31-45; M. Pia Pedani and A. Bombaci (eds), *I 'documenti turchi' dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Inventario della miscellanea a cura di Maria Pia Pedani Fabris*, Venice, 1994; Inalcik, *Economic and social history*, pp. 179-380; G. Migliardi O'Riordan, 'Présentation des archives du baile à Constantinople', *Turcica* 33 (2001) 339-67; Maria Pia Pedani (ed.) *Inventory of the Lettere e scritte Turchesche in the Venetian State Archives (based on the materials compiled by Alessio Bombaci)*, Leiden, 2010; State Archives of Venice. Guide to the Archival Holdings, <http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it/siasve/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?Tipo=home&Lingua=en>.

²⁰ O.G. de Busbecq, *The life and letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, seigneur de Bousbecque, knight and imperial ambassador*, 2 vols, ed. J.T. Foster and F.H. Blackburne Daniell, London, 1881; J. Thenaud, *Le voyage d'outremer (Egypte, Mont Sinay, Palestine), suivi de la relation de L'Ambassade de Domenico Trevisan auprès du Soudan d'Egypte 1530*, Geneva, 1971; R. Irwin, *For lust of knowing. The orientalisists and their enemies*, London, 2006, pp. 62-66; Wolff, *How many miles to Babylon*; S. Brentjes, *Travellers from Europe in the Ottoman and Safavid empires, 16th and 17th centuries. Seeking, transforming, and discarding knowledge*, Farnham, 2010.

²¹ Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 15-20; S. Faroqhi, 'Ottoman textiles in European markets', in Contadini and Norton (eds), *The Renaissance*, pp. 231-44.

European maritime expansion

When Christopher Columbus embarked on his voyage to America in 1492, the year of the final overthrow of Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula, he was intent on fuelling the direct confrontation against the Muslims in the Mediterranean. In his diary, he framed his voyage as a continuation of the *Reconquista*, aimed at spreading Christianity in Asia and at accumulating enough gold and spices to finance a crusade to 'conquer the Holy Sepulchre' (entry for 26 December 1492).²² Portuguese explorers were driven by the same ambition. At the instigation of Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), wherever they went they inquired after Prester John, the fabulously rich Christian ruler who was believed to be a potential powerful ally in the struggle against Islam. The narrative of this priestly king, whose kingdom was thought to be in places as diverse as India, China, Central Asia and Africa, had circulated in Europe since the 12th century and stirred European imaginations. By the 15th century, the location of his kingdom had been narrowed down to Africa, and accounts about Prester John's Empire form a recurrent theme in 15th-century Portuguese navigation reports. In the early 16th century, the legend was connected to a geographical location in East Africa. Contacts between the Portuguese general Afonso de Albuquerque and the Ethiopian Dowager Queen Āleni resulted in an Ethiopian delegation being sent to Lisbon in 1513, followed by a Portuguese embassy to Ethiopia in 1520-26, the latter documented by Francisco Álvares in his *The Prester John of the Indies*. These events fulfilled a longstanding medieval European ambition to form an alliance with this Christian ally against the Muslim enemy, while simultaneously realising more contemporary Ethiopian and Portuguese political ambitions.²³

²² *The diario of Christopher Columbus' first voyages to America 1492-1493. Abstracted by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas*, trans. O. Dunn and J.E. Kelly, Norman OK, 1989, pp. 16-21; C. Lowney, *A vanished world. Muslims, Christians and Jews in medieval Spain*, Oxford, 2005, p. 249; C. Delaney, *Columbus and the quest for Jerusalem*, New York, 2011.

²³ Álvares's book is also an important source on life in Ethiopia shortly before Muslim Somalia invaded Ethiopia in the mid-16th century, as narrated in the Gälawdewos chronicle. For the Prester John narrative, see C.F. Beckingham, *The achievements of Prester John*, London, 1966; F. Álvares, *The Prester John of the Indies. A true relation of the lands of Prester John, being the narrative of the Portuguese embassy to Ethiopia in 1520*, trans. Lord Stanley of Alderley, rev. and ed. with additional material by C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford, Nendeln, 1975; C.F. Beckingham, *Between Islam and Christendom. Travellers, facts and legends in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Aldershot, 1983; L.N. Gumilev, *Searches for an imaginary kingdom. The legend of the kingdom of Prester John*, Cambridge, 1987; C.F. Beckingham and B. Hamilton, *Prester John, the Mongols and*

Portuguese and Spanish explorations in the 15th and 16th centuries were motivated by a potent mix of religion, commerce and desire for power. The quest for Christian allies and resources to defeat the Muslim enemy and the desire to spread Iberian Catholicism vied with more profane motives such as a share in the slave trade, the rush for gold and control over the silk and spice routes. A plan conceived by Afonso de Albuquerque (d. 1515), as improbable as it was ruthless, embodied this mix entirely and exhibited its power. This was to divert the course of the River Nile in order to deprive Mamluk Egypt of water and so reduce the Mamluks' power and strangle their trade links, and then to go on to capture Jeddah and raze Mecca itself (see the entry in *CMR* 6 on Afonso de Albuquerque).

In this quest, the Portuguese had a comfortable head start. By the early 15th century, they had already established themselves in North Africa, capturing Ceuta in 1415 and briefly occupying Tangier and Casablanca.²⁴ They gradually expanded their sphere of influence, colonising Madeira (1433), the Azores (1439) and Cape Verde (1462) and mapping the coast of West Africa. By the late 15th century, Portuguese and Cape Verdeans had also established colonies on the Guinea Coast mainland, earning a living as middlemen in the trade in slaves, Malagueta pepper and indigo.²⁵ Portuguese navigation reports, as well as the letters and diaries of these settlers, form the key sources for the study of Early Modern West African Islam and provide the oldest known Christian representations of Islam in the region (e.g. Diogo Gomes, Valentim Fernandes and André Álvares

the ten lost tribes, Aldershot, 1996; C.M. Newitt, *A history of Portuguese overseas expansion, 1400-1668*, London, 2008, pp. 101-2; C. Baldrige, *Prisoners of Prester John. The Portuguese mission to Ethiopia in search of the mythical king, 1520-1526*, Jefferson NC, 2012; P. Jackson, 'The letter of Prester John', in D. Thomas and A. Mallett (eds), *Christian-Muslim relations. A bibliographical history*, vol. 4 (1200-1350), Leiden, 2012, pp. 118-23.

²⁴ The Spanish followed suit in the 16th century, first occupying the North African strongholds of Orán, Tripoli, Peñón de Vélez and Bougie, followed – after Columbus's journey – by the colonisation of South America and the Philippines; M. de Cervantes, *The Bagnios of Algiers' and 'The Great Sultana'. Two plays of captivity*, ed. and trans. B. Fuchs and A.J. Ilika, Philadelphia PA, 2010, pp. xii-xiv. See also J.M. Francis (ed.), *Iberia and the Americas. Culture, politics and history*, vol. 1, Santa Barbara CA, 2006. For Portuguese expansions, see J.C. Boyajian, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia under the Habsburgs. 1580-1640*, Baltimore MA, 1993; M. Newitt, *A history of Portuguese overseas expansion, 1400-1668*, London, 2005, pp. 1-174; M. Newitt, *Portugal in European and world history*, London, 2009, pp. 49-82; M. Newitt (ed.), *The Portuguese in West Africa 1415-1670. A documented history*, Cambridge, 2010; S. Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700. A political and economic history*, London, 2012².

²⁵ Newitt, *History of Portuguese overseas expansion*, p. 90; L.A. Newson and S. Michin, *From capture to sale. The Portuguese slave-trade to Spanish South America in the early seventeenth century*, Brill, 2007, pp. 1-22.

de Almara). Though permeated by a spirit of *Reconquista*, they describe Islamic practices such as circumcision and maraboutism, document the progression of Islam among the various ethnic groups, and relate Portuguese attempts (usually unsuccessful) to convert West African Muslim rulers, such as the Wolof prince, Bemoy, to Christianity.²⁶

When Bartolomew Dias discovered the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, Portugal transferred the focus of its commercial ventures to Asia. Columbus's commission to reach India via the western route was, in fact, a Spanish attempt to thwart the imminent Portuguese maritime supremacy in Asia. The treaty of Tordesillas, signed in June 1494, endeavoured to regulate the competition, effectively dividing the non-European world between Portugal and Castile.²⁷

Columbus's western route brought him to the Americas and heralded 16th-century Spanish empire-building in South America. Vasco da Gama's fleet reached the Indian Malabar coast in May 1498, thus ushering in an era of Portuguese hegemony in Asia. Between 1490 and 1520, the Portuguese charted the routes to India, Indonesia and China and traced the nodes in the spice trade.²⁸ During one of these journeys, in 1500, Pedro Cabral, slightly off route, 'discovered' Brazil, leading to its colonisation by the Portuguese and its evangelisation by Jesuits from the mid-16th century onwards.²⁹ Here, surprisingly, old world attitudes towards Islam were still evident as late as the end of the century in accusations of 'Moorish' practices and sympathies among Spanish settlers that were recorded by Heitor Furtado de Mendonça, the bishops' official *visitador*, whose task was to root out violations of Counter-Reformation doctrine (see the entry on Heitor Furtado de Mendonça in this volume).

²⁶ M. Frederiks, *We have toiled all night. Christianity in The Gambia 1456-2000*, Zoetermeer, 2003, pp. 124-28; M.A. Gomez, *The black crescent. The experience and legacy of African Muslims in the Americas*, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 3-47. Missionary sources from this period are rare. Organised Christian mission to the Guinea Coast did not commence until the early 17th century. For missionary sources, see A.P. Kup, 'Jesuit and Capuchin missions of the seventeenth century', *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion* 5 (1963) 68-72; P.E.H. Hair, 'Guides to the records of early West African missions', *Journal of religion in Africa* 1 (1968) 129-38; Frederiks, *We have toiled all night*, pp. 159-82; C. Recheado, 'As Missões Franciscanas na Guiné (Século XVII)', Lisbon, 2010 (MA Diss. Universidade Nova de Lisboa).

²⁷ S.E. Dawson, *The lines of demarcation of Pope Alexander VI and the Treaty of Tordesillas AD 1493 and 1494*, Ottawa, 1899.

²⁸ Newitt, *Portugal in European and world history*, pp. 49-82; M. Newitt (ed.), *The Portuguese in West Africa 1415-1670. A documented history*, Cambridge, 2010.

²⁹ D. Alden, *The making of an enterprise. The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its empire, and beyond 1540-1750*, Stanford CA, 1996, pp. 41-78; A.C. Metcalf, *Go-betweens and the colonisation of Brazil, 1500-1600*, Austin TX, 2005.

On their way to India, Portuguese *armadas* were in the habit of stopping regularly on the East African coast. Thus, they attempted to establish cordial relations with rulers of strategic harbours such as Sofala (Mozambique), Kilwa (Tanzania), Mombasa (Kenya) and Malindi (Kenya), as well as to link up with traders of the Indian Ocean trading network.³⁰ Portuguese accounts of these encounters, such as Duarte Pacheco Pereira's *Esmeraldo in situ orbis* and João de Barros's *Décadas*, as well as archival materials, such as letters from Portuguese officials on the coast, form important sources for the pre- and Early Modern history of East African sultanates, such as Sofala, Kilwa, Mombassa and the Maldives, and the way they interpreted Islam; De Barros, for example, transmits one of the oldest known versions of the *Kilwa chronicle*.³¹

Generally speaking, the Portuguese were pragmatic in their dealings with the East African and South-East Asian sultanates, prioritising commercial interests over issues of religion. Payments made by Portuguese factors to local Muslim rulers, and to the Muslim pilot from Malindi hired to navigate da Gama's fleet across the Indian Ocean, evidence this.³² The Portuguese conveniently distinguished between indigenous Muslims, who were potential allies, and Arab Muslims, who were the economic, political and religious 'other'. Sanjay Subrahmanyam aptly summarises the early 16th-century Portuguese strategy in East Africa and Asia as 'to trade where possible and make war where necessary'.³³

In the first two decades of the 16th century, the Portuguese succeeded in capturing most of the strategic locations along the spice and silk route: in 1507, Tristão da Cunha and Afonso de Albuquerque conquered Socotra in the Gulf of Aden, followed by Hormuz in the Persian Gulf in 1508. Portuguese control of Aden and Hormuz at once obstructed the overland spice and silk trade via Egypt and Venice and secured domination of the all-water trade route via Africa. With the conquest of Goa in 1510, the Portuguese effectively gained a monopoly over the pepper trade. Thus, they successfully thwarted the hegemony of Arab traders in the Far East, causing, according to Shaw and Shaw, 'a permanent crisis in

³⁰ A. da Silva Rego, *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa 1479-1840*, vol. 1: 1497-1506, Lisbon, 1962; M.N. Pearson, 'The Portuguese in India', in *The new Cambridge history of India*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 5-39; Newitt, *Portugal in European and world history*, pp. 49-82; Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia*, pp. 55-80.

³¹ N. Chittick, 'Kilwa and the Arab settlement on the East African coast', in J.D. Fage and R.A. Oliver (eds), *Papers in African pre-history*, Cambridge, 1974, pp. 239-56.

³² Da Silva Rego, *Documents on the Portuguese*, 366-69; Armour, *Islam, Christianity and the West*, p. 125.

³³ Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia*, p. 60.

Mamluk economy and the state budget', as well as circumventing Venetian trading monopolies.³⁴

After Goa, Aden and Hormuz, next Diu (North India, 1509), Malacca (Malaysia, 1511) and Ternate and Tidore (Moluccas, 1522) became Portugal's most strategic factory locations. However, the Portuguese presence in the Gulf of Aden and Asia was rarely uncontested.³⁵ Both European rivals and local rulers continuously – and at times successfully – disputed Portuguese control, occasionally giving religious motives for their revolts. For example, Aḥmad Zayn al-Dīn al-Ma'barī, a Malabar expert in Islamic law, justified retaliation against the Portuguese for their invasion of Muslim territory and violations of Muslim persons and property as holy war.³⁶

The money and energy spent on empire-building in Asia and the Americas made Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, ambassador for the Austrian monarchy in Istanbul, writing in a letter dated 1555, complain that 'Europeans were squandering their efforts in seeking spoil and gold in "the Indies and the Antipodes over vast fields of oceans", while the very existence of European Christendom was threatened by the Turk'.³⁷ However, the unknown author of *Tārīkh al-Hind al-gharbī* (c. 1580) made a different assessment: he was convinced that, in the long run, European settlement in Asia and especially the Americas would pose a threat to the economic and political viability of the Ottoman Empire.³⁸ Both authors foresaw the consequences of the new discoveries for the stability and survival of familiar political structures, though neither realised that, on both sides, attitudes towards the other that had been bred by proximity and grown familiar through use would be exported and put to service in these new regions.³⁹

³⁴ Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, p. 83; see also J.S. Olsen, *Historical dictionary of European imperialism*, Westport CT, 1991, pp. 288-90. In addition to silk, the main commodities of interest were pepper from the Malabar coast, nutmeg and cloves from the Moluccas and cinnamon from Sri Lanka.

³⁵ Boyajian, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia*, p. 5; K.S. Matthew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat. 1500-1573*, Dehli (Mithal Publishers), 1986; M. Murrin, *Trade and romance*, Cambridge, 2014, pp. 83-182.

³⁶ E. Ho, 'Custom and conversion in Malabar. Zayn al-Din al-Malabari's *Gift of the Mujahidi*. Some accounts of the Portuguese', in B.D. Metcalf (ed.), *Islam in South Asia in practice*, Princeton NJ, 2009, pp. 403-8; see also the entry on al-Ma'barī in this volume.

³⁷ Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, p. 41.

³⁸ Irwin, *For lust of knowing*, p. 62.

³⁹ Goddard, *History of Christian-Muslim relations*, p. 113.

The Mughal Empire and Jesuit encounters

At the same time as the Portuguese were building their Asian maritime empire, a major Muslim empire was emerging on the Indian subcontinent. This was the Mughal Empire. Starting with the conquest of the Punjab in 1526, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad, more commonly known as Bābur, laid the foundation for an empire that would endure in India until 1858. Under his successors, the empire developed into the third major Muslim empire of its time (alongside the Ottomans and Safavids), with illustrious rulers such as Akbar the Great (1556-1605) and his son Jahangir (1605-27). Portuguese traders and imperialists, who had their strongholds along the coastal areas, initially had little interaction with the Mughal rulers, who in turn focussed their international relations on the Safavids and Ottomans.⁴⁰ In later times, however, the Portuguese approached the Mughal emperors to make treaties delineating commercial concessions.

European interest in Asia was broader than commercial. In the person of Francis Xavier, the Society of Jesus (founded as recently as 1540 by Ignatius of Loyola) had started mission work in the Portuguese stronghold Goa in 1541. In the 1570s, Jesuit efforts in India attracted the attention of the Emperor Akbar, a mystic and deeply interested in religious diversity, and in 1579 he invited the Jesuits to his court. From the late 1570s onwards, he organised regular discussions with representatives of a variety of religious traditions, such as Jainism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Islam and Christianity.

In 1580, three Jesuits, Rodolfo Acquaviva, Francisco Henriques and Antonio Monserrate, arrived in Akbar's capital Fatehpur Sikri, and spent three years there teaching and discussing religion (see the entry on Antonio Monserrate in this volume). A second Jesuit mission reached the court in Lahore in 1591 and, although it lasted less than a year, one Jesuit remained as a teacher to Akbar's second son Murad (see the entry on Rodolfo Acquaviva in this volume). A third visit took place between 1595 and 1601, when Akbar invited a group of Jesuits, among them Francis Xavier's grand-nephew Jerome Xavier, to establish schools and churches

⁴⁰ For studies on the Mughal Empire, see J.F. Richards, 'The Mughal Empire', in *The new Cambridge history of India*, Cambridge, 1993; A. Schimmel, *The empire of the great Mughals. History, art and culture*, London, 2004; M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal world. Studies on culture and politics*, New York, 2012; I. Copland, *A history of state and religion in India*, Hoboken NJ, 2013; R. O'Hanlon, *Religious cultures in Early Modern India. New perspectives*, Hoboken NJ, 2014.

in Agra and Lahore.⁴¹ Although the Jesuits were each time hospitably and courteously received, and extensive discussions on religion took place, the Jesuit hope of converting Akbar to Christianity proved vain. In 1582, Akbar founded his own religion, *Din Ilahi*, drawing on a variety of religious traditions. Nevertheless, the religious discussions at the Mughal court can be counted among the first genuine attempts at exchanges between Muslims and Christians known in India.⁴²

⁴¹ P. de Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits. An account of the Jesuit missions to the court of Akbar*, London, 1926 (repr. New Delhi, 1996); J. Correia-Afonso, *Letters from the Mughal court. The first Jesuit mission to Akbar 1580-1583*, Anand: Heras Institute for Indian History and Culture, 1980; A.A. Powell, *Muslims and missionaries in pre-Mutiny India*, London, 2003, pp. 6-42; P. Madhok, 'Christian-Islamic relations in the court art of Mughal India', *International Journal of the Arts in Society*, 4 (2010) 67-78.

⁴² J. Long, 'Hinduism and the religious other', in D. Cheetham, D. Pratt and D. Thomas (eds), *Understanding interreligious relations*, Oxford, 2013, p. 52; Powell, *Muslims and missionaries*, p. 9.

The arrival of European Christians in India during the 16th century

Alan Guenther

The arrival of European Christians in India in the 16th century was part of the Portuguese political and economic expansion. In competition with the Spanish kingdoms of Castile and Aragón and with the Italian city states such as Genoa and Venice, Portugal sought to establish itself as a maritime power in the latter half of the 15th century. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the Balkans and its capture of Constantinople in 1453 had resulted in the Ottoman dominance of trade routes east of the Mediterranean Sea. That expansion, coupled with the continuing monopoly of other trade in the Mediterranean region by the Genoese and the Venetians, prompted Portuguese searches for alternative routes from Europe to Asia. The successful navigation around the Cape of Good Hope and eventual arrival in India by the Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, in 1498 was one such effort.

The 16th century ended with a series of Jesuit missions to the court of the Mughal Emperor Jalal al-Din Muhammad Akbar in northern India. The Portuguese explorers who traversed the Indian Ocean in 1498, however, encountered a milieu not yet controlled by the three major Muslim empires of the Mughals, Safavids and Ottomans that rose to dominance in the Muslim regions in south and western Asia. In 1498, Akbar's grandfather, Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, had not yet begun his advance into the Indian subcontinent; his capture of Kabul, from where he launched his military campaigns into the Punjab, did not take place until 1504. In Persia, Shah Ismail I had not yet consolidated the Safavid control of the region; the decisive victory that gave him control of Azerbaijan and its capital Tabriz did not occur until 1501. And it was not until 1517 that the Ottomans, under Sultan Selim, conquered Egypt and the Hijaz, thus taking control of the Red Sea and its trade. Nevertheless, even with the absence of the three major Muslim empires, the trading networks that dominated the Indian Ocean into which the Portuguese sailed were largely Muslim.

The Portuguese saw the Muslims as their religious and political rivals. Through the 12th century, Christian rulers had been waging war with the

Muslim rulers of al-Andalus, the Iberian Peninsula. The Christians saw this as a *Reconquista* and a vital part of the crusades in western Europe. The final Muslim stronghold on the west coast of al-Andalus had been taken with the capture of Algarve (from the Arabic *al-gharb*, 'the west') in 1249 by Afonso III, who declared himself King of Portugal and the Algarve. From that base, subsequent kings of Portugal sought to extend their political control, particularly in the 15th century. The taking of the Moroccan port city of Ceuta in 1415 was the beginning of Portuguese overseas conquests, and was legitimised as a crusade by a papal bull.¹ In a useful summary, C.R. Boxer lists four main motives that inspired Portuguese rulers, nobles and merchants to pursue maritime expansion: '(i) crusading zeal against the Muslims, (ii) desire for Guinea gold, (iii) the quest for Prester John, (iv) the search for Oriental spices.'² These motives, he notes, appeared in chronological but overlapping order and in varying levels of prominence. While the strong crusading spirit directed against the Muslims present at the capture of Ceuta was still evident in the voyages to India almost 85 years later, the primary motivation appears to have been the desire for a greater share of the spice trade.

In addition to the papal bull declaring the military actions against the Moroccan Muslims to be a crusade, several other key pronouncements by the Vatican helped define the religious nature of Portuguese expansion. The *Dum diversas* of 1452 authorised the king of Portugal to attack, conquer and subdue not only Muslims but also pagans and other unbelievers, and to seize their goods and territories, transferring them to his own possession. The *Romanus Pontifex* of 1455, after tracing the history of the discovery and conquest by Prince Henry, declared that, because expansion furthered the interests of God and Christendom, the Portuguese should have the monopoly of navigation and trade in the regions they had conquered or would yet conquer south of the Moroccan coast all the way to the 'Indies', and should have the right to safeguard that monopoly. Permission was given to trade with the 'Saracens', provided that this did not involve selling weapons or other war supplies to those enemies of the Faith. This bull also authorised the king and his successors to build churches and monasteries and to send priests to administer

¹ N. Cliff, *The last crusade. The epic voyages of Vasco da Gama*, New York, 2011, p. 62. On the conquest, see also J. Tolan, 'Gomes Eanes de Zurara', in *CMR* 5, pp. 415-18.

² C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese seaborne empire, 1415-1825*, New York, 1969, p. 18.

sacraments, though it contained 'no specific mention of sending missionaries to preach the gospel to unbelievers'.³

The bull *Inter caetera* of 1456 not only confirmed the terms of the earlier bull, but also specified that the spiritual jurisdiction of the regions conquered was to lie with the Order of Christ, the successors to the Knights Templar in Portugal, of which Prince Henry was the administrator and governor. The Grand Prior of this Order would have the authority to appoint clergy and administer ecclesiastical discipline within those regions.⁴ The headship of this order continued to be vested in a member of the royal family from then on, until it was formally incorporated into the Crown by a papal bull in 1551.⁵

The provisions of these three bulls of 1452, 1455 and 1456, then, not only established the spiritual nature of the exploration and conquest, but also provided the framework for the missionaries who accompanied the explorers later in the 16th century. Subsequent bulls reaffirmed these powers and responsibilities, culminating in the *Praecelsae devotionis* of 1514, and were collectively known as the *Padroado Real* or the royal patronage of the Church overseas.⁶ The sphere of the *Padroado* stretched at its height from Brazil to Japan, and within those regions the Portuguese crown claimed the exclusive right to appoint bishops, to create dioceses and to send missionaries, and treated them as functionaries of the state.⁷ The missionaries arriving in South Asia in the 16th century thus had the patronage of the Portuguese rulers and were subject to their restrictions.

The Portuguese exploration and expansion into the regions of South Asia had their roots in the crusades against Muslims sanctioned by the papacy. However, John France argues, 'Though the impulse to explore and seize territory and bases owed something to crusading ideas and the traditions of the past, in execution it was fundamentally different.'⁸ What predominated in the Portuguese motivation for entering the Indian Ocean was the desire to control the sea trade in the region. 'The Portuguese were very determined to break the Arab and Indian monopoly of the rich trade in spices and other luxury goods of the Orient which

³ Boxer, *Portuguese seaborne empire*, p. 20-2.

⁴ Boxer, *Portuguese seaborne empire*, p. 22-4.

⁵ Boxer, *Portuguese seaborne empire*, p. 229-30.

⁶ Boxer, *Portuguese seaborne empire*, p. 228-9.

⁷ Boxer, *Portuguese seaborne empire*, p. 230.

⁸ J. France, *The crusades and the expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714*, London, 2005, p. 288.

passed from India and the “Spice Islands” (the Indonesian archipelago) to Iraq via the Straits of Hormuz, and to Egypt via the Red Sea.⁹ The Prester John myth had raised expectations of finding a powerful Christian ruler with whom they could ally themselves to defeat the Muslims. Even Ethiopia, referred to as the land of the Christians, had its external trade relations and port towns controlled by Muslims.¹⁰

The Mamluks in power in Egypt controlled the northern Red Sea region, and since 1425 had increased their influence in the Hijaz, sharing power with the Sharifs of Mecca. Yemen, with its port city of Aden, was controlled by Arab Muslim tribal chiefs, first of the Rasūlid dynasty and then of the Ṭāhirid dynasty.¹¹ Further east, Hormuz with its port city of Jarun and the adjacent coastal regions were also ruled by Muslim princes, who paid tribute to the Timurids and other Turkic groups controlling Persian territories before the Safavids consolidated their rule. Their principle source of revenue was customs duty collected on the trade from India.¹² The Mamluk state of Egypt appears to have extended its influence beyond the Red Sea, to exercise suzerainty over some of the western Indian states such as Gujarat.¹³ In the 1420s, the Mamluk sultan began to create a series of commodity monopolies, eventually forbidding ‘the sale of pepper to Europeans by anyone save his own official apparatus’.¹⁴

Despite the dominant political presence of the Mamluks, the Muslim presence in the Indian Ocean was hardly homogenous or uniform, though it may have appeared so to the invading Portuguese. The Sultanate of Gujarat on the west coast of India was a key player in maritime trade, with its important ports of Diu, Cambay, Surat and Rander. It linked the Red Sea trade of Aden with the Malaysian trade of Malacca.¹⁵ Malik Ayāz (d. 1522), a manumitted slave of the Muslim sultan of Gujarat, was the governor of Diu, and had not only transformed the city into a central port linking west and east, but had also built up his own fleet.¹⁶ He would play a key role as a Muslim ruler encountering the Portuguese

⁹ France, *The crusades*, p. 296.

¹⁰ A. Wink, *Al-Hind. The making of the Indo-Islamic world*, vol. 3. *Indo-Islamic society, 14th-15th centuries*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 171-2.

¹¹ Wink, *Al-Hind*, p. 172.

¹² Wink, *Al-Hind*, p. 192.

¹³ S. Subrahmanyam, *The career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, Cambridge, 1997, p. 97.

¹⁴ Subrahmanyam, *Career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, p. 99.

¹⁵ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and rulers in Gujarat. The response to the Portuguese in the sixteenth century*, Berkeley CA, 1976, pp. 10-12.

¹⁶ M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal world. Studies on culture and politics*, New York, 2012, pp. 39-40.

incursion. The merchant network of Gujarat, however, also included other communities, such as the *baniyas*, who were Hindus and Jains, the Parsis, and the Khojas and Bohras, two Ismāʿīlī communities.¹⁷ Further south along the west coast of India were two other Muslim sultanates, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, the latter having the key port city of Goa. At the start of the 16th century, Bijapur was ruled by the founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty, Yusuf Adil Shah.¹⁸ Still further south along the coast were other port cities nominally under the control of the Vijayanagara Empire, which controlled southern India, the chief of which was Calicut, ruled by the Samudri Raja. Under his protection, trade had flourished in Calicut, and again included a diversity of traders such as the Mappila Muslims of Malabar and Arabs from Bahrain, Baghdad and Shiraz.¹⁹ It was at Calicut that Vasco da Gama arrived in 1498. As Subrahmanyam notes in his biography of da Gama, the complexity of the various trading communities and their separate spheres of dominance would not have seemed strange to the arriving Portuguese. 'Here, as in the Mediterranean, one found states operating on different scales, with a lesser or greater degree of integration with the interests of merchant communities. Religious identities played some role in determining the nature of solidarities and networks, but were by no means the sole factor to be taken into consideration.'²⁰

Although Muslims were perceived to be the political and religious rivals of the Portuguese, Vasco da Gama had relied on Arabic-speaking captives as pilots and translators when he arrived in the Indian Ocean on his first voyage.²¹ Upon their arrival in Calicut, the Portuguese responded to queries about their purpose with the now-famous answer: 'We came to seek Christians and spices.'²² This response emphasises the multi-faceted motives of the Portuguese, including their search for the Christian king, Prester John, as an ally against the Muslims, and their quest for a share in the lucrative spice trade. Their encounter with the merchants and the ruler of the region convinced them that, while the ruler seemed favourably disposed towards them and their mission, the Arab (Muslim) merchants were not to be trusted. After a three-month stay that included

¹⁷ Subrahmanyam, *Career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, pp. 106-7.

¹⁸ P. Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean. Changing imageries of maritime India*, Delhi, 2013, pp. 60-61; and see p. 76, n. 8, on the increasing Muslim population during this period.

¹⁹ Subrahmanyam, *Career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, pp. 103-5.

²⁰ Subrahmanyam, *Career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, p. 109.

²¹ J.P. Rubiés, *Travel and ethnology in the Renaissance. South India through European eyes, 1250-1625*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 167-8.

²² Subrahmanyam, *Career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, p. 129.

several audiences with the Samudri Raja, encounters with the people of the region, and a visit to a Hindu temple, which the Portuguese perceived as a Christian church, Vasco da Gama sailed back to Portugal with his fleet of three ships.²³

After da Gama's return, a larger fleet under the direction of Pedro Álvares Cabral was sent by the Portuguese king in 1500 to return to India to set up a trading factory (*feitoria*), as it was known, in Calicut. Once again, the Portuguese became suspicious of the merchants from the Red Sea, and they seized one of the ships from Jeddah. This prompted a violent and deadly attack on their newly established factory. Cabral retaliated by bombarding the city and sailed away to other nearby ports, thus permanently souring relations with Calicut.²⁴ Cabral's voyage being seen as a failure by the Portuguese rulers, Vasco da Gama was sent out once again in 1502, and he determined to make his expedition profitable by plundering ships and exacting tribute from port cities.²⁵ Even before arriving in India, he sought to blockade the pepper traffic between Kerala and the Red Sea, choosing to attack a ship returning to Calicut laden not only with goods but also with 240 men, besides women and children, returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca. When the wealthy Muslim merchants sought to purchase their freedom, da Gama rejected their pleas, and looted and sank the boat, supposedly in retaliation for those killed in the destruction of the factory established by Cabral two years earlier.²⁶ Vasco da Gama proceeded to rob other vessels, taking the booty not only to finance the expedition but also to amass a personal fortune. As the fleet neared Calicut, the Samudri proposed terms to make amends for the ill treatment of Cabral and his men, seeking peace and renewed trade with the Portuguese. Da Gama rejected the terms and insisted that the Arab Muslim merchants all be expelled from the city, 'for since the beginning of the world, the Moors have been the enemies of the Christians, and the Christians of the Moors, and they have always been at war with each other, and on that account no agreement that could be made [between them] would be firm'.²⁷ This polarising attitude would persist in relations between the Portuguese and the various Muslim communities of India

²³ For an explanation of the Portuguese misperceptions of the Hindu temple, see Subrahmanyam, *Career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, pp. 131-3.

²⁴ M. Newitt, *A history of Portuguese overseas expansion, 1400-1669*, London, 2005, pp. 64-6.

²⁵ Newitt, *Portuguese overseas expansion*, pp. 67-8.

²⁶ Subrahmanyam, *Career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, pp. 205-8.

²⁷ Subrahmanyam, *Career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, p. 214.

and other regions of Asia, though significant exceptions are also evident throughout the history of their interactions. When his demands were not met, da Gama bombarded the city and left for other ports, where he engaged in trade to acquire the desired spices. It should be noted that it was also at this time that he finally encountered representatives of the St Thomas Christian community.²⁸ Then, having established a couple of factories in port cities and appointed a small fleet of five ships to remain behind to seize and loot other trading vessels, he returned to Portugal with his cargo.

After Vasco da Gama's return, King Manuel I of Portugal considerably extended the penetration of Portuguese interests in the Indian Ocean. In 1505, the decision was made to send a viceroy in order to establish the Estado da Índia Portuguesa, designed, according to a contemporary historian, with the dual purpose of 'war with the Moors and trade with the heathen'.²⁹ More than simply seeking a share in the spice trade, Dom Manuel was now prepared to establish a Portuguese state in India that would provide military security for the factories, ports for its ships, and bases from which to seize control of shipping lanes in the Indian Ocean, all governed by its own regional government. The legal justification for such a conquest lay in the *Padroado Real* issued by the Vatican. 'If the rulers of Bijapur or Vijayanagar could levy taxes and issue passports, maintain armies, make treaties and do justice over the populations under their sway, then so could the king of Portugal in his dominion which was the sea.'³⁰ The first viceroy to be sent was Dom Francisco de Almeida, who had powers to control all trade, negotiate with local rulers, and wage war with any of them as he saw fit. Establishing a foothold on the Malabar Coast of India, this new state was to take control of the spice trade in the Indian Ocean. Ships were to be required to purchase a *cartaz* or pass from the Portuguese and declare their cargo and passengers, as well as pay customs dues. To enforce these regulations, the viceroy would have to fortify his factories on the coast and maintain a war fleet on the ocean. Afonso de Albuquerque, who was to replace Almeida as viceroy, was sent out the following year with another fleet. In addition to fulfilling the king's mandate, both commanders also took to pillaging and looting coastal towns along the way to amass personal fortunes, as Vasco da Gama had.

²⁸ Subrahmanyam, *Career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, pp. 218-19.

²⁹ Newitt, *Portuguese overseas expansion*, p. 72.

³⁰ Newitt, *Portuguese overseas expansion*, p. 73.

At this point, the Mamluk rulers in Egypt chose to send their own fleet under the command of Amir Husain to confront the invaders, and entered into an alliance with Malik Ayāz, the ruler of the port of Diu on the Gujarat coast. In 1508, their allied fleets engaged a Portuguese fleet commanded by the viceroy's son, soundly defeating it, killing the commander, and taking a number of the Portuguese prisoner. Subsequently, however, Ayāz repudiated his alliance with Husain and the Mamluks, aligning himself with Almeida instead and assisting him in defeating the Egyptian fleet the following year.³¹ This incident highlights once again the complex nature of intra-Muslim relations in the trading networks of the Indian Ocean. The Mamluks did not repeat the attack, having to defend their own realm from the advancing Ottoman Empire, which would conquer Egypt in 1517, and take control of the Red Sea and its ports.

In 1509, Afonso de Albuquerque was appointed viceroy, and set about establishing a secure land base for the Portuguese. After another defeat at the hands of the inhabitants of Calicut, he turned his attention to conquering Goa, one of the key ports of Bijapur, which was under the rule of the Adil Shahis. Albuquerque's initial conquest of the city was relatively easy, but holding it against renewed attacks ordered by the new sultan of Bijapur proved more difficult. Albuquerque was driven from Goa but returned with reinforcements and retook it in 1510. The Muslims of the city, including the Turkish mercenaries who had fought for the sultan, were massacred by the Portuguese.³² The Hindu residents had vacillated, initially supporting the Portuguese in driving out the Muslims, then supporting the Bijapur army in driving out the Christians, and finally throwing in their lot with the Portuguese once again, and so they escaped the slaughter. This event was more than another chapter in the ongoing story of animosity between the Portuguese Christians and the Indian Muslims, because it led to the permanent establishment of Portuguese territory on the South Asian subcontinent. Albuquerque laboured intently to restore Goa to its former position as a key port city, cementing alliances with various rulers both in India and in other parts of Asia.

With a secure base on the Indian coast, Albuquerque returned to his earlier ambition to control trade in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, as well as to a long-range goal of defeating the Mamluk power in Egypt. On

³¹ Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Muslim world*, pp. 40-2.

³² B.W. Diffie and G.D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1580*, Minneapolis MN, 1977, pp. 250-4.

his initial voyage to India, he had delayed his arrival by capturing the city of Hormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf and seeking to build a fortress there, but dissension among his crew had forced him to abandon the project. In 1515 he took the city again, however, and built a fort, keeping the ruler in place as a puppet king.³³ He also attempted to take the port of Aden on the Red Sea, but that proved too difficult. Nevertheless, the first two viceroys had secured for the Portuguese crown three of the major port cities in the trading network of the Indian Ocean, Diu, Goa and Hormuz, in each case defeating Muslim rulers. Malacca in the east was taken in 1519, extending Portuguese control even further. While the complexity of relations between the various Muslim communities in the region must be recognised, it nevertheless becomes apparent that, from the Portuguese perspective, to accomplish their goal of securing a monopoly of the spice trade in the Indian Ocean, defeating the Muslims had been a key strategy if not a goal in itself.

The intended attack on the Mamluks in Egypt was pre-empted by the expansion of the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim I. After their conquest of Egypt, the Hijaz and, consequently, the Red Sea ports, the Ottomans wrote to the sultan of Gujarat declaring their victory, and indicating that they were not only aware of the Portuguese invasion of the Indian Ocean, but were also taking responsibility for the restoration of peace and security in the region: 'If God so wills, with numerous troops and soldiers beyond count, he [the sultan] will shortly drive those mischief-making [Portuguese] infidels . . . to their black destiny and [with his troops] who will act as a tempest, he will force them like waves, one army after another, into the wind of destruction . . . and there will be tranquility and security, if God so wills!'³⁴ While the Gujarati sultan's response to the Ottoman sultan did not mention the Portuguese, Malik Ayāz prepared his own response, in which he described the Portuguese invasion in some detail and made suggestions as to how the Portuguese might be defeated.³⁵ After having made peace with the Christian foreigners, Ayāz was now prepared to shift his allegiance once again, hopeful that the Ottomans would be able to do what the local Indian rulers had been unable to accomplish. The Indian Muslims, no less than the Portuguese Christians, saw the conflict not only in terms of competition for the control of trade and land, but also in terms of religious difference.

³³ Newitt, *Portuguese overseas expansion*, p. 88.

³⁴ Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Muslim world*, p. 45.

³⁵ Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Muslim world*, pp. 47-50.

Although the first Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier, did not arrive until 1542, there had been a missionary presence from the time of the Cabral expedition. Franciscan friars and other priests had accompanied the Portuguese fleets both to care for the needs of the sailors and to engage in evangelisation among the Indian people. In Cabral's conflict with the port of Calicut, three of the eight Franciscans were reported to have died in the subsequent uprising.³⁶ Records indicate that the Roman Catholic Christian community consisted primarily of the Portuguese sailors, traders and settlers and their families. At times, financial incentives were offered by the governor to induce the local Indians to convert, but difficulties were encountered in providing pastoral care following baptism.³⁷ Afonso de Albuquerque himself became involved in seeking to convert the raja in the port city of Cochin, who was actively opposing the conversion of his people. Efforts were also made to convert local women as partners for the foreigners.³⁸ The building of churches and monasteries proceeded at a slow pace, the first Franciscan monastery not being established till 1518.³⁹ Despite the papal bulls of the *Padroado Real* and the commitment on the part of the Portuguese monarchy and their viceroys in India to expand the Church, concern for the spread of Christianity was initially dwarfed by geopolitical and economic concerns.

Consequently, Christian engagement with Muslims ranged for the most part from military conflict to political diplomacy. While sustained theological engagement such as that undertaken by Jerome Xavier at the court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar would be delayed until the end of the 16th century, Jesuits were already active in the late 1550s, when they were invited by the ruler of the Adil Shahi dynasty in Bijapur to discuss their faith.⁴⁰ What had begun as a violent relationship of conquest and defeat had evolved into courtly debates on religious law and beliefs. While the Portuguese certainly had arrived in India with a crusading zeal to fight and defeat the Muslims wherever they found them, the reality of trading relationships proved to be more complex, involving numerous Muslim populations, some of them needed as allies against other groups. Nevertheless, the various Muslim communities that had gained control

³⁶ A. Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 1, *From the beginning up to the middle of the sixteenth century (up to 1542)*, Bangalore, 1989, pp. 355-6.

³⁷ Mundadan, *Christianity in India*, p. 359-61.

³⁸ Mundadan, *Christianity in India*, pp. 359-66.

³⁹ D. Alden, *The making of an enterprise. The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its empire, and beyond, 1540-1750*, Redwood City CA, 1996, p. 43.

⁴⁰ Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Muslim world*, pp. 252-5.

of the lucrative trade in the Indian Ocean were decisively displaced by the Christian Portuguese, who came with papal authority not only to spread the Christian Gospel, but also to monopolise trade in the region. It is against this backdrop that subsequent relations between Christians and Muslims during the 16th and into 17th centuries must be seen.

Works on Christian-Muslim relations
1500-1600

Central and Eastern Europe

Juraj Šižgorić

Juraj Šižgorić Šibenčanin; Georgius Sisgoreus (Sisgorich, Sisgoritus) Sibenicensis Dalmata; Giorgio Sisgoreo

DATE OF BIRTH 13 September, approximately 1445

PLACE OF BIRTH Šibenik

DATE OF DEATH November, 1509

PLACE OF DEATH Šibenik

BIOGRAPHY

Juraj Šižgorić was a clergyman, lawyer and humanist poet. His family had migrated from inland Croatia to the Dalmatian city of Šibenik less than a century before his birth, and a Šižgorić held the captaincy of the city when it was finally annexed by Venice in 1412. The poet's paternal uncle, also called Juraj, was bishop of Šibenik 1437-54. Šižgorić studied in Padua from about 1465 to 1470, obtaining his doctorate in canon law in February 1471. He spent the rest of his life in his home town as a canon of Šibenik cathedral, one of the vicars general of bishops of Šibenik Luka Tolentić (Lucas de Tolentis, bishop 1470-91) and Francesco Quirini (bishop 1491-5), and archdeacon of the diocese.

Šižgorić wrote in Latin. He was the first Croatian to publish a book of poetry (*Elegiarum et carminum [libri III]*, Venice: Adam de Rottweil, 1477), which consisted mostly of society verse and religious poems. A cycle of hymns to the Apostles remained unpublished during his lifetime (first edition 1962), as did a short prose description of his homeland and his home town, *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici* ('On the location of Illyria and the city of Šibenik', first edition 1899). His speech on literary excellence from the year of his graduation, *Oratio habita de litterarum prestantia* (1471), is still unpublished.

Šižgorić's prose and poetry attest to his network of connections with minor Italian humanists (Tideo Acciarini, Raffaele Zovenzoni, Panfilo Morato Martinengo, Gilberto Grineo), professors and students of the University of Padua (Girolamo Contareno, Angelo da Castro, Giorgio Priuli, Tano de S. Vito, Antonio Zarotti, Andrea Banda), Venetian officials (Marco Bollani, Paolo da Riva, Antonio Calbo), local churchmen (bishop of Šibenik Urbano Vignati), and his compatriots (Ambroz Miketić, Šimun Divnić, and Jakov Naplavčić from Šibenik; Ivan Križan from Zadar;

Jerolim Makarelić from Trogir; Marko Marulić and Petar Petraka from Split; a friar Grandinus from Dubrovnik).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only details about Šižgorić's life are to be found in his works.

Secondary

- K. Čvrljak, 'Tršćanski humanist Raffaele Zovenzoni (1434-1485?) u Istri i Dalmaciji: s posebnim osvrtom na Kopar i Šibenik te Jurja Šižgorića', *Mogućnosti* 39 (1992) 890-915 (literary friendship of J. Šižgorić and Trieste humanist R. Zovenzoni)
- F. Coppola, 'Kršćanski motivi u poeziji Jurja Šižgorića', *Dani Hvarškoga kazališta* 17 (1991) 114-19
- V. Gortan, 'Šižgorić i Pribojević', *Filologija* 2 (1959) 149-52
- M. Šrepel, 'Humanist Šižgorić', *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razredi filologičko-historički i filozofičko-juridički* 51 (1899) 206-69 (still the most complete biography and interpretation of the Venice 1477 book)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Elegia de Sibenicensis agri vastatione; Elegija o pustošenju šibenskog polja, 'Elegy on the devastation of the district of Šibenik'

DATE 1477

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This Latin poem of 98 verses in elegiac couplets was published in Šižgorić's *Carmina* (Venice, 1477, Book 2, poem 29). It is a poetic reaction to an early summer incursion of the Ottoman *akıncı* into the area around Šibenik, probably the 1470 expedition. The poem is clearly structured in three parts. In verses 1-28, the elegiac narrator introduces the event as another in a series of torments plaguing his life, a misfortune surpassing those that affected Tibullus and Ovid. The central part of the poem, verses 29-86, first describes the Turks as a hated, infidel people, who are supposed to obey Muḥammad's law and the *Alcoranus*, but are actually given to all kinds of transgressions (forbidden intercourse with both women and men, drinking wine, being themselves

dirtier than swine while they avoid pork). They live by the sword and are intent on destroying God's sacred laws; they have conquered Constantinople, Lesbos (1462) and Negroponte (the Venetian stronghold fell in July 1470). The poem then describes the attack on Šibenik. A skirmish between Turks and the locals occurred in front of the city walls, before the narrator's eyes. Turkish cavalry was especially prominent; the defenders were Šibenik citizens, peasants and Venetian mercenaries. The Turks attacked three times, and were repelled each time. Nevertheless, the enemy torched the houses in the countryside, fed their horses on young wheat and flowering grape vines, burned or cut down the olive trees, captured slaves and raped them, and desecrated churches (specifically, holy images, altars and the reserved sacrament) before setting fire to them. At the climax of the poem, verses 87-98, anguish forces the narrator to lay down Apollo's lyre and books of law, and take up arms, ready to die for faith and homeland.

As is characteristic in autobiographical humanist elegies, the poet takes on a double role, as the narrator of a painful episode from his own life and as the interpreter of an event impressed on the collective memory (Novaković, *Izbor iz djela*). Reality, however, is interpreted through the filter of ancient Roman poetry, especially Ovid's *Fasti* and *Tristia* (Šižgorić's Turks are similar to Ovid's Getae in *Tristia* 5.7). Šižgorić describes the enemy in commonplace terms of anti-Ottoman propaganda (sinfulness, lust, dishonesty, cruelty), with specific features based on religious differences (Muhammad, the Qur'an, Islamic dietary laws) and current military events (advances in Greece). The devastation of Šibenik is presented in growing intensity – first come the crimes against property, then those against people, and finally those against religion.

SIGNIFICANCE

The poem is Šižgorić's only text on the Ottomans and is the earliest published poetic response to Ottoman attacks in Croatian literature. It was printed in the same year as the Latin prose history *Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta* by Koriolan Cipiko from nearby Trogir (which reports on a phase of the Ottoman-Venetian war 1470-4). Together, the two texts introduce a period when many Croatian intellectuals contributed to the European anti-Ottoman narrative.

The first modern readings found in Šižgorić's elegy 'an expression of the great hatred with which Christian Europe regarded the Turks' (Šrepel, 'Humanist Šižgorić'), but appreciated it primarily for its patriotic

and Christian sentiments. Then, in the second half of the 20th century, it was praised and anthologised as an individual response to the historical event, 'a picture taken from life' (Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*; Novak, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*). Its role as a bridge between international and local perception of the Turk as the Other is sketched by Dukić (*Sultanova djeca*) and Dukić and Grgin ('Juraj Šižgorić and the Ottomans').

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- D. Dukić and B. Grgin, 'Juraj Šižgorić and the Ottomans. The image of the other in a late medieval Dalmatian commune', 2014 (forthcoming; includes an English trans.)
- D. Novaković (ed.), *Juraj Šižgorić: Izbor iz djela*, Vinkovci, 2000 (contains Croatian trans.)
- V. Vratović (ed.), *The Croatian muses in Latin. A trilingual anthology Latin-English-Croatian*, Zagreb, 1998 (includes selected texts in Latin, with English and Croatian translations)
- V. Vratović (ed.), *Latinism and Mediterraneanism. The Mediterranean constant in Croatian literary culture, accompanied by Croatian Latin lyrics, a bilingual anthology*, Zagreb, 1997 (includes selected texts in Latin, with English trans.)
- D. Novaković, *Hrvatski latinisti. Razdoblje humanizma*, Zagreb, 1994 (includes selected texts in Croatian trans.)
- V. Gortan and V. Vratović (eds), *Hrvatski latinisti = Croatici auctores qui Latine scripserunt*, Zagreb, 1969, pp. 115-50 (includes a selection of texts in Latin original and Croatian trans.)
- V. Gortan (ed.) and N. Šop (trans.), *Elegije i pjesme*, Zagreb, 1966 (Latin text and Croatian trans. of the 1477 edition)
- Šrepel, 'Humanist Šižgorić'
Georgii Sisgorei Sibenicensis Dalmatae elegiarum et carminum liber primus [-tertius], Venice, 1477

STUDIES

- Dukić and Grgin, 'Juraj Šižgorić and the Ottomans'
- D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca, Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar, Croatia, 2004, pp. 11-12 (a study of the image of the Turks in early modern Croatian literature)
- Novaković, *Izbor iz djela*
- S.P. Novak, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti. Knj. 2, Od humanističkih početaka do Kašićeve ilirske gramatike 1604*, Zagreb, 1997, pp. 118-19 (a history of Croatian Renaissance literature)

- M. Tomasović and D. Novaković, *Judita Marka Marulića. Latinsko pjesništvo hrvatskoga humanizma*, Zagreb, 1994, pp. 86-7
- M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti do narodnog preporoda*, Zagreb, 1961, p. 65 (a history of Croatian literature)
- Šrepel, 'Humanist Šižgorić'

Neven Jovanović

George of Hungary

DATE OF BIRTH 1422 or 1423
PLACE OF BIRTH Transylvania, present-day Romania
DATE OF DEATH 1502
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

BIOGRAPHY

George was born in 1422 or 1423 in Transylvania, in present-day Romania. When the Turks conquered the town of Mühlbach (in Romanian Sebeş) in 1438, he was taken prisoner and sold into slavery. He had arrived in that town a year before, probably to attend school in the local Dominican monastery (he was about 15 or 16 then, as he says himself). He may have been of German or Hungarian origin, but the majority of scholars assume that he belonged to the so-called 'Siebenbürger Sachsen', hence to the German-speaking population there. The Turks enslaved him because, together with a group of defenders of the town, he had withdrawn into a tower and refused to accept the Turks' terms of surrender. The tower was set ablaze and the few survivors, George among them, were sold into slavery in Edirne (Adrianople). After being bought, he was transported to Bergama to a peasant, who treated him cruelly. He twice tried to escape and was brutally punished. Subsequently, he was sold three more times, and finally ended up somewhere in Anatolia with a master who treated him quite well. Nevertheless, over the next five years (in total he spent 20 years in Turkey as a slave) he tried to escape eight times, always without success. Afterwards, in 1443, he suddenly experienced a great crisis of faith and began to study Islam, especially the sect of the dervishes. However, after six or seven months he suddenly returned to the Christian faith, which he kept for the remainder of his enslavement.

His last master granted him a *pactum libertatis* that afforded him the chance to buy his freedom after a certain period of time. George was apparently well treated, even included in the family, and enjoyed almost a father-son relationship with his owner. Nevertheless, in the end he simply left, pretending to go on a journey for religious study and promising to return. George never tells us precisely where he lived during his last 15 years as a slave but, judging from the clues in his later report, it

cannot have been too far from the Mediterranean. He had come across the Turkish Sultan Mehmed II, who was said to have resided in Edirne, or Manisa, near Smyrna, although at that time the royal residence was already in Istanbul. Most probably George lived in Bursa, as he reveals in an account about the sultan going to his bath one early morning and having the poor people who were sitting in the sun, including George, chased away.

In 1458, George gained his freedom and immediately went to the Dominican monastery in Pera, a former Genoese colony north of the Golden Horn. Here he joined the Dominican order, and went to the Dominican monastery in Chios, also a Genoese colony. From 1473, he seems to have lived in Rome, where he wrote down his autobiographical account, the *Tractatus*, in 1480. We know nothing for certain about the last two decades of his life, but we can assume that he served as a powerful preacher. He was acquainted with the papal gun builder Jörg von Nürnberg, who included sections of George's *Tractatus* in a short chronicle of Turkey, which he published in German in 1482 or 1483. George died on 3 July 1502.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Georgius de Hungaria, *Tractatus de Moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum*.

Traktat über die Sitten, die Lebensverhältnisse und die Arglist der Türken,

ed. and trans. R. Klockow (*Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens* 15),

Vienna, 1994

Georgius de Hungaria, *Kimondhatatlan nyomorúság. Két emlékirat a 15-16. századi*

oszmán fogságról, ed. E. Fügedi, Budapest, 1976

Secondary

See Studies below.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum, 'Treatise on the customs, habits and perversity of the Turks'

DATE 1480

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

George of Hungary offers a treatise about the Turks, their customs, habits, values and religion, and also an autobiographical account of his being taken prisoner and enslaved, and then he presents a detailed account of his 20 years living in Turkey. He is deeply concerned about the imminent arrival of the apocalypse, worries about the grave threat from the Turks to all of Christian Europe, and wants to provide his readers with as much information as possible about Turkish culture and people as a protective measure lest any might be taken prisoner and enslaved by them. George was deeply traumatised by his life as a slave, and wants to reflect as deeply as possible on the Muslim religion so that he himself might be better prepared to defend himself against the seductive power of Islam, to which he had become a victim for some time during his early years of slavery, lest he fall into Turkish hands again. In addition, his treatise appeals to many Christians who have ignored or neglected their own faith and do not know anything about the subtle but powerful temptations of the Muslim Turks.

George's account is an intriguing mix of personal observations and general comments about the Turkish world, and contains much information about specific aspects of the religion as practised by the Turks, including a particular focus on the cult of the dervishes, to whom he felt a great attraction. Drawing on his own experience – at one time he almost converted to Islam – many chapters focus on the reasons why individuals might abandon their Christian faith and accept the Muslim religion. The treatise concludes with several chapters in which George outlines and underscores the great advantages of Christianity and denigrates and ridicules the Turks as infidels.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Tractatus* provides a unique first-person eye-witness account of the culture, religion and social, political and educational system of the Turks, their religious rituals, and everyday customs and habits. George also discusses Turkish saints and accounts of miracles, and contrasts all their activities with those performed among Christians. He highlights the curious attractiveness of Islam, to which a number of Christians had converted, while the reverse never happened, as he mentions.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Pal. Lat. 1880, fols 150r-157v (c. 1481/2)

MS Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek – HB V 85a (c. 1481/2; the paper of the MS was probably produced between 1474 and 1477)

- MS Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek – Cent. V, App. 18 (1491)
 MS Vat – Lat. 9522, fols 41r-67r (6 August 1499)
 MS Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek – Thott 1383, fols 1-81 (October 1499)
 MS Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek – Lat. qu. 59 No. 5 (c. 1500)
 MS Vat – Lat. 6260 (early 16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

For a list of editions, see R. Klockow (ed.), *Georgius de Hungaria. Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum*, Vienna, 1994, p. 420

Incunables and early modern editions:

- B² = Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1550
 B¹ = Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1543
 W = Wittenberg: Johannes Lufft, 1530
 N = Nuremberg: Friedrich Peypus, 1530
 P³ = Paris: de Marnef, 1514
 P² = Paris: Henricus Stephanus, 1511
 P¹ = Paris: Henricus Stephanus, 1509
 K² = Cologne: Kornelius von Zierikzee, before 1508/9
 CC = Augsburg: Froschauer, 1498
 K¹ = Cologne: Johann Koelhoff the Elder, c. 1488-90
 U = n.p., n.y. (Urach: Conrad Fyner, 1481/2)
 R = Rome (probably by Georg Herolt, 1481)

STUDIES

- A. Classen, 'Life writing as a slave in Turkish hands. Georgius of Hungary's reflections about his existence in the Turkish world', *Neohelicon* 39 (2012) 55-72
 T. Razvan, 'Ex Oriente lux? Georgius of Hungaria and his treaty on the beliefs and customs of the Turks. Notes on an apocalyptic perception of the other', *International Journal on Humanistic Ideology* 2 (2008) 141-52
 A. Classen, 'The world of the Turks described by an eye-witness. Georgius de Hungaria's dialectical discourse on the foreign world of the Ottoman Empire', *Journal of Early Modern History* 7 (2003) 257-79
 A. Schwob, '"Toleranz" im Türkentraktat des Georg von Ungarn. Eine Infragestellung', in M. Nagy et al. (eds), *'swer sînen vriunt behaltet, daz ist lobelîch'. Festschrift für András Vizkelety zum 70. Geburtstag*, Piliscaba and Budapest, 2001, 253-9

- H. Stein, 'Das türkische Sprachgut im *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum* (1481) des Georg von Ungarn', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 14 (1995/6) 39-78; 15 (1997) 89-118
- R. Klockow, 'Die Erstausgabe des *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum* des Georg von Ungarn. Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe', *Südost-Forschungen* 46 (1987) 57-78
- P. Johanek, 'Georg (Jörg) von Ungarn', in K. Ruh et al. (eds), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, Berlin, 1980, vol. 2, cols 1204-6
- T. Streitfeld, 'Wer war der Autor des "Tractatus de ritu et moribus Turcorum"?', *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 16 (1973) 16-36
- J.A. Palmer, 'Georgius de Hungaria, O.P., and the "Tractatus de moribus conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum"', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 34 (1952) 44-68
- B. Capesius, 'Die Persönlichkeit und das Leben des Ungenannten Mühlbachers', *Deutsche Forschungen im Südosten* 2 (1943) 576-99

Albrecht Classen

Hartmann Schedel

DATE OF BIRTH 13 February 1440
PLACE OF BIRTH Nuremberg
DATE OF DEATH 28 November 1514
PLACE OF DEATH Nuremberg

BIOGRAPHY

Hartmann Schedel was born in Nuremberg. After studying canon law and medicine at Leipzig and Padua, he was engaged as city physician in the Bavarian cities of Amberg and Nördlingen, before returning to his native Nuremberg in the early 1480s. Throughout his life, he copied manuscripts, collected inscriptions, and acquired books avidly, thus building up one of the largest personal libraries in late medieval Europe. Schedel exchanged correspondence with many of the leading German humanists of his time, including Conrad Celtis, Johannes Trithemius and Sebastian Münzer. Schedel's growing collection of books, images, and antiquarian texts made him a logical choice as the compiler of the *Nuremberg chronicle*, an illustrated world chronicle undertaken by two fellow Nuremberg citizens, Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, in cooperation with the artists Wilhelm Pleydenwurff and Michael Wolgemut, which was first printed in 1493.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Schedel's autobiographical notes about himself, his family and his household are preserved in various unedited manuscripts, and also in notes written into his books. These are collected and summarised in Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek*.

Secondary

- B. Hernad and F.J. Worstbrock, art. 'Schedel, Hartmann', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, Berlin, 1992
- B. Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*, Munich, 1990, pp. 13-16
- R. Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ausbreitung der italienischen Renaissance, des deutschen Humanismus und der medizinischen Literatur*, Freiburg, 1908, pp. 1-11, 40-101

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Liber cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi, 'Book of chronicles with figures and images from the beginning of the world'

Buch der Croniken und geschichten mit figuren und pildnussen von anbeginn der welt bis auf dise unsere zeit, 'Nuremberg chronicle'

DATE 1493

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Liber cronicarum*, usually referred to in English as the *Nuremberg chronicle*, is a world chronicle from the creation to the end of the 15th century organised according to the classical seven ages. It comprises some 2250 different entries spread over 324 printed leaves in the original Latin version, with the most recent events falling on fol. 258. Three blank leaves for the recording of further events follow, and the history concludes with a short description of the seventh age of eschatological fulfilment. The concluding section comprises an extensive geographical appendix on various cities and lands, drawn from Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's (the future Pope Pius II) *Europa*. But descriptions and woodcut depictions of cities are also central elements of the chronicle's main text, which in addition includes numerous descriptions of classical antiquity, biblical persons and events, ancestors of Christ, popes, saints, heretics, church councils and synods, bishops, monastic orders, miracle stories and other wondrous events, legends, philosophers, scholars, Roman and Holy Roman emperors, and other kings and lesser nobility.

Around 35 of the *Chronicle's* entries address relations between Christians and Muslims directly, above all in accounts of warfare in Spain, during the various crusades, and between Christian Europe and the Ottoman Turks. Many more entries, particularly descriptions of cities, mention Islam for the same reason. The entry on Muḥammad (fol. 151v) concisely describes a number of Muslim teachings, including the place of Jesus among the prophets, abstinence from alcohol, and polygamy. The *Chronicle* depicts Muslims above all as cruel enemies of the Christian faith whose encroachment threatens both the borders and the very heart of Europe, though its image of them is not entirely negative: it ascribes a

Trojan heritage to both the German tribes and the Turks (fol. 37r; but see also the competing claim of the Turks' earlier imprisonment by Alexander the Great, fol. 165r), and it says that Saladin 'lacked nothing worthy of the highest praise, except the designation of Christian' (fol. 205v).

SIGNIFICANCE

Far more copies of the first edition of the *Nuremberg chronicle* have survived to the present day (over 1200 by one count) than any other edition of any 15th-century printed book, and the other four editions are also preserved in numerous copies. The production of the *Chronicle* is uniquely well documented among early printed books, and has been more thoroughly studied than any other apart from the Gutenberg Bible (with Reske's study supplanting earlier work by Rücker and Wilson, although Zahn's work remains fundamental).

Schedel compiled the *Nuremberg chronicle* from the works of Italian humanist historians, principally the *Supplementum chronicarum* of Jacobus Philippus Foresti of Bergamo, with very little original contribution of his own (the most significant study of Schedel's sources remains that of Haitz). The work's value as a historical source is therefore low. However, a number of 16th-century authors borrowed heavily from it. According to Berger and Bardill, the woodcuts of Constantinople preserve some details important for reconstructing the first decades of the city following its fall to the Ottoman Turks. As one of the most lavishly illustrated printed books of the 15th century (over 1800 woodcuts from more than 600 different stocks), the *Nuremberg chronicle* has above all influenced popular representations of the Middle Ages since its first printing.

MANUSCRIPTS

The printer's manuscripts for the first Latin and German editions of the *Nuremberg chronicle* are preserved as:

MS Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek – Cent. II, 98 (1493)

MS Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek – Cent. II, 99 (1493)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

The *Chronicle* has been re-issued in printed facsimile editions (not to mention online digitisations) too numerous to mention, most prominently and recently S. Füssel (ed.), *Weltchronik. Kolorierte Gesamtausgabe von 1493*, Cologne, 2001.

It appears in the standard catalogues of 15th-century printing, including that of Hain (H) and the *Incunabula short title catalog* (ISTC), but at the time of writing only provisionally in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*

(GW). The complete bibliographical citations of ISTC and GW are available online.

- Chronicle of the world 1493 : the complete Nuremberg Chronicle*, ed. and trans. S. Füssel, Cologne, 2013 (edition and English trans.)
- Liber chronicarum. Translation*, ed. and trans. M. Zellmann-Rohrer, C.T. Hadavas and Selim S. Nahas, Boston MA, 2010-12
- The story of the creation of the world, being the first part of Dr. Hartmann Schedel's Liber chronicarum printed in Nuremberg in 1493*, English trans. E. Rosen, notes B. Dibner, New York, 1948
- Das Buch der Croniken und Geschichten*, trans. Georg Alt, Augsburg, 1500 (H 14512, ISTC is00311000)
- Liber chronicarum*, Augsburg, 1497 (H 14509, ISTC is00308000)
- Das Buch der Croniken und Geschichten*, trans. Georg Alt, Augsburg, 1496 (H 14511, ISTC is00310000)
- Das Buch der Croniken und Geschichten*, trans. Georg Alt, Nuremberg, 1493 (H 14510, ISTC is00309000)
- Liber chronicarum*, Nuremberg, 1493 (H 14508, ISTC is00307000)

STUDIES

While the scholarly literature touching on the *Nuremberg chronicle* directly or indirectly is very extensive, its treatment of Christian-Muslim relations has been very little studied. Only the most significant studies are listed here.

- F. Koch, *Raumkonzepte in der Schedelschen Weltchronik. Die Darstellungen der Länder in Text, Bild und Karte*, Hamburg, 2013
- S. Lembke, 'Die Anfänge des Buchdrucks am Beispiel der Weltchronik von Hartmann Schedel', Rostock, 2011
- M.J.O. da Silva Pereira, 'Liber chronicarum ou Crónica de Nuremberga (1493)', *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 44 (2010) 87-97
- J. Green, 'The Nuremberg chronicle and its readers. The reception of Hartmann Schedel's *Liber cronicarum*', Urbana-Champaign IL, 2003 (Diss. University of Illinois)
- C. Reske, *Die Produktion der Schedelschen Weltchronik in Nürnberg*, Wiesbaden, 2000
- A. Berger and J. Bardill, 'The representations of Constantinople in Hartmann Schedel's *World chronicle*, and related pictures', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 22 (1998) 2-37
- S. Füssel, *Die Welt im Buch. Buchkünstlerischer und humanistischer Kontext der Schedelschen Weltchronik von 1493*, Mainz, 1996

- S. Füssel (ed.), *500 Jahre Schedelsche Weltchronik. Akten des interdisziplinären Symposions vom 23./24. April 1993 in Nürnberg*, Nuremberg, 1994
- P. Zahn, 'Die Endabrechnung über den Druck der Schedelschen Weltchronik (1493) vom 22. Juni 1509. Text und Analyse', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 66 (1991) 177-213
- A. Wilson, *The making of the Nuremberg chronicle*, Amsterdam, 1976
- E. Rücker, *Die Schedelsche Weltchronik. Das größte Buchunternehmen der Dürer-Zeit*, Munich, 1973
- M. Haitz, *Hartmann Schedel's Weltchronik*, Munich, 1899

Jonathan Green

Arnold Ritter von Harff

DATE OF BIRTH 1471
PLACE OF BIRTH Castle Harff, Harff (Rhineland)
DATE OF DEATH 1505
PLACE OF DEATH Presumably castle Lövenich, Zülpich
(Rhineland)

BIOGRAPHY

Arnold von Harff was a knight and descendant of the old and noble family of von Harff in the Rhineland in the vicinity of Cologne. We know little about his personal life before and after the pilgrimage he made to the Holy Land. His parents were Daem von Harff and Ricarda von Hoemen. His father died when Arnold was eight years old. Four years later he apparently started to study arts at the University of Cologne, although it is unclear whether he obtained a degree. Through his studies he acquired curiosity and a profound knowledge in the field of languages, which explains why he made extensive language studies during his journey.

Later on, he entered the service of the Duke of Jülich and prepared for a career in the administration of the duchy, but his mother died in 1495 and Arnold made the decision to travel to the Holy Land. He started his pilgrimage after dividing the family belongings with his brother Goedart. In November 1496, he left Cologne, and reached Egypt in 1497. He spent some time in Alexandria, Cairo and Mount Sinai before leaving for Palestine in November of the same year. In Jerusalem, he was made Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. His journey then continued via Damascus and Aleppo and he reached Constantinople in early 1498. He then crossed the whole European continent to reach Santiago de Compostela in July 1498. Returning via Brittany, northern France and Belgium, he reached home in October 1498. Thereafter, information on him becomes sparse again. In 1504, one year before his death, he married Margaretha von dem Bongart. He died in 1505, before his daughter was born, and was buried either in his new home castle Lövenich or in the old family home in Harff, which no longer exists as the town of Harff was abandoned in 1972 due to brown coal mining.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- E. von Groote (ed.), *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff. Von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich, Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahren 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat*, Cologne, 1860 (repr. Olms, 2004; facsimile Saarbrücken, 2007)
- M. Letts, *The pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight, from Cologne, through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France and Spain, which he accomplished in the years 1496 to 1499*, London, 1946
- H. Brall-Tuchel and F. Reichert (eds), *Rom – Jerusalem – Santiago. Das Pilgertagebuch des Ritters Arnold Von Harff (1496-1498)*, Cologne, 2007

Secondary

- H. Brall-Tuchel, 'Der Reisende als Integrationsfigur? Arnold von Harff. Ein Pilger zwischen Regionalität und Expansion', in I. Karg (ed.), *Europäisches Erbe des Mittelalters. Kulturelle Integration und Sinnvermittlung einst und jetzt*, Göttingen, 2011, 67-94
- K. Knop, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff 1496-1499. Im Kontext spätmittelalterlicher deutscher Reiseberichte - Pilgern, wandeln und entdecken*, Saarbrücken, 2008
- A. Fuess, *Verbranntes Ufer. Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste (1250-1517)*, Leiden, 2001, 455-7

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff,
 'The pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, knight'

DATE 1499

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Arnold von Harff's *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff. Von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich, Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahren 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat* is a description of his journey. He produced several manuscripts within a year of his return, apparently with the help of copyists and illustrators. One copy was given officially to the Duke of Jülich in 1499. The description of his pilgrimage remained popular until the mid-19th century among the nobles of the region. Most of the surviving manuscripts were kept in family libraries,

until the work was edited by Eberhard von Groote in Cologne in 1860. The text in von Groote's edition is 250 pages long, and Letts' English translation runs to 300 pages.

The contents of von Harff's account represent a combination of fact and fiction. Some regions described, such as Mecca, India and Madagascar, he clearly never visited. These episodes are copied from other travel descriptions by contemporary authors. However, his accounts of Mamluk Alexandria and Cairo are trustworthy and full of details not mentioned by other authors. In these passages he shows a profound curiosity for the manners and customs of Muslim society. He includes a glossary of Arabic terms, which is quite accurate, as are the drawings of people he met and places he visited that are included in the manuscripts. In particular, the clothing of Mamluk soldiers corresponds well with descriptions given in Arabic sources. However, the drawings of regions he did not visit are imaginary.

Von Harff travelled with an open mind and tried to find out the truth concerning religious prejudices. In a passage explaining the recruitment of Mamluk soldiers, who were imported as young slaves from outside the Muslim realm in order to be trained in Cairo, he writes as follows: 'Item it is said in this country that when an apostate Christian becomes a Mameluke he is forced to deny Christ and his Mother, spit on the cross, and suffer a cross to be cut on the soles of his feet, in contempt, so that he treads on it. I tell you no, this is not true. When these Mamelukes are first captured in Christian lands they are sold to the heathen. They are then forced to say these words "Holla, hylla, lalla, Mahemmet reschur holla", that is in German, "God is God and shall be so forever. Mahomet is the true prophet sent from God." Then they circumcise him and give a heathen name. But when three of us were in prison [because of money disputes] nothing of this kind was forced or done to me' (Letts, *The pilgrimage*, p. 122).

Besides giving evidence of his interest in language and religion, this quotation shows that von Harff was willing to contrast hearsay with actual facts and enter into dialogue with his Muslim counterparts. The same is illustrated in the following story. Once he visited the Temple Mount in Jerusalem and tried to engage his Muslim guide in a discussion about Jesus and his role on the Temple Mount. Unfortunately, the guide did not know very much about Jesus, but the description of the holy sites that follows represents a very neutral account and relies on the information provided by this guide. This stands in stark contrast to

other contemporary pilgrims, who usually mourned the loss of Jerusalem to the heathens and told them stories from the Bible.

SIGNIFICANCE

The description of von Harff's journey in its non-fictional parts is a valuable source for the history of Mamluk society at the end of the 15th century. It can be seen as an indication that some late medieval Europeans tried to use the knowledge they acquired to make sense of things they encountered while they were abroad, rather than prejudging them.

MANUSCRIPTS

According to Letts (*The pilgrimage of Arnold Von Harff, knight*, pp. xiv-xvi), ten MSS appear to have survived until the 19th century.

Von Groote's edition is based on three MSS in the possession of the von Harff family (von Groote, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*, pp. vii-viii):

MS von Harff – A, 152 pages in small folio (late 15th century)

MS von Harff – B, 148 pages (mid 16th century)

MS von Harff – C, 142 pages (late 16th century)

The only other MS listed by Letts with details is:

MS Trier, Stadtbibliothek – L.N. 1938, St. N. 1582 (mid 16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Brall-Tuchel and Reichert, *Rom – Jerusalem – Santiago*

Letts, *The pilgrimage of Arnold Von Harff, knight*

von Groote, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*

STUDIES

Brall-Tuchel, 'Der Reisende als Integrationsfigur?'

Knop, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*

Fuess, *Verbranntes Ufer*

Albrecht Fuess

Feliks Petančić

Felix Brutus Petancius (de Petanciis), Felix Petancius
Ragusinus, Felice Petanzio

DATE OF BIRTH About 1455
PLACE OF BIRTH Dubrovnik
DATE OF DEATH Between 1517 and 1522
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Feliks Petančić was an experienced Renaissance diplomat, humanist, scribe and miniaturist, who enjoyed a long career at the Hungarian court. Born a commoner around 1455 in Dubrovnik, he received his education in his home town. He started his career in 1478 as a local teacher and held this post until 1482, when he was appointed chancellor of the Republic's criminal court. In 1487, he moved to Buda, where, probably through the influence of his godfather and protector, Kristofor Stojković, Bishop of Modruš, he was appointed supervisor of the scriptorium at the Hungarian court. Three years later, after the death of King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-90), he returned to Dubrovnik and in the following years the government sent him on a number of diplomatic missions to Buda and Naples. In 1496, however, again probably through Stojković's influence, he was appointed chancellor of Senj, Croatia, and from this point on he started to play a prominent role in Hungarian diplomacy.

Missions to the French royal court, Venice and Rhodes ensued, all connected to the war against the Ottomans, which lasted from 1500 until 1503. It is in the course of these diplomatic missions that Petančić seems to have composed all of his works: *Historia Turcica* in 1501, and in the following year both the treatise *Quibus itineribus Turci sint aggrediendi* and *Genealogia Turcorum imperatorum*; he dedicated all three to King Vladislav II of Hungary (r. 1490-1516). There is little record of him until 1510, when again he starts to feature prominently in the court's diplomacy, this time in connection with the activities pertaining to the League of Cambrai. He went on a mission to Spain and then proceeded to his home town on a mission to secure the Republic of Dubrovnik's support for Hungarian plans to regain Dalmatia from Venice. Finally, two years later, in 1512, he was sent to Constantinople on a diplomatic mission to prolong the truce between Hungary and the Ottoman Empire; contemporary

references indicate that he had made other trips there before. The last known information concerning his life is the (still preserved) funerary monument he had erected in 1517 for Stojković in the Church of SS Philip and James, in the town of Novi Vinodolski, Croatia. He died before his friend, Johannes Cuspinian, a leading member of the *Sodalitas litterarum Danubiana*, published his treatise on routes to Turkey in Vienna in 1522.

Though his works were all composed and prepared for a limited readership at the Hungarian court, thanks to numerous 16th-century editions of his treatise on routes to Turkey and *Genealogia*, Feliks Petančić became a European authority on the Ottoman Empire after his death. His credentials were excellent: he devoted all of his works to this topic; he seems to have visited the Ottoman Empire on more than one occasion; and he had at least some knowledge of Ottoman Turkish. Yet, this long-established view about Petančić's life and oeuvre has started to change in recent decades as a result of research by Dragutin Kniewald and Agostino Pertusi. They have shown that some of his works incorporate, without acknowledgement, large portions of works by previous scholars, the Greek émigré Niccolò Sagundino and Martin Segon, Bishop of Ulcinj. It is difficult to reach a definite conclusion on this question, however, as his *Historia Turcica* and *Genealogia* are still not available in modern critical editions.

Finally, it should be mentioned that Petančić is held in high regard as an illuminator and scribe. Besides the dedication copies of *Historia Turcica* and *Genealogia*, which he himself copied and adorned with a large number of intricately produced miniatures, his hand has been identified in a few other manuscripts that once belonged to the Bibliotheca Corviniana.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

D. Kniewald, *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela* [Feliks Petančić and his works], Belgrade, 1961 (lists and discusses all the primary sources)

Secondary

- N. Lonza, 'Dubrovački studenti prava u kasnom srednjem vijeku' [The Ragusan law students in the late Middle Ages], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 48 (2010) 5-48, p. 30
- Cs. Csapodi, 'Felix Petancius Ragusinus és a Bibliotheca Corviniana' [Felix Petancius Ragusinus and the Bibliotheca Corviniana], in S. Vujicsics (ed.), *Szomszédtság és közösség. Délszláv-magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok* [Neighbourhood and community. South Slavic-Hungarian literary relations], Budapest, 1972, 39-52

- P. Kolendić, 'Feliks Petančić pre definitivnog odlaska u Ugarsku' [Feliks Petančić before his definitive departure for Hungary], *Glas SAN* 236 (1959) 1-22
- I. Berkovits, 'Felice Petanzio Ragusino. Capo della bottega di miniatori di Mattia Corvino', *Archivio di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti della Società Italo-Ungherese Mattia Corvino (Supplemento a Corvina Rassegna Italo-Ungherese)* 3 (1941) 53-78
- F. Banfi, 'Felice Petanzio da Ragusa. Oratore dei re d'Ungheria Mattia Corvino e Vladislao II, miniatore e bibliotecario della Corviniana di Buda', *Archivio Storico per la Dalmazia* 24 (1938) 1-23

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia Turcica, 'Turkish history'

DATE 1501

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Historia Turcica is a historiographical work and can be dated to the period between June and October of 1501. It is dedicated to Vladislas II. Preserved in a single manuscript and currently unedited, the work covers 36 folio pages, with parts missing. It begins with a prologue that encourages Vladislas to avenge the disastrous Crusade of Varna, and traces the history of the Ottoman Turks from the founder of the dynasty, Osman I, to the contemporary reign of Bayezid II, with half of the work treating the rule of Mehmed II. It is concluded by an epilogue, which again encourages Vladislas and other European rulers to take up arms against the common enemy.

Historia Turcica is a patchwork. The first half, including part of the prologue and leading up to the beginning of Mehmed II's reign, was taken almost verbatim from Niccolò Sagundino's *De familia Otthomanorum epitome* ('Epitome on the family of the Ottomans', known also as *De origine et rebus gestis Turcarum*), composed in 1456 for Enea Silvio Piccolomini. It inserts some new passages, such as the account of the assassination of Sultan Murad I by Miloš Obilić at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. The second part, which continues after Sagundino's text, seems to be an original piece of writing, although it has not been subjected to philological analysis.

The *codex unicus* does not indicate either the title or the author of the work, but on the basis of the two other contemporary works on the Ottoman Turks by Petančić, and the fact that Petančić seems to have

been the one who copied and illuminated the manuscript, the work was attributed to him early on. Agostino Pertusi has recently suggested the possibility of another, unidentified author from Vladislas's court, although the collected evidence still favours attribution to Petančić.

SIGNIFICANCE

Historia Turcica does not include any references to Islam as a religion, and only chronicles the political events of Ottoman history. The work is preserved in a single manuscript which, as can be gathered from unfinished illuminations, was probably never presented to Vladislas II at all. As such, *Historia* did not enjoy any substantial success, unlike Petančić's treatise on routes to Turkey or his *Genealogia*.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg – Solger 31.2 (1501; in a fragmentary state, as a result of the removal of a few folios bearing miniatures of the Ottoman sultans)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

The work has not been edited or translated.

STUDIES

- A. Pertusi, *Martino Segono di Novo Brdo vescovo di Dulcigno*, Rome, 1981, pp. 273-7
 Kniewald, *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela*, pp. 78-94
 D. Kniewald, 'Dubrovčanin Feliks Petančić o ratovanju s Turcima 1502' [The Ragusan Feliks Petančić on fighting against the Turks in 1502], *Vesnik Vojnog Muzeja JNA* 3 (1956) 80-106

Quibus itineribus Turci sint aggrediendi, 'The routes by which the Turks should be attacked'

DATE 1502

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Quibus itineribus Turci sint aggrediendi is a short work on the routes leading towards the Ottoman Empire. Petančić dedicated it to King Vladislas II. In Agostino Pertusi's critical edition it comes to 30 pages. Passing over the possible sea routes, the work presents a geographical overview of the land routes that led from the Pannonian Basin and the Western Balkans to Constantinople. In effect, it presents the geography of the Ottoman

Balkans, and in it Petančić advises the king to attack the Turks on their own territory, evoking the expeditions of Alexander the Great, Hannibal and John Hunyadi as historical precedents to follow.

Agostino Pertusi, the editor of the modern critical edition of the work, has challenged Petančić's authorship, showing that he plagiarised a work by Martin Segon, Bishop of Ulcinj, which was composed in 1480. This was preserved in a single manuscript, and was largely unknown in scholarship until Pertusi's edition. Though it omits a couple of chapters found in Segon's work, *Quibus itineribus* even copies its prologue and epilogue, changing only the name of the dedicatee.

SIGNIFICANCE

In dealing with the routes and geographical setting of the region, *Quibus itineribus Turci sint agrediendi* does not include any references to Islam as a religion. Moreover, even in the political context, the Turks themselves rarely appear in the text. The work appeared under Petančić's name in numerous collections of works related to the Ottoman Turks (see below), and thus established him as an authority on Turkish matters.

MANUSCRIPTS

The MS that served as the basis for Cuspinian's 1522 *editio princeps* (see below), possibly the dedication copy presented to Vladislav II, is still unidentified. All extant MSS seem to be later copies of the *editio princeps*. For an overview of these MSS, see

Kniewald, *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela*, pp. 48-55

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

De itineribus in Turciam libellus Felice Petantio cancellario Segniae autore, Vienna, 1522

Following the *editio princeps*, nine more editions appeared before the end of the 16th century, usually as part of larger collections of anti-Turkish orations and treatises, and no fewer than 15 editions have appeared altogether. For a list of these, see Kniewald, *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela*, pp. 43-8.

Pertusi, *Martino Segono di Novo Brdo vescovo di Dulcigno*, pp. 75-117 (modern critical edition).

By 1558, the work had already been translated into German and printed three times, always as an addition to the text by Bartholomaeus Georgius (Bartol Jurjević), another 16th-century Croatian author, who wrote a treatise on the Ottoman Turks. A shortened 16th-century Italian translation is also preserved in manuscript, while in the 19th century both

Serbian and Croatian translations appeared, by Jovan Subotić and Petar Marković respectively.

For a list of translations, see Kniewald, *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela*, pp. 55-8.

STUDIES

Pertusi, *Martino Segono di Novo Brdo vescovo di Dulcigno*, pp. 60-6

A. Pertusi, 'I primi studi in occidente sull'origine e potenza dei Turchi', *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970) 517-47

Kniewald, *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela*, pp. 43-58

D. Kniewald, 'Feliks Petančić 1502 o putevima kojima valja napasti Turke' [Feliks Petančić in 1502 on routes by which the Turks should be attacked], *Vesnik Vojnog Muzeja JNA* 5 (1958) 25-58

Kniewald, 'Dubrovčanin Feliks Petančić o ratovanju s Turcima 1502'

*Genealogia Turcorum imperatorum, lex imperii
domi militiaeque habita*, 'Genealogy of the Turkish
emperors and the regulation of their empire at
home and at war'

DATE 1502

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Genealogia Turcorum imperatorum is a short work dedicated to Vladislas II, in which Feliks Petančić briefly describes the state of the Ottoman Empire at the time. He presented it to the king together with *Quibus itineribus*. The work is preserved in two redactions which open with the same prologue where Petančić urges the king to press on with the war against the Ottomans. After the prologue, however, the two redactions differ greatly in both size and style of the text. The first presents a longer text (15 pages in Adelman's *editio princeps*), which briefly describes the origins of the Ottoman Turks and reigns of the sultans from Osman I to Bayezid II. Then follows a description of the administration, judiciary and army of the Empire before the work concludes with an epilogue in which Petančić urges the king and the rest of the *Res publica Christiana* to take up arms against the Ottomans.

The second redaction is preserved in a single, intricately decorated, manuscript roll made of four folio leaves, which was presented to

Vladislas II. This copy offers a greatly condensed version of the text. It starts with a list of the Ottoman sultans (accompanied by their portraits) and then briefly presents in three columns the administration, judiciary, army, finances and territory of the Empire, with each subsection accompanied by a miniature.

Most important, particularly from the perspective of Christian-Muslim relations, is the section on the law and customs of the Turks (*Lex et mores Turcorum*), which Petančić added at the end of the second redaction. This section elaborates on the religious customs of the Turks as a nation that follows the 'Muhammadan sect'. It mentions the duty of the Muslims to attack the Christians unless they convert to Islam, the prohibition on drinking wine, and marriage practices. It describes the call to prayer of the 'priest' (who, Petančić says, is called *Thalaskan*), and also comments on ritual ablutions. This is followed by a discussion about the month of fasting culminating in the feast called *Buran* (i.e. Bairam), on which Petančić elaborates in some detail. Finally, he mentions the Muslim belief that in heaven men will be given the 'most beautiful virgins'.

SIGNIFICANCE

With its detailed presentation of the Ottoman Empire and Islamic religious practices, Petančić's *Genealogia* represents a departure from the themes of 15th-century writers on Ottoman matters, who were more interested in presenting the origins and primordial barbarity of the Turks, and who based their knowledge on medieval and ancient authorities. By contrast, this work is an example of the new wave of literature which, as Margaret Meserve in her study *Empires of Islam in Renaissance political thought* (Cambridge MA, 2008) puts it, was more interested in 'tales of Ottoman dynastic intrigues, court ceremonials, and social customs' (p. 241). Feliks Petančić was one of the intermediaries who transmitted this information further west. As he describes his credentials in the epilogue of the first redaction of *Genealogia*: 'These are the things that I have ascertained by careful investigation about the Empire of the Turks during my long travels; for indeed, my city, Dubrovnik, which is located on their borders, conducts a lot of business with these peoples.' Unlike *Quibus itineribus Turci sint aggrendendi*, where he passes off someone else's work as his own, *Genealogia* seems to represent the sum of information he himself had collected on the state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire at the time.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Lat. 3522 (1520s; Johannes Cuspinianus's MS which includes a copy of the first redaction)

MS Venice, Museo Correr Civico – Cicogna 1246 (16th century; a copy of the first redaction)

MS Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár – Lat. 378 (1502; second condensed redaction and dedication copy presented to Vladislav II)

For a more detailed discussion of these, see Kniewald, *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela*, pp. 58-70.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Konrad Adelman, *De origine, ordine et militari disciplina Magni Turcae domi forisque habita Libellus*, Haguenau, 1530 (*editio princeps* of the first redaction by Adelman, a canon of Augsburg Cathedral)

Four more editions appeared before the end of the 16th century. For a more detailed discussion of the editions of the work, see Kniewald, *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela*, pp. 70-8

STUDIES

Pertusi, *Martino Segono di Novo Brdo vescovo di Dulcigno*, pp. 67-71

Kniewald, *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela*, pp. 58-78

Kniewald, 'Dubrovčanin Feliks Petančić o ratovanju s Turcima 1502'

Luka Špoljarić

Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic

DATE OF BIRTH 1450
PLACE OF BIRTH Kadaň, Bohemia
DATE OF DEATH 21 January 1517
PLACE OF DEATH Kadaň

BIOGRAPHY

Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic was born in 1450. He came from a noble family with estates located around the town of Kadaň in north-western Bohemia. The Lobkovic family had been given Hasištejn castle by King Wenceslas IV in 1418 as a reward for services provided by Mikuláš (I) Chudý z Lobkovic. Jan was one of four sons, and his brother Bohuslav 'was one of the leading lights of Czech Humanism, wrote both philosophical and literary works, and amassed an impressive library at Hasištejn castle' (Lisy-Wagner, *Islam*, p. 25).

Jan was a staunch Catholic, a confessional position that is noteworthy because he was also a loyal supporter of Jiří z Poděbrad (George of Poděbrady), the preferred choice as ruler of Bohemia of the Utraquist party, which favoured the taking of communion in both kinds. In this he was probably following his father, who had supported Poděbrad in his conflict with Matthias Corvinus, the Catholic king of Hungary.

Much of Jan's life was devoted to overseeing the family's estates, and it was not until 1493 that he began his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. The travelogue that documents his journey to the Holy Land was not his only literary creation, as he also composed a piece of advice, or didactic, literature, for his son, Jaroslav. Jan died on 21 January 1517.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Práwdivý český Mentor. Urozený pán Jan z Lobkowic a z Hasnssteyna eč. toto synu swému Panu Jaroslawowi dal k správě, a naučenj, co činiti, a co nechati, ano y kterak se w čem chowati má. stalo se léta od narozenj Pána Krysta tisýcýho, pětistýho, čtvrtého, Prague, 1796

F.B. Květ (ed.), *Urozeného pán. Pan Jan z Lobkowic a z Hasištejně zpráva a naučení jeho synu Jaroslawovi o tom, co činiti, a co nechati, a kterak se a pokud v čem zachovati má, dle Roudnického rukopisu, Prague, 1851*

- F. Strejček (ed.), *Jana Hasištejnského z Lobkovic Putování k svatému hrobu*, Prague, 1902
 F.A. Maleček (ed.), *Putování k svatému hrobu*, Prague, 1907

Secondary

- L. Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity and the making of Czech identity, 1453-1683*, Farnham, 2013, pp. 24-31, 34, 39-41, 43, 48, 170
 L. Lisy-Wagner, 'Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic. A fifteenth-century Czech traveler to the Mediterranean world', *Review of Middle East Studies* 46 (2012) 72-8
 T. Rataj, *České země ve stínu púlměsíce. Obraz Turka v raně novověké literatuře v českých zemích*, Prague, 2002, pp. 116, 259, 303
 J. Fencl, *Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic*, Ústí nad Labem, Czech Republic, 1982
 Z. Tobolka et al., *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisku od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. Století*, Prague, 1925-67, vol. 4, p. 316
 F. Strejček, 'Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic', in Strejček, *Jana Hasištejnského z Lobkovic*, pp. vii-xxiii
 F. Strejček, 'Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic ve svém spise', in Strejček, *Jana Hasištejnského z Lobkovic*, pp. xxiv-xxx
 F. Strejček, 'Sloh Lobkovicův', in Strejček, *Jana Hasištejnského z Lobkovic*, pp. xxxi-xxxii
 J. Jungmann, *Historie literatury České*, Prague, 1849, p. 75, no. 226

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Putování k Svatému Hrobu, 'A pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre'

DATE 1505

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Czech

DESCRIPTION

In Strejček's scholarly edition, this travelogue is 110 pages long, and in Maleček's slightly later edition (in which the spelling is updated) it is 152 pages. Both are based on a 1515 version of Lobkovic's work.

As would be expected, Lobkovic gives details of the principle places he travels through on his journey to Jerusalem and the distances between them, and he also goes to great lengths to record the other pilgrims, noting some 137 of them, including other Czechs, Germans, French, English and Spanish (Lisy-Wagner, *Islam*, p. 25).

Despite being a piece of travel writing, the work also functions as a description of interactions between various religious and ethnic groups. Lobkovic was a devout Catholic, though his attitude towards Islam was not as antagonistic as one might expect. He sees the eastern

Mediterranean as a region ‘that can have conflict and difference within itself but which is interconnected and interdependent’ (Lisy-Wagner, *Islam*, p. 25; Lisy-Wagner, ‘Jan Hasištejnský’, p. 73). ‘It is a place of tolerance, where different people coexist, and at times and in places, a site of hybridity. He paints this picture through his discussions of political conflicts, economic interdependence, and cultural or religious markers of identity’ (Lisy-Wagner, *Islam*, p. 25; Lisy-Wagner, ‘Jan Hasištejnský’, p. 75). Necessarily, this situation includes the ruling Ottomans as well as Christians of various persuasions, both those resident in the area and those, like Lobkovic, who were only passing through.

SIGNIFICANCE

What is most striking about Lobkovic’s travelogue is his lack of antagonism towards Muslims. Of course, he does not write in the post-Mohács world, a world reeling from the disastrous Hungarian defeat by the Ottomans in 1526 and with Vienna under siege, though it is an age in which Ottoman military aggression was very real. South-eastern Europe had already been the setting for many battles between the Ottomans, who were intent on making incursions into central Europe, and Christians, who saw themselves as defenders of the so-called bulwark of Christendom. Lobkovic is well aware of the region’s troubled history, and he refers to various conflicts, sieges and so on, yet he does not appear to see the conflict in terms of Christians and Muslims. He is more interested in the notion of the eastern Mediterranean ‘as a unit separate from northern Europe’ (Lisy-Wagner, *Islam*, p. 27; Lisy-Wagner, ‘Jan Hasištejnský’, p. 73), a view that resembles the interpretation of modern historiography.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Prague, National Library – XVII A 13 (1515; given as XVII A 13 by Strejček, ‘Jan Hasištejnský’, p. xxii, but as XVII A 2 by Tobolka, *Knihopis*, iv, p. 316)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Maleček, *Putování k Svatému Hrobu* (modern Czech)
 Strejček, *Jana Hasištejnského z Lobkovic Putování k Svatému Hrobu* (old Czech)

STUDIES

Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity and the making of Czech identity*
 Lisy-Wagner, ‘Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic’
 Rataj, *České země ve stínu pŕlměšice*

Strejček, 'Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic'

Strejček, 'Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic ve svém spise', pp. xxiv-xxx

Strejček, 'Sloh Lobkovicův', pp. xxxi-xxxii

Chris Nicholson

Mihály Szabatkai

Mikhael de Zabatke

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably mid or late 15th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Szabadka (present-day Subotica in Serbia)
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; probably mid-16th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Mihály Szabatkai. He must have been a *familiaris*, a household nobleman, of Péter Beriszló, and according to his name, which means 'from Szabadka', he must have come from the southern Hungarian town that is now Subotica in Serbia. He was a *litteratus*, as he calls himself (in Hungarian *deák*), and he gives the exact date of the inception of his poem as 23 April 1515, St George's day – the allusion to the patron of crusading is beyond question. The *Cantio Petri Berizlo* is the only work he is known to have written.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- R. Gerézdi, *A magyar világi líra kezdetei* [The beginnings of Hungarian secular lyrics], Budapest, 1962
J. Ábel, 'Beriszló Péter énekéhez' [On the song of Péter Beriszló], *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlemények* 12 (1888) 529-34

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Cantio Petri Berislo, 'The song of Péter Beriszló'

DATE 23 April 1515
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Hungarian

DESCRIPTION

The whereabouts of the original work are unknown. A copy was found in Vienna in the 19th century, and a partial facsimile edition was made by Jenő Ábel in the 1880s, but there is no precise knowledge about where the original copy is held.

The poem is about Péter Beriszló (in Croatian Petar Berislavić, originating from a Trogir/Trau Dalmatian patrician family), a prominent leader in the anti-Ottoman struggle in early 16th-century Hungary and Croatia. It relates that he was originally a cleric and followed an ecclesiastical career, and was then elevated to the royal court and served as secretary to the king, Ladislaus II Jagiellon (1490-1516), taking part in a number of diplomatic missions. In 1507, he became provost of Székesfehérvár, then in 1512 bishop of Veszprém. He was appointed to a series of powerful offices along the frontier with the Ottomans to replace inept and negligent secular nobles. Combining military and financial resources, he was able not only to resist the Ottoman advance but also to direct counter-attacks against them in Bosnia. It was largely thanks to him that the Ottomans achieved no major successes in the 1510s along the Hungarian border. In the poem, he is celebrated as a hero feared by the Turks and the hope of Christians.

The main story is about the Turkish *sanjak-bey* of Szendrő/Smeređevo, Serbia, who is taken captive by Beriszló following a skirmish. He is utterly ashamed to be captured by a cleric, and would rather be killed so that he can go to heaven. He admits that his rule over the Christians in his *sanjak* 'is not fit for those of the true faith', and he confesses that he extorted and stole while he was in office and deserves his fate in prison. He is even doubtful about his Muslim faith and about his God, asking whether he can save him. His character serves as a counter to Beriszló, who by contrast is resilient and steadfast in his faith. The Turk declares that God is on the side of the Christians: 'Many gods [understood as a reference to the Trinity] live in Hungary who help the priest-*ban* with courage, valour, wealth, gains and money.' Thus, the Turk himself is doomed to his imprisonment, because his God seems to have abandoned him, and there is no use fighting against these enemies. Even though the Turks make attacks along the frontier, they fail because providence is on the side of their enemies.

SIGNIFICANCE

The poem is sometimes seen as having a political objective, or even as being a political song. It starts with a warning: all people 'should be grieved at the danger of the bishop', since while he continues to be aided by God 'never will an Ottoman emperor rule over his head'. This 'peril' or 'danger' must refer to a reversal, injury or lost battle, and Szabatkai seeks to stir up the reluctant Croatian lords to fight, and not to let their leader suffer a single failure. This is a major motif throughout the poem: the Hungarians should not fear the Ottoman threat, but it is the Ottomans

who should be afraid because the Hungarians have their warrior-bishop at their head. (In another interpretation, the first line is understood as 'you Hungarians should be grieved at the loss of the bishop', following the news of his death in 1515.)

The references to Péter Beriszló waging war because he could not bear to see the loss of Christian lives, and also fighting at his own expense, are an implicit criticism of the king and the nobility. A characteristic adjective used of him is 'furious' and 'wrathful', which might refer to his being the scourge of God as a missionary led by 'divine providence'. He is to set an example to the nation, because 'only those who are true in their faith can win over the heathen'. This recalls crusading ideology: only a true-born, chaste and honourable crusader is to gain victory.

MANUSCRIPTS

Ábel, 'Beriszló Péter énekéhez' (partial facsimile edition, taken from the lost original)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

E. Madas (ed.), *Szöveggyűjtemény a régi magyar irodalom történetéhez* [Collection of texts for the history of early Hungarian literature], Budapest, 1991, pp. 542-3

Á. Szilády (ed.), *Régi magyar költők tára* [Old Hungarian poets], Budapest, 1877, vol. 1, p. 204 (a fragment)

F. Toldy, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom története* [History of national literature], Pest, 1851, vol. 2, p. 1034 (a fragment)

STUDIES

Gerézdi, *A magyar világi líra kezdetei*

C. Horváth (ed.), *Középkori magyar verseink* [Our medieval poems], Budapest, 1921, pp. 485-9

L. Zolnai, *Nyelvemlékeink a könyvnyomtatás koráig* [Our language monuments down to the age of printing], Budapest, 1894

Á. Szilády, 'Cantio Petri Berislo 1515', *Századok* 13 (1879) 336-44

Attila Barany

Maciej z Miechowa

Maciej Miechowita, Maciej Carpiga (Karpiga)

DATE OF BIRTH 1457
PLACE OF BIRTH Miechów
DATE OF DEATH 8 September 1523
PLACE OF DEATH Kraków

BIOGRAPHY

Maciej z Miechowa was the son of Stanisław Carpiga (Karpiga). He completed his studies at the University of Kraków between 1474 and 1478, obtaining his Master's degree in philosophy in 1479. In 1482-3 he was head of the cathedral school at Wawel (a hill in Kraków where the cathedral stands next to the royal castle), then he completed medical studies in Italy and obtaining a doctorate. He was ordained on his return to Poland in 1488.

He travelled a great deal (1499-1500 to Rome; 1504 to Hungary, among others), making notes of his travels, mainly about historical matters. He was known as a very socially-minded and generous man, and was called 'a great benefactor' of schooling and education. He funded new schools restored others, and he endowed scholarships for poor young people. He was also rector of the University of Kraków eight times between 1501 and 1519. He died in Kraków, and was buried on Wawel hill.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- S. Starowolski, *Scriptorum Polonicorum Hekatonas*, Frankfurt, 1625; Venice, 1627² (expanded); Frankfurt, 1644³; Breslau/Wrocław, 1734⁴ in *Tractatus tres*
S. Starowolski, *Laudatio Academiae Cracoviensis*, Cracoviae, 1638
S. Starowolski, *Monumenta Sarmatarum*, Cracoviae, 1655
L. Krakowiecka, *Maciej z Miechowa. Lekarz i uczony Odrodzenia*, Warszawa, 1956 (reprint of fragments from S. Starowolski)
H. Barycz, 'Wstęp', in H. Barycz (ed.), *Maciej z Miechowa 1457-1523 Historyk, geograf, lekarz organizator nauki*, Wrocław, 1960, 1-317

Secondary

- Art. 'Maciej z Miechowa', in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, Lublin 1971-2014, vol. 11, cols 710-13

- L. Hajdukiewicz, art. 'Maciej z Miechowa', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Wrocław, 1974, vol. 19, fasc. 80, pp. 28-33
- Art. 'Maciej z Miechowa', in R. Pollak et al. (eds), *Bibliografia literatury polskiej. 'Nowy Korbut'. Piśmiennictwo staropolskie. Hasta osobowe A-M*, Warsaw, 1964, 518-22

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis; Polskie wypisanie dwojej krainy świata, 'Treatise on the two Sarmatias, Asian and European, and what is found in them'

DATE 31 November 1517

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Miechowa states his purpose in composing this work it as follows: 'As the Portuguese king revealed the southern part of the world as far as India and the lands inhabited by people on the shores of the Ocean, so let the northern part of the world with people living on the shores of the Northern Ocean and further east be brought before the eyes of all people.' The multi-layered work contains accounts of the lands and peoples of the eastern parts of Europe. It includes lengthy geographical descriptions and refers to local customs. It also reflects on new powers such as Ottoman Turkey and the Duchy of Moscow. It devotes much attention to the Mongols (*Potowcy*) and Tatars, people living on the steppes, aiming to present the Tatars as people from various origins and to show the derivation of the Slavic peoples from the Scythians and Sarmatians, and thus to underline their closeness to the rest of Europe. Miechowa also tries to show the ancient origin of the Poles.

Thanks to the accuracy and meticulousness of its description of eastern regions (at least by contemporary standards), Miechowa's work raised great interest and was published in more than 20 editions, from the first in Kraków in 1517 to Italian and Dutch editions.

It consists of two books divided into treatises, three in Book 1 and two in Book 2, each further divided into chapters.

The first treatise of Book 1 contains a description of Sarmatia and the genesis of the Tatars, and goes on to describe Batu Khan's campaign of 1241, including the Tatar raid on Poland and Hungary, and the extent of

the destruction caused. Book 1, ch. 5 bears the title: 'The way Pope Innocent IV sent a diplomatic mission to the Tatar khan with a request that the latter would not persecute Christians, and the way the khan accepted the faith of Mahomet'. This chapter reveals the scarcity of the information to which Miechowa had access and the weakness of his sources, for he wrongly introduces details about Judaism, and seems badly informed about Islam. After the pope's envoys were dismissed, he writes, the Saracens came to the khan and offered him Islam, which he accepted. 'And that is why they accepted this religion and not any other. And when they say *Eissa Rocholla*, i.e. Jesus is the spirit of the Lord [*Īsā rūḥ Allāh*], and Mahomet the *Rossola*, i.e. Mahomet is God's justice [as opposed to God's messenger, *rasūl*], they give evidence that they did not want to accept Jesus, the blessed spirit of God teaching to live spiritually, but they accepted the justice of God, i.e. the fleshy Mahomet indulging in filth like a carnal animal that the almighty God punishes in the abyss of punishments day and night. And thus the Tatars since that time have believed in Mahomet. They obey the Pentateuch of Moses, practise circumcision, respect the Mosaic law, and do not use bells but every day call 'illo illoh' [*lā ilāh ilā Allāh*], which means there is no god but God. They call themselves Ishmaelites, i.e. born of Ishmael, and they call Christians 'dzincis', i.e. pagans, and 'gaur', i.e. 'unbelievers without religion'. Like other Saracens they observe three feasts every year. 'Kuira' – offering-pesah – in commemoration of Isaac, when Abraham, the father of many nations, decided to kill him on God's order, is the first one. During the feast they offer rams and birds, etc. Another feast is dedicated to the souls of the dead, and then they visit the graves of their dead, they do works of charity and feed the poor. The third feast is celebrated in order to secure well-being and success. In order to celebrate the first feast they fast for 30 days, the second for a lunar month, and for the third one 12 days' (p. 36).

Subsequent chapters in this treatise are devoted to descriptions of customs followed by the Tatars and of the areas where they live between the Caspian Sea and the Volga and Don rivers.

The second treatise of Book 1 begins with a description of the ethnic groups living in Scythia, then called Tataria. Subsequent chapters deal with Goths, Alans, Vandals, Svens and Yurghs.

The third treatise of Book 1 begins with a description of the Turks from the time of their arrival in the lands of the Goths and the beginning of the Ottoman rise to power. In ch. 2, Miechowa returns to the origins

of the Perekop Tatars and continues the description of the Kazan and Nogai Tatars.

In the first treatise of Book 2, the first chapter opens with a description of Ruthenia (Rus'), its component regions and their riches. Chapter 2 is devoted to Lithuania and Samogitia (Žemaitija, Żmudź), and ch. 3 to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This chapter contains not only a detailed geographical description of the country, including the distances between the main urban settlements, but also descriptions of its inhabitants and their customs. Religious matters are not discussed in great detail: Miechowa states that Catholics live there, adds a long account of the reasons for accepting Christianity, and indicates that there are also Greek Orthodox Christian Ruthenians. 'In addition, in the Duchy of Lithuania there are Tatars near Vilnius, where they live in their own villages. They till the land, as we do, work and transport goods, and all go to war on the orders of the Lithuanian prince, though they speak Tatar and venerate Mahomet because they belong to the Saracen religion' (p. 71).

The second treatise of Book 2 begins with a description of the Duchy of Moscow, while the last chapter contains geographical descriptions of Scythia, Perm, Bashkiria, Yurghia, Karelia and the lands conquered and incorporated into the duchy.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work was the first to give such a broad and detailed description of eastern Europe. Miechowa devotes much space to geographical descriptions of river systems, lakes and mountain ranges, often completely unknown to his readers, or mistakenly situated on earlier maps. The attractive way in which this unknown world is presented explains the popularity of the work, signified by multiple editions in different parts of Europe. However, it is not devoid of mistakes and misrepresentations. Miechowa sometimes mixes up elements of Islam and Judaism, though it should be underlined that he pays little attention to religious issues.

Miechowa's work was used for centuries because, despite its shortcomings, it was innovative in approach and contained a description of the world as seen at the beginning of the 16th century.

It is worth underlining that Miechowa acknowledges the existence of Muslims, though he is not judgmental about them but treats them objectively: the Tatars, for example, are 'pagans' and live near Vilnius (today the Łukiszki district of the city and surrounding areas such as Niemież) and they speak Tatar. The issue of language is intriguing, because it is unclear whether he meant that the Tatars spoke in a distinct language

(these Tatar settlers still used a variety of dialects in the 16th century) or that they prayed in Arabic. It is obvious from his earlier descriptions that he had heard Muslim prayers himself.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Opis Sarmacji Azjatyckiej i Europejskiej oraz tego, co się w nich znajduje, wstęp Henryk Barycz, z łacińskiego przetoczył i komentarzem opatrzył Tadeusz Bieńkowski, a postowie napisał Waldemar Voisé, Wrocław, 1972* (edition based on the 1521 publication, complemented by a letter to Stanisław Turzon, bishop of Olomouc (Ołomuniec), attached to the first edition of 1517 and omitted in later ones)
- T. Bieńkowski, 'Maciej Miechowita, Traktat o dwu Sarmacjach', *Meander* 13 (1958) 433-44 (selections from the preface, ch. 2.2 (on Lithuania) and Epist. ad Hallerum 1, translated into Polish from the 1517 edition)
- S. Kondratiew and A. Wazniecowa, *Aula lingua latinae. Kniga dla cztienija po łatinskomu jazyku*, Moscow, 1950 (selections from the Latin text)
- S.A. Anninskij, *Matwiej Miechowskij Traktat o dwóch Sarmatijach*, Moscow, 1936
- S. Vrtel-Wierczyński, *Wybór tekstów staropolskich*, Lwów, 1930; Warsaw, 1950²; 1963³ (selections from the Polish trans.)
- R.K. Kossowicz (trans.), *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis*, St Petersburg, 1855 (Russian trans.)
- W. Mitzler de Kolof, *Historiarum Poloniae et...Lithuaniae scriptorum... collectio*, vol. 1, Varsoviae, 1761, 177-216
- J. Pistorius, *Polonicae historiae corpus*, vol. 1, Basel, 1582, pp. 121-50 (reprinted)
- Historia delle due Sarmatie*, trans. Ainnibal Maggi, in J.B. Ramusio, *Navigazzioni e viaggi*, Venice, 1550, (Italian trans.)
- Epitome orbis terrarium*, Venice, 1542
- Andrzej Glaber z Kobylina, *Polskie wypisanie dwojej krainy świata*, Kraków, 1535, 1541², 1545³ (Polish trans.)
- 'Zwei Büchlein... von beeden Sarmatiis', in *Die new Welt*, Strasburg, 1534, pp. 153-69 (fragments of German trans.)
- S. Grynaeus, *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum*, Basel, 1532, pp. 483-531; Basel, 1537², 1582³
- Descriptio Sarmatarum Asianae et Europianae et eorum, quae in eis continentur*, Cracoviae, 1521 (corrected and amended by Miechowa)

Tractat von beiden Sarmatien, trans. J. Mair von Eckh, Augsburg, 1518
(German trans.)

*Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis, Asiana et Europiana, et de contentis in
eis*, Cracoviae, 1517, Augsburg, 1518, 1519² (poor edition)

Information about reprints is given in K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia
polska*, Kraków, 1872-1908, vol. 22, pp. 359-60.

B. Olszewicz (*Geografia polska w okresie Odrodzenia*, Warsaw, 1957,
p. 24) refers to a Dutch translation that is currently untraceable.

STUDIES

S.M. Kuczyński, 'Miechowita jako historyk', *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów
Nauki Polskiej. Seria A*, 7 (1965) 3-45

K. Głombiowski, *Traktat o dwóch Sarmacjach i Kronika polska Macieja
z Miechowa na Śląsku*, Wrocław, 1961

L. Hajdukiewicz, 'Przyczynki do życia i twórczości Macieja z Miechowa',
in H. Barycz (ed.), *Maciej z Miechowa 1457-1523. Historyk, geograf,
lekarz, organizator nauki*, Wrocław, 1960, 255-304

L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka Macieja z Miechowa*, Wrocław, 1960

H. Barycz (re-ed.), *Maciej z Miechowa 1457-1523. Historyk, geograf,
lekarz, organizator nauki, Monografie z dziejów nauki i techniki t.
XV*, Wrocław, 1960

L. Krakowiecka, *Maciej z Miechowa. Lekarz i uczony Odrodzenia*, War-
saw, 1956 (reprint of selections from the works of S. Starowolski)

Artur Konopacki

Stephanus Taurinus

Taurinus István, Stephanus Taurinus de Switawia,
Stephanus Taurinus Olomucensis, Stieröxel, Stieröchsel,
Stephanus de Stierochsel

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1480 and 1485
PLACE OF BIRTH Olomouc, Moravia / Svitavy
DATE OF DEATH 1519
PLACE OF DEATH Sibiu

BIOGRAPHY

After the death of Matthias Corvinus, the relations that Hungarians had maintained with Italian humanists gave way to new relations with Vienna. This move corresponds with the Habsburgs' efforts to expand their influence. In this changing situation, many Saxon humanists turned to Vienna, among them Stephanus Taurinus, who went to study at the university there with help from his relative, Martinus Iglaviensis, and also from Augustinus Olomucensis and Szaniszló Thurzó. In Vienna, he became a jurist. He was also passionately interested in humanism, thanks to the Premonstratensian education he had received between 1500 and 1501 at Olomouc, where as a young man he had also frequented cultural circles. In Vienna, he found patrons who would later be the most important supporters of his *Stauromachia*. These were George of Brandenburg-Ansbach and Tamás Bakócz.

In the autumn of 1511, Taurinus accompanied Bakócz first on his way to Esztergom, Bakócz's main residence, and shortly afterwards, in October, on a diplomatic trip to Rome, where they stayed for one-and-a-half years. They returned to Hungary on 6 November 1513 with a bull written by Pope Julius II requesting the Hungarians to lead a crusade against the Turks. This crusade did not turn out as expected: under the leadership of György Dózsa (or as he is called in *Stauromachia*, György Székely), it turned into a peasants' revolt, so that the planned confrontation with the Turks quickly became a civil war. Later, Bakócz was blamed for the unfortunate outcome, but Taurinus remained loyal to him, which is apparent in *Stauromachia*.

Taurinus was first a diplomat and only then a poet. He wrote a few occasional poems, and took part in editing and publishing the correspondence

of Augustinus Olomucensis and Ioachim Vadianus. He was made a canon and vicar in Alba Iulia, and there he completed *Stauromachia*. He fell sick as it was about to be printed in 1519. He went to Sibiu and died there in 1519, shortly before his major work was published.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Stephani Taurini Stauromachia, id est cruciatorum servile bellum, Vienna, 1519

Secondary

S.V. Kovács, *Eszmetörténet és régi magyar irodalom*, Budapest, 1987

L. Juhász (ed.), *Stauromachia id est cruciatorum servile bellum*, trans. L. Geréb, Budapest, 1944, 1972², pp. iii-v ('De vita operibusque Stephani Taurini Olomucensis')

J. Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái, XIII*, Budapest, 1909, p. 43

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Stauromachia id est cruciatorum servile bellum;
Stauromachia, 'Stauromachia, the servile war of
the crusaders'

DATE 1519

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Taurinus wrote *Stauromachia*, his major work on the subject of the peasants' revolt of 1514, between 1515 and 1519. He started it following a discussion with Szaniszló Thurzó concerning the way in which Taurinus should write down what he had seen as a close observer of the events; he continued it in Esztergom and Buda and finished it in Alba Iulia. It was first published after his death in 1519, with a dedication to George, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach. The published edition contains the five books of *Stauromachia* in 38 pages, and an index in a further 19 pages. This edition was prepared by Taurinus himself based on the manuscript, which is now lost but is mentioned in the preface.

Stauromachia was the third epic written in Hungarian, after Janus Pannonius's two panegyrics. Among the sources Taurinus used were the *Batrachomyomachia*, attributed to Homer, with which it shares its mock-heroic character, and Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which it resembles in not having

a protagonist. Taurinus also mentions other poets, among them Vergil, Catullus, Martial, Horace, Ovid and Juvenal.

In the first book, Archbishop Tamás Bakócz announces the contents of the papal bull that calls for the crusade, Dózsa makes his first speech to the peasants, and they begin to rise in revolt because, as Taurinus makes clear, they object to the burdens this will impose on them. (It is no coincidence that the epic was later interpreted as though it was concerned with Communism.) In the second and third books, Vladislaus II calls together the noblemen, and István Báthori, Miklós Csáki and Imre Perényi make speeches, as well as György Dózsa, who was to lead the crusade. The ensuing Battle of Nagylak, in which the peasants put the noblemen to flight, is described in some detail. In the fourth and fifth books, the final Battle of Timișoara is described, after which the king turns against the peasants.

SIGNIFICANCE

Taurinus wrote his epic to flatter the noblemen of Hungary, and in consequence it is a one-sided account of internal hostilities. He shows few explicit concerns for the threat from the Ottomans, although he does castigate Hungarian leaders who he sees wasting time on a civil war instead of fighting the real enemy outside the borders; as László Geréb notes (*Paraszti háború*, p. 3), the Battle of Mohács in 1526 had the same causes of internal squabbling. On the other hand, László Jankovits ('Aranykor a Mohács előtti Magyarországon') points to what he sees as the epic's final outcome, which is Taurinus's vision of how King Louis II, who was at the time still a child, would be the one to save Hungary and Europe from the Turks.

When he does make reference to the Turks, Taurinus mostly uses ideas familiar from the time. For example, György Dózsa in his speech at Cegléd in Book 1 states that the Hungarians are the chosen nation to defeat them.

Stauromachia influenced the poetry of Márton Nagyszombati, Gergely Gyöngyösi, Miklós Istvánffy, Christianus Schaeseus, Bálint Szikszai Hellopeus and Miklós Zrínyi (Csonka, 'A Stauromachia'). Historians have also used it as a source, even though most of the information in it is historically inaccurate, as Jenő Szűcs ('Dózsa parasztháborújának ideológiája') and others have warned.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Paraszti háború, Hősköltemény, melyet az 1514. esztendőbeli Magyarországon dúló nagyszerű és véres eseményekről megírt, és öt évvel később kinyomattatott Taurinus István, most pedig a latin verseket az eredeti mérték szerint magyarul megszólaltatta és minden magyarok elébe bocsájtotta Geréb László, with a preface by S. Gergely Sándor and L Geréb, Budapest, 1946

Juhász, *Stauromachia id est cruciatorum servile bellum*

S. Márki, 'Dósa első költője', *Katholikus Szemle* 3 (1889) 210-43 (translated excerpts)

Stephani Tavrini Olomvcensis, *Stauromachia id est cruciatorum servile bellum, qd' anno ab orbe redempto post sesquimillesimum quartodecimo & Pannoniam & collimitaneas prouincias ualde miserabiliter depopulauerat, In quinque libros summatim digestum, Eiusdem index eorum quae in hoc opere uisa sunt annotatu digniora, Impresum Viennae Pannoniae per Ioannem Singenium, 1519*

STUDIES

L. Jankovits and L. Szörényi, 'A megíratlan és a megírt tárgyú magyar eposz, 1519. Megjelenik Stephanus Taurinus Stauromachiája', in M. Szegedy-Maszák (ed.), *A magyar irodalom története*, Budapest, 2008², 195-203

L. Jankovits, 'Aranykor a Mohács előtti Magyarországon. Taurinus Stauromachiájának felépítéséhez', in I. Bitskey and S. Oláh (eds), *Religió, retorika, nemzettudat régi irodalmunkban*, Debrecen, 2004, 74-82

P. Kulcsár, *Inventarium de operibus litterariis ad res Hungaricas pertinentiis ab initiis usque ad annum 1700*, Budapest, 2003, pp. 530-31

L. Szörényi, 'Neolatin Dózsa-eposz. Homéroszi paródia és lucanuszi történeti irónia', in L. Szörényi (ed.), *Philologica Hungarolatina*, Budapest, 2002, 51-64

L. Szörényi, 'L'influenza della Farsaglia di Lucano sull'epopea Tardo-Umanista Latina in Ungheria. Stephanus Taurinus: Stauromachia', *Neohelicon* 27 (2000) 97-111

F. Csonka, 'A Stauromachia utóélete a magyar szépirodalomban', in J. Jankovics (ed.), *Klaniczay-émlékkönyv*, Budapest, 1994, 143-67

S.V. Kovács, 'A Dózsa-háború humanista eposza', in S.V. Kovács (ed.), *Eszmetörténet és régi magyar irodalom*, Budapest, 1987, 428-68

J. Szűcs, 'Dózsa parasztháborújának ideológiája', in J. Szűcs (ed.), *Nemzet és történelem*, Budapest, 1974, 603-66

- G. Barta and A. Fekete Nagy, *Parasztháború 1514-ben*, Budapest, 1973
- F. Csonka, 'A Dózsa-forradalom első eposzának fordítása', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*... (1972) 653-80
- F. Babinger, 'Der mährische Humanist Stephan Taurinus und sein Kreis', *Südost-Forschungen* 13 (1954) 62-93
- Z. Császár, *A Stauromachia antik és humanista forrásai*, Budapest, 1937
- S. Márki, *Dózsa György, Magyar Történelmi Társulat*, Budapest, 1913
- Márki, 'Dósa első költője'
- J. Kemény, 'A Dózsa-pórhad egykorú emléke', *Új Magyar Múzeum* (1857) 449-53

Borbála Sörös

Gabriel, superior of Mount Athos

Gavriēl ho prōtos; Gavril Protul

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably between 1470 and 1480
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably after 1548
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably Mount Athos

BIOGRAPHY

Gabriel's origins are obscure. Some scholars argue that he was a Greek with a very good command of Church Slavonic, while others consider him a South-Slav (Serbian) with an excellent command of Greek. Nothing is known for certain about his family or early years. There is some evidence to indicate that he began his monastic life in the monastery of Kaproullē on Mount Athos (1500-1), and it is likely that he knew St Patriarch Nēphōn (d. 1508). In 1515, Gabriel became the *prōtos* (superior) of the Athonite monastic community, a position he held five times between 1515 and 1539. In this capacity, he also bore the title of *protosynkellos* (first secretary) of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which shows that he was involved in the most important ecclesiastical affairs of his time.

Gabriel had good relations with Prince Neagoe Basarab of Wallachia (1512-21), whose personality and deeds he praises in the *Vita* of Saint Nēphōn. At Neagoe's request, the *prōtos* came to Wallachia at the head of a large Athonite delegation and inaugurated the monastery of Curtea de Argeș, the prince's main religious foundation (15 August 1517). It was perhaps on this occasion that Neagoe and the influential clan of Craiovescu, his main allies, commissioned Gabriel to write Nēphōn's *Vita*, because they had a special liking for the saint. Good relations between Gabriel and Wallachia continued after Neagoe's death, as is proven by the important gifts and grants that the Wallachian princes and nobles donated to the Athos monasteries. It is almost certain that Gabriel also had connections with Russia, as several literary works attributed to him are found in Russian manuscripts.

Gabriel was a well-known apologist and theologian. In this capacity, he was consulted by King John Zápolya of Hungary (r. 1526-40), on the teachings of Martin Luther. An exchange between the two men is

documented in two letters written in Church Slavonic: *The second epistle of János Zápolya to prōtos Gabriel on Martin Luther's doctrine* (1533-4), and Gabriel's reply in *The second epistle of Gabriel to János Zápolya*. A number of scholars have also attributed other works to him, notably the translation into Church Slavonic of the *patria* of Mount Athos and some liturgical texts, but in these cases more conclusive arguments are needed to ascertain Gabriel's authorship.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See the documents listed in D. Papachryssanthou, *Ho Athōnikos monachismos. Archēs kai organōsē*, Athens, 1992, pp. 388-93

Secondary

- M. Tsibranska-Kostova and I. Biliarsky, 'Patria Athonensia and Ot'ch'stvīte svētyie gorie. A 16th century Slavonic source about the Zographou Monastery', *Scripta & e-Scripta* 12 (2013) 41-56, pp. 42-6
- D. Radoslavova, 'Towards the portrait of Gabriel, the Athonite *protos* of the first half of the sixteenth century. The Russian connection', in M. Joković et al. (eds), *Love of learning and devotion to God in Orthodox monasteries (5th International Hilandar Conference)*, Belgrade-Columbus, 2006, 191-7
- A.A. Turilov, art. 'Gavriil', in *Pravoslavnaĭa Ėnĭsiklopedīa*, Moscow, 2005, vol. 10, pp. 205-6
- K. Pavlikianov, *Slavoi monachoi sto Hagion Oros apo ton 10 hōs ton 17 aiōna*, Thessaloniki, 2002, pp. 42-5, 156-7, 268-9
- K. Chrysochoidēs, 'Paradoseis kai pragmatikotētes sto Hagio Oros sta telē tou 15 kai stis archēs tou 16 aiōna', in *Ho Athōs stous 140-160 aiōnes*, Athens, 1997, pp. 128-31
- D. Trifunović, *Stara srpska knjizhevnost*, Belgrade, 1994, p. 251
- Papachryssanthou, *Ho Athōnikos monachismos*, pp. 388-93
- P.Ș. Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains. Recherches sur leurs relations du milieu du XIV siècle à 1654*, Rome, 1986, pp. 287-8
- D. Papachryssanthou (ed.), *Actes de Prôtaton. Édition diplomatique*, Paris, 1975, pp. 144-6
- I.P. Mamalakēs, *To Hagion Oros (Athōs) dia meson tōn aiōnōn*, Athens, 1971, pp. 236-8, 243, 340, 345
- D. Zamfirescu, 'Gavriil Protul', in G. Mihăilă and D. Zamfirescu (eds), *Literatura română veche: 1402-1647*, Bucharest, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 60-5
- P.Ș. Năsturel, 'Recherches sur les rédactions gréco-roumaines de la "Vie de Saint Niphon II, Patriarche de Constantinople"', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 5 (1967) 41-77, pp. 45-6

- P.Ş. Năsturel, 'Aperçu critique des rapports de la Valachie et du Mont Athos des origines au début du XVI^e siècle', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 2 (1964) 93-126, pp. 116-17
- J. Darrouzès, 'Liste des protes de l'Athos', in *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963-1963. Études et mélanges*, Chevetogne, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 439-40
- D.P. Radojčić, 'Stare srpski pisci ruske narodnosti (od kraja XV do kraja XVII veka)', *Godišnjak Filozofskog Fakulteta u Novom Sadu* 5 (1960) 199-218, pp. 201-2
- D.P. Radojčić, 'Dva primera Ruvarčeve tačnosti (i Buna Smederevskog mitropolita Pavla. II. Spaljivanje Savinih moštiju)', in *Spomenica Ilarionu Ruvarcu*, Novi Sad (1955), pp. 125-7
- D.P. Radojčić, 'Drugo "poslanije" svetogorskog prote Gavriila ugarskom kralju Jovanu Zapolji (iz 1534 god.)', *Južnoslovenski Filolog* 22 (1957-8) 167-77
- V. Mošin, 'Svetogorski protat', *Starine* 43 (1951) 83-96, p. 95
- M.N. Tikhomirov, 'Istoricheskie svāzi russkogo naroda s ūzhnymi slavĭanami s drevneishikh vremen do poloviny XVII v.', in V.I. Pichety (ed.), *Slavĭanski sbornik*, Moscow, 1947, p. 193
- D.P. Radojčić, *Stare srpski književnici XIV-XVII veku*, Belgrade, 1942, pp. 41-2
- S. Matić, 'Pismo Gavrilovo o Luteru (petstogodišnjica pisma)', *Bogoslovije* 9 (1934) 5-17
- N.M. Popescu, 'Nifon II, patriarhul Constantinopolului', *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Sectiunii Istorice*, ser. 2 36 (1914) 761-96 (with the earlier bibliography)
- N.I. Petrov, 'Zapadno-russkiĭa polemicheskiĭa sochinnenĭa XVI veka', *Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii* 35 (1894) pp. 155-6, 160-2, 172-83

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vios kai politeia tou hosiou kai theophorou patros hēmōn Nēphōnos; Viața și traiul sfinției sale părintelui nostru Nifon; Viața sfântului Nifon,
 'The life and deeds of our venerable and
 God-inspired father Nēphōn'

DATE Probably between 1508 and 1520

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

The *Life* of St Nēphōn (in full, Greek *Vios kai politeia tou hosiou kai theophorou patros hēmōn Nēphōnos arkhiepiskopou Kōnstantinoupoleōs, askēsantos kata to hagiōnymon oros tou Athō en tē Monē tē kaloumenē tou*

Hagiou Dionysiou; Romanian *Viața și traiul sfinției sale părintelui nostru Nifon, patriarhul Țarigradului care au strălucit între multe patimi și ispite în Țarigrad și în Țara Muntenească; Viața și traiul sfinției sale părintelui nostru Nifon, patriarhul Țarigradului*) was presumably written at the instigation of Prince Neagoe Basarab of Wallachia and his allies, the noble family of Craiovescu, whose close relations with the saint are repeatedly mentioned in the text. Although it explicitly refers to Nēphōn II, Patriarch of Constantinople (1486-8, 1497-8) and Metropolitan of Wallachia (before 1506), the work is a hagiography not only of the saint but also of Prince Neagoe, who embodies the ideal ruler. In fact, one of the aims of the *Life* is to legitimate Neagoe's accession to power and justify the manner in which he eradicated the local dynasty with the help of the Ottomans. For this reason, Gabriel's work is also a (biased) chronicle of Wallachian history from 1504 to 1520, which explains why a revised version of it was later inserted into the *Chronicle of the Cantacuzenus family* (*Letopisețul cantacuzinesc*, 1650-80) and in the *Chronicle* compiled by Radu Popescu (around 1720).

Although no manuscript written in Gabriel's hand is known, scholars unanimously accept the authenticity of the text. The *Vita* exists in two versions, Greek and Romanian, with several variations. Some specialists maintain that the Romanian version is closer to the original, but discussions about the original language of composition are still unresolved. It is most likely that the *prōtos* wrote his work in Greek, the Romanian version being a paraphrase through a Slavonic intermediary.

The Greek prototype is apparently lost. The oldest Romanian manuscript is from 1682 (MS Bucharest, Library of the Romanian Academy – 464) and the oldest Greek one from 1754 (MS Mount Athos, Dionysiou monastery – 661). The Romanian version of the *Vita* is 39 leaves in length in the Bucharest MS, and 32 pages in Simedrea's edition, while the Greek version is 50 leaves in the Mount Athos MS, and 132 pages in Grecu's edition. Greek and Romanian manuscripts containing various versions of Gabriel's work circulated extensively from the 17th to the 19th century. In addition, some of these versions appeared in print, especially in liturgical books and hagiographical anthologies.

References to Islam are not very frequent, but they are revealing for the situation of the Orthodox Church during the first decades following the Ottoman conquest, as well as for relations between the Ottomans and the vassal principality of Wallachia.

As in other contemporary texts, the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and the Balkans is seen from a fatalistic perspective. In Gabriel's

view, the Ottomans are the 'iron stick' that God employed to admonish his sinful people and spur them to rediscover 'true wisdom'. If ordinary Christians were not able to grasp what occurred, men of God, nourished by biblical and patristic teaching, understood that a new era of 'Babylonian captivity' was about to begin. This was in many points the message given by the Ecumenical Patriarchate itself, as proved by the writings of Gennadius Scholarius, the first patriarch under Ottoman rule (d. c. 1472). In both cases, the idea was that Christians must endure Ottoman slavery in order to expiate their sins and win back God's grace. Consequently, the sultan was God's agent on earth, while the Church and its people had to obey him as they obeyed the Lord himself.

This explains why in Gabriel's text the sultan (*amira*, 'the Turkish emperor') appears to be the supreme (and legitimate) master of both the Ecumenical Church and the Wallachian princes. In fact, no real difference is indicated between the status of the patriarch, who was a kind of a Christian official of the empire, and that of the princes of Wallachia, who ruled over an autonomous principality under the sultan's suzerainty. Thus, the sultan had the right to appoint or dismiss patriarchs and princes at will and to interfere in their affairs. Moreover, the sultan's decisions were always right, even when they went against the protagonist of the *Vita*, St Nēphōn himself; in all cases, responsibility rested on various malevolent individuals who tried to mislead the 'emperor'.

Gabriel also sees the Ottoman local authorities as God's instruments. When the Craiovescu clan was persecuted by Prince Vlad the Young (r. 1510-12), they left the country and asked for justice from the local Ottoman governor (*pasha*) 'of the Danube'. Impelled by divine inspiration, and 'despite the fact that he was a pagan', the latter hastened to accomplish 'the right judgement', that is, to punish and execute the prince 'like Joab who had killed Absalom'.

Despite this, Gabriel has no sympathy for Islam and is equally hostile towards all religions and confessions other than Orthodoxy. When speaking of the miracles that Nēphōn accomplished, Gabriel emphasises that the saint saved (i.e. baptized) 4,000 'heretics' from the 'mouth of evil' and brought them to the 'true wisdom'. Among these he mentions Turks, Armenians and Latins, that is, precisely the same peoples who are constantly impugned by the contemporary Moldavian chroniclers, and doomed to damnation in the iconographical scenes of the Last Judgement on the walls of the monasteries in northern Moldavia.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nēphōn II was the first patriarch to be canonised after 1453. The fact that his *Life* was composed by the *prōtos* of Mount Athos enables us to consider the text as an expression of the official point of view of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Consequently, the message of submission that the *Vita* transmits proves that relatively soon after the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans the higher Orthodox authorities considered Ottoman rule over Christians to be fully legitimate.

The life of St Nēphōn is among the first hagiographical texts after the Ottoman conquest that provide information about the phenomenon of neomartyrs, which became widespread throughout the Greek world under Ottoman rule. In fact, the Greek versions of the *Life* give prominence to this, while the Romanian versions make only a few brief references.

Nēphōn's *Life* is a source of information on the conflicts and agreements that took place on the northern and western borders of the Ottoman Empire during the period preceding the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1521-66) and the fall of the Hungarian kingdom (1526).

MANUSCRIPTS

For the Greek MSS, see:

V. Grecu (ed.), *Viața Sfântului Nifon. O redacție grecească inedită*, Bucharest, 1944, pp. 5-23

Euthymios (Dionysiatēs), 'Symplērōmatikos katalogos Hellēnikōn cheirographōn Hieras Monēs Dionysiou Hagiou Orous', *Epetēris Hetairias Vyzantinōn Spoudōn* 27 (1957) 233-71, pp. 248-9, 256

Năsturel, 'Recherches sur les rédactions', pp. 46-51, 69-73

N.A. Veēs, *Ta cheirographa tōn Meteōrōn. Katalogos perigraphikos tōn cheirographōn kōdikōn tōn apokeimenōn eis tas monas tōn Meteōrōn. Ta cheirographa tēs Monēs Varlaam*, ed. D. Sophianos, Athens, 1984, pp. 144-6

M. Kakouros, 'Hē prōtē asmatikē akolouthia (ca 1514-1516) pros timēn tou hagiou Nēphōnos, ho ekei periechomenos synaxarikos Vios kai hoi neōteres akolouthies (190 ai.). Historia tēs paradosēs kai tēs leitourgikēs chrēsēs tōn keimenōn stēn I.M. Dionysiou apo tēn syntaxē tous eēs sēmera. Me tēn *editio princeps* tōn dyo morphōn tou synaxarikou Viou (se kritikē ekdosē)', in *Ho Hagios Nēphōn Patriarchēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs (1508-2008). Tomos epeteiakos epi tē symplērōsei pentakosiōn etōn apo tēs koimēsēōs autou*, Mount Athos, 2008, 307-25, pp. 309-11

For the Romanian MSS, see:

- I. Crăciun and A. Ilieș, *Repertoriul manuscriselor de cronici interne sec. XV–XVIII privind istoria României*, Bucharest, 1963, pp. 145-7
Năsturel, 'Recherches sur les rédactions', p. 42 and n. 9

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- D. Zamfirescu, 'Viața și traiul sfinției sale părintelui nostru Nifon patriarhul Țarigradului care au strălucit între multe patemi și ispite în Țarigrad și în Țara Muntenească. Scrisă de chir Gavriil protul, adecă mai marele Sfetagoriei', in G. Mihăilă and D. Zamfirescu (eds), *Literatura română veche: 1402-1647*, Bucharest, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 66-112 (Romanian version)
- Greco, *Viața Sfântului Nifon* (Greek text following MSS Mount Athos, Dionysiou monastery – 661 (610) and 716 (715), and Romanian and German trans.)
- T. Simedrea, *Viața și traiul sfinției sale părintelui nostru Nifon, patriarhul Țarigradului care au strălucit între multe patimi și ispite în Țarigrad și în Țara Muntenească. Introducere și text*, Bucharest, 1937 (offprint of *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 55 (1937) 257-99) (Romanian version, MS Bucharest, Romanian Academy – 464 and a MS in the personal collection of the editor)
- I. Naniescu and C. Erbiceanu, *Viața și traiul sfinției sale părintelui nostru Nifon patriarhul Țarigradului care au strălucit între multe patemi și ispite în Țarigrad și în Țara Muntenească. Scrisă de chir Gavriil protul, adecă mai marele Sfetagoriei*, Bucharest, 1888 (Romanian version, MS Bucharest, Romanian Academy – 464)
- B.P. Hașdeu, 'Biografia patriarhului Nifon în Turcia și în Țara Românească scrisă de Gabriel, superiorul Muntelui Athos', *Arhiva istorică a României* 1 (1865) 133-50 (Romanian version, MS Cluj-Napoca, Romanian Academy – 109)

STUDIES

- O.V. Olar, 'Dracula à rebours. Notes sur la "Vie de Saint Niphon" (BHG 1373a)', in Fr. Mosetti Casaretto (ed.), *Il corpo impuro e le sue rappresentazioni nelle letterature medievali*, Alessandria, 2012, 435-60
- A.D. Mavroudis, 'Hagios Nēphōn, patriarchēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs apo ton Mōrea eis tēn Achrida', in S. Kotzabassi and G. Mavromatis (eds), *Realia Byzantina*, Berlin, 2009, 167-71
- A. Falangas, *Présences grecques dans les pays Roumains (XIV^e-XVI^e siècles). Le témoignage des sources narratives roumaines*, Bucharest, 2009, pp. 149-89

- Kakouros, 'Hē prōtē asmatikē akolouthia'
- N. Panou, 'Greek-Romanian symbiotic patterns in the Early Modern period. History, mentalities, institutions (II)', *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique* 4 (2007) 59-104, pp. 67-85
- A. Mareș, 'Despre data traducerii *Vieții* patriarhului Nifon și despre "momentul" inserării ei în *Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc*', in Al. Mareș, *Scriere și cultură românească veche*, Bucharest, 2005, 348-57 (summary of discussions and earlier literature)
- F. Martelli, 'Archetipo costantiniano e retaggio bizantino negli scritti del voevoda Neagoe Basarab', *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, ser. 2, 3 (2001) 385-401
- R.G. Păun, 'La couronne est à Dieu. Neagoe Basarab et l'image du pouvoir pénitent', in P. Guran (ed.), *L'Empereur-hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, Bucharest, 2001, 186-224
- A. Falangas, 'Nēphōn II Peloponnēsios, oikoumenikos patriarchēs kai ethnikos hagios tōn Rhoumanōn', *Vyzantinai Meletai* 5 (1993) 504-21
- Veēs, *Ta cheirographa tōn Meteōrōn*, pp. 144-6
- D.H. Mazilu, *Literatura română în epoca Renașterii*, Bucharest, 1984, pp. 178-86, 379-82
- R. Șuiu, art. 'Viața Patriarhului Nifon', in *Dicționarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900*, Bucharest, 1979, 902-3
- D. Zamfirescu, 'Gavriil Protul', in G. Mihăilă and D. Zamfirescu (eds), *Literatura română veche: 1402-1647*, Bucharest, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 60-5
- Năsturel, 'Recherches sur les rédactions' *Academia RPR, Istoria literaturii române*, Bucharest, 1964, vol. 1, pp. 264-6
- Crăciun and Ilieș, *Repertoriul manuscriselor*, pp. 145-7
- P.P. Panaitescu, 'Începuturile istoriografiei în Țara Românească', *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 5 (1962) 195-256, pp. 203-6 (repr. in P.P. Panaitescu, *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești*, Bucharest, 1971)
- F. Halkin, *Bibliothaeca hagiographica graeca*, Brussels, 1957³, vol. 2, p. 154 (1373a, 1373b)
- Euthymios, 'Symplērōmatikos katalogos Hellēnikōn', pp. 248-9, 256
- N. Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 1940, 1980², vol. 1, pp. 81-5
- D. Russo, 'Viața sfântului Nifon de Gavriil protul Sfetagorei', in D. Russo, *Studii istorice greco-române*, Bucharest, 1939, vol. 1, pp. 17-34

D.R. Mazilu, 'Contribuții la studiul Vieții Sf. Nifon, patriarhul Constantinopolului', in *Contribuții privitoare la istoria literaturii române*, Bucharest, 1928, 21-36

D. Russo, *Studii și critice*, Bucharest, 1910, pp. 2-3

Popescu, 'Nifon II' (with the complete earlier bibliography)

Radu G. Păun

Bernardin Frankapan

Bernardinus Frangipanus, Bernardinus de Frangepanibus,
Bernardin Frankapan Modruški, Bernardin Frankapan
Ozaljski

DATE OF BIRTH 1453
PLACE OF BIRTH Croatia
DATE OF DEATH Before 5 June 1530
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Bernardin Frankapan, Croatian count (*comes perpetuus*) and member of a powerful aristocratic family, was the son of Isotta d'Este, Duchess of Ferrara, and the Croatian viceroy (*ban*) Stjepan III Frankapan of Modruš. He was well-known as a soldier, diplomat and patron of culture. In 1486 a survey of Frankapan's estate at Modruš was compiled in Croatian using Glagolitic script. Bernardin also organized a group of theologians who worked on the translation of the Bible into Croatian in Glagolitic script. Living at a time when the Ottoman Turks were making extensive breakthroughs into the then south-western borders of the Croat-Hungarian Kingdom, presenting an immediate threat to his own territories, Frankapan spent his whole life fighting them with both military and diplomatic means. On his estates he fortified and restored churches as places of refuge, and built a great number of new fortifications. His anti-Turkish speeches are part of his diplomatic activity, and he is known to have written letters on this subject.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Bernardinus de Frangepanibus, *Oratio pro Croatia. Nürenbergae in Senatu Principum Germaniae habita*, Nuremberg: Friedrich Peypus, 1522
M. Sanuto, *I diarii (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall'autografo Marciano Ital CL VII CODD. CDXIX-CDLXXVII*, ed. R. Fulin, et al., Venice, 1879-1902, <http://www.liberliber.it/libri/s/sanudo/index.php>

Secondary

I. Jurković and V. Moretti, *Bernardin Frankapan of Modruš, Oratio pro Croatia. A speech on behalf of Croatia (1522)*, Modruš, 2010

- I. Jurković, 'Originalni primjerci i kritička izdanja *Govora za Hrvatsku* kneza Bernardina Frankapana', in B. Olujić (ed.), *Modruški zbornik* 3, Modruš, 2009, pp. 143-63
- P. Strčić, 'Bernardin Frankopan i njegovo doba. Prilog za sintezu o vrhuncu srednjovjekovnoga razvoja i početka borbe za opstanak Frankopana i hrvatskoga naroda', in B. Olujić (ed.), *Modruški zbornik* 3, Modruš, 2009, 3-27
- B. Grgin, 'Modruš između kneževa Frankapana, Osmanlija i kraljevskih vlasti, 1458–1526', in B. Olujić (ed.), *Modruški zbornik* 3, Modruš, 2009, 41-51
- H. Kekez, 'Bernardin Frankopan i Krbavska bitka. je li spasio sebe i malobrojne ili je pobjegao iz boja?', in B. Olujić (ed.), *Modruški zbornik* 3, Modruš, 2009, 65-101
- V. Moretti, '*Oratio pro Croatia* Bernardina Frankapana', in B. Olujić (ed.), *Modruški zbornik* 3, Modruš, 2009, 165-86
- Z. Horvat, 'Fortifikacijska djelatnost Bernardina Frankopana', in B. Olujić (ed.), *Modruški zbornik* 3, Modruš, 2009, 237-86
- I. Jurković, 'Osmanska ugroza, plemeniti raseljenici i hrvatski identitet', *Povijesni prilozi* 31 (2006) 39-69
- I. Jurković, 'The fate of the Croatian noble families in the face of Ottoman advance', Budapest, 2004 (Diss. Central European University, Budapest)
- I. Stričić, 'Od provale Turaka do raspada Austro-Ugarske Monarhije', in *Pero ili mač, hrvatski politički esej*, Zagreb, 2001, vol. 1, 27-45
- B. Nikšić, art. 'Frankopan Ozaljski, Bernardin (Bernardinus de Frangepanibus)', in *Leksikon hrvatskih pisaca*, Zagreb, 2000, 226-7
- I. Jurković, 'Diplomatska aktivnost hrvatskoga plemstva u vrijeme turskoga pritiska na Hrvatsku', in M. Andrić and M. Valentić (eds), *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna diplomacija. Zbornik Diplomatske akademije* 2, Zagreb, 1999, 243-56
- I. Jurković, 'Turska opasnost i hrvatski velikaši – knez Bernardin Frankopan i njegovo doba', *Zbornik OPZ HAZU* 17 (1999) 61-83
- P. Strčić, 'Prilog životopisu Bernarda Frankopana (s izborom literature)', *Sveti Vid. Zbornik*, Rijeka, 1999, vol. 4, 21-52
- P. Strčić, art. 'Frankopan, Bernardin Ozaljski (de Frangepanibus; Bernardinus)', in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, Zagreb, 1998, vol. 4, 399-401
- T. Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje. Prostor, ljudi, ideje*, Zagreb, 1997 (see index)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Oratio pro Croatia, 'A speech on behalf of Croatia'

DATE 1522

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The text of *Oratio pro Croatia* (in full, *Bernardini de Frangepanibus comitis Segniae, Vegliae, Modrusiique etc. Oratio pro Croatia Nürenbergae in Senatu Principum Germaniae habita*) comes to eight pages of printed Latin text. The original edition is extant, and it is also available in a great number of copies. It was printed between 24 and 28 November 1522, by the Nuremberg printer Friedrich Peypus.

It consists of four parts: a letter to Pope Adrian VI, and three speeches for the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg, the first made on 19 November, the second on 22 November, and the third delivered after the publication on 10 December 1522.

In his introductory letter, Bernardin Frankapan encourages the pope to help to organize European sovereigns towards a pan-Christian campaign, and in the three speeches he tries to prevail upon the members of the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire to offer military help against the Ottoman Empire. In his argument, he stresses the damage his country is suffering from Turkish incursions, thus trying to make the German representatives aware of the imminent danger to the Holy Roman Empire, and Europe in general, if the enemy is not stopped in time.

Throughout the text, the Ottomans are commonly labelled not only as enemies, but also as 'enemies of the true faith', ruthless and savage barbarians, beastly tyrants that Europe (as *Christiana respublica*) can defeat only if led by the pope. Frankapan highlights the various aspects of Ottoman military tactics, such as raids, enslaving the populace, rape, and ravaging the territories under attack.

His description is typical of the genre known as *Antitursica*, that appeared in the late 15th century and spread throughout Europe, to disappear only in the 17th and 18th centuries. The first to publish such a speech in Croatia was Ivan Vitez of Sredna (*Orationes in causa expeditionis contra Turcas habitae*, 1453-7). Such speeches are mainly petitions presented to various European sovereigns asking for support against the Ottoman conquests. The *Antitursica* also include letters, diplomatic reports, travelogues describing the Ottoman Empire, and poetic and dramatic works. Like *Oratio pro Croatia*, speeches by many other Croatian writers were printed in Western Europe, often in the cities where they were made.

This is the only extant anti-Turkish speech written by Bernardin Frankapan. Earlier in the same year, on 13 March 1522, he made a similar speech in Venice, asking for financial support from the Republic of Venice. There is nothing to corroborate the idea that *Oratio pro Croatia* had

any immediate impact on other speeches of the same kind (Jurković and Moretti, *Bernardin Frankapan of Modruš*, pp. 17-100).

SIGNIFICANCE

Bernardin Frankapan's appearance in the Nuremberg Diet was part of a diplomatic campaign that also included the Syrmian bishop and Hungarian envoy László Maczedóniai (Ladislaus de Macedonia) and Francesco Chierigati, the pope's envoy. All three had their speeches printed by the same printing house. The conclusion that their cooperation was a matter of agreement is further evidenced by the subjects they cover, and also by the range of their examples and descriptions of the events preceding the fall of some of the most important fortresses within the Croat-Hungarian Kingdom, those of Belgrade and Knin.

In accordance with the diplomatic practice of the time, Bernardin Frankapan's *Oratio* made a plea for Christian morals and ethics. He insisted that Croatia was the bulwark of Christianity, which was to become a staple idea. The speech did not have the desired effect, the German aristocracy being too engaged in dynastic disputes with France and coping with Martin Luther's religious movement.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Jurković and Moretti, *Bernardin Frankapan of Modruš*, pp. 101-7 (Croatian edition with the first complete Croatian trans.)
- T. Macan, *Hrvatska povijest*, Zagreb, 2004, pp. 81-2 (Croatian trans.)
- V. Lipošćak and S. Sučić (eds), *Ogulin, povijesna i kulturna baština*, Ogulin, 2002, pp. 82-3, 84-5 (two Croatian translations, the first by M. Križman)
- Strižić, 'Od provale Turaka do raspada Austro-Ugarske Monarhije', pp. 41-2 (Croatian trans.)
- V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka – Orationes contra Turcas*, Split, 1983, pp. 344-5 (Croatian trans.)
- V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata. Od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX. st.*, Zagreb, 1973, vols 4-5, pp. 358-60 (Croatian trans.)
- N. Klaić, *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest do 1526. godine*, Zagreb, 1972, p. 381 (Croatian trans.)
- N. Žic, 'Govori Frankopana za obranu Hrvatske od Turaka', *Obzor* 291 (1932) 6 (with Croatian trans.)
- T. Smičiklas, *Poviest hrvatska. Dio prvi. Od najstarijih vremena do godine 1526*, Zagreb, 1882, pp. 707-8 (Croatian trans.)
- M. Mesić, 'Hrvati nakon bana Berislavića', pp. 153-4 and 159-60 (Croatian trans.)

Bernardinus de Frangepanibus, *Oratio pro Croatia. Nürenbergae in Senatu Principum Germaniae habita*, Nuremberg, 1522 (first publication)

All Croatian translations of *Oratio pro Croatia* published before 2002 are actually one and the same translation of a part of the text, made by M. Mesić and copied by more recent scholars, mostly from N. Žic's article.

STUDIES

Jurković and Moretti, *Bernardin Frankapan of Modruš*

Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, pp. 7-65 (general study on Croatian speeches against the Turks)

Violeta Moretti

Marcus Marulus

Marko Marulić, Marko Pecinić

DATE OF BIRTH 18 August 1450

PLACE OF BIRTH Split, Croatia

DATE OF DEATH 5 January 1524

PLACE OF DEATH Split, Croatia

BIOGRAPHY

Marko Marulić, or Marcus Marulus to use his humanist name, was born on 18 August 1450 in Split, and died there on 5 January 1524 (Božićević, *Vita Marci Maruli*, pp. 30, 42). He came from a noble family whose Croat surname was Pečenić or Pecinić; in the 15th century they had begun calling themselves Marulus or de Marulis. Split had been under the rule of the Republic of Venice since 1420 but by Marulus's time it was in imminent danger from the Turks. Little is known about Marulus's life, and even the little information that has reached us is sometimes unreliable: his *curriculum artis* is far better known than his *curriculum vitae*.

In the 1460s, Marulus attended the lay-led humanist school in his hometown, where his teachers were the Italian humanists Tydeus Acciarinus (Tideo Acciarini), Colla Firmianus (Nicola da Capua) and Hieronymus Genesius (Ienesius) Picentinus. Nothing is known about his further education, if he received any; the assumption that he studied in Padua cannot be confirmed. He may have had some training in law, because he performed municipal duties as examiner and authenticator of notarial documents, judge, plea bargainer, advocate in lawsuits, testifier and prosecutor. In theology, he was most probably self-taught. From his works and from the list of books in his library, it is clear that he had a wide knowledge of the Bible and classical and patristic literature, and that he read the works of his contemporaries in Latin as well as in the Croatian and Italian vernaculars. In his forties, he gradually retired from public life and dedicated himself to study. He remained in Split, traveling occasionally to Venice (to trade) and perhaps to Rome (to celebrate the Jubilee year 1500). For about two years (c. 1509-11) he lived alone in Nečujam bay on the island of Šolta. When he was in his seventies the death of one his brothers, Valerius, compelled him to look after his family estate, but till

then his life was mostly devoted to writing. He was buried in the Church of St Francis in his hometown.

Marulus's view of Christian-Muslim relations can be understood only if the historical situation of Split around 1500 is taken into consideration. He must have been aware of the Ottoman threat from his early youth: the fall of Constantinople in 1453 was followed by the fall of Bosnia in 1463 and of Herzegovina in 1482; in 1493, the Croatian army was defeated at the Battle of Krbava Field. The unstoppable advance of the Turks at the end of the 15th century posed an imminent military danger to communities on the Adriatic, while the loss of their territories resulted in the decline of their economic and demographic potential: in 1467, 1468 and in 1469 the Ottoman incursions reached the hinterland of the Venetian-held towns of Zadar and Šibenik; the raids were repeated in 1471 and 1472, including into the hinterland of Split, and from this period on attacks and plundering by Ottoman troops became a constant threat to Marulus's native city, both during his lifetime and for almost two centuries after his death. The outbreak of the Second Ottoman–Venetian War (1499–1503) brought new hardships and intensified clashes between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice for control of the lands on the Aegean, Ionian and the Adriatic Seas. Marulus was deeply concerned not only about the Ottoman advance in the vicinity of his hometown and in Dalmatia, but also about the fate of the region of Slavonia and the city of Zagreb (Lučin, *Marulić reader*, p. 265). In his 71st year he was shaken by the news that Belgrade had been captured (Lučin, *Marulić reader*, p. 97).

Marulus was a fervent reader of classical authors, and he became the centre of what may be called the humanist *Sodalitas Spalatensis*. As a lay theologian and poet, he became one of the great figures of Renaissance humanism and the preceptor of Croatia. In 1901, at the celebrations to mark the 400th anniversary of his biblical and Virgilian epic *Judita* (first published in Venice in 1521), he was given the honorary title 'Father of Croatian literature'. The issue of whether this poem was a political allegory about his times remains highly controversial to this day.

He was also a strong advocate of the Catholic faith, with a Christ-centred spirituality (Parlov, *Il mistero di Cristo*), and was heavily influenced by the *devotio moderna*, whose most influential text, *De imitatione Christi*, he translated into Croatian. He fits well into the historical context of late medieval theology-for-piety (German: *Frömmigkeitstheologie*). He was probably a self-taught theologian who constantly worked on his collection of excerpts from the Bible, classical authors and early Christian and humanist writers, known as his *Repertorium*.

Marulus's *Instruction on how to lead a virtuous life based on the examples of the saints* established his fame throughout Europe, as it was translated into Italian, German, Portuguese, French and Czech. This work hints at the wars in Europe, but no direct mention is made of the Turks, or *Mahumetani* as he called them (*De institutione* 6.1). In his 'sermon' of 1520-21, titled *The last judgment of Christ*, he points out the Turkish threat and chastises the clergy for not doing enough to keep Christians from becoming *Mahumetani*.

Marulus's view of the Turks was shaped decisively by reports about the atrocities committed by the Ottomans in the Balkans. He became a voice for the victims, and the 'existential fear' he expressed (Novaković, 'Marulić and the metaphysical dimension of history') permeates his entire work. At the time of the Second Ottoman-Venetian War when the Venetian fleet was destroyed, he apparently wrote a short historical and philosophical tract in Italian about the Turkish threat, but the manuscript is lost. In a letter to Jerolim Ćipiko in 1501, detailed information is included about 300 Turks defeating 500 well-armed Croatian and Hungarian horsemen (Lučin, *Marulić reader*, pp. 264-65). Following the death of the Croatian leader Žarko Dražojević (1438-1508) fighting the Turks, he wrote the *Epitaphium Xarci Draxoeuii*. Around 1517, he felt compelled to compose his *Lament of the city of Jerusalem*. Identifying the Ottoman advance and wars among Christian nations as signs that the end of the world was near, Marulus issued a call to resist the *Mahumetani*, which was included in his lengthy sermon *The last judgment of Christ*. He also composed an open letter to the pope (1522) about the calamities of his time, and included a call for Christian unity against the common enemy. In late November or early December 1523, he wrote a poem for the newly elected Pope Clement VII, hinting at the wounds caused by the Turkish attacks.

When speaking about Muslims, Marulus frequently uses the term *secta* ('sect', which he usually equates with *heresis*, 'religious heresy'). Here he seems to be influenced by his reading of the late medieval biblical commentaries in his *Biblia Latina*, noting in the margin of his edition phrases such as *secta Machometi*, *secta Sarracenică*, *error Machometanorum*, *lex Machometi alcoranus* and the name Sergius, the monk who was believed to have taught Muḥammad (see Posset, *Marcus Marulus and the Biblia Latina*, Appendix V). When the commentator on the *Biblia Latina* mentions names of known heretics from Church history, such as Arius and Pelagius, he also includes Muḥammad, which Marulus duly notes (he has a similar classification in his *Euangelistarium* 6.10), raising the

possibility that he understood Islam as a heretical Christian sect. He certainly accepts the label of heretic for 'Jews and Saracens', as is shown by the two notes he extracted from Nicholas of Lyra's comments on 1 Corinthians 15 in the *Biblia Latina*. However, in his own works Marulus views the Turks primarily as 'damned pagans', unrelated to Christianity.

Marulus was a giant in Croatian literary circles, and many other authors in the 16th century were influenced by his works, particularly two who wrote on Islamic themes. The first was Brne Karnarutić (c. 1515-73) from Zadar, whose *Vazetje Sigeta grada* ('The capture of the town of Szigetvár'), written between 1568 and 1572, is the first Croatian historical epic. In it Karnarutić, with important themes borrowed from Marulus's *Judita*, describes the courageous defence of Szigetvár against the Ottomans in 1566 and the heroic death of Nikola Šubić Zrinski.

The second, Petar Zoranić (1508-after 1569), who was from Zadar, is most important as the author of *Planine* ('Mountains'; ed. F. Švelec and J. Vončina, *Planine*, Zagreb, 1988), the first Croatian language novel, which he wrote in 1538. In this he refers to wolves attacking from the east, in allusion to the danger of attacks on Croatia by the Ottomans.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Marci Maruli opera omnia, ed. B. Glavičić, vols 1-16, B. Lučin, vols 17-, Split, Croatia, 1988-

Frane Božičević, *Vita Marci Maruli Spalatensis = Život Marka Marulića Splitsčanina*, ed. B. Lučin, Split, 2007, https://sites.google.com/site/markomarulicsplicanin/home/Bozicevic_Vita%20M.Maruli.pdf (Latin-Croatian edition); https://sites.google.com/site/markomarulicsplicanin/home/VitadiMarcoMarulospalatino_Svilovic.pdf (Italian edition); http://www.liberius.net/livre.php?id_livre=692 (French edition, trans. I.C. Kraljić)

F. Posset, *Marcus Marulus and the Biblia Latina of 1489. An approach to his biblical hermeneutics*, Cologne, 2013 (accompanied by a DVD of the entire *Biblia Latina* with Marulus's *marginalia*)

Secondary

The Marcus Marulus website, <https://sites.google.com/site/markomarulicsplicanin/>, provides information on Marulus's life and works.

The website of the Marulianum Centre in Split, Croatia, <http://sites.google.com/site/marulianum/>, gives bibliographical updates and links to publications related to Marulus.

- Colloquia Maruliana*, an annual publication devoted to Marulus and Croatian Renaissance humanism, http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=casopis&id_casopis=43&lang=en
- F. Posset, 'The biblical scholar in cultural context', in Posset, *Marcus Marulus and the Biblia Latina of 1489*, 20-40
- F. Posset, art. 'Marulus, Marcus', in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 32, *Ergänzungen XIX*, Nordhausen, 2011, 942-7 (in German, with extensive bibliography)
- F. Posset, art. 'Marulus, Marcus', in G.T. Kurian (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Christian civilization*, Oxford, 2011, vol. 3, 1435-6
- E. von Erdmann, 'Marko Marulić in den Religionskonflikten der deutschen Länder des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Colloquia Maruliana* 20 (2011) 177-93
- B. Lučin, *Iter Marulianum. Da Spalato a Venezia sulle tracce di Marko Marulić*, Rome, 2008
- B. Lučin, *Marko Marulić 1450-1524*, Split, 2008 (Croatian-German edition, German trans. by K. Jurčević)
- M. Tomasović, 'Marko Marulić Marulus. An outstanding contribution to European humanism', in I. Supičić (ed.), *Croatia and Europe II – Croatia in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. A cultural survey*, Zagreb, 2008, 423-37
- G. Paolin, art. 'Marulo, Marco (Marko Marulić, Marko Pečenić, Marcus Marulus Spalatensis o Dalmata)', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, 2008, vol. 71, 406-8
- B. Lučin (ed.), *The Marulić reader*, Split, 2007 (with select bibliography)
- G. Wallner, 'Marcus Marulus Spalatensis humanista Croatus', *Latinitas* 3 (2007) 277-84
- C. Béné, 'Marule de Split (Marc) (1450-1524)', *Centuriae Latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières*, vol. 2, *A la mémoire de Marie-Madeleine de la Garanderie*, Geneva, 2006, 511-21
- D. Jelčić (ed.), *Zbornik radova o Marku Maruliću. U povodu 550. obljetnice rođenja i 500. obljetnice njegove Judite 1450.-1501.-2001 = Collected Papers on Marko Marulić. In celebration of the 550th anniversary of his birth and the 500th anniversary of the birth of his Judita 1450-1501-2001*, Zagreb, 2005
- C. Béné, 'Marc Marule de Split, un humaniste exemplaire', *Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance* 60 (2005) 51-6
- L. Borsetto (ed.), *Italia-Slavia tra Quattro e Cinquecento. Marko Marulić umanista croato nel contesto storico-letterario dell'Italia e di Padova. Atti della Giornata di Studio tenutasi presso l'Università di Padova il 7 dicembre 2001*, Alessandria, 2004
- P. Tijan, art. 'Marulić, Marko', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Washington DC, 2003, vol. 9, 235-6
- N. Paro, *Bibliografija Marka Marulića. Treći dio: radovi o Maruliću (1565-2000)*, Split, 2003 (bibliography of Marko Marulić. Part 3. Works on Marulić 1565-2000)

- Studia Croatica* 145 (Buenos Aires, 2002) (studies on Marulus in Spanish, with Spanish translations of passages from Marulus's works, trans. F.J. Juez Gálvez)
- B. Lučin, *Marko Marulić (1450-1524)*, Madrid, 2000 (Spanish trans. F.J. Juez Gálvez)
- M. Tomasović, *Marko Marulić Marul. Monografija*, Zagreb and Split, 1999 (Croatian with summaries in English, French, German and Italian)
- B. Lučin (ed.), *Dossier: Marko Marulić*, special issue of *Most / The Bridge Literary Magazine* (Zagreb) 1-4 (1999) 3-171 (selection of studies on Marulus in English trans.)
- D. Novaković, 'Marulić and the metaphysical dimension of history', in *Most / The Bridge Literary Magazine* (Zagreb) 1-4 (1999) 137-9
- B. Jozić and B. Lučin (eds), *Bibliografija Marka Marulića. Prvi dio: tiskana djela (1477-1997)* ['Bibliography of Marko Marulić. Part 1: printed works (1477-1997)'], Split, 1998
- C. Béné, *Études maruliennes. Le rayonnement européen de l'oeuvre de Marc Marule de Split*, Zagreb and Split, 1998
- M. Parlov, *Il mistero di Cristo modello di vita cristiana secondo Marco Marulić*, Rome, 1997
- M. Dolibić (ed.), *Marulić – humaniste européen, Cahiers Croates. Revue trimestrielle par l'Association Almae Matris Croaticae Alumni* (special issue) 1/2 (1997) 1-204
- M. Tomasović, *Marko Marulić – Marcus Marulus*, trans. from Italian into French by C. Béné, Paris, 1996, www.studiacroatica.org/libros/tomasov/tomasovi.htm
- I. Frangeš, *Geschichte der kroatischen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Cologne, 1995, pp. 17-31, 32-66, 801-5
- M. Tomasović, *Marco Marulić Marulus*, Italian trans. D. Pušek, Lugano, 1994
- D. Budiša, 'Humanism in Croatia', in A. Rabil Jr (ed.), *Renaissance humanism. Foundations, form and legacy*, Philadelphia PA, 1988, vol. 2, 265-92
- I. Slamnig, 'Marko Marulić, cosmopolitan and patriot', in M. Beker (ed.), *Comparative studies in Croatian literature*, Zagreb, 1981, 81-94
- M.B. Petrovich, 'The Croatian humanists. Cosmopolites or patriots?', *Journal of Croatian Studies* 20 (1979) 17-36
- M.B. Petrovich, 'Croatian humanists and the Ottoman peril', *Balkan Studies* 20 (1979) 257-73
- M.B. Petrovich, 'Croatian humanists and the writing of history in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', *Slavic Review* 37 (1978) 624-39
- M.A. Usmiani, 'Marko Marulić (1450-1525)', *Harvard Slavic Studies* 3 (1957) 1-48

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Molitva suprotiva Turkom, 'A prayer against the Turks'

DATE Between 1493 and probably 1500

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

This long prayer in the form of a poem of 172 lines was presumably written after the Croats were defeated at Krbava in 1493, and probably before 1500, when Marulus went on pilgrimage to Rome during the reign of Pope Alexander VI. It is addressed to 'My almighty God', though it is more than a simple prayer since it includes a call to political action. The original Croatian text contains an acrostic with the first letter of each odd Croatian verse forming the Latin (!) phrase: *Solus Deus potest nos liberare de tribulatione inimicorum nostrorum Turcorum sua potentia infinita* ('God alone with his infinite power can free us from the tribulation of our enemies, the Turks').

This prayer may show some similarity in content to a prayer by the contemporary poet laureate from Trieste, Raphael Zouenzonius (Raffaele Zovenzoni, 1431-c.1485), titled *Ad Christum ut perdat Turcas* ('To Christ that he may destroy the Turks'). Zouenzonius's prayer was the third of four poems included in the *Poetae Christiani veteres* (1502), a book in Marulus's possession. However, although Marulus entered numerous *marginalia* on other texts in that edition, he did not do so with respect to Zouenzonius's poems.

The patriotic prayer assumes an angry God, whose mercy the poet implores for the people suffering 'at Turkish hands', from 'Turkish might' and under the 'pagan sword'; 'pagans oppress us'; the Turks are 'as angry as wild lions'; towns are robbed and burned, their populations captured and enslaved; girls and nuns are raped; boys are circumcised; Christian churches, crucifixes and chalices are desecrated; liturgical vestments are turned into kaftans; the Turks fight against Croats, Bosnians, Greeks, Romans, Serbs and Poles; those who do not convert to Islam are persecuted by those who disrespect 'your holy faith'; the Christians are unable to resist them without divine assistance. May God 'defeat all the Turks for their faithlessness'; they are the 'damned ones'.

And you, who are crucified God, our Lord in heaven,

You gave the Holy Cross to us, not to those who do not know you:

Deliver us from sins and from the devil's hands;
 With your crucified limbs, gather the trusting folk.
 Do not let the pagans tread on us with their feet . . .' (lines 155-59).

The conclusion is an invocation to the Virgin Mary asking her to intercede before her divine Son.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is an important example of *Antitursica* literature. It (and other related texts by Marulus) differs from most other contemporary works concerning the Turkish threat, because Marulus did not write 'from the detached perspective of the . . . unthreatened analyst' (Novaković, 'Marulić and the metaphysical dimension of history', 137). Marulus's prayer differs particularly from early German-Lutheran prayers against the Turks, as they compare the Turk to the pope.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Zagreb, National and University Library – R 6634, fols 17r-20r (c. 1530; title: *Gospodin M. M. protiva Turchom*, 'Ser M. Marulus against the Turks')

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- A. Pavešković (ed.), *Šturak i čemerika. Antologija hrvatskoga pjesništva do narodnoga preporoda*, Zagreb, 2010, pp. 59-63
- Prière contre le Turc (Molitva suprotiva Turkom)*, trans. I.C. Kraljić and S. Šajnović, Bibliothèque Saint Libère, (s.l.), 2009 (Croatian-French edition), [http://www.liberius.net/articles/Priere_contre_le_Turc_\(Molitva_suprotiva_Turkom\).pdf](http://www.liberius.net/articles/Priere_contre_le_Turc_(Molitva_suprotiva_Turkom).pdf)
- B. Lučin (ed.), *The Marulić reader*, Split, 2007, pp. 236-45 (Croatian-English edition; English trans. by M. Kovačiček)
- M. Marulić, *Zsuzsánna. Jeruzsálem városának panasza. Imádság a török ellen*, trans. I. Lőkös, Budapest 2007, 53-56 (Hungarian trans.)
- A. Stamać (ed.), *Antologija hrvatskoga pjesništva od davnina pa do naših dana*, Zagreb, 2007, pp. 59-61
- L. Car Matutinović (ed.), *Hrvatski pjesnici*, Zagreb, 2005, pp. 25-6 (selections)
- I. Lőkös (ed.), *Horvát irodalmi antológia*, Budapest, 2004, pp. 38-40 (Hungarian trans., selections)
- F.J. Juez Gálvez, 'La caída de Constantinopla y los eslavos meridionales', *Nueva Roma* 19 (2003) 395-420, pp. 414-15 (Spanish trans.; selections)

- I.M. Artl (ed.), *Europa erlesen. Dubrovnik*, Klagenfurt, 2001, pp. 117-19
(German trans.)
- M. Marulić, *Od začetja Isusova. Izabrane duhovne pjesme*, ed. B. Petrač, Zagreb, 2001, pp. 96-103
- M. Marulić, *Duhom do zvijezda*, ed. B. Lučin, Zagreb, 2001, pp. 173-80
- M. Marulić, *Antologija. Izbor iz poezije i proze*, ed. M. Tomasović, Zagreb, 2000, pp. 63-70
- J. Bratulić (ed.), *Hrvatska poezija humanizma i renesanse*, Vinkovci, 2000, pp. 40-1 (selections)
Hrvatsko slovo 6/263 (2000) p. 15 (English trans. by E.D. Goy, selections)
- J. Bratulić et al. (eds), *Mila si nam ti jedina. Hrvatsko rodoljubno pjesništvo od Bašćanske ploče do danas*, Zagreb, 1998, pp. 19-23
- R. Bogišić (ed.), *Vila Hrvatica. Hrvatsko pjesništvo humanizma i renesanse*, Zagreb, 1998, pp. 30-2 (selections)
- F.J. Juez Gálvez, 'La recurrencia del tema Otomana en la literatura Croata de la edad moderna', *Bulletin d'Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen* 26-27 (1996-97) 187-207, pp. 191-2
(Spanish trans. by F.J. Juez Gálvez, selections)
- M. Marulić, *Judita*, ed. A. Pavešković, Vinkovci, 1997, pp. 89-94
- M. Marulić, *Versi harvacki*, ed. T. Maroević and M. Tomasović, Zagreb, 1996, pp. 79-89
- M. Marulić, *Pisni razlike*, ed. J. Vončina, in *Marci Maruli opera omnia*, pp. 148-52 (Croatian edition)
- V. Brešić (ed.), *Krvatska lirika ratne 1991*, Zagreb, 1991, p. 2 (extract)
- N. Kolumbić and P. Lucić (eds), *Vartal*, Split, 1990, pp. 222-6
- V. Pavletić (ed.), *100 pjesnika književnosti jugoslavenskih naroda*, Zagreb, 1984, pp. 3-6
- M. Marulić, *Versi harvacki*, ed. M. Franičević and H. Morović, Split, 1979, pp. 167-71
- J. Šmit (ed.), *Antologija hrvaške poezije*, Ljubljana, 1975, pp. 35-6
(Slovenian trans.)
- M. Marulić, *Judita. Pjesme*, ed. M. Franičević, Zagreb, 1974, 1976², pp. 93-7
- S. Mihalić and I. Kušan (eds), *La poésie croate des origines à nos jours*, Paris, 1972, pp. 20-22 (French trans. by J. Matillon, selections)
- R. Bogišić (ed.), *Die ältere kroatische lyrische Dichtung*, Zagreb, 1972, pp. 18-19 (German trans.)
- R. Bogišić (ed.), *Leut i trublja. Antologija starije hrvatske poezije*, Zagreb, 1971, pp. 33-4 (selections)

- M. Marulić, *Judita, Suzana, Pjesme*, ed. I. Slamnig, Zagreb, 1970, pp. 129-33
- N. Milićević and A. Šoljan (eds), *Antologija hrvatske poezije od XIV stoljeća do naših dana*, Zagreb, 1966, pp. 33-5 (selections)
- I. Kukuljević Sakcinski (ed.), *Pjesme Marka Marulića*, Zagreb, 1869, pp. 244-8 (first printed edition)

STUDIES

- D. Dukić, 'Das Türkenbild in der kroatischen literarischen Kultur vom 15. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts', in R. Lauer and H.G. Majer (eds), *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa*, Berlin, 2013, 157-91, <http://bib.irb.hr/prikazi-rad?rad=224477>
- L. Paljetak, 'Molitva suprotiva Turkom u kontekstu protuturskog otpora u Europi Marulićeva vremena i poslije njega', *Colloquia Maruliana* 11 (2002) 333-62 (includes summary in English) http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=12239

Judita, 'Judith'

DATE 1501

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

In 1501, Marulus commented on his epic *Judita*: 'As I read this tale, it occurred to me to translate it into our tongue that those who knew no Italian or Latin books might understand it' (Lučin, *Marulić reader*, p. 209). He revealed his poetic intentions by comparing the biblical story to a bunch of wheat, and his epic poem to a fruit tree in full blossom in spring. His poetic version in the vernacular contains several Turkish words, some of which appear more than once: *bar* (multitude), *bedev* (mare), *bičak* (dagger), *dolama* (dolman), *skender* (a kind of belt), *sultan*, *baša*, *subaša*, *vezir* (vizier) and its adjectival form *vezirski*. In order to convey the biblical story to his Croatian readership, the sophisticated religious teacher sometimes makes contemporaneous references: e.g. Judith is dressed and adorned like the ladies of Split in Renaissance times; the description of the armies may remind the reader of the Croatian and Hungarian cavalries (Lučin, 'Introduction', in *The Marulić reader*, p. 27).

The epic (its title in full is *Libar Marka Marula Splitsanina u kom se uzdarži istorija svete udovice Judit u versih harvacki složena, kako ona ubi vojvodu Oloferna po sridu vojske njegove i oslobodi puk izraelski od velike*

pogibili, 'The book of Marko Marulić of Split containing the history of the holy widow Judith, written in verses in Croatian, how she killed the general Holofernes in the midst of his army and set the Israelitish people free from great peril') was written in 1501, during the war between Venice and the Turks, but only came off the printing press in Venice two decades later; first in 1521, when a war was raging again, with reprints following in 1522 and 1523. The assumption is often made that Marulus composed the poem as an extended metaphor for events in his own homeland and hometown of Split: just as the biblical town of Betulia was threatened by the 'great peril' (the Assyrian army led by Holofernes), so was Marulus's Split threatened by the Turks, but there is in fact not the slightest hint in Marulus's text to support that assumption. Only the 1522 edition, published by Bernardinus Benalius (Bernardino Benalio, c. 1458-1543), contains illustrations which may support this view: the title page shows two cavalry forces fighting each other. They are not identified by any banners, although the cavalrymen on the left are wearing turbans and most likely represent the Turks. The cavalry on the right would then represent the European forces.

Similar images appear at various points in the 1522 edition, but the battle scenes have no direct connection with the text of *Judita*. The woodcuts are those used in a 1516 Venetian edition of a text attributed to the medieval Cistercian Abbot, Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135-1202), *Expositio magni prophete Ioachim in librum Beati Cirilli de magnis tribulationibus & statu Sancte matris Ecclesie*, published by Lazaro Soardi (Laçarus de Soardis, c. 1450-c. 1517) (Pelc, 'Podrijetlo drvoreza Marulićeve *Judite*'). The military images in the 1522 edition show the following scenes which are taken from the 1516 *Expositio*:

1. A soldier steps on the French flag: *Expositio*, fol. 30r = *Judita*, fol. [a iv].
2. The Turkish flag flying high: *Expositio*, fol. 35v [in commentary on Revelation 20, the reign of Satan] = *Judita*, fol. b ii verso and again fol. h.
3. Two cavalry forces (one Turkish, one European) fighting each other: *Expositio*, fol. 24r = *Judita*, frontispiece, and again fol. e ii verso.
4. Habsburg forces under the banner of the double-headed eagle defeat the fleeing forces of the pope: *Expositio*, fol. 16r = *Judita*, fol. h ii verso.

SIGNIFICANCE

At a time when the Bible was not yet available in Croatian, Marulus appears to have wanted to familiarise his people with a story of courage from the Hebrew scriptures in their own language. He had entered a few marginalia in the text of Judith in his *Biblia Latina* of 1489, including a note on the canonicity of the book (considered by non-Catholics as deuterocanonical). He obviously accepted it as canonical and transformed it into a biblical-Virgilian epic that is widely regarded as the cornerstone of Croatian language and literature. Marulus wanted to offer not only spiritual food, but also literary pleasure to his Croatian readers, and to prove his poetic abilities; see the letter to Jerolim Ćipiko of 19 July 1501, in which he ventured to remark that, owing to his *Judita*, which he had just finished, his mother tongue would now also have its Dante (Lučin, *Marulić reader*, pp. 266-7). The publisher of the 1522 edition added a significant twist: the book's title alone may have inspired the publisher to politicise and militarise the epic by adding woodcut illustrations showing battle scenes related to contemporary wars. If one assumes a non-political reading of the original text, the 1522 edition thus presents a decisive change in perspective and interpretation through its use of political iconography. The military scenes it incorporates illustrate not the biblical story of Judith but rather the wars of the early 16th century, utilising woodcuts that appear to have come into existence for an altogether different purpose and were created for a book published in 1516 that had nothing to do with the city of Split. They show city walls (perhaps of Jerusalem, for Fiore's text on p. 30), which, after the idea became current that Judith's Bethulia was a symbol of Split, may have been taken for the walls of Split. In 1522, Marulus's *Judita* appears to have been marketed not only for his elegant use of the Croatian language, but as *Antitursica* propaganda, depicting contemporary wars and an imminent Turkish victory. The heraldic symbols shown on the flags depicted scattered on the ground in the images taken from the 1516 book, represent the European nations. Only one standard, identifiable as Turkish by the crescent moon, is still flying high. Only in this illustration and that on the title page of the 1522 edition is the Turkish element presented directly to alert readers (even if they are not able to read the Croatian text) to an imminent Turkish victory. None of the other pictures make any specific reference to the Turks.

Questions remain: Did Marulus in his *Judita* make an intentional connection between the biblical story and Split? What is more legitimate: to interpret *Judita* as non-political, moral-catechetical and theological,

like his other works, such as the biblical poem *Suzana*, or *Davidias*, or *Evangelistarium* (the last was understood as a purely biblical work with 'no spirit of dispute, or confused opinions, or enumerable purely human traditions' [S. Münster in his letter *ad pium lectorem* at the end of the 1519 Basel edition]), or as a politicisation and actualisation of the biblical story, in line with Marulus's Croatian 'Prayer against the Turks', which dates to roughly the same time? Does the morally and didactically minded author want primarily to actualise the biblical figure of 'the holy widow Judith' and make it relevant, by way of a hagiography, to his intimidated Croatian readers? And if so, why would he not make any direct, or even implicit, reference to the contemporary political situation in Split?

MANUSCRIPTS

No early MSS are extant.

MS Zagreb, National and University Library – R 3642, 6 fasc. fols 1-85 (19th-century transcription of the first printed edition by F. Kurelac [1811-74])

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

M. Marulić, '*Judita*, selections', contemporary Croatian trans. B. Lučin; French trans. L. Gordiani; English trans. J. Tyler Tuttle, in *Judith. Une histoire biblique de la Croatie renaissante*, Paris, 2013, 38-59 (booklet accompanying the DVD and CD)

B. Lučin, *Marko Marulić: 1450-1524*, Split, 2008, pp. 64-72 (German trans. K. Jurčević, selections)

D. Karpatsky (ed.), L. Kubišta and I. Wenigová (trans.), 'Kniha Marka Marula Splitana, v níž jest podána ve verších charvátských sepsaná historie, kterak svatá vdova Judita zabila vojvodu Holoferna prostřed jeho vojsk a zachránila lid izraelská od převeliké zkázy; Zpěv první' [First book], in *Koráb korálový. Tisíc let charvátské poezie v díle stovky básníků*, Prague, 2007, 130-8 (Czech trans.)

J. Gulbinovič et al. (trans.), *Judita*, Vilnius, 2007 (Lithuanian trans.)

B. Lučin (ed.), *The Marulić reader*, Split, 2007, pp. 208-35 (English trans. G. McMaster; selections)

N. Kolumbić (trans.), *Judita*, Split, 2007 (modern Croatian trans.)

'Judita' = 'Judith', in *Explorations in time*, London, 2006, pp. 3-9 (Programme for concert at Purcell Room, London, 26 April 2006; English trans. based on H. Cooper Jr; selections, with parallel Croatian text)

- D. Kiškyte et al., 'Istoria apie šventąją našlę Juditą, kroatiškom eilėm sudėta', *Colloquia Maruliana* 15 (2006) 215-40 (Lithuanian trans. of the dedicatory epistle and the first two cantos)
- I. Lőkös (trans.), 'Juditnak, a szent özvegynek históriája horvát versekbe szedve', in I. Lőkös (ed.), *Horvát irodalmi antológia*, Budapest, 2004, 38-45 (Hungarian trans.; selections)
- M. Grčić (ed. and trans.), *Judit / Judita*, Zagreb, 2003 (modern Croatian trans. with parallel facsimile of the 1521 edition)
- I. Lőkös (trans.), 'Horvát művek fordításai (szemelvényék) Spalatói Marko Marulić könyve, amely a szent életű Juditról szóló történetet tartalmazza, hat énekre osztva, az isten dicsőségére itt kezdődik: Első ének', in *Godišnja nagrada INE za promicanje hrvatske kulture u svijetu za 2002*, Zagreb, 2003, 123-4 (Hungarian trans.; selections)
- F.J. Juez Galvez (trans.), 'Libro de Marko Marulo de Split en que se contiene la historia de la santa vidua Judit compuesta en versos en croata cómo mató ella al general Holofernes en medio de sus huestes y liberó al pueblo de Israel de gran peligro', *Studia Croatica* 145 (2002) 44-104 (Spanish trans.; selections)
- C. Béné (trans.), *La Judith*, Zagreb, 2002 (French trans.)
- M. Grčić (ed. and trans.), *Judita*, CD-ROM, Zagreb, 2001 (facsimiles of the 1521 and 1522 editions and modern Croatian trans.)
- L. Borsetto (trans.), *Giuditta. Libro di Marko Marulić Spalatino nel quale si contiene la storia della santa vedova Judit in versi croati composta come lei uccise il vojvoda Oloferne in mezzo al suo esercito e liberò il popolo di israele da gran pericolo*, Milan, 2001 (Italian trans. with parallel text in Croatian)
- M. Marulić, *Duhom do zvijezda*, ed. B. Lučin, Zagreb, 2001, pp. 31-137
- F.J. Juez Galvez (trans.), 'Libro de Marko Marulić de Split en que se contiene la historia de la santa vidua Judit compuesta en versos a la croata', in B. Lučin, *Marko Marulić (1450-1524)*, 2000, 82-8 (Spanish trans.; selections)
- G. McMaster (trans.), 'The book of Marko Marulić of Split containing the history of the holy widow Judith written in verses in the Croatian style how she killed the general Holofernes in the midst of his army and set the Israelitish people free from great peril', *Dossier: Marko Marulić*, special issue of *Most / The Bridge Literary Magazine* (Zagreb) 1-4 (1999) 16-31 (English trans.; selections)

- I. Lőkös (trans.), *Judit. Spalatói Marko Marulić könyve, amely a szent életű özvegyről, Juditról szóló történetet tartalmazza horvát versekbe szedve: hogyan öli meg Holofernészt, a hadvezért, annak sergétől körülvéve, és szabadítja meg az izraeli népet a nagy pusztulástól*, Budapest, 1999 (Hungarian trans.)
- M. Moguš (ed.), *Judita*, Zagreb, 1998 (with facsimile of the 1522 edition)
- I. Lőkös (trans.), 'Juditnak, a szent özvegynek históriája horvát versekbe szedve: Első ének', in *Új Hevesi Napló. Heves megyei irodalom, társadalom, kultúra* 8/5 (1998) 11-17 (Hungarian trans. of the First Canto)
- I. Lőkös: *Zrínyi eposzának horvát epikai előzményei*, Debrecen, 1997, 48-70 (Hungarian trans., selections)
- L. Borsetto (trans.), 'I libri di Marco Marulo di Spalato nei quali si contiene la storia della santa Giuditta in sei libri composta a gloria di Dio incominciano', *Colloquia Maruliana* 6 (1997) 133-48 (Italian trans. of the First Canto)
- 'Judit', in A. Blažeković (ed.), *Linda patria nuestra. Poesia croata de ayer y de hoy*, Buenos Aires, 1996, 14-15 (Spanish trans., selections)
- D. Fališevac (ed.), *Judita*, Zagreb, 1996
- M. Moguš and M. Tomasović (eds), *Judita*, Zagreb, 1996
- H.R. Cooper Jr. (ed. and trans.), *Judith*, New York, 1991 (English trans. with parallel Croatian text)
- M. Moguš (ed.), *Judita*, in B. Glavičić (ed.), *Marci Maruli opera omnia*, vol. 1
- A. Kadić, 'Marulic's *Judith*, Canto five, verses 165-240', *Journal of Croatian Studies* 27 (1986) 74-7 (English trans.)
- N. Kolumbić (trans.), 'Knjiga Marka Marula Splicanina u kojoj je sadržana priča o svetoj udovici Judit hrvatskim stihovima složena kako ona ubi vojvodu Holoferna posred vojske njegove i oslobodi narod izraelski od velike pogibelji', *Forum* 24 (1985) 1269-1328 (modern Croatian trans.)
- M. Grčić (trans.), *Judita*, Zagreb, 1983 (modern Croatian trans. with parallel reprint of the edition by Slamnig, Zagreb, 1970)
- A. Bonifačić (ed. and trans.) 'Judith and Holofernes', *The anthology of Croat verse 1450-1950*, Chicago, 1981 (English trans.; selections)
- M. Marulić, *Versi harvacki*, ed. M. Franičević and H. Morović, Split, 1979, pp. 67-141
- T. Butler (ed. and trans.), 'Judita/Judith /The slaying of Holofernes by Judith. From Canto Five of *Judith*!', *Monumenta Serbo-Croatica. A bilingual anthology of Serbian and Croatian texts from the 12th to 19th century*, Ann Arbor MI, 1980, pp. 230-5

- S. Mihalić and C. Zlobec (eds), *Antologija hrvatske poezije*, Ljubljana, 1975, pp. 34-6 (Slovenian trans. by J. Šmit; selections)
- M. Franičević (ed.), *Judita. Pjesme*, Zagreb, 1976, pp. 15-90
- V. Štefanić (ed.), *Judita*, Zagreb, 1950 (with illustrations from the 1522 edition)
- Libar Marca Marula Splichianina V chom se usdarsi Istoria Sfete udouice Iudit u versih haruacchi slosena chacho ona ubi uoiuodu Olopherna Posridu uoische gnegoue i oslodobi puch israelschi od ueliche pogibili*, Zagreb, 1950 (facsimile of the 1521 edition)
- M. Kušar (ed.), *Judita. Epska pjesma u šest pjevanja*, Zagreb, 1901
- I. Kukuljević Sakcinski (ed.), 'Libar Marka Marula Spličanina, u kom se uzdrži istorija svete udovice Judit u versih hrvacki složena, kako ona ubi vojvodu Oloferna po sridu vojske njegove i oslobodi puk izraelski od velike pogibili', in I. Kukuljević Sakcinski (ed.), *Pjesme Marka Marulića*, Zagreb, 1869, 1-72
- [*Libar*] *Marcha Marvla Splikyanina Vchomse, vzdarxi Istoria Sfete vdouice Iudite u versih haruaschi sloxena: chacho ona vbi voy vodu Olopherna Posridu voysKe gniegoue: ioslobodi puch israelski od veliche pogibili*, Venice, 1627 (fifth edition, without war images)
- Libar Marca Marvla Splichianina Vchomse vsdarsi Istoria Sfete vdouice Iudit u versih haruacchi slosena: chacho ona vbi voi vodu Olopherna Posridu uoische gnegoue: i ollodobi puch israelschi od veliche pogibili*, Venice, 1586 (fourth edition, with different illustrations)
- Libar Marca Marula Splichianina V chom se usdarsi Istoria Sfete udouice Iudit u uersih haruacchi slosena chacho ona ubi uoiuodu Olopherna Posridu uoische gnegoue i oslodobi puch israelschi od ueliche pogibili*, Venice, 1523 (third edition, without war images)
- Libar Marca Marula Splichianina Uchom se vsdarsi Istoria Sfete vdouice Iudit u versih haruacchi slosena: chacho ona vbi voivodu Olopherna Posridu uoische gnegoue: i oslodobi puch israelschi od veliche pogibili*, Venice, 1522 (second edition, containing numerous war images) <http://opak.crolib.hr/judita/pages/judita0001.html>
- Libar Marca Marula Splichianina V chomse usdarsi Istoria Sfete udouice Iudit u uersih haruacchi slosena chacho ona ubi uoiuodu Olopherna Posridu uoische gnegoue i oslodobi puch israelschi od ueliche pogibili*, Venice, 1521 (first edition, without war images, but with some other woodcut illustrations) <http://www.bulaja.com/Marulic/djela/judita/str1.htm>

STUDIES

- H. Heger, 'À propos du titre de la *Judita* de Marulić', in T. Bogdan and C. Pavlović (eds), *Poslanje filologa: zbornik radova povodom 70. rođendana Mirka Tomasovića*, Zagreb, 2008, 235-49
- M. Pelc, 'Podrijetlo drvoreza Marulićeve *Judite* (1521-1523)' ['The origin of the woodcuts in Marulić's *Judita* (1521-23)], *Mogućnosti* 56 4/6 (2006) 1-12 (Pelc proves that Marulus is not the creator of the woodcuts. The book from which the pictures are borrowed is titled *Expositio in Librum Beati Cirilli de tribulationibus et statu Sancte matris Ecclesie*, Joachim de Flore, Venice, 1516)
- K. Livljanić, 'The agony of Judith. A biblical story from medieval Dalmatia. Based on Judith by Marko Marulić', *Explorations in time*, London, 2006, pp. 1-9 (Programme for concert at Purcell Room, London, 26 April 2006)
- I. Lőkös, 'Die imitatio-Theorie der Renaissance und biblische Tradition in dem Epos *Judit* von Marko Marulić', in E. von Erdmann et al. (eds), *Tusculum Slavicum*, Zürich, 2005, 370-80
- D. Jelčić (ed.), *Zbornik radova o Marku Maruliću; u povodu 550. obljetnice rođenja i 500. obljetnice njegove Judite 1450.-1501.-2001.* = *Collected papers on Marko Marulić; in celebration of 550th anniversary of his birth and 500th anniversary of the birth of his Judita 1450-1501-2001*, Zagreb, 2005 (contains, among others: D. Fališevac, 'Judita Marka Marulića' = 'Judith', pp. 21-31; H.R. Cooper, 'Judita i ja' = 'Judith and I', pp. 115-30; J. Vončina, 'Marulićeve Judita u sazrijevanju jezikoslovne kroatistike' = 'Marulus' Judith during the maturing of Croatian philology', pp. 163-74)
- I. Lőkös, 'Intertekstualnost u Marulićevoj Juditi', *Colloquia Maruliana* 13 (2004) 57-66 (with English summary: 'Intertextuality in Marulić's Judith')
- L. Borsetto, 'Per una introduzione alla *Judita* in Italiano', in L. Borsetto (ed.), *Italia-Slavia tra Quattro e Cinquecento. Marko Marulić umanista croato nel contesto storico-letterario dell'Italia e di Padova*, Alessandria, 2004, 97-117
- D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca. Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar, 2004, pp. 46-9
- F.J. Juez Gálvez, 'La caída de Constantinopla y los eslavos meridionales', *Nueva Roma* 19 (2003) 395-420, pp. 410-18
- R. Pšihistal, 'Treba li Marulićeve *Judita* alegorijsko tumačenje?', *Colloquia Maruliana* 11 (2002) 154-86 (with English summary: 'Does Marulić's *Judith* need an allegorical interpretation?')

- B. Jozić, 'Marulićeva *Judita* kao *miles Christi*', *Colloquia Maruliana* 11 (2002) 187-205 (with English summary: 'Marulić's *Judith* as *miles Christi*')
Colloquia Maruliana 11 (2002) (contains numerous studies on *Judita*)
http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=toc&id_broj=304
- L. Borsetto, 'Storie di Giuditta in Europa tra Quattro e Cinquecento. Il cantare di Lucrezia Tornabuoni; il poema di Marko Marulić (*exordium* e *narratio*: prime ricognizioni)', in *Riscrivere gli Antichi, riscrivere i Moderni e altri studi di letteratura italiana e comparata tra Quattro e Ottocento*, Alessandria, 2002, 83-120
- G. Mecky Zaragoza, 'Virgo und Virago. Zwei frühneuzeitliche Judith-Figuren im Vergleich', *Daphnis: Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur und Kultur der Frühen Neuzeit (1400-1750)* 31 (2002) 107-26
- M. Ivanišević, 'Ikonografija drvoreza u starim izdanjima Marulićeve *Judite*' [Iconography of the woodcuts in the old editions of Marulić's *Judith*], *Mogućnosti* 49 10/12 (2002) 45-75
- K. Kužić, 'Nazivi oružja u *Juditi* i značenje drvoreza iz drugog izdanja' [The names of weapons in *Judith* and the meaning of the woodcuts in the second edition], *Mogućnosti* 48 7/9 (2001) 58-73
- M. Moguš, *Rječnik Marulićeve Judite*, Zagreb, 2001
- J. Jerkov, 'Amor sacro e amor profano nei poemi croati di Marulić', *Colloquia Maruliana* 9 (2000) 219-25
- M. Tomasović, '*Judita*. A biblical, humanist and Renaissance epic', in B. Lučin (ed.), *Dossier: Marko Marulić*, special issue of *Most / The Bridge Literary Magazine* (Zagreb) 1-4 (1999) 107-14
- I. Lőkös, 'A Judit és Holofernéz-téma a horvát és a magyar reneszáns epikában', *Studia Litteraria* 30 (1992) 19-45 (with summary in German: 'Die Gestalt von Judith und Holofernes in der kroatischen und ungarischen Epik der Renaissance')
- G.J. Gutsche, 'Classical Antiquity in Marulić's *Judita*', *Slavic and East European Journal* 19 (1975) 310-21
- G. Bassani, art. 'Judith – Marko Marulić [sic]', in *Diccionario literario de obras y personajes de todos los tiempos y de todos los países*, Barcelona, 1959, vol. 6, p. 373
- P. Skok, 'O stilu Marulićeve *Judite*' [On the style of Marulić's *Judith*], in J. Badalić and N. Majnarić (eds), *Zbornik u proslavu petstogodišnjice rođenja Marka Marulića: 1450-1950*, Zagreb, 1950, 165-241 (for words of Turkish origin in *Judita*, see p. 172)

*Qual maraviglia se 'l furor turchesco, 'What wonder
if the Turkish fury'*

DATE 1501

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

DESCRIPTION

This is one of only two known sonnets from a group that Marulus mentions in his letter to Jerome Cippico of 2 November 1501 (Lučin, *Marulic reader*, pp. 270-1). It may be considered a summary of his lost treatise in Italian on the oppression of the Christians by the infidels, mentioned in a letter to Jerome Cippico of 19 July 1501 (Lučin, *Marulić reader*, pp. 262-5). The Turkish fury bears down on the Christian people. Referring to the metaphors in Dante's *Inferno* I, 33-60, and to Romans 2:24, Marulus laments that the name of God is reviled and asserts that if this is not corrected the wrath of God the Father will not abate.

SIGNIFICANCE

In explaining the causes of the persecutions of Christians by the Turks, Marulus uses an interesting reversal: negative characteristics usually connected with the Turks are here applied to the Christians – it is they who are rapacious, cunning, arrogant, greedy, etc. This reversal of attributes is both strengthened and complicated by the use of animal metaphors, some of which are applied in a traditional way to represent negative moral characteristics in general, but some of which might also have political connotations (see Posset, 'The mouse, the frog'). The main sin of the Christians, however, seems to be blasphemy. The only way for them to obtain God's help against the persecutors is through moral improvement. In his sonnets Marulus admonishes Christians for their sinful actions and irresponsibility.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Zagreb, Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts –
I a 64, fols 46v-47r (c. 1530)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J. Hekman (ed.), *Split 1999. Dossier*, Zagreb, 2005, p. 236 (Croatian trans. M. Tomasović)

Nueva Roma 19 (2003) p. 413

M. Marulić, *Duhom do zvijezda*, ed. B. Lučin, Zagreb, 2001, p. 464 (Croatian trans. M. Tomasović)

M. Marulić, *Antologija. Izbor iz poezije i proze*, ed. M. Tomasović, Zagreb, 2000, p. 161 (Croatian trans.)

- M. Tomasović, 'Marulić o sonetu', *Colloquia Maruliana* 9 (2000) 371-80, pp. 376-8 (Italian with Croatian trans. M. Milošević and M. Tomasović)
- M. Tomasović, *Prepjevni primjeri*, Zagreb, 2000, pp. 75-7 (Italian with Croatian trans.)
- G. Scotti, 'Marco Marulo – Marulić sotto una diversa luce', *La Battana* 118 (1995) 107-18, p. 117
- M. Milošević, 'Sedam nepoznatih pisama Marka Marulića [Seven unpublished letters of Marcus Marulić]', *Colloquia Maruliana* 1 (1992) 5-31, pp. 14-15 (Italian with Croatian trans. M. Milošević)
- M. Milošević (trans.), *Mogućnosti* 38 11/12 (1991) 942-3 (Italian with Croatian trans. by M. Milošević)
- M. Deanović, 'Due sonetti inediti di Marco Marulo', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 108/234 (1936) 216-24, pp. 217-18

STUDIES

- F. Posset, 'The mouse, the frog and the unidentified flying object. Metaphors for 'empires' in the Latin works of the Croatian humanist Marcus Marulus and of the German humanist Ulrich von Hutten', *Colloquia Maruliana* 17 (2008) 125-48
- M. Tomasović, 'Marulić sonetima opominje 'kršćanski puk' zbog grešnih čina i neodgovornosti', in J. Hekman (ed.), *Split 1999. Dossier*, Zagreb, 2005, 234-6
- M. Tomasović, 'Marulićevi talijanski soneti', in M. Tomasović, *Prepjevni primjeri*, Zagreb, 2000, 69-79
- M. Tomasović, 'Marulić o sonetu', *Colloquia Maruliana* 9 (1992) 371-80 (with Italian summary)
- M. Milošević, 'Sedam nepoznatih pisama Marka Marulića' [Seven unpublished letters of Marko Marulić], *Colloquia Maruliana* 1 (1992) 5-31 (with English summary, pp. 165-6)
- M. Deanović, 'Due sonetti inediti di Marco Marulo', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 108/234 (1936) 216-24

De humilitate et gloria Christi, 'On the humility and glory of Christ'

DATE 1506

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This is one of Marcus Marulus's major theological works; it comprises three books: *Liber euangelicus*, *Liber propheticus*, and *Liber gloriosus*. The work alternates between fragments of sermon writing, exegetical deliberations and political digressions; written in cultivated Latin, it contains numerous figurative interpretations of biblical passages (Lučin, *Marulić reader*, p. 16).

In Book 1, Marulus includes a section on heresies; this includes the heresies of the early Church (*Opera omnia*, vol. 9, p. 426), but not the *Machumetana heresis*, about which he writes in his *Evangelistarium*. In Book 2, he refers twice to the 'Mohammedans'. First, within the section on the Apostles, he says that one should read the lives of the martyrs and see that the Church of Christ suffered from attacks by heretics and that Christian cities and kingdoms are occupied and forced into servitude by the henchmen of the 'Mohammedan depravity' (*a Machumetane prauitatis sectatoribus*; *Opera omnia*, vol. 9, p. 554). Second, within the section on *Communio*, he inserts a passage on Luke 22:31-2, about Christ's prayer for Peter's faith and his command that Peter should strengthen the faith of his brethren, whom Marulus interprets to be the universal Church. The infidels rage, they persecute the Church, occupy Christian cities, land and kingdoms, and control the entire world, but the religion of Christ will stand tall on earth as Peter's faith in Christ will persevere to the end. Then Israel, too, will convert to Christ and be saved. Although the Muslims may dominate all the nations of the earth, the faith of Christ will be victorious; Marulus cites 1 John 5:4: 'our faith that conquers the world'. At this point, he speaks of the Turks and likens them to the pagan Roman Empire: neither the Romans nor the Turks will be able to destroy faith in Christ, since Christ's prayer for Peter is more powerful, and so the Christian faithful should remain confident (*Opera omnia*, vol. 9, p. 579).

SIGNIFICANCE

Marulus reveals a typically hostile attitude towards the Turks and confidence, maybe in defiance of the facts, that Christianity will win in the end. His comments show the scale of the threat from the Turks, and the extent of Christian desperation.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Marci Maruli opera omnia, ed. B. Glavičić, vol. 9, trans. B. Glavičić (Latin-Croatian edition)

Dell'humilta et della gloria di Christo libri, Venice, 1595 (Italian trans. by Gioseffo Alchaini OP), <http://books.google.hr/books?id=eRhSAAAAcAAJ>

De humilitate et gloria Christi Marci Marvli opvs, Venice, 1519, <http://books.google.ca/books?id=iVMRwcmcXHUC>

STUDIES

- P. Runje, 'O nekim izdanjima *Quinquaginta parabolae* i *De humilitate et gloria Christi* Marka Marulića', *Colloquia Maruliana* 2 (1993) 9-12 (with summary in Italian: 'Intorno alle edizioni sconosciute delle *Quinquaginta parabolae* e del *De humilitate et gloria Christi* di Marko Marulić' 120-1)
- B. Glavičić, 'Sudbina Marulićeva djela *De humilitate et gloria Christi*', *Radovi* (Razdio filoloških znanosti, Sveučilište u Splitu, Filozofski fakultet Zadar) 29 (19) (1990), 167-74 (with summary in English: 'The fate of Marulić's work *De humilitate et gloria Christi*')

Evangelistarium

DATE Approximately 1515

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Evangelistarium* is about 700 pages long, filling two volumes (4 and 5) of *Opera omnia*. It is the first major result of Marulus's scriptural studies, and he published his first version in 'seven books', probably based on his study of the *Biblia Latina cum comento*, which he had purchased after 1489. The *Evangelistarium* is an impressive treatise on practical Christian morality based upon the three theological virtues of faith, hope and love. However, it is not simply a book on morality, even though its declared priority is ethics. It is also a general theological work and a guide for readers of Scripture (Jovanović, 'Paratekst i loci Biblici').

Probably as a result of his study of the biblical commentaries contained in his 1489 *Biblia*, Marulus observes in his *Evangelistarium* that in his time not a few Christians are converting to Islam. He mentions the *Machumetani* again, along with other historical heresies such as Arianism and also with those in the Church who dare to contradict the 'Catholic truth' (*catholica veritas*), and he explicitly uses the very rare expression

Machumetana heresis (the Mohammadan heresy), and also calls Turks *infideles Turci* (*Opera omnia*, vol. 5, pp. 605-6, 671).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Evangelistarium* is regarded today as Marulus's 'most important moral and theological work' (Lučin, *Marulić reader*, p. 14). Its remarkable success is primarily indicated by the fact that soon after its first publication in Venice it was also printed elsewhere. Its corrector and editor in Basel, the German humanist and Franciscan Friar Sebastian Münster (1488-1552), later a Lutheran (W. Raupp, art. 'Münster, Sebastian', in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Hamm, 1993, vol. 6, 316-26), says of it: 'There is no spirit of dispute, or confused opinions, or enumerable purely human traditions. You will hear what is fitting for a truly evangelical work [*opus vere evangelicum*]: only the voice of God, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, apostle, and prophet, and the pure truth' (*Frater Sebastianus Munsterus . . . ad pium lectorem*, p. [399]).

Later editions underscore the effect of the work. The editions of 1529 and 1532 in Cologne played a role in theological debate when the Reformation was being introduced in the city (von Erdmann, 'Marko Marulić'). In the 18th century, the memory of these Cologne editions was kept alive by Johann Albert Fabricius, who listed the *Evangelistarium* in his *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis* (Hamburg, 1736, p. 138) as a work about 'hope, faith, and charity' (in this sequence!). It was translated in full or in part into Italian, Spanish, French and Flemish (extract). Altogether, it was printed about 15 times, in Venice, Basel, Cologne, Paris and Antwerp.

King Henry VIII of England owned a copy of the 1529 edition, and with the exception of his Psalter it is the most heavily annotated book known from his library.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Marci Maruli opera omnia, ed. B. Glavičić, Split, Croatia, 1985, vols 4 and 5 (Latin-Croatian edition, trans. B. Glavičić)

B. Fernandez de Reuenga (trans.), *Evangelistario de Marco Marulo Spalatense*, Madrid, 1655 (Spanish trans.), <http://books.google.hr/books?id=8Us1jLg8ZwQC>

Opus vere euangelicum, de fide, spe & charitate, in *Operum M. Maruli Spalatensis tomus posterior*, Antwerp, 1601, http://books.google.hr/books?id=y2KD4mYA_2AC

J. Garett et al., *De la vraye presence du corps de Jesus-Christ au s. sacrement de l'autel . . .*, Paris, 1599 (extract in French, fols 293v-294v)

- S. Razzi (trans.), *Evangelistario di Marco Marulo Spalatense*, Florence, 1571 (Italian trans.)
- P. Baccherius, *Hortvlyvs precationvm, Dat is, Het hofken der bedinghen . . .*, Louvain, 1566 (extract in Flemish, fol. 40-40v)
- M. Maruli Evangelistarium, opus vere euangelicum, sub fidei, spei & charitatis titulis, in septem libros partitum*, Cologne, 1556, <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00016192/images/index.html>
- Evangelistarium Marci Maruli Spalatensis, opus vere euangelicum, sub fidei, spei & charitatis titulis in VII. libros partitum*, Paris, 1545, <http://www.google.hr/books?id=DYffHoATbuAC>
- Evangelistarium M. Maruli Spalatensis, opus vere euangelicum, sub fidei, spei et charitatis titulis in VII. libros partitum*, Cologne, 1541, <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10205563.html>
- Evangelistarium M. Maruli Spalatensis, opus vere euangelicum, sub fidei, spei & charitatis titulis in septem libros partitum*, Cologne: P. Quentell, 1532, <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00028370/images/>
- Evangelistarium M. Maruli Spalatensis, opus vere euangelicum, sub fidei, spei & charitatis titulis in septem libros partitum*, Cologne: G. Hittorp, 1532, <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00034888/images/>
- Evangelistarium Marci Maruli Spalatensis viri disertissimi, opus vere euangelicum cultissimoque adornatum sermone, sub fidei, spei & charitatis titulus*, Cologne: F. Birckmann, 1529 (for different title page see *Bibliografija*, no. 33)
- Evangelistarium Marci Maruli Spalatensis viri disertissimi, opus vere euangelicum cultissimoque adornatum sermone, sub fidei, spei & charitatis titulus, in septem partitum libros*, Cologne: F. Birckmann, 1529 (for different title page see *Bibliografija*, no. 34)
- Evangelistarium M. Maruli Spalatensis opus uere euangelicum, sub fidei, spei & charitatis titulis in septem libros partitum*, Cologne: G. Hitorpius, 1529 (for different title page see *Bibliografija*, no. 35)
- Evangelistarium M. Maruli Spalatensis uiri disertissimi, opus uere euangelicum, cultissimoque adornatum sermone sub fidei, spei & charitatis titulis, in VII. partitum libros*, Cologne: G. Hitorpius, 1529 (for different title page see *Bibliografija*, no. 36)

(The four different editions that were published in 1529 have different title pages – further information on these can be found in B. Jozić and B. Lučin, *Bibliografija Marka Marulića Prvi dio: Tiskana Djela (1477-1997)*, Split, Croatia, 1998, 44-46)

Evangelistarium Marci Maruli Spalatensis viri disertissimi, opus uere euangelicum, cultissimoque adornatum sermone, sub fidei, spei & charitatis titulis, in septem partitum libros, Basel, 1519, <http://books.google.hr/books?id=-ANRAAAAcAAJ>

Marci Maruli Spalatensis Evangelistarium, Venice, 1516 (the earliest extant print, an improved version of an earlier unknown one), <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10198513.html>

STUDIES

- R. Cattaneo, 'La base senecana della dottrina dei benefici nell'*Evangelistario* di Marko Marulić', *Colloquia Maruliana* 24 (2015) 115-44
- A. Clarke, 'Henry VIII and Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*', *Colloquia Maruliana* 20 (2011) 167-75
- E. von Erdmann, 'Marko Marulić in den Religionskonflikten der deutschen Länder des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Colloquia Maruliana* 20 (2011) 177-93
- F.J. Juez Gálvez, 'El *Evangelistarium* en España y el *Evangelistario* español de 1655', *Colloquia Maruliana* 19 (2009) 249-68
- C. Béné, 'L'*Evangelistarium*, maître-livre de Marulić', *Colloquia Maruliana* 12 (2003) 5-22
- N. Jovanović, 'Paratekst i *loci Biblici* kao put od stila do tumačenja Marulićeve *Evandelistara*', *Colloquia Maruliana* 12 (2003) 23-45 (with English summary: 'From style to interpretation. Paratext and *loci biblici* in the *Evangelistarium* by Marko Marulić')
- S. Lukač, 'Marulićev *Evandelistar* (Coloniae, 1529) iz mađarskog Gyöngyösa', *Colloquia Maruliana* 12 (2003) 255-60 (with English summary: 'The Marulić *Evangelistary* from Gyöngöys in Hungary')
- I. Martinović, 'Marulićev etički nauk o miru', *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 51-2 (2000) 17-57 (with English summary: 'Marko Marulić's ethical doctrine on peace')
- F. Leschinkohl, 'Le rôle historique de l'*Evangelistarium* et de l'*Institutio* au XVI^e siècle', *Cahiers Croates* 1/1-2 (1997) 81-6
- C. Béné, 'Henry VIII et Thomas More, lecteurs de Marulić', *Colloquia Maruliana* 5 (1996) 87-106

- F. Leschinkohl, 'Povijesna uloga *Evangelistara* i *Institucije* u 16. stoljeću', *Colloquia Maruliana* 4 (1995) 81-102 (with English summary: 'The historical role of the *Evangelistarium* and the *De Institutione* in the 16th century')
- P. Runje, 'O ranim izdanjima *Evangelistara* i *Institucije*', *Colloquia Maruliana* 3 (1994) 93-8 (with English summary: 'On the early editions of the *Evangelistarium* and the *De institutione* by Marko Marulić')
- F. Leschinkohl, 'Marko Marulić u njemačkim knjižnicama', *Colloquia Maruliana* 3 (1994) 99-126 (with English summary: 'Marko Marulić in German libraries')

*Tuženje grada Jerzolima moleći papu da skupi
gospodu karstjansku ter da ga oslobodi od ruk
poganskih*, 'Lament of the city of Jerusalem,
begging the pope to assemble Christian nobles and
deliver it from pagan hands'

DATE Approximately 1516-17

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

This work was written after the occupation of Syria and neighbouring territories by the Turks in 1516-17, although it was first printed only in 1869. It comprises 128 lines. Although there is an early Christian poem on this subject (*Elegia in Hierusalem*) in the 1501 edition of *Poetae Christiani veteres*, which was in Marulus's possession, there are no traces of any marginalia from his pen to indicate that he had actually read it.

Marulus's poem is a passionate plea calling for help from the European powers: the captured city of Jerusalem addresses the 'Holy Father' and enumerates the Western rulers and states that he should call for a crusade. In the final line, the Turkish ruler is referred to as *car* (in Croatian, South Slavic) – 'czar'/'tsar'.

SIGNIFICANCE

The call goes out to the unnamed 'Holy Father'. (Another call for help was to be issued by Marulus in 1522 as an 'open letter' to Pope Hadrian VI, and yet another in 1523, an epistle to Pope Clement VII in the form of a poem [*Opera omnia*, vol. 17, no. 101]). The Holy Father is to gather the

Christian peoples together in order to liberate Jerusalem from 'pagan hands'. The Turks are called the 'damned people' and 'pagan beast' (cf. Revelation 17); they are worse than 'those who put Christ on the cross'. Marulus's advocacy of papal leadership proves his Roman-Catholic position in *Antiturcica* literature, distinct from the anti-papal German-Lutheran attitude of the time and the refusal to call upon the pope.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Zagreb, Archives of the Croatian academy of Arts and Sciences – 'Vartal' Petra Lucija, IV.a.31, fols 62v-64v (late 16th century)

MS Trogir, The Chapter Library – 'Splitska pjesmarica trogirskoga kaptola' [Split poetic miscellany of the Trogir chapter], no shelf-mark, fols 55r-57v (late 16th or early 17th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

S. Šajnović and I.C. Kraljić (trans.), *Plainte de la ville de Jérusalem suppliant le Pape de réunir les seigneurs chrétiens pour la délivrer des mains des infidèles*, Bibliothèque Saint Libère, (s.l.), 2009 (Croatian-French edition), http://www.liberius.net/articles/Plainte_de_la_ville_de_Jerusalem_suppliant_le_Pape_de_reunir_les_seigneurs_chrétiens_pour_la_délivrer_des_mains_des_infideles.pdf

I. Lőkös (trans.), *Zsuzsánna. Jeruzsálem városának panasza. Imádság a török ellen*, Budapest, 2007, pp. 49-52 (Hungarian trans.)

B. Lučin (ed.), *The Marulić reader*, Split, 2007, pp. 246-53 (Croatian-English edition; English trans. M. Kovačićek)

M. Marulić, *Duhom do zvijezda*, ed. B. Lučin, Zagreb, 2001, pp. 181-6

B. Petrač (ed.), *Od začetja Isusova*, Zagreb, 2001, pp. 89-95

B. Glavičić (ed.), *Marci Maruli opera omnia*, vol. 2, pp. 144-7

M. Franičević and H. Morović (eds), *Versi harvacki*, Split, 1979, pp. 172-5

P. Lucić, *Vartal*, ed. N. Kolumbić, Split, 1990, pp. 175-8

T. Maroević and M. Tomasović (eds), *Plavca nova*, ed. Zagreb, 1971, pp. 117-19

I. Slamnig (ed.), *Judita, Suzana, Pjesme*, Zagreb, 1970, pp. 134-7

A. Zaninović, 'Marulić pjesma. Tužen'je grada Hjeropolima', *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku*, god. 1924-1925 (1925) supplement 2, 1-11, pp. 7-11

I. Kukuljević Sakcinski (ed.), *Pjesme Marka Marulića*, Zagreb, 1869, pp. 241-4

STUDIES

D. Dukić, 'Das Türkenbild in der kroatischen literarischen Kultur vom 15. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts', in R. Lauer and H.G. Majer (eds), *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa*, Berlin, 2013, 157-91

- D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca. Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar, 2004, pp. 245-53
- A. Zaninović, 'Marulićeva pjesma. Tužen'je grada Hjeropolima', *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku* (1924-25) supplement 2, 1-11

De Gallis et Hispanis inter se bellantibus, 'On the French and the Spanish fighting one another'

DATE Approximately 1521

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This is a short poem of only 12 lines, featuring France and Spain as hatefully warring nations who should instead join forces against Muḥammad, who is enraged against the Christians. In his commentary on the poem, Novaković suggests that it might have been written 'ca. 1521?' (*Opera omnia*, vol. 17, p. 164).

SIGNIFICANCE

France and Spain are singled out as battling against each other instead of uniting against the common enemy, the Turks. The two nations are guilty of not making lasting peace with each other while the enemy 'has conquered almost the entire world'. In his sermon about the Last Judgment of Christ of 1520-21, Marulus again pleads with the rulers of France and Spain, and also of Italy, to make peace in order to be able to resist the *Mahumetani* (*Opera omnia*, vol. 11, p. 231).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Glasgow, University Library – Hunter 334 / U. 8.2, fol. CVIv
(c. 1524-50)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- B. Lučin (ed.), *The Marulić reader*, Split, 2007, pp. 144-5 (Latin-English edition, trans. M. Kovačiček)
- Marci Maruli opera omnia*, vol. 17, pp. 164-5 (no. 95) (Latin-Croatian edition, trans. D. Novaković)
- M. Marulić, *Duhom do zvijezda*, ed. B. Lučin, Zagreb, 2001, p. 453 (Croatian trans. D. Novaković)
- B. Lučin, *Marko Marulić 1450-1524*, Madrid, 2000, p. 71 (Spanish trans. F.J. Juez Gálvez)

- G. McMaster and M. Kovačiček, 'Latin Poems / Marko Marulić', *Most / The Bridge Literary Magazine*, 1-4 (1999) p. 85 (English trans.)
- D. Novaković (ed. and trans.), *Marko Marulić. Glasgowski stihovi*, Zagreb, 1999, pp. 22-3 (Latin-Croatian edition)
- D. Novaković (ed.), 'Marci Maruli epigrammata', *Colloquia Maruliana* 6 (1997) 37-77, p. 41 (first edition)

*Epistola domini Marci Maruli Spalatensis ad
Adrianum VI. Pont. Max.*, 'The epistle of master
Marko Marulić of Split to Pope Hadrian VI'

DATE 3 April 1522

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Open letter* (its title in full is *Epistola domini Marci Maruli Spalatensis ad Adrianum VI. Pont. Max. de calamitatibus occurrentibus et exhortatio ad communem omnium Christianorum unionem et pacem*, 'The epistle of master Marko Marulić of Split to Pope Hadrian VI about present misfortunes and a call to union and peace of all Christians') comprises nine pages in *Opera omnia*, plus a few lines (including the dedicatory epistle to Father Dominik Buća [Dominicus Buchia] and a prayer for the pope at the end). The dedicatory epistle is dated 3 April 1522, while the date of publication (in the colophon) is 30 April 1522.

The name of the new pope does not appear until the very end of the letter, raising the question of whether Marulus had written it at an earlier stage rather than as a response to the election of Hadrian VI. He may well have, because the prayer for the pope that he includes here is virtually identical with the prayer he had written for Pope Leo X (*Opera omnia*, vol. 17, no. 93), and also because he sent the letter as early as spring 1522, when the new pope had not yet arrived in Rome from Spain.

The open letter is another significant work of *Antitursica* literature. The first marginal note in the original edition reads: *Pax Maumethana cum Christianis* ('Muhammadan peace with the Christians'), referring to the Venetians, the rulers of Split, and their so-called friendship with Sultan Bayezid II. Marulus says that this peace cannot be called a real friendship, since an opponent of Christ cannot be a friend of Christians. With such differences in faith, laws and customs, the only friendship is a feigned

friendship (*amicitia simulata*). The Turks are the most impious nation of all the Antichrists; they represent the barbaric *Maumethana perfidia*, the denial of Christ, and the worship of Muḥammad. They are a ravaging wolf, the Muḥammadan beast, the infidel tyrant, and the common enemy.

Marulus calls upon Hadrian to unite the Christian nations against the Ottoman armies' attacks because it is the pope, and not the Holy Roman Emperor or the Doge of Venice, who should be the leader in defending Europe. In this he opposes, whether consciously or not, the views of the German nationalists Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523) and Martin Luther (1483-1546) that the pope should not be involved in such affairs.

Marulus employs Aesop's fable of the mouse and the frog, representing the Holy Roman Empire and the Republic of Venice. Ulrich von Hutten, spokesman for the movement of a 'church without Rome', called for the financial support that was given to the papacy to be given instead to the emperor for war against the Turks (S. Wheelis, 'Ulrich von Hutten, representative of patriotic humanism', in G. Hoffmeister [ed.], *The Renaissance and Reformation in Germany. An introduction*, New York, 1977, 111-27, p. 122). Taking an opposing view, Marulus uses the fable to give a warning against the threat from the bird of prey ('the barbarian foe', the Turks) to both the frog and the mouse (the Christian nations of Europe) (Posset, 'The mouse, the frog').

SIGNIFICANCE

The Turkish threat was usually perceived at that time as a result of the wrath of God, and in this *Open letter* the wrath of God is said to be caused by the sinful disunity of Europe and the Christian nations fighting against each other. Although it cannot be assumed that the letter was actually read by the pope, or that there was any immediate response, Hadrian VI did make the issue of Christian unity the topic of his first speech at the consistory held on 1 September 1522, immediately after his coronation. Shortly afterwards, he wrote to Emperor Charles V and warned of the disunity that actually offered much greater assistance to the Turkish tyrant than an army of thousands of soldiers. Marulus was convinced of this very point and called for the pope's involvement.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- R. Cattaneo (trans.), 'Epistola di don Marco Marulo da Spalato al Sommo Pontefice Adriano VI', *Colloquia Maruliana* 22 (2013) 150-7 (Italian trans.)

- 'Epistola domini Marci Maruli Spalatensis ad Adrianum VI. Pont. Max. de calamitatibus occurrentibus et exhortatio ad communem omnium Christianorum unionem et pacem', in *Opera omnia*, vol. 17, pp. 245-65 (Latin-Croatian edition, trans. V. Gligo, V. Gortan and D. Novaković)
- I.C. Kraljić (trans.), 'Lettre du Seigneur Marko Marulić de Split au Souverain Pontife Adrien VI au sujet des désastres actuels, et exhortation à l'union de tous les chrétiens et à la paix', Bibliothèque Saint Libère, (s.l.), 2010 (French trans.), <http://marulus.files.wordpress.com/2011/10/lettre-du-seigneur-marko-marulic-de-split-au-souverain-pontife-adrien-vi-au-sujet-des-desastres-actuels-et-exhortation-a-l-union-de-tous-les-chretiens-et-a-la-paix.pdf>
- 'Epistola domini Marci Maruli Spalatensis ad Adrianum VI. pontificem maximum de calamitatibus occurrentibus et exhortatio ad comunem omnium Christianorum unionem et pacem' = 'Lettre de messire Marcus Marulus de Split a Adrien VI. souverain Pontife au sujet des malheurs qui se produisent et exhortation a l'union et a la paix de tous les chretiens' = 'The Epistle of Marko Marulić of Split to Pope Adrian VI. about present misfortunes and a call to union and peace of all Christians', in I. Malec, *Epistola*, Luxembourg, 2009 (booklet accompanying the CD with the recording of Malec's cantata; French trans. G. Lafon, English trans. V. Andrassy, selections)
- V. Andrassy (trans.), 'Epistola domini Marci Maruli Spalatensis ad Adrianum VI. pontificem maximum de calamitatibus occurrentibus et exhortatio ad communem omnium Christianorum unionem et pacem' = 'Epistle of Master Marko Marulić of Split to Pope Adrian VI. about present misfortunes and a call to union and peace of all Christians', in Lučin, *Marulić reader*, pp. 90-109 (Latin edition with English trans.)
- G. Lafon (trans.), 'Epistola domini Marci Maruli Spalatensis ad Adrianum VI. pontificem maximum de calamitatibus occurrentibus et exhortatio ad communem omnium christianorum unionem et pacem' = 'Lettre de Messire Marcus Marulus de Split a Adrien VI. souverain pontife au sujet des malheurs qui se produisent et exhortation a l'union et a la paix de tous les chretiens', in *Programme du concert d'ouverture Luxembourg et Grande Région, Capitale européenne de la Culture 2007*, Luxembourg, 2006, pp. 10-15 (Latin edition with French trans.; selections)

- G. Lafon (trans.), 'Epistola domini Marci Maruli Spalatensis ad Adrianum VI. pontificem maximum de calamitatibus occurrentibus et exhortatio ad communem omnium Christianorum unionem et pacem' = 'Lettre de Messire Marcus Marulus de Split à Adrien VI. souverain pontife au sujet des malheurs qui se produisent et exhortation à l'union et à la paix de tous les chrétiens', in I. Malec, *Epistola. Cantate pour solistes, chœur & grand orchestre; texte de Marko Marulić*, Paris, 2006, p. 4 (French trans.; selections)
- K. Mirth (trans.), 'Epistola domini Marci Maruli Spalatensis ad Adrianum VI. pont. max. de calamitatibus occurrentibus et exhortatio ad communem omnium christianorum unionem et pacem, Roma 1522.', *Colloquia Maruliana* 13 (2004) 203-4 (Spanish trans.; selections)
- F.J. Juez Gálvez (trans.), 'Éstos son los males que nos oprimen', *Nueva Roma* 19 (2003) 416-18 (Spanish trans.; selections)
- F.J. Juez Gálvez (trans.), 'Epístola del señor Marko Marulić de Split al papa Adriano VI', *Studia Croatica* 145 (2002) 75-84 (Spanish trans.)
- M. Marulić, *Duhom do zvijezda*, ed. B. Lučin, Zagreb, 2001, pp. 331-43 (Croatian trans. V. Gligo, V. Gortan and D. Novaković)
- V. Gligo (trans.), 'Poslanica Papi Hadrijanu VI.', *Zadarska smotra* 3-4 (2001) 220-1 (Croatian trans.; selections; repr. in B. Glavičić (ed.), *Marko Marulić, europski humanist [1450-1524]*, Zadar, 2001)
- F.J. Juez Galvez (trans.), 'Epistola al papa Adriano VI', in Lučin, *Marko Marulić (1450-1524)*, pp. 60-2 (Spanish trans.; selections)
- V. Andrassy (trans.), 'The Epistle of Marko Marulić of Split to Pope Adrian VI. about present misfortunes and a call to union and peace of all Christians', 'Dossier: Marko Marulić', *Most /The Bridge Literary Magazine* (1999) 46-51 (English trans.)
- G. Lafon (trans.), 'Au Souverain Pontife Adrien VI. Marko Marulić de Split s'adresse en toute humilité en l'implorant', *Cahiers Croates* 2/5-6 (1998) 135-53 (French trans.)
- M. Marulić, *Epistola ad Adrianum VI. P. M. = Poslanica Papi Hadrijanu VI. = Epistle to Pope Adrian VI. 1522*, ed. J. Bratulić, Zagreb and Split, 1994 (trilingual edition, in Latin, Croatian trans. V. Gligo, V. Gortan and D. Novaković and English trans. V. Andrassy; with a separate booklet containing the facsimile edition of the Latin edition of 1522)
- D. Novaković (ed.), *Hrvatski latinisti. Razdoblje humanizma*, Zagreb, 1997, pp. 66-71 (Croatian trans. V. Gligo and V. Gortan; selections)

- 'Pismo papi Hadrijanu VI o nevoljama koje nahrupljuju i poticaj za opće jedinstvo i mir svih kršćana', in V. Gligo (ed.), *Govori protiv Turaka*, Split, 1983, 165-78 (Croatian trans. V. Gligo and V. Gortan); pp. 449-62 (facsimile of the 1522 edition)
- E. Pivčević (trans.), 'Letter from Marko Marulić to Pope Adrian VI', *British-Croatian Review* 4 (1977) 10-12 (English trans.; selections)
- M. Marulić, *Plavca nova*, ed. M. Tomasović and T. Maroević, Split, 1971, pp. 160-1 (Croatian trans.; selections)
- V. Gortan and V. Vratović (eds), *Hrvatski latinisti = Croatici auctores qui Latine scripserunt*, Zagreb, 1969, vol. 1, 308-13 (Latin-Croatian edition, trans. V. Gortan; selections)
- Hrvatska Revija = La Revista Croata* 1 (1951) 20-1 (Croatian trans., selections)
- Epistola domini Marci Maruli Spalatensis ad Adrianum. VI. Pont. Max.*, Rome, 1522 (first edition), <http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03625>

STUDIES

- R. Cattaneo, 'L'Epistola a papa Adriano VI di Marco Marulić in Italiano. Versione e nota traduttologica', *Colloquia Maruliana* 22 (2013) 145-9
- F. Posset, 'Open letter of a Croatian lay theologian to a "German" pope. Marko Marulić to Adrian VI', *Colloquia Maruliana* 18 (2009) 135-60
- F. Posset, 'The mouse, the frog and the unidentified flying object. Metaphors for "empires" in the Latin works of the Croatian humanist Marcus Marulus and of the German humanist Ulrich von Hutten', *Colloquia Maruliana* 17 (2008) 125-48
- R. Cattaneo, 'O stilu i kulturnom značenju Marulićeve Poslanice papi Adrijanu VI', *Colloquia Maruliana* 17 (2008) 91-115 (with summary in Italian: 'Sullo stile e la rilevanza culturale dell'Epistola a Papa Adriano VI di Marco Marulić' pp. 116-24)
- S. Marijanović, 'Poslanice Marka Marulića i Stjepana Brodarića papi Hadrijanu VI. (s osvrtom na temu "suprotiva Turkom" sjevernohrvatskih humanista)', *Colloquia Maruliana* 12 (2003) 85-93 (with summary in English: 'The Epistles of Marko Marulić and Stjepan Brodarić to Pope Adrian VI (with reference to the "against the Turks" theme of the northern Croatian humanists)')
- D. Novaković, 'Marko Marulić and the metaphysical dimension of history', in Marulić, *Epistola ad Adrianum VI. P. M.*, 43-52
- I. Paić, *Sloboda i strah. Hermeneutika predziđa – o gled o iskustvu svijesti hrvatskoga narodnog opstanka*, Zagreb, 1997, pp. 179-80

- V. Gligo, 'Marko Marulić Splitski, Pismo papi Hadrijanu VI o nevoljama koje nahrupljuju i poticaj za opće jedinstvo i mir svih kršćana', in V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, Split, 1983, 141-63
 Pivčević, 'Letter from Marko Marulić', pp. 10, 13

In discordiam principum Christianorum, 'Against the discord among Christian rulers'

DATE Unknown; about 1522

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This work, only 12 lines long, may have been written at about the same time as the 1522 open letter to Pope Hadrian VI, because it also uses Aesop's fable of the mouse and the frog, which are both threatened by the bird of prey, their common enemy. Like the letter, it is against the disunity of the nations in Europe who wage wars against one other instead of against the Turks, their 'barbarian enemy'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Marulus's advocacy of papal leadership against the Turks here, as in his other writings, proves once more his distinct Roman Catholic position among authors writing about the Turkish threat at the time.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Glasgow, University Library – Hunter 334 / U. 8.2, fols CVIv-CVIIr
 (c. 1524-50)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- B. Lučin, *Marko Marulić 1450-1524*, Split, 2008, p. 53 (Croatian trans. D. Novaković, German trans. K. Jurčević)
 B. Lučin (ed.), *The Marulić reader*, Split, 2007, pp. 144-7 (Croatian-English edition; English trans. M. Kovačiček)
 B. Lučin (ed.), *Marci Maruli opera omnia*, vol. 17, pp. 164-7 (no. 96) (Latin-Croatian edition, trans. D. Novaković)
 J. Hekman (ed.), *Split 1999. Dossier*, Zagreb, 2005, p. 242 (Croatian trans. D. Novaković)
 G. McMaster and M. Kovačiček, 'Latin Poems / Marko Marulić', *Most / The Bridge Literary Magazine* 1-4 (1999) p. 85 (English trans.)
 D. Novaković (ed. and trans.), *Marko Marulić, Glasgowski stihovi*, Zagreb, 1999, pp. 24-5

D. Novaković (ed.), 'Marci Marvli epigrammata', *Colloquia Maruliana* 6 (1997) 37-77, p. 42 (first edition)

STUDIES

F. Posset, 'The mouse, the frog and the unidentified flying object. Metaphors for "empires" in the Latin works of the Croatian humanist Marcus Marulus and of the German humanist Ulrich von Hutten', *Colloquia Maruliana* 17 (2008) 125-48

Ad Clementem VII. Pontificem Maximum,
'To Clement VII, Supreme Pontiff'

DATE After 19 November 1523

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This is a congratulatory poem of 32 lines which does not appear to have actually been sent to the newly elected Pope Clement VII (in office 19 November 1523 to 1534), who was 'probably the most disastrous of all the popes' (Leopold von Ranke).

Marulus employs a play on words based on the pope's family name Medici and the Latin *medicus* ('physician'), as he had before in his poem for the previous Medici pope, Leo X, cousin of Clement VII. Marulus again expresses his hope that the new pope will unite Europe to oppose the Turkish threat. This is the pope's task. The poem is thus similar to the *open letter* to Pope Hadrian and to the *Lament of the city of Jerusalem*. It also includes a catalogue of Turkish atrocities that is reminiscent of *A prayer against Turks*, while the hint that some Christians even resort to converting to Islam (*Maumetica sacra sequuntur*) repeats what is said in *De ultimo Christi iudicio* (*Nonne nostra etate plurimos nouimus a fide discessisse et ex Christianis Mahumetanos factos?*, *Opera omnia*, vol. 11, p. 235).

SIGNIFICANCE

This is Marulus's last known piece in the *Antiturcica* genre and, as far as we know, the very last thing he wrote (he died only a month and a half after the pope's election, on 5 January 1524). The poem calls for the unity of the Christian nations against the Turkish threat, and the underlying thought in the poem is *Nomen est omen*: the Medici name, 'so venerable to us', is a good omen for those who are oppressed by war. The Medici

pope should be like a physician, who with his medicine would be able to heal any wounds that ‘the perfidious barbarian inflicts on us’, referring to the Ottomans, who were attacking Marulus’s home region. The poem testifies to the author’s impulse for literary engagement in the public appeal for anti-Turkish resistance, as well as to his undying hope that the saving and uniting impetus might come from the pope – a hope he retained up to the very last moments of his life.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Glasgow, University Library – Hunter 334 / U. 8.2, fols CXXr-CXXv
(c. 1524-50)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- B. Lučin (ed.), *Marko Marulić. 1450-1524*, Split, 2008, p. 53 (Croatian-German edition, German trans. K. Jurčević)
- B. Lučin (ed.), *Marci Maruli opera omnia*, vol. 17, p. 170 (no. 101), trans. D. Novaković (Latin-Croatian edition)
- M. Marulić, *Duhom do zvijezda*, ed. B. Lučin, Zagreb, 2001, pp. 454-5 (Croatian trans. D. Novaković)
- D. Novaković (ed.), *Marko Marulić. Glasgowski stihovi*, Zagreb, 1999, pp. 106-9 (Latin-Croatian edition)
- D. Novaković (ed.), ‘Marci Marvli epigrammata’, *Colloquia Maruliana* 6 (1997) 37-77, pp. 66-7 (first edition)

Franz Posset and Bratislav Lucin
(with the assistance of Branko Jozić)

Martinus Thyrnavinus

Márton Nagyszombati, Martinus de Tirnavia

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1460 and 1470
PLACE OF BIRTH Trnava (present-day Slovakia)
DATE OF DEATH After 1533
PLACE OF DEATH Possibly Jásd (Hungary)

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the family background of Martinus Thyrnavinus. His name suggests that he was born in Trnava, a primarily German-speaking city in the north-western part of the Kingdom of Hungary, close to the Moravian border. A certain Martinus is mentioned as the prior of the Benedictine arch-abbey of St Martin in Pannonhalma in 1505 and 1507 (at a later date he is identified as Thyrnavinus), and he became the abbot of Szerencs in 1508. Despite his probably advanced age, he took up university studies in Cracow in 1514 (*frater Martinus abbas monasterii beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum de Serzech*), and after becoming the abbot of Tata, he pursued legal studies in Vienna from 1516. To be able to study law, he must have previously earned a bachelor's degree in arts, so he may be identical with the 'Martinus Caspari de Thirnavia' who was studying in Cracow in 1506, or with the 'Martinus de Tirnavia' who is mentioned in Vienna in 1511.

During his studies in Vienna, Martinus must have become familiar with the publications of humanists who worked with Vadianus, such as J. Camers, J. Collimitius-Tanstetter, J. Cuspinianus, and the Transylvanian Adrianus Wolphardus, who published a large number of works through the Viennese press of Singrenius and Vietor each year, including editions of ancient authors (Sallust, Cicero, Persius, Claudian, Petronius) in addition to their own writings. Martinus may also have attended the university lectures on poetics by Vadianus, which praised the poetic qualities of Lucan, who became a significant influence on his *Opusculum ad proceres Hungariae*. Having advanced in his studies (*literarum et scientiae merito*), Martinus was elected abbot of Kolozsmonostor (Cluj-Mănăştur, Abtsdorf in present-day Romania) in 1518, but could not take up his post until 1520 at the earliest. He was still the abbot of this Transylvanian monastery in 1528, but he is last mentioned in 1533 as being the abbot of Jásd.

His first known work is a short Latin poem celebrating Tamás Bakócz, Archbishop of Esztergom. Although the author's name is partly obliterated, it can be read as 'Thyrnavius monachus'. The text is dated to 1515, and survives as an annotation in the personal breviary of the archbishop (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – MS K 788).

These eight distiches celebrating Tamás Bakócz are inserted in a longer anonymous poem consisting of 32 distiches, which was published in *Orationes Viennae Austriae... habitae* (Vienna: Singriener, 1516), a collection of humanist orations and poems praising the participants in the 1515 Vienna 'congress of the three kings' (Emperor Maximilian I, Ladislaus II, King of Hungary, and Sigismund I, King of Poland). This poem, entitled *Sylvula*, praises the wisdom and the Christian faith of the archbishop.

Martinus's only work published under his own name in his lifetime is the *Opusculum ad regni Hungariae proceres*. Although the publication does not bear a date or a publisher's mark, the printer can be identified with certainty on the basis of the typeface as Johann Singriener (Singrenius), working in Vienna. The work is dedicated to László Szalkai, Bishop of Eger, who received this title in 1523, and the copy of the work surviving in the Royal Library of Denmark bears a remark on the title page dated to 23 November, 1523. An introductory poem written by Ulrich Fabri, a professor of rhetoric at the University of Vienna, precedes Martinus's exhortation in this booklet.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- G. Kiss Farkas, 'Political rhetoric in anti-Ottoman literature. Martinus Thyrnavinus. To the dignitaries of the Hungarian Kingdom', in N. Spannenberger (ed.), *Ein Raum im Wandel*, Stuttgart, 2013
- G. Kiss Farkas, '1523 – Nagyszombati Márton. Magyarország előkelőjéhez, A törökellenes irodalom retorikája', in L. Jankovits and G. Orlovsky (eds), *A magyar irodalom története*, Budapest, 2007, vol. 1, 185-95
- Á. Ritoókné Szalay, "Nympha super ripam Danubii", *Tanulmányok a XV-XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből* [Studies on the history of Hungarian culture in the 15th-16th centuries], Budapest, 2002, pp. 180-6
- R. Gerézdi, 'A "régicdicsőség" Jagelló-kori énekese (Nagyszombati Márton) [The praiser of the "ancient glory" in the Jagiellonian Age (Márton Nagyszombati)]', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 62 (1958) 119-38

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Opusculum ad regni Hungariae proceres, quod in Thurcam bella movere negligunt, 'To the dignitaries of the Kingdom of Hungary, because they were not concerned to wage war against the Turks'

DATE 1523

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Martinus of Tyrnavia's *To the dignitaries of the Kingdom of Hungary* is an exhortation written to the Hungarian nobility in 911 distiches, divided into three cantos of unequal length (220, 292, 399 distiches). The poem lacks an organised structure, and its main themes recur in shorter or longer segments. Among the historical events that inspire the poem, Martinus mentions the loss of Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade, 1521). Using the rhetorical devices of *laudatio* and *vituperatio*, the text praises the ideal golden age (1.365-82) and the heroic past of the Hungarian kingdom and its valiant kings (e.g. 2.39-94). In his praise of St Ladislav, King of Hungary, he compares him to ancient Roman rulers (Lycurgus, Numa Pompilius, Trajan; 2.307-58), and St Adalbert reminds him of the Roman Camillus. Even the story of St Ursula and the 11,000 virgins slaughtered by the Huns is added to the list of achievements of ancient Hungarians (2.103-4). At the same time, Martinus blames the inertia and discord of the current nobility for their lack of unity in confronting the Ottoman Turks (3.529-70). The descriptions of the demonised enemy and of the devastation caused by the Ottoman invasion are abundant in detail. Martinus seems to have been heavily influenced by the Erasmian rhetorical ideal of copiousness (*copia*) when writing his poem. The enemy is described as diabolical and vile in nature, but at the same time as cowardly and without virtue, which would enable the Hungarian nobility successfully to stand up against the Ottoman army once they rid themselves of the strife among themselves. The poem ends with a detailed description of the tortures deserved by the enemy (3.701-12).

Martinus strongly relies on poetic imitation in his poetry and prose. The dedication to Bishop László Szalkay employs Johann Kresling's prose panegyric addressed to Bishop György Szathmáry as a textual source (published in the *Orationes Viennae...ad Divum Maximilianum...habita*,

Vienna, 1516, in which Martinus himself published a poetical panegyric). A number of hemistiches and verses are copied from the *Stauromachia* of Stephanus Taurinus (1519), an epic poem about the 1514 Hungarian peasant war. Beside the classical epic and panegyric sources (Vergil, Claudian), Martinus's poetical language seems to have been inspired by the descriptions in Lucan's *Pharsalia*. The historical and mythological apparatus he employs is based on the examples of Valerius Maximus and on classical poetic sources. Given the popularity of these examples in Renaissance poetry, it is unclear what contemporary sources he might have used, but there are several similarities between his work and the *Ad principes Germaniae ut bellum Turcis invehant* (1518) of Ulrich von Hutten, and Riccardo Bartolini's *Oratio... de expeditione contra Turcas suscipienda* (1518).

SIGNIFICANCE

Martinus's *To the dignitaries of the Kingdom of Hungary* is the first longer epic poem by a Hungarian author calling for struggle against the Ottomans. Despite the early arrival of humanist literature in Hungary in the 15th century, anti-Ottoman rhetoric appeared only sporadically in poetry (e.g. Janus Pannonius's *Ad Antonium Constantium*, and Alexander Cortesius's *De Matthiae Corvini Ungariae regis laudibus bellicis carmen*). Martinus's exhortation paved the way for the later, longer epic compositions dealing with the battles against the Ottomans, which included the *Bellum Pannonicum* by Christian Schesaeus (1573), the *Monomachiae-Hungaroturcicae carminum libri duo* by Nicolaus Gabelmann (1590) and the *Obsidio Sigethiana* by Miklós Zrínyi (1645-51).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Á. Majtényi (trans.), 'Magyarország főuraihoz', in T. Klaniczay (ed.), *Janus Pannonius. Magyarországi humanisták*, Budapest, 1982 (partial Hungarian trans.)
- J. Ábel and I. Hegedűs (eds), *Analecta nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*, Budapest, 1903, pp. 217-70 (with some corrections to the original text)
- Martini Thyrnnavini Opusculum ad regni Hungariae proceres*, Vienna: Singrenius, 1523 (VD 16 M, RMK III. 255, App. H. 173; the work survives in three copies: Budapest, Hungarian National Library – RMK III. 255/1 and 2; Copenhagen, Royal Library – 70.326)

STUDIES

Kiss Farkas, 'Political rhetoric in anti-Ottoman literature'

Kiss Farkas, '1523 – Nagyszombati Márton. Magyarország előkelőihez',
185-95

Ritoókné Szalay, "*Nympha super ripam Danubii*", pp. 180-6

Gerézdi, 'A "régi dicsőség" Jagelló-kori énekese (Nagyszombati Márton)', 119-38

Gábor Kiss Farkas

Valentinus Eck

Eckius, Ecchius, Philyropolitanus

DATE OF BIRTH 1494
PLACE OF BIRTH Lindau
DATE OF DEATH 1556
PLACE OF DEATH Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa, in present-day Slovakia)

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Lindau, into a family of burghers, Valentinus Eck started his scholarly career at the University of Leipzig in 1508. After travels in Moravia and Poland, he enrolled at the University of Cracow (1511) and earned a bachelor's degree there (1513). He had friendly ties with several young humanists in Cracow, including Paulus Crosnensis and Rudolf Agricola Jr. Remaining in Cracow, he gave private classes on epistolography (confirmed by his edition of Filippo Beroaldo the Elder's *Modus epistolandi*, 1512), poetry and versification (reflected in the publication of his *De arte versificandi opusculum*, 1515), and perhaps on other subjects as well. In 1517, he was hired as the rector of the city school in Bardejov in Upper Hungary (Bartfeld, Bártfa in present-day Slovakia). In Hungary, he befriended Leonard Cox, the English humanist, who was teaching in Košice (Kaschau, Kassa in present-day Slovakia). After approaching the local dignitaries in Bardejov with dedicatory poems, he held several posts in the city administration (notary 1522-5, mayor 1526-9, 1538-40, 1550-1). Besides his teaching there, he regularly taught courses at the University of Cracow, proved by the surviving annotated copies of his published pedagogical, political and literary works (Kiss Farkas, 'Humanist ethics'). Alexius Thurzó, the treasurer, and later the royal judge of the Kingdom of Hungary, was his main patron between 1518 and 1543. After the battle of Mohács (1526), he sided with the Habsburg party, and became the tutor of the sons of Ferenc Révai, Vice-Palatine, and went on to hold the post of local treasury officer (*tricesimator regius*) from 1542 to 1547. In this period, he participated in several political missions to Vienna and Brno. He died in 1556.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Bratislava, University Library – 01520, *Epithalamium in nuptiis praeclari viri Valentini Anthracis grammatei Casshoviensis et pudicissimae Margarethae uxoris suae scriptum, Valentini Eckii Philyriopolitani ludi magistri Bartphen-sis diligencia*, Cracow, 1518

Secondary

- G. Kiss Farkas, 'Humanist ethics and urban patriotism in Upper Hungary at the turn of 15th-16th centuries (Valentine Eck's *De reipublicae administratione*)', in B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky (eds), *Whose love of which country? The intellectual history of patriotism and the legacy of composite states in east-central Europe*, Leiden, 2010, 131-48
- B. Lakatos, 'Pannoniae Luctus. Egy humanista antológia és a törökellenes Habsburg-lengyel összefogás kísérlete, 1544' [Pannoniae Luctus. A humanist anthology and the Habsburg-Polish anti-Ottoman efforts in 1544], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 112 (2008) 259-86
- J. Glomski, art. 'Eck (Eckius, Ecchius, Philyriopolitanus), Valentin', in F.J. Worstbrock (ed.), *Deutscher Humanismus 1480-1520, Verfasserlexikon*, Berlin, 2008, vol. 1, cols 589-99
- J. Glomski, *Patronage and humanist literature in the age of the Jagiellons. Court and career in the writings of Rudolf Agricola Junior, Valentin Eck, and Leonard Cox*, Toronto, 2007

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ad Ludovicum Regem Hungariae et Bohemiae pro bello Turcis inferendo, 'To Louis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, in favour of fighting against the Turks'

DATE 1524

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This small volume of poetry contains two exhortations, a longer one to King Louis II (*Ad Ludovicum Hungariae et Bohemiae regem pro bello Turcis inferendo*) and a shorter one to the Hungarian nobility (*Ad proceres Hungariae*), and a poem in praise of Alexius Thurzó (*De Alexii Thursonis in regalium thavernicorum magistrum electione plausus heroicus*), preceded by dedicatory poems by Matthias Pyrser and Stanislas Hosius.

The volume is 16 pages long, of which the poem to King Louis takes up six pages, and the poem to the Hungarian nobility takes up approximately three pages. The dedicatory letter addressed to Alexius Thurzó (dated to 2 January 1524, Bardejov) relates the circumstances that gave occasion to the publication of these poems: once King Louis II's intention to wage war against the Ottoman Turks is implemented, all the rulers of Europe will join him in his war efforts, but strong determination is needed, because God helps only those who are striving hard for their aims. Nevertheless, virtue always remains undefeated.

A number of conscious references to ancient examples appear time and again in several poems: Stanislaus Hosius compares Eck's stance against the Turks to the war poetry of the ancient Spartan poet Tyrtaeus against the Persians ('Spartanos veluti Tyrtheus ad arma ciebat'); the Ottoman Turks are referred to as 'Phrygian phalanges' ('Phrygias fudere phalanges').

Eck employs the rhetorical figure of *prosopopoeia* in his exhortation to King Louis II: the Holy Christian Church ('sancta mater ecclesia') addresses the king and describes her desolate state, enumerating her losses (only one of the original five Christian patriarchates remains in Christian hands), with urgent pleas for his help. The poem includes imitations from Eck's earlier *Threni neglecte religionis* ('Threnody of the neglected religion', 1518), where the personified figure of religion complains of the heretics menacing Christendom (Turks, Tartars, Muscovites, etc.), a text which was in turn inspired by a poem of similar title written by Augustinus Moravus (*Threni neglectae religionis*, 1500).

The exhortation to the Hungarian nobles that follows this urges the aristocracy, who Eck thinks are idle, to take a stand against the Ottoman attack. Using classical examples, Eck explains that just as Hercules and Achilles – disguised in female clothes – revealed themselves as great heroes, the Hungarian nobles will have to demonstrate their talent for war.

The theme of the invincibility of virtue is further expressed in the poem in praise of Alexius Thurzó, where a number of classical (Pompey, Numa Pompilius, Quintus Fabius, etc.) and biblical (Moses, Jacob, Joseph, etc.) figures are cited as examples of virtuous or sinful behaviour, to show that virtue is the single moral quality that resists time and destruction ('Virtus nulli subiecta ruinae /Sola manet constans, toto insuperabilis aevo'). It is only by following the example of the virtuous heroes of the past that the barbarism brought by the Ottomans can be eradicated.

SIGNIFICANCE

Eck's poems in this volume reflect the political position of the royalist party in Hungary before the battle of Mohács (1526): he endorses the young 18-year-old Louis II, supported by his patron, Alexius Thurzó, and scolds the 'nobility', meaning the lesser and middle nobility led by István Werbőczy, for not supporting the king's war efforts. From a literary point of view, Eck's personification of the desolate Religion, and later of the desperate Holy Church becomes a popular rhetorical device in humanist poetry, and is echoed in many poems that deplore the fate of the Hungarian Kingdom in the 16th century, where, in an era when Protestant reform was fracturing religion and church, their place is taken by the personifications of geographical names (Germania, Hungary).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ad Ludovicum Hungariae et Bohemiae regem pro bello Turcis inferendo,
Cracow, 1524 (the single known copy is in Târgu Mureş, Teleki-téka;
there are photocopies in Budapest, Hungarian National Library,
and the Polish National Library, Warsaw)

STUDIES

G. Kiss Farkas, 'Political rhetoric in anti-Ottoman literature. Martinus Thyrnavinus: To the dignitaries of the Hungarian Kingdom', in N. Spannenberger (ed.), *Ein Raum im Wandel*, Stuttgart, 2014
Glomski, 'Eck (Eckius, Ecchius, Philyriopolitanus), Valentin'
Glomski, *Patronage and humanist literature in the age of the Jagiellons*,
pp. 157-6

Gábor Kiss Farkas

Maximus the Greek

DATE OF BIRTH 1475
PLACE OF BIRTH Arta, Greece
DATE OF DEATH 1556
PLACE OF DEATH Sergiyev Posad, Russia

BIOGRAPHY

Maximus the Greek was born Michael Trivolis in 1475 in Arta, Greece, to a family of Greek aristocrats. In 1492, he moved to Italy, where he studied classical languages, philosophy and theology. In 1506, he entered the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos and took monastic vows, receiving the name Maximus. In 1516, he went to Russia by invitation of Basil III, Grand Prince of Moscow, who needed a translator of patristic and liturgical works into Slavonic. Maximus spent the rest of his life in Russia, and left a very rich literary legacy. He is the author of numerous theological, philosophical, ethical and polemical works.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Sochineniia prepodobnogo Maksima Greka* [The writings of Maximus the Greek], Kazan, 1859, 1894², part 1
Sochineniia prepodobnogo Maksima Greka v Russkom perevodie [Russian translation of the writings of Maximus the Greek], Sergiev Posad: Svīato-Troitskaia Sergieva Lavra, 1910, part 1

Secondary

- N.V. Sinitsina, *Maksim Grek*, Moscow, 2008
A.I. Pliguzov, *Polemika v rusскоi tserkvi pervoi treti XVI stoletiiu* [Controversy in the Russian Church in the first third of the 16th century], Moscow, 2002
D.M. Bulanin, *Perevody i poslaniya Maksima Greka. Neizdannye teksty* [Translations of Maxim the Greek's letters. Unpublished texts], Leningrad, 1987
N.V. Sinitsina, *Maksim Grek v Rossii* [Maximus the Greek in Russia], Moscow, 1977
N.N. Pokrovskii and S.O. Shmidt (eds), *Sudnye spiski Maksima Greka i Isaka Sobaki*, Moscow [Court manuscripts of Maximus the Greek and Isaac Sobaka], 1971
A.I. Ivanov, *Literaturnoe nasledie Maksima Greka* [The literary heritage of Maximus the Greek], Leningrad, 1969

- E. Denisoff, *Maxime le Grec et l'Occident. Contribution*, Paris, 1942
- V.F. Rzhiga, *Neizdannye sochineniia Maksima Greka* [Unpublished works of Maximus the Greek], Prague, vol. 6, 1935-6
- V.F. Rzhiga, *Opyty po istorii russkoï publiĭsistiki XVI v. Maksim Grek kak publiĭsist* [Experiments on the history of Russian journalism XVI century. Maxim the Greek as publicist], vol. 1, Leningrad, 1934
- B.I. Dunaev, *Prepodobnyi Maksim Grek i grecheskaia ideĭana Rusi v XVI v. Istoricheskoe issliedovanie s prilozheniem tekstov diplomaticheskikh snosheniĭ Rossii s Turĭsieĭ* [Maximus the Greek and Greek thought in Russia in the 16th century. Historical research with texts on diplomatic relations between Russia and Turkey], Moscow, 1916
- V.S. Ikonnikov, *Maksim Grek i ego vremĭa* [Maximus the Greek and his time], Kiev, 1915

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Otvety khristian protiv agarĭan, khulĭashchikh nashu pravoslavnuĭu khristianskuĭu veru, 'Answers of the Christians to the Hagarenes who revile our Orthodox Christian faith'

DATE Before 1525

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Maximus wrote this letter in Moscow before 1525. It covers 10 pages in the Russian translation published in 1910. In it he gives an example to Christians of how to dispute with Muslims. Since the Qur'an mentions the Gospel as being sent from heaven, Maximus advises Christians to use only the Gospels as proofs for the truthfulness of Christianity.

Maximus gives biblical references that demonstrate the divinity of Christ and that he was Son of God, the need for baptism in order to be saved, the fact of the Trinity, and the necessity of Christ's death for the salvation of humankind. He argues that Islamic ritual ablutions cannot make the soul clean, and he gives various illustrations that might help Muslims to understand the Trinity. He even argues that, when they raise their index finger and profess their faith, Muslims unknowingly profess the Triune God, since the finger consists of three joints. Thus, Muslims need to be baptised in the name of the Trinity.

SIGNIFICANCE

This document gives interesting insights into relations between Christians and Muslims in Russia in the 16th century. It shows that even at this time Christians were discussing their faith with Muslims, and were compelled to defend their beliefs.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Moscow, Russian State Library – Rumyantsev Collection 264, F.256 (1551-5)

MS Moscow, State Historical Museum – Khludov Collection 73 (1563)

MS Moscow, State Historical Museum – Uvarov Collection 310 (16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Sochineniā prepodobnogo Maksima Greka v russkom perevode, 1910, part 1 (modern Russian trans.)

Sochineniā prepodobnogo Maksima Greka, 1859, 1894², part 1

STUDIES

Ivanov, *Literaturnoe nasledie Maksima Greka*

*Slovo oblichitel'noe protiv agariānskogo
zabluzhdeniā i protiv izmyslivshego ego skvernogo
psa Magometa*, 'A revealing word against the
Hagarene aberration and against the filthy dog
Muḥammad, who invented it'

DATE Before 1525

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Maximus wrote this polemical work in Moscow before 1525. The text can be found in all the earliest manuscripts containing collections of his works. It comes to 32 pages in the Russian translation published in 1910.

Maximus begins by proposing three criteria for a true faith: it must be established by God himself; the person who brought it must be righteous and God-fearing; it must be consistent with previous teachings given through the prophets, apostles and teachers. He briefly demonstrates that Christianity fulfils these criteria, and then proceeds to apply them to Islam. He mentions that he received his information about the

life of Muḥammad from 'trustworthy men, who truly know about him'. Muḥammad, he says, received the whole of his spiritual knowledge from two teachers: a monk expelled from Constantinople for Arianism, and a Jew expelled from Jerusalem for an unknown heresy. The monk persuaded Muḥammad's wife, and through her, the people of Arabia, that her husband was a prophet.

Maximus portrays Muḥammad as a demon-possessed liar, who trained a dove to sit on his shoulder and peck food from his ear in order to imitate inspiration by Holy Spirit. He explained away the absence of miraculous signs by stating that he was sent with the sword and not with miracles.

Following this account, Maximus gives examples of Islamic laws and teachings that contradict the New Testament and previous revelations.

SIGNIFICANCE

This document was the first polemical writing against Islam written in Russia. It helps to explain how the views on Islam held by the Byzantine Church influenced those of the Russian Orthodox Church.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Moscow, Russian State Library – Works by the Venerable Maximus the Greek (Collection of the Academy of Science) 42, F.173.1 (16th century)

MS Moscow, Russian State Library – Collection of works of Maximus the Greek 138, F.173.3 (16th century)

MS Moscow, Russian State Library – Works by the Venerable Maximus the Greek 153, F.173.1 (16th century)

MS Moscow, Russian State Library – Works by Maximus the Greek (Trinity Lavra of St Sergius Collection) 201, F.304.1 (17th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Sochineniĭa prepodobnogo Maksima Greka v russkom perevode, 1910, part 1 (modern Russian trans.)

Sochineniĭa prepodobnogo Maksima Greka, 1859, 1894², part 1

STUDIES

Ivanov, *Literaturnoe nasledie Maksima Greka*

Slovo vtoroye, o tom zhe, k blagochestivym protiv bogobortsa i psa Magometa, 'A second word, about the same, to the devout ones against the God-defier and dog, Muḥammad'

DATE Before 1525

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Maximus wrote this letter in Moscow before 1525. It is shorter than the first, covering 11 pages in the Russian translation published in 1910. He wrote it in order to encourage Christians and preserve them in their faith in the face of the expansion of Islam throughout the world. By this time, Muslims had conquered places closely associated with Christianity, including Jerusalem, Alexandria, Egypt, Libya and Antioch; and they were continuing to extend their rule further.

The letter can be divided into three parts. In the first part, Maximus encourages Christians not to lose hope. He explains that these events were predicted as a sign of the second coming of Christ, and that Christians are being punished for their sins and for the sins of their priests.

In the second part, he argues that Muḥammad's victories do not mean he was righteous, since he denied the divinity of Christ and that he was Son of God, and he changed the commandments given by Jesus. Maximus mentions that there are many examples of godless pagan kings being victorious, and refers to the first 318 years of Christianity when the faithful suffered at the hands of Greeks, Jews and Romans.

In the third part, Maximus explains what Christians should do. They must abandon their hope of retaking Constantinople and of re-establishing the imperial dynasty; they should repent of their sins and 'put on the armour of righteousness'. They need to follow the example of the first Christians, who did not lose their faith but rejoiced when they were persecuted for Christ. And finally, Christians should give worship to God through their righteous deeds and patience, and he will honour them in heaven.

SIGNIFICANCE

This document shows how the spread of Islam was influencing the attitudes of Christians in Russia in the 16th century, and how some retained wistful hopes of overthrowing the power of the Ottomans and restoring the former imperial order.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Moscow, Russian State Library – Works by the Venerable Maximus the Greek (Collection of the Academy of Science) 42, F.173.1 (16th century)

MS Moscow, Russian State Library – Collection of works of Maximus the Greek 138, F.173.3 (16th century)

MS Moscow, Russian State Library – Works by the Venerable Maximus the Greek 153, F.173.1 (16th century)

MS Moscow, Russian State Library – Works by Maximus the Greek (Trinity Lavra of St Sergius Collection) 201, F.304.1 (17th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Sochineniĭa prepodobnogo Maksima Greka v russkom perevode, 1910, part 1 (modern Russian trans.)

Sochineniĭa prepodobnogo Maksima Greka, 1859, 1894², part 1

STUDIES

Ivanov, *Literaturnoe nasledie Maksima Greka*

Denis Savelyev

Johannes Cuspinianus

Johannes Spiessheimer, Spieshaymer,
Spiesheimer, Speissheimer

DATE OF BIRTH 1473
PLACE OF BIRTH Schweinfurt
DATE OF DEATH 19 April 1529
PLACE OF DEATH Vienna

BIOGRAPHY

Johannes Cuspinianus, or Cuspinian, was a humanist, physician, diplomat and historian of the late 15th and early 16th century. He was born in 1473 as Johann Spiesshaymer in Schweinfurt, Germany, into a wealthy family. After studies in Leipzig and Würzburg, he moved to Vienna, and in 1492 became a professor of medicine there. From that time, his life was connected with the University as its rector (1500), dean of the faculty of medicine (several times between 1500 and 1511), and from 1501 as royal superintendent. Cuspinianus played an important role in the *Sodalitas litteraria Danubiana*, a society of Austrian and Hungarian humanists founded by Conrad Celtis in 1497.

Cuspinianus was appointed as imperial town-councillor of Vienna in 1512, and three years later he became the prefect of the city. He was entrusted several times with diplomatic missions to Hungary, Bohemia and Poland, and in 1515 he prepared the marriage alliance between the Habsburgs and Jagiellonians. In 1525 and 1526, Cuspinianus travelled to Hungary. He had an opportunity to observe the internal conflicts and weaknesses of the country on the eve of the Ottoman invasion, and was in a good position to write his account of the Battle of Mohács and its aftermath.

Cuspinianus's activities as collector of manuscripts and printed books, physician, cartographer and historian were also important. He died in Vienna on 19 April 1529, and was buried in St Stephen's Cathedral.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Congressus ac celeberrimi conventus Caesaris Maximiliani et trium regum Hungariae, Bohemiae, et Poloniae. In Vienna Pannoniae, mense Iulio, anno M. D. XV. facti, brevis ac verissima descriptio*, Vienna, 1515
- Catalogus caesarum ac imperatorum Augustorum occidentalium*, Vienna, 1527
- Tabula Hungariae ad quatuor latera per Lazarum quondam Thomae Strigoniensis Cardinalis Secretarium virum expertum congesta*, Ingolstadt, 1528
- J. Podharaczky, *Cuspiniánus János beszéde*, Buda, 1841
- T.G. von Karajan, 'Tagebuch Johann Cuspinians 1502-1527', *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, Vienna, 1855, vol. 1, pp. 397-416
- H. Ankwicz von Kleehoven, 'Das Tagebuch Cuspinians, nach dem Original herausgegeben und mit Erläuterungen versehen', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 30 (1909) 280-326
- H. Ankwicz von Kleehoven, 'Documenta Cuspiniana. Urkundliche und literarische Bausteine zu einer Monographie über den Wiener Humanisten Dr. Johannes Cuspinianus', *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 121 (1957) 181-331

Secondary

- A. Schirrmeister, 'Authority through antiquity. Humanist historiography and regional descriptions: the cases of Erasmus Stella, Johannes Cuspinian and Robert Gaguin', in P. Bromilow (ed.), *Authority in European book culture: 1400-1600*, Farnham, 2013, 67-83
- W. Stelzer, art. 'Cuspinianus, Johannes', in F.J. Worstbrock (ed.), *Deutscher Humanismus 1450-1530. Verfasserlexikon*, Berlin, 2006, 519-37
- H. Tersch, *Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit (1400-1650)*, Vienna, 1998, pp. 160-71
- A. Schmid, "'Poeta et orator a Caesare laureates". Die Dichterkrönungen Kaiser Maximilians I.', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 109 (1989) 56-108, pp. 79-80, 81, 94
- H. Krug, 'Die älteste erhalten gebliebene kartographische Darstellung des Landes Niederösterreich', *Mitteilungen der österreichischen Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* 9 (1989) 62-73
- E. Trenkler, 'Johannes Cuspinian, Gelehrter und Bücherfreund', *Biblos* 29 (1980) 71-90
- D.M. Godfrey, *Johannes Cuspinianus and the history of the emperors*, London, 1975
- R. Perger, 'Cuspiniana. Neue Beiträge zum Lebensbild des Wiener Humanisten Johannes Cuspinian', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 26 (1971) 167-77
- A. Lhotsky, *Österreichische Historiographie*, Vienna, 1962, pp. 65-8
- H. Ankwicz-Kleehoven, *Der Wiener Humanist Johannes Cuspinian. Gelehrter und Diplomat zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilians*, Graz, 1959

- W. Engel, 'Der Schweinfurter Humanist Johann Cuspinian (1473-1529)', *Altfränkische Bilder* 50 (1951) 10-16
- H. Ankwicz-Kleehoven, 'Die Bibliothek des Dr. Johann Cuspinian', in J. Stummvoll et al. (eds), *Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Festschrift zum 25-jährigen Dienstjubiläum des Generaldirektors Univ.-Prof. Dr. Josef Bick*, Vienna, 1948, 208-27
- H. Ankwicz-Kleehoven, 'Cranachs Bildnisse des Dr. Cuspinian und seiner Frau', *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 48 (1927) 230-4
- H. Ankwicz-Kleehoven, 'Wiener Humanisten-Exlibris', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Exlibris-Gesellschaft* 17 (1919) 11-35, p. 14
- H. Ankwicz, 'Johann Cuspinian und die Chronik des Matthias von Neuenburg', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 30 (1909) 280-326
- K. Haselbach, *Johann Cuspinian, als Staatsmann und Gelehrter*, Vienna, 1868

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Oratio protreptica, 'Hortatory speech'

DATE 1526

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

On 29 August 1526, the Battle of Mohács (present-day Baranya County, southern Transdanubia Region, Hungary) between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire ended with the disastrous defeat of the Hungarians, and the death of the young King Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia. Awestruck by this event, Johannes Cuspinianus turned to the princes and nobles of the Holy Roman Empire with his *Oratio protreptica* (in full, *Oratio protreptica Ioannis Cvspiniani ad sacri Ro. Imp. principes et proceres, ut bellum suscipiant contra Turcum cum descriptione conflictus, nuper in Hungaria facti, quo periit Rex Hungariae Ludovicus*). Here, he briefly outlines the background of the battle, the Hungarian-Ottoman wars before 1526, the efforts of János Hunyadi (John Hunyadi) and his son, King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, to stop the relentless expansion of the Ottoman Empire and to maintain Hungarian supremacy in the Balkans, referring to important military events (the first siege of Belgrade, 1456; the battle of Kenyérmező, 1479), and the prelude to the Battle of Mohács (the second siege of Belgrade, 1521; the Ottoman occupation of Szalánkemény and Pétervárad, 1526). He also describes the events of the Battle of Mohács and its aftermath, namely the death of a

good number of Hungarian prelates and magnates, the Ottoman capture and sack of Buda, and also the escape of the young widowed Queen Mary of Hungary.

Cuspinianus is the first to formulate the idea that King Louis II died through the fault of his companions, or conspiracy. He is well aware of the events of the previous wars between Hungary and the Ottomans and lists the battles in which the kings of Hungary suffered defeat (Nikopol, Bulgaria, 1396; Golubac, 1428; Varna, 1444), and he criticises the long and useless meetings at the Imperial Diets (actually the Reichstag of Speyer, 1526), and the misuse of the tax revenue that was collected in the Empire for the purpose of the crusade against the Ottomans. His attack on and critique of Martin Luther, though without mentioning his name, is also remarkable, since Luther did not support the war against the Ottoman Empire.

SIGNIFICANCE

Cuspinianus's *Oratio protreptica*, despite its anti-Hungarian sentiments, is one of the most important and reliable contemporary accounts of the Battle of Mohács and its consequences. The results of the latest scholarly research have proved the assumptions of some earlier Hungarian scholars that *Oratio protreptica* significantly contributed to the memoir of Stephanus Brodericus (István Brodarics and his *Historia verissima*, 1527). They claim that Brodericus, as a survivor of the Battle of Mohács, responded to Cuspinianus's accusations, e.g. the incompetence of the Hungarian military leadership, and the cowardice of the Hungarian soldiers (Kasza, "Mert látom", pp. 333-34). Brodericus was also commissioned by King Sigismund I of Poland, the uncle of King Louis II, to answer Cuspinianus's claims and to protect the memory of the dead young king, who was now insulted by these accusations (see Bartoniek, *Fejezetek*, p. 9; Birnbaum, *Humanists in a shattered world*, p. 109; Hopp, *Humanista eszméje*, pp. 80-81).

As imperial ambassador, Cuspinianus had a firm knowledge of the Kingdom of Hungary, and describes in his work Muslim customs and traditions. He alerts the imperial estates to the fact that the Ottomans, who are victorious and are about to conquer Hungary, represent an alien civilisation and religious tradition. Their expulsion from the rich and fertile land of Hungary is vital for the whole of Christianity, but this is only possible with the cooperation of the imperial princes and estates. Cuspinianus maintains that the nobility of the Empire can fight against

the Ottomans only with moral strength, integrity of faith, and the united action of the imperial forces.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Cuspiniánus János beszéde* [The oration of Johann Cuspinian], ed. J. Podharaczky, Buda, 1841
- Iohannis Cuspiniani . . . Oratio protreptica . . . emendatus quam antehac edita a Iohanne Weiderno Lendsidelio*, Frankfurt am Main, 1598
- Austria Ioannis Cuspiniani cum eiusdem marchionibus, ducibus, archiducibus, ac rebus praeclare ad haec usque tempore ab iisdem gestis. Eiusdem Ioannis Cuspiniani oratio protreptica . . .*, Basel, 1553, pp. 71-25; Frankfurt am Main, 1601, pp. 72-82
- Oratio protreptica Ioannis Cuspiniani ad sacri Ro. Imp. principes et proceres, ut bellum suscipiant contra Turcum cum descriptione conflictus, nuper in Hungaria facti, quo periit Rex Hungariae Ludovicus*, ed. Johannes Singrenius, Vienna, 1526

STUDIES

- V. Čičaj, 'Peter Révai a Uhorská história' [Peter Révai and Hungarian history], in M. Kovačka, E. Augustínová and M. Mačuha (eds), *Rod Révai v slovenských dejinách. Zborník prác z interdisciplinárnej konferencie, ktorá sa konala 16.-17. septembra 2008 v Martine*, Martin, 2010, 232-40, p. 237
- P. Kasza, '“Mert látom, hogy . . . néhányan az eseményeket másképp mesélik, mint megtörténtek . . .” Megjegyzések Brodarics István *Historia verissimá* jának keletkezéstörténetéhez' ['Because I see that . . . some people tell the story differently from how it really happened'. Some comments on the genesis of the *Historia verissima* by István Brodarics], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 111 (2007) 323-42, pp. 325, 327, 331-40
- W. Stelzer, art. 'Cuspinianus (Spieshaymer, Spieß-, -heimer), Johannes', in F.J. Worstbrock (ed.), *Deutscher Humanismus 1480-1520. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 1, Berlin, 2006, 519-37
- F.G. Farkas, 'II. Lajos rejtélyes halála' [The mysterious death of King Louis II of Hungary], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 116 (2000) 443-63, pp. 447-8
- L. Hopp, *Az 'antemurale' és 'conformitas' humanista eszméje a magyar-lengyel hagyományban* [The humanist ideas of 'antemurale' and 'conformitas' in the Hungarian and Polish tradition], Budapest, 1992, pp. 80-1

- M.D. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a shattered world. Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the sixteenth century*, Los Angeles CA, 1986, p. 109
- E. Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi történetírás történetéből* [Chapters from the history of the Hungarian historiography of the sixteenth and seventeenth century], Budapest, 1975, p. 9
- Ankwicz-Kleehoven, *Der Wiener Humanist Johannes Cuspinian*, pp. 237-9

Gábor Bradács

Ludovicus Cervarius Tubero

Aloysius de Crieva (Cerva, Cervinus, Cervarius;
Crijević), Tubero

DATE OF BIRTH 17 October 1458
PLACE OF BIRTH Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Croatia
DATE OF DEATH June 1527
PLACE OF DEATH Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Croatia

BIOGRAPHY

What little is known about Tubero's life comes largely from scant archival material and a few remarks in his own works. He was born in Dubrovnik, and for some of his education he travelled to Paris, where he allegedly acquired his humanist name, after the Roman historian Quintus Aelius Tubero. Shortly after his return to Dubrovnik, he broke off his engagement to be married, and in 1484 entered the Benedictine Order. From 1502 until his death, he was the abbot of the Monastery of St Jacob at Višnjica near Dubrovnik, the usual stopping place in Dubrovnik for envoys bound for the Sublime Porte, which serves to explain how Tubero was so well informed about events in the Levant. He seldom left the Republic, his longest absence being in 1508, when he stayed in Hungary as a guest of Gregory Frankapan, Archbishop of Kalocsa-Bacs. On a few occasions, he served as vicar to the archbishop of Dubrovnik. He most probably died of plague.

Five funerary epigrams by Tubero mourning the death of Iovianus Pontanus and Jacopo Sannazaro have recently been discovered. However, Tubero is primarily known for his historiographical work, *Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis Commentariorum de temporibus suis libri undecim*. The work was dedicated to Archbishop Frankapan and first printed in Frankfurt in 1603, although slightly revised excerpts dealing with Turkish history were printed earlier under the title *De Turcarum origine, moribus et rebus gestis commentarius* (Florence, 1590). It has still not been determined whether the author himself was responsible for this epitome, or whether it should be attributed to the publisher: on the other hand, the author's intention is indisputable in the extended excerpt on the history of Dubrovnik taken from Volume 5 of the *Commentarii*, titled

De origine et incremento urbis Rhacusanae and printed in Dubrovnik in 1790.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

De Turcarum origine, moribus et rebus gestis commentarius, Firenze, 1590

Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis Commentariorum de rebus quae temporibus eius in illa Europae parte, quam Pannonii et Turcae eorumque finitimi incolunt, gestae sunt, libri undecim, Frankfurt, 1603

Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis Commentariorum de temporibus suis libri undecim, in *Syndromus rerum Turcico Pannonicarum historiam centum quinquaginta annorum complectens*, Frankfurt, 1627

Ludovici Tuberonis, Dalmatae Abbatis, Commentariorum de rebus, suo tempore, nimirum ab anno Christi 1490. usque ad annum Christi 1522. in Pannonia et finitimis regionibus gestis, libri XI, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini, tomus II*, Vienna, 1746

Ludovici Cervarii Tuberonis, Patricii Rhacusani ac Abbatis Congregationis Melitensis Commentaria suorum temporum, Dubrovnik, 1784

Commentariolus Ludovici Cervarii Tuberonis De origine et incremento urbis Rhacusanae, Dubrovnik, 1790

'De origine et incremento urbis Rhacusanae', *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 51 (2013) 75-153 (critical edition)

Secondary

V. Rezar, *Ludovik Crijević Tuberon. Komentari omojem vremenu*, Zagreb, 2001, pp. vii-lxxxviii, Introductory study

V. Rezar, *Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis Commentarii de temporibus suis*, Zagreb, 2001, pp. vi-lxviii, Introductory study

S.M. Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina*, Zagreb, 1975, vol. 1, pp. 30-58

I. Szóke, *Ludovicus Cervarius Tubero emlékiratainak művelődéstörténeti adatai*, Budapest, 1912

G. Vajda, *Tubero Lajos mint történetíró*, Budapest, 1909

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Commentarii de temporibus suis, 'Commentaries on his times'

DATE Before 1527

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Commentarii* is a historiographical work running to 11 volumes and containing more than 100,000 words (its title in full is *Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis Commentariorum de rebus quae temporibus eius in illa Europae parte, quam Pannonii et Turcae eorumque finitimi incolunt, gestae sunt*). It focuses on the historical events that affected south-eastern Europe, particularly Italy and the Kingdom of Hungary, in the period 1490-1522, that is, from the death of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, to the election of Pope Adrian VI. In addition to a great number of excursions into recent and distant history, Tubero lays special emphasis on the disputes over the Hungarian throne following the death of Corvinus, bitter feuds in the Italian Peninsula, fighting between the Ottomans and Venetians on the Peloponnese, and finally Turkish disputes over the dynastic succession and their increasing conquests while Christian rulers were involved in mutual hostilities.

Since it was written with the clear intent to entertain the reader as well as to inform, the potential monotony in the exploration of the main theme is broken with many highly stylised fictitious speeches and frequent geographical, ethnographical and anecdotal digressions, which give the *Commentarii* a distinct belletristic appeal. In addition to reflections on the motivation behind political events, the work features its author's uncompromising criticisms of social deviations, in which (following the spirit of the time) even the highest levels of the Church hierarchy are not spared.

On the formal and stylistic level, skilfully adapting content-neutral but stylistically recognisable passages borrowed from the best classical authors, Tubero kept in mind the aesthetic demands of the time, which sought to emulate classical antiquity. Not only do classical allusions appear in particular phrases or sentences, but whole discourses have a recognisable antique colouring, which is especially noticeable in fictitious speeches based on Sallust, and in the description of persons or peoples following Julius Caesar or Tacitus.

Volumes 6-11 of the *Commentarii* are particularly abundant in descriptions of the Ottoman conquests in Europe and inner dynastic struggles in Istanbul. Thus, in Volume 6, the introductory description of the events pertaining to Sultan Bayezid II and his long-standing quarrel with his brother Cem triggers a chronologically unreliable but descriptively effective excursus on the establishment and rise of the Ottoman dynasty, the most interesting segments of which are a detailed depiction of the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 and an overview of the character and habits

of the Turkish troops and their unswerving loyalty to the sultan. This volume is also spiced with anecdotes: the story that stands out is about a certain Maverdin from Hadrianopolis, burnt alive because of his uncompromising loyalty to his Christian faith and his refusal to convert to Islam. Volumes 7 and 8 describe Bayezid's conquests of the Venetian cities on the Peloponnese, fighting between the city-states on the Apennine Peninsula and their clashes with the French and the Spanish. An anecdote about a Muslim priest who renounced Islam inside Hagia Sophia and in front of the sultan, and a reference to the iniquities attributed to Cesare Borgia, a son of Pope Alexander VI, particularly stand out here. Volume 9 follows the events connected with the activities of Pope Julius II, more precisely, the conflicts resulting from the creation of the League of Cambrai in 1508 and subsequently the Holy League in 1510, and also Turkish dynastic struggles and Selim's bloody ascent to the throne after the death of Bayezid. Volume 10 contains, among other things, a report on the riots and rebellions of serfs throughout Hungary, and detailed descriptions of Bayezid's battles against the Mamluks in Asia and Egypt. Concluding this volume with a piece about the life and death of Sultan Bayezid, Tubero begins Volume 11 with a description of Süleyman's accession to the throne, and proceeds to a detailed portrayal of the events surrounding the Turkish siege and capture of Belgrade. After describing the death of Pope Leo X and the election of the new pope, Adrian VI, Volume 11 ends with a short report on Turkish sacking and plunder throughout Syrmia at the beginning of 1522.

Besides simple facts, Tubero presents the reader with individual character traits and notions, often even his own perception of particular individuals that he writes about. When discussing the Turks, his views are mostly stereotypical and do not differ from those of other authors writing on Turkish invasions. Consequently, acrimony, distrust and a fear of 'the other' are prevalent throughout, in addition to frequent lamentations over the discord between the champions of Christian secular and ecclesiastical life, seen as a main cause of the Turkish military successes. He judges that Turkish barbarians are not to be trusted, as they agree on truces with Christians and then attack them unawares. The more aware Christian rulers are of their treachery in this the more often they commit it – indeed, to this effect they pray three times a day – and not a single champion of Christianity, not even the pope himself, cares to do anything about it. In line with the widespread view adopted even by Luther, Tubero concludes that the Turks are nothing other than God's scourge to punish the sinful Christian world, although, as a first-hand witness of the

extent of the ravages committed by the Turks, he himself, unlike Luther, has no doubts at all about whether to take up arms against them.

Islam itself and its founder Muḥammad are referred to several times in the *Commentarii*, and readers learn not only the views of the author himself but also those of both Muslims and Christians given in the form of fictitious speeches. They all share the view that Islam is heavily indebted to Christian doctrine, but while from a Muslim perspective (Sultan Bayezid) the teaching of the Prophet Muḥammad is depicted as a reflection of God's will to replace the old Law with the new one, from a Christian perspective (Maverdin and the unnamed Muslim priest who converts to Christianity) Muḥammad's teaching is nothing more than his illusory attempt to present himself as God's messenger, and to deceive ignorant people with enticing promises of physical pleasures in this life and the hereafter. Both attitudes run through the works of Christian writers from the Middle Ages and before, and they are extensively elaborated in a similar manner by Tubero's predecessors, the 15th-century Italian humanists Andrea Biglia, Flavio Biondo, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Benedetto Accolti, Francesco Filelfo, Marcantonio Sabellico and others (M. Meserve, *The empires of Islam in Renaissance historical thought*, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 157-245; N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, Philadelphia PA, 2004, pp. 166-73).

Finally, despite all the negative traits of the enemy of the Christian faith that he records, Tubero does not hesitate to highlight the moral qualities of Muslims, such as hospitality, discipline, piety, loyalty to the ruler and the ascetic fortitude of their troops. He even commends them for setting a positive example to the sinful Christian world, in one instance saying that Christians in their wartime conquests should take a leaf out of their book and show clemency, as the Turks did during their capture of Cairo, and in another praising Bayezid not only for his piety but also for his honesty, philanthropy, keeping to his word, and refraining from taking what did not belong to him. Lastly, he states that the Turks are human just like Christians, and should not be despised. In this respect, Tubero's attitude towards the Turks approaches the views of his Italian contemporaries, Paolo Giovio, Giovanni Menavino and Andrea Cambini, whose works do not fail to mention examples of the honourable conduct of the Turks and their high level of social organisation, as well as encouraging Christian readers to rise above the usual stereotypical image of the Turks as barbarians and get to know their enemy better (Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, pp. 174-9).

SIGNIFICANCE

With regard to its style and content, Tubero's *Commentarii* is one of the most illustrious examples of the Latin-language culture of Croatian and European humanism, with a wealth of first-hand information on Christian-Muslim relations collected at the meeting point of the two cultures. The Ragusan Benedictine has always been a favourite of the reading public: his erudition and devotion to historiographical work were already commended by his Dubrovnik contemporaries in occasional Latin poems, and the *Commentarii* had become known outside of Dubrovnik even before the first printed edition. Ferenc Forgách, a Hungarian historian, was so impressed with the manuscript during his stay in Dubrovnik in 1570 that he completed the writing of his own history under the same title, and it was through Forgách that the *Commentarii* reached the court of Transylvania, where, as witnessed by the Italian humanist J.M. Brutus, the Voivode of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory, held it in the highest esteem.

The popularity of the work did not decline when, as a result of Tubero's fierce criticism of the Church, in the 18th century it appeared on the list of books prohibited by the Catholic Church. In the Foreword to the third edition (1746) the editor I. Schwandtner states that Tubero is second to none among the writers of Hungarian history (*scriptorum Hungaricorum nulli secundus*), which is corroborated by the status he enjoys in Hungarian historiography. Extremely philanthropic, conciliatory towards cultural and religious diversities, politically impartial, linguistically and descriptively appealing, in addition to being warmly embraced all over the humanist world, Tubero thus remains one of the most remarkable figures of the Croatian Latin-language *Cinquecento*.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – 3620, Classe X, Manuscripti Latini Classici 155 (before 1527; autograph)
- MS Kórnik, Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej akademii nauk – BK 137 II 11 (1570; copy of Marciana MS)
- MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – D 411 inf (16th century; copy of Marciana MS)
- MS Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica – R 5875 (16th-17th century; copy of Marciana MS)
- MS Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica – R 4027 (1751)
- MS Dubrovnik, Arhiv Male braće – Brlek 171 (18th-19th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Rezar, *Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis Commentarii de temporibus suis* (critical edition)
- V. Rezar (trans.), *Ludovik Crijević Tuberon. Komentari o mojem vremenu*, Zagreb, 2001 (Croatian trans.)
- L. Blazovich and E. Galántai, *Ludovicus Tubero. Kortörténeti feljegyzések*, Szeged, 1994 (partial Hungarian trans.)
- Ludovici Cervarii Tuberonis, Patricii Rhacusani ac Abbatis Congregationis Melitensis Commentaria suorum temporum*, Dubrovnik, 1784
- Ludovici Tuberonis, Dalmatae Abbatis, Commentariorum de rebus, suo tempore, nimirum ab anno Christi 1490. usque ad annum Christi 1522. in Pannonia et finitimis regionibus gestis, libri XI*, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini, tomus II*, Vienna, 1746
- Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis Commentariorum de temporibus suis libri undecim*, in *Syndromus rerum Turcico Pannonicarum historiam centum quinquaginta annorum complectens*, Frankfurt, 1627
- Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis Commentariorum de rebus quae temporibus eius in illa Europae parte, quam Pannonii et Turcae eorumque finitimi incolunt, gestae sunt, libri undecim*, Frankfurt, 1603

STUDIES

- Rezar, *Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis*, pp. vi-lxviii, 'Introductory study'
- Rezar, *Ludovik Crijević Tuberon*, pp. vii-lxxxviii, 'Introductory study'
- Szőke, *Ludovicus Cervarius Tubero*
- Vajda, *Tubero Lajos mint történetíró*

Vlado Rezar

Stephanus Brodericus

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1480
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown, probably Körös county, Hungary
DATE OF DEATH	7 (or 17) November 1539
PLACE OF DEATH	Vác, Hungary

BIOGRAPHY

The humanist, diplomat and bishop Stephanus Brodericus was born in about 1480. Until recently, scholars in Hungary believed that he was born in about 1470 (Sörös, *Jerosini Brodarics*, p. 7), but both Croatian and more recent Hungarian literature tend to agree on the later birth date (Kasza, *Egy karrier hajnala*, pp. 198-203). Between about 1499 and 1506, he studied at the universities of Bologna and Padua in Italy, and became a doctor of canon law in Padua in 1506. After returning to his homeland, he entered the service first of Cardinal Archbishop Tamás Bakócz, then of the bishop of Pécs, Chancellor György Szatmári. Not long after he was appointed provost of Pécs, King Louis II sent him to Rome in 1522 (after the Ottoman occupation of Belgrade, 1521), where he served as the Hungarian ambassador until 1525. To raise financial support for Hungary, he delivered a speech at the papal court in 1522, calling attention to the Ottoman threat. Probably in 1523, his oration was published in print. Supported by the Holy See, Brodericus became bishop of Szerém and chancellor in the spring of 1526. As chancellor, he accompanied Louis II to the plain of Mohács, and personally participated in the battle against the Ottomans. In response to a pamphlet by Viennese humanist Johannes Cuspinianus, who accused the Hungarians of treachery because of the defeat, which had led to the king's death, he wrote the story of the battle of Mohács in his *Historia verissima* in the spring of 1528. As Brodericus was the only eyewitness to write about the decisive battle, his work is still one of the most important sources about Mohács.

After the death of King Louis, Brodericus supported Archduke Ferdinand of Habsburg in his struggle for the throne. Seeing, however, that King Ferdinand I was ready to wage war against John (János) Szapolyai I in Hungary to support his claim to the throne, Brodericus broke his ties with the Habsburg camp in March 1527 and joined King John, whom he served with unwavering loyalty for the remaining 12 years of his life. As Szapolyai's diplomat, his main goal was to reach a peace deal that would

put an end to the devastating civil war that had plagued the country. To this end, he negotiated with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in Naples, and played an active role in preparing the peace of Várad in 1538. He was a member of the delegation that requested the hand of the Polish Princess Isabella Jagiełło on behalf of Szapolyai in 1539. King John rewarded him for his diplomatic services with the bishopric of Vác in 1537.

In addition to his diplomatic activities, Brodericus maintained excellent relationships with several eminent scholars and humanists of the time. He exchanged letters with Erasmus, corresponded with the historian Paolo Giovio in Italian, and was a close friend of Miklós Oláh, Piotr Tomicki, and Andrzej Krzycki. Numerous illustrious poets such as Caspar Ursinus Velius and Georgius Logus wrote poems dedicated to him.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

P. Kasza (ed.), *Stephanus Brodericus. Epistulae*, Budapest, 2012 (this is a comprehensive edition of Brodericus's correspondence, and a major primary source for his life)

Secondary

P. Kasza, *Egy korszakváltás szemtanúja. Brodarics István pályaképe* Pécs-Budapest, 2015

P. Kasza, 'Erneuerte Ermittlung im Fall eines über jeden Verdacht erhabenen Bischofs oder Anmerkungen zu einem Fälschungsfall', in Zs. Cziráki et al. (eds), *Wiener Archivforschungen/Bécsi levéltári kutatások. Festschrift für den ungarischen Archivdelegierten in Wien, István Fazekas/Ünnepi tanulmányok a bécsi magyar levéltári delegátus, Fazekas István tiszteletére*, Vienna and Bécs, 2014, 59-67

P. Kasza, 'Néhány kiegészítés Brodarics István tanulmányainak kérdésköréhez', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 115 (2011) 197-201

P. Kasza and G. Pálffy, *Brodarics- emlékkönyv. Egy különleges pártváltás a mohácsi csata után*, Budapest, 2011

P. Kasza, 'Remarks to the biography of Istvan Brodarics', *Podravina. Časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja* 9 (2010) 17-22

T. Oborni, 'King John I of Szapolyai's diplomat. István Brodarics', *Podravina. Časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja* 9 (2010) 23-33

H. Petrić, 'O posjedima obitelji Brodarić (s posebnim osvrtom na stariju povijest Jerešina/Herešina)/ On Brodarić family estates (with a particular review of earlier history of Jerešina/Herešina)', *Podravina. Časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja* 9 (2010) 5-16

S. Varga, 'Stjepan Brodarić kao biskup Pečuha (1532-1537)', *Podravina. Časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja* 9 (2010) 34-8

- P. Kasza, 'A Hungarian diplomat in Polish service. New sources for the functioning of István Brodarics as ambassador in Rome', *Camoenae Hungaricae* 7 (2010) 61-73
- P. Kasza, 'A szó elszáll. Az írás megmarad? Brodarics István levélírói tevékenységéről', *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis, Sectio Philosophica* 14/2 (2009) 193-217
- P. Kasza, 'Egy karrier hajnala. Adalékok Brodarics István tanulmányainak és családi viszonyainak kérdéséhez', *Századok* 142 (2008) 1187-1208
- P. Kasza, 'Ein Humanist am Scheideweg. Stephan Brodarics am Hof der Königin Maria', in M. Fuchs-Orsolya Réthelyi and K. Sippel (eds), *Maria von Ungarn (1505-1558). Eine Renaissancefürstin*, Münster, 2007, 73-89
- P. Kasza, 'Nádasdy Tamás és Brodarics István levelezése', in I. Söptei (ed.), *Nádasdy Tamás (1498-1562)*, Sárvár, Hungary, 1999, 55-65
- I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, 'Stjepan Brodarić', in S.P. Novak (ed.), *Glasoviti Hrvati prošlih vjekova2 kiad.*, Zagreb, 1991, 20-40
- G. Kujáni, 'A Brodaricsok', *Századok* 47 (1913) 752-63
- P. Sörös, *Jerosini Brodarics István (1471-1539)*, Budapest, 1907 (though in some aspects outdated, this is the first full biography of Brodericus)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima; Historia verissima; Clades in campo Mohacz; Descriptio proelii inter Ludovicum et Solymanum ad Mohazium gesti; Cladis Mohacsianae sub Ludovico II. descriptio, 'The true history of the battle of the Hungarians against the Ottoman Emperor Süleyman at Mohács'

DATE Approximately February-March 1528

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Apart from many diplomatic letters and two orations, *Historia verissima* is the only work written by Brodericus. It is an account of the decisive battle of Mohács between the Hungarian and Ottoman armies on 29 August 1526. The text is quite short: in the modern critical edition by Péter Kulcsár it consists of 253 sentences on 38 pages. It used to be thought that Brodericus had two possible reasons for writing his work, either that he was asked by the Polish King Sigismund I to relate the

events that led to the defeat and the death of King Louis II, who was Sigismund's nephew, or that he intended to respond to the accusations against the Hungarians made by the Viennese humanist, Johannes Cuspinianus, in a speech addressed to the German princes. However, more recent research (Kasza, "Because I can see . . .") has proved that the Polish king did not play any part in the origins of *Historia verissima*, while Cuspinianus's oration did influence Brodericus (Kasza, 'Cuspinians *Oratio protreptica* und ihr Echo in Ungarn'). His work is therefore more than a simple account; it can also be read as a polemic.

As to the date of publication, it is widely believed that *Historia verissima* was printed in Krakow in April 1527, although copies of this first edition have not survived. In view of newly discovered sources, however, it seems unlikely that Brodericus could have written the account before the spring of 1528, so it could not have been published in 1527. We cannot exclude the possibility that the report remained in manuscript until 1568 and was first published only in that year. This means that the edition by Sambucus, of which we have extant copies, was the first.

Following the traditions of humanist historiography, at the beginning of his work Brodericus describes political conditions in Hungary and introduces the main figures among contemporary nobility, and then gives a detailed geographical description of the country. Then he returns to his main subject, summing up the Hungarian military plans for the campaign, and continues with a description of the royal army's march towards the site of the battle. After giving a detailed description of the battlefield, he introduces the opposing armies and their deployment. The climax of the work is the short but very impressive description of the battle itself. At the end, Brodericus reviews the casualties, listing all the members of the clergy and the secular elite who perished, and adds a description of looting by the Ottoman army.

SIGNIFICANCE

Since the battle of Mohács resulted in the Ottoman occupation of the central part of the country and was a turning point in the history of the Hungarian kingdom, the significance of Brodericus's work cannot be overestimated. He was the only Hungarian who both took part in the battle and also told the story of it, and so was the only eyewitness chronicler of the events. Though we have Ottoman accounts of the battle at our disposal, Brodericus's work is our only source that describes the events from a Christian point of view. The importance of *Historia verissima* is highlighted by the fact that it was included in several collections dedicated to

the history of either 16th-century Hungary or the Ottoman wars in Europe in general. See the repeated editions of Bonfini, Schardius or Reusner listed below.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Győr, Ecclesiastical Archive Győr – GyEL GyKHhLt, fols 1-48 (about 1549; damaged)
- MS Kraków, Jagiellonian Library – rkp 6550, fols 257-79 (about 1553)
- MS Kraków, The Princes Czartoryski Library – rkp MS 1365 II, fols 1-39 (16th century; partial MS with the wrong title *De clade Vlad Jagiellonski ad Varnam* [!])
- MS Budapest, Archive of Hungarian Academy of Sciences – coll. Analecta B, 5078/26 (17th century)
- MS Paris, BNF – MS fr. 20152, fols 637 sqq. (approximately 17th century)
- MS Kórnik, Kórnik Library – BK 225, fols 515-70 (1783)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- S. Sršan (trans.), *Mohačka bitka, 1526*, Vinkovci, Croatia, 1990 (Croatian trans.)
- P. Kulcsár (ed.), *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima*, Budapest, 1985 (Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum, Series nova 4)
- P. Kulcsár (trans.), 'Igaz történet a magyarok és Szulejmán török császár mohácsi ütközetéről', in P. Kulcsár (ed.), *Humanista történetírók*, Budapest, 1977, 289-328; also in T. Katona (ed.), *Mohács emlékezete*, Budapest, 1976, 10-30 (Budapest 1979², 11-48; Bratislava, 1979³, 11-48; Budapest 1987⁴, 10-30); J.B. Szabó (ed.), *Mohács*, Budapest, 2006, 134-53; P. Kasza and G. Pálffy, *Brodarics-emlékkönyv*, Budapest, 2011, 100-25 (Hungarian trans.)
- T. Kardos (trans.), 'Igaz leírás a magyaroknak a törökökkel Mohácsnál vívott csatájáról', in T. Kardos (ed.), *A Renaissance Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1961, 529-63; Budapest, 1983² (Hungarian trans.)
- I. Szentpétery (trans.), *Brodarics históriája a mohácsi vésről*, Budapest, 1903; 1972²; 1976³; 1977⁴; 1983⁵ (Hungarian trans.)
- Acta Tomiciana*, Poznań, 1860, vol. 8, pp. 231-53
- J. Letenyei (trans.), *Második Lajos Magyarország királyának a mohácsi hartzon történt veszedelme*, Buda, 1795 (first Hungarian trans.)
- Calendarium Jaurinense ad annum 1756*, Győr, 1755, D1r-H2v
- L. Peechi and P. Ransanus (eds), *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum*, Buda, 1746, pp. 281-98 (partial edition – excerpts from Brodericus's text)

- A. Bonfinii (ed.), *Historia Pannonica*, Cologne, 1690, pp. 554-67 [560-73]
- C. Khunius (ed.), *Stephani Broderici narratio de proelio, quo ad Mohatzium anno 1526 Ludovicus Hungariae rex periit*, Strasbourg, 1688
- S. Schardius (ed.), *Rerum Germanicarum scriptores varii*, Basel, 1673, pp. 218-29
- N. Reusner (ed.), *Rerum memorabilium in Pannonia sub Turcarum imperatoribus gestarum narrationes*, Frankfurt, 1603, pp. 17-47; Frankfurt, 1627²; Colocae, 1770³
- L. Peechi and P. Ransanus (eds), *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum, Tyrnaviae*, 1579, Y5v-Z8v (partial edition – excerpts from Brodericus's text)
- S. Schardius (ed.), *Rerum Germanicarum scriptores varii*, Basel, 1574, pp. 1177-95
- J. Sambucus (ed.), *Antonii Bonfinii rerum Ungaricarum decades*, Basel, 1568, pp. 757-74; Frankfurt, 1581²; Hanau, 1606³

STUDIES

- P. Kasza, 'On the track of an edition. New sources for the dating of Stephanus Brodericus's *Historia verissima*', *Colloquia Maruliana* 24 (2015) 193-206
- P. Kasza, 'Cuspinians *Oratio protreptica* und ihr Echo in Ungarn', in Th. Baier, J. Schultheiß (eds), *Würzburger Humanismus* (NeoLatina 23), Tübingen, 2014, 175-84
- P. Kasza, 'Egy elveszett kiadás nyomában. Brodarics István Históriajának első kiadásáról', in G. Tóth (ed.), *Clio inter arma. Tanulmányok a 16-18. századi magyarországi történetírásról. A Kosáry Domokos 100. születésnapjának emlékére rendezett konferencia előadásai*, Budapest, 2014, 39-65
- P. Kasza, 'Stemma correcta sive completa. Adalékok a Brodarics-szöveghagyomány kérdéséhez', in E. Békés and E. Tegyei (eds), *Classica-Mediaevalia-Neolatina VI*, Debrecen and Budapest, 2012, 99-109
- Z. Gőzsy, 'Verissima historia. "Cancellarius, qui apud regem erat" (Stjepan Brodarić)', *Podravina. Časopis za Multidisciplinarna Istraživanja* 9 (2010) 39-44
- P. Kasza, "Because I can see that some [...] tell the events differently to how they happened..." Comments to the story of the formation of István Brodarics's *Historia verissima*, *Camoenae Hungaricae* (2007-8) 47-63

- P. Kasza, “Mert látom, hogy néhányan [...] az eseményeket másképp mesélik, mint megtörténtek...”. Megjegyzések Brodarics István *Historia verissimájának* keletkezéstörténetéhez, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 111 (2007) 323-42
- G. Gyáni, ‘Elbeszélhető-e egy csata hiteles története? Metatörténeti megfontolások’, *Hadtörténelmi közlemények* 119 (2006) 121-33
- Z. Tóth, ‘Fons vs. memoria? Retorikatörténeti megjegyzések Brodarics Istvánnak a mohácsi csatáról készült beszámolójához. Esettanulmány’, in Tóth (ed.), *A történelmem terhe*, Kolozsvár, 2006, 53-81
- E. Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. Századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből*, Budapest, 1975, 8-23 (chapter on ‘Brodarics István’)

Péter Kasza

Justus Jonas

Jodokus (Jobst) Koch

DATE OF BIRTH 5 June 1493
PLACE OF BIRTH Nordhausen
DATE OF DEATH 9 October 1555
PLACE OF DEATH Eisfeld, Thuringia

BIOGRAPHY

Born the son of the Nordhausen council member Jonas Koch, Jodokus began his studies at the Faculty of Arts in Erfurt during the summer of 1506, where he changed his name to Justus Jonas. He completed his basic studies in 1510, and then moved to the Faculty of Law at Wittenberg. He developed a friendship with George Spalatin, although there is no evidence that he knew Martin Luther at this time. He returned to Erfurt to study theology and graduated in 1518, when he was appointed to a canonry at St Severi Church in Erfurt. In 1519, he went to Leuven to visit Erasmus and after that began to give theological lectures at Erfurt University. Impressed by the impact of the disputation between Luther and Johann Eck at Leipzig in 1518, Jonas's attraction to Luther and his theology grew. In 1521, by which time he was teaching at Wittenberg, he accompanied Luther to the Diet of Worms. He affirmed his commitment to the new thinking by composing the *Acta et res gesta Doctoris Martini Lutheri* and, gradually laying aside his humanist commitments, in autumn 1527 he finally turned away from Erasmus.

Jonas was dean of the Faculty of Theology at Wittenberg from 1523 to 1533. He took part in the Marburg Religious Discussion in 1529 and the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. He was much sought-after as a translator into and from Latin: he translated numerous Bible commentaries, and also Luther's *De servo arbitrio* and Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, and he contributed to the Wittenberg translation of the Bible.

On behalf of the Elector of Saxony, Jonas introduced the Reformation to Halle in spring 1541. In December 1544, he was appointed to a permanent position as preacher at St Mary's and ecclesiastical superintendent of the city of Halle. In this position, in 1543 he wrote the Halle *Kirchenordnung*, based on the Wittenberg model. In 1546, he accompanied Luther on his last journey to Eisleben, during which the Wittenberg reformer was to die.

During the Schmalkaldic War (1546-7), Jonas was forced to leave Halle, and he only returned in March 1548. He was not restored to his position as superintendent, and he moved in humiliation to Coburg, where he became a superintendent and court preacher. He died in Eisfeld in 1555, shortly after the Religious Peace of Augsburg.

Among his few publications, translations take first place. Besides his annotations to the Acts of the Apostles and his work on the seventh chapter of Daniel, Jonas only published three sermons. His theological thinking is not original, and he is a rather typical exponent of the Wittenberg Reformation. His extensive correspondence is a valuable source for the history of the Reformation in Germany.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The following list includes the classification given in VD 16. This is a bibliography of books published in German-speaking countries in the 16th century, a searchable database with links to digitised texts, https://opacplus.bib-bvb.de/TouchPoint_touchpoint/start.do?SearchProfile=Altbestand&SearchType=2.

- Adversus Ioannem Fabrum Constantien. Vicarium, scortationis patronum, procognio sacerdotali, Iusti Ionaee defensio*, Zürich, 1523 (VD 16 J 872)
- Annotationes Iusti Jonae, in Acta Apostolorum*, Wittenberg, 1524 (VD 16 J 875)
- Das siebend Capitel Danielis / von des Türcken Gotteslesterung vnd schrecklicher morderey / mit vnterricht Iusti Jonae*, Wittenberg, 1529 (VD 16 J 897)
- Wilch die rechte Kirche / Vnd dagegen wilch die falsche Kirch ist / Christlich antwort vnd tröstliche vnterricht / Widder das Pharisaisch gewesch Georgij Witzels. Justus Jonas D.*, Wittenberg, 1534 (VD 16 J 917)
- Ein kleglich ansuchen des ausschus der v. Nider Osterreichischen lande belangend die gross jtzige fahr des Türcken halben*, Wittenberg, 1540 (VD 16 N 1693)
- Ein Sermon von der Historien Judae Ischarioth / vnd des Judas Kusse / wie es der welt kunst vnd des Teuffels list ist / geprediget durch Justus Jonas Doct. Am tage Coene Dominj*, Halle, 1543 (VD 16 J 893)
- Doctor Martin Luters Christlicher Abschid vnd sterben*, Augsburg, 1546 (VD 16 ZV 8745)
- Zwo Tröstliche Predigt / Vber der Leich / D. Doct: Martini / Luther / zu Eissleben den XIX. vnd xx. Februarij gethan / Durch / D. Doct: Justum Jonam. M. Michaelem Celium*, Wittenberg, 1546 (VD 16 J 899)
- Der Neun vnd Sibentzigste Psalm / zu diesen ferlichen zeiten / allen Christen zu trost zu singen vnd zu beten in Reime gestalt / Nach der Melodey / Wo Gott der Herr nicht bey vns helt. Durch Doctor Just. Jonas Superattendenten zu Hall*, Wittenberg, 1546 (VD 16 J 891)

Eyn fast tröstliche Predigt / vnd auslegung der Historien / Von den wunderbaren XL. Tagen / In Actis Aposto. Cap. J. (der gleichen Tage nie auff Erden gewesen.) Jtem von der aufferstehung der Todten / des künfftigen seligen lebens im Himel / Wie es das Symbolum Nicen nennet / Vitam futuri seculi. Wider alle Epicurer bösen Teufels samen / sonderlich zu Rhom so die waren Religion verachten / alle Gottes worte / vnd öffentlich Wercke auff's new inn Wind schlahen / zu Regenspurg jnn Bayern Gepredigt / Anno Dni. 1553. Erstlich / Jtzund Anno 1554. in Druck geben. Durch Justum Jonam den Eldern Northusanum Doctor, Erfurt, 1554 (VD 16 J 888)

G. Kawerau (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas*, 2 vols, Halle, 1884

Secondary

- I. Dingel (ed.), *Justus Jonas (1493-1555) und seine Bedeutung für die Wittenberger Reformation*, Leipzig, 2009 (Leucorea-Studien zur Geschichte der Reformation und der Lutherischen Orthodoxie 11)
- H. Junghans, 'Justus Jonas und die Erfurter Humanisten', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 15-37
- C. Peters, 'Zwischen Erasmus und Luther. Justus Jonas und die Krise des Erfurter Humanistenkreises', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 39-58
- H. Scheible, 'Melancthon und Justus Jonas', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 59-86
- E. Wolgast, 'Luther, Jonas und die Wittenberger Kollektivautorität', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 87-100
- R. Kolb, 'The Theology of Justus Jonas', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 103-20
- V. Gummelt, 'Justus Jonas als Biblexeget an der Wittenberger Universität', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 121-30
- U. Mennecke, 'Justus Jonas als Übersetzer – Sprache und Theologie. Dargestellt am Beispiel seiner Übersetzung von Luthers Schrift "De servo arbitrio" – "Das der freie wille nichts sey" (1526)', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 131-44
- H. Lück, 'Justus Jonas als Jurist und Mitbegründer des Wittenberger Konsistoriums', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 145-62
- S. Bräuer, 'Die reformatorische Bewegung in Halle im Vorfeld des Wirkens von Justus Jonas nach der "Summarischen Beschreibung"', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 165-81
- I. Mager, 'Justus Jonas als Zeuge und Berichterstatter über Luthers Tod', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 183-9
- A. Kohnle, 'Justus Jonas und das Interim', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 191-204
- R. Axmann, 'Der späte Justus Jonas (1550-1555). Sein Wirken in Coburg, Regensburg und Eisfeld und seine Nachwirkung', in Dingel, *Justus Jonas*, 205-22
- H. Leder, art. 'Jonas, Justus', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin, 1977-2004, vol. 17, pp. 234-8
- W. Delius, *Lehre und Leben. Justus Jonas*, Gütersloh, 1952
- W. Delius, 'Justus Jonas und Erasmus', *Theologia Viatorum* 1 (1948-9) 71-9
- O. Clemen, 'Georg Witzel und Justus Jonas', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 17 (1920) 132-52

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Das siebend Capitel Danielis von des Türcken Gotteslesterung vnd schrecklicher morderey mit vnterricht Justi Jonae, 'The seventh chapter of Daniel on the blasphemy of the Turk and his terrible murderous acts, together with an instruction of Justus Jonas'

Das siebend Capitel Danielis, 'The seventh chapter of Daniel'

DATE Late 1529 or early 1530

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Jonas finished *Das siebend Capitel Danielis* in autumn 1529, after the end of the Ottoman siege of Vienna in October 1529. The book, containing 32 quarto pages, was printed sometime around December 1529 or January 1530 by Hans Lufft, one of the most important printers of the Wittenberg Reformation.

Although Jonas was the author of the treatise, it was Philipp Melanchthon who inspired him to compose it. In 1529, Melanchthon was writing his own commentary on Daniel, though he had not finished it at the time of the Ottoman siege. He thus encouraged his colleague Jonas to make a translation and explanation of the seventh chapter, which he interpreted as a prophecy of the Ottoman attacks against Christianity. Jonas agreed, and Melanchthon gave him his preliminary work on the seventh chapter (see his letter to Camerarius, 16 November 1529, in *Melanchthons Briefwechsel. Texte* (MBW.T), ed. H. Scheible, vol. 3, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 637 (no. 841): '*Ionashic componit libellum de Turcis, cuius operis sylvam nos ei conguessimus*'). Since Luther had written an extremely long preface to his translation of Daniel in 1529 – a small commentary in itself – Melanchthon only published his own thoughts on Daniel in 1543. Therefore Jonas's commentary is the only part of Melanchthon's 1529 commentary that was printed at all, apart from the preface which Melanchthon published in 1529.

The treatise contains a world map showing the continents of 'Africa', 'Asia' and 'Europe', together with the Ottoman army standing in Asia ready to invade Europe (A iv), a dedication to the Landgrave Philipp of

Hesse (A 2r-v), an 'Introduction on the Turk by Justus Jonas' (A 3r-E 1r), remarks on the differences between the Ottoman Empire and other kingdoms (E 1v-F 3v), and a closing admonition (F 4v-H 4r).

Jonas advances an apocalyptic interpretation of Daniel 7, which sets out a diagnosis of the present time that Melanchthon had already formulated in the preface to his commentary on Daniel in April 1529 (MBW.T 3, no. 769). Also following Melanchthon, Jonas interprets the beasts described in Daniel 7 as follows: the first three represent the empires of the Assyrians, Persians and Alexander the Great and his heirs, while the fourth symbolises the Roman Empire and its successor the Holy Roman Empire. The horn growing on the forehead of this beast is the Ottoman Empire, which was to break up the Roman Empire. Melanchthon had probably taken this interpretation, which was already in circulation in the Middle Ages, from the Livonian reformer Johannes Hilten via Friedrich Myconius.

Jonas interprets the Ottoman incursion apocalyptically as a punishment for Christian unbelief and Protestant misuse of the freedom given by the Gospel as permission for moral laxness. He also distinguishes the Ottoman Empire from other empires, because the Ottomans do not serve peace and order but are the scourge of God. They wage war aggressively and do not spare women or children, even after a defeat. Nor do they observe any military codes, but hack and carve up their victims, and sell survivors in the slave market like animals.

Jonas includes a brief history of Islam (C 4v-D 2v): stirred up by the devil, Muḥammad used the opportunity of divisions caused by heresies in the Eastern Church to attack it. He took parts of Christian and Jewish beliefs and mixed them together, rejecting the divinity of Christ, the doctrine of justification, the sacraments and the activity of the Holy Spirit, and as a result the Qur'an allows polygamy and blasphemy, and contains many lies. Alexander the Great had locked up the 'red Jews' (whom Jonas identifies as the Turks) behind the Caucasus, but Muḥammad showed them the way to Asia Minor, where they almost totally destroyed the Christian Church. Although the Turks are regarded as tolerant, this is not the case (E 4r): every third child of the Christian minority in Asia Minor has to attend a Muslim school, and preaching against the 'law of Muḥammad' is forbidden among them (E 4r-v).

Jonas ends his *Türckenbüchlein* by emphasising Daniel's prophecy that a part of Rome would survive the attacks of the Turks. He interprets this as a reference to the Holy German Empire, which will win in the end, when Christ returns to earth and ends the persecution of his Church.

SIGNIFICANCE

Das siebend Capitel Danielis belongs to the larger group of *Türckenbüchlein* (see the entry on these) that were written to explain the Ottoman advances into Christian territories in the years between 1521 and 1566, the reign of Süleyman I. Martin Luther took part in this offensive, as did Justus Jonas, Johannes Brenz, Andreas Osiander, Veit Dietrich and other theologians of the Wittenberg Reformation. This joint work by Melancthon and Jonas occupies a key position among these *Türckenbüchlein*. The Württemberg theologian Johannes Brenz used it as a template, and in places his publication *Wie sich Prediger vnd Leyen halten sollen, so der Turck das deutsche land vberfallen würde* can be read as a summary of *Das siebend Capitel Danielis*. Luther published his *Heerpredigt* in December 1529 or January 1530 to replace his *Vom Kriege wider die Türcken*, the *Türckenbüchlein* he had published in April or May 1529, after reading Jonas's work.

Jonas's *Das siebend Capitel Danielis* was his first statement on the 'Turkish question', and the most important. He continued to publish and translate books on the Turks on the basis of what he had first written here. In 1538, he translated the treatise *Turcicarum rerum commentarius* by the Italian historian Paolo Giovio and published it under the title *Vrsprung des Türckhschen Reychs biß auff den yetzigen Soliman* (Augsburg 1538 [VD 16 G 2050]). In his afterword (Kawerau, *Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas*, vol. 1, pp. 269-72 [no. 366]), he explains that the Turks are God's punishment for the false teaching of the Roman Church and the pope. In 1540, he also wrote a preface to a book published by the Wittenberg printer Joseph Klug under the title *Ein kleglich ansuchen*, a 'tearful request' for military aid addressed by the Estates of Lower Austria to those in Bohemia. In this preface (A 2r-A 4r), he repeats the view of the Turks he had expressed in *Das siebend Capitel Danielis* ten years earlier.

Jonas can be counted among the most important of the authors of the Wittenberg Reformation who wrote about the Turks, and thus one of the main creators of the future Protestant image of Islam and the Turks.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Das siebend Capitel Danielis, Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1529 (VD 16 J 897)
 (repr. Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1530 (ZV 26521), Nuremberg: Johann
 Petreius, 1530 (J 895) Nuremberg: Johann Stuchs, 1530 (J 896)

STUDIES

Kolb, 'The theology of Justus Jonas', p. 116

- T. Kaufmann, *“Türckenbüchlein”. Zur christlichen Wahrnehmung “türkischer Religion” in Spätmittelalter und Reformation*, Göttingen, 2008
- J. Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam. Eine Untersuchung zum Türken- und Islambild Martin Luthers (1515-1546)*, Gütersloh, 2008
- H. Scheible, ‘Melanchthons Verständnis des Danielbuchs’, in K. Bracht and D.S. du Toit (eds), *Die Geschichte der Daniel-Auslegung in Judentum, Christentum und Islam. Studien zur Kommentierung des Danielbuches in Literatur und Kunst*, Berlin, 2007, 293-321
- A. Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam. A study in sixteenth-century polemics and apologetics*, Leiden, 2007
- G. Miller, ‘Luther on the Turks and Islam’, in T. Wengert (ed.), *Harvesting Martin Luther’s reflections on theology, ethics, and the Church*, Grand Rapids MI, 2004, 185-203
- J.W. Bohnstedt, *The infidel scourge of God: The turkish menace as seen by German pamphleteers of the Reformation era*, Philadelphia PA, 1968
- S.A. Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman imperialism and German Protestantism 1521-1555*, Cambridge MA, 1959
- Delius, *Lehre und Leben*
- M. Köhler, *Melanchthon und der Islam. Ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Verhältnisses zwischen Christentum und Fremdreigionen in der Reformationszeit*, Leipzig, 1938

Johannes Hund

Benedict Curipeschitz

Benedikt Curipešič, Kuripešič, Kuripečič, Kuripešić

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1490
PLACE OF BIRTH Oberburg, Southern Styria
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; after 1531

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Benedict Curipeschitz. He was born around 1490 in Oberburg in Southern Styria, modern Gornji Grad in Slovenia. Although he was of Slovenian origin, he regarded himself as a citizen of the German Holy Roman Empire: in his *Itinerarium* he remarks that he and his companions in Constantinople missed nothing 'except for our German freedom' (*das unns nichts abganngen, dann allain unnser Teutsche freyheit*, ed. Neweklowsky, p. 79).

In 1508 Curipechitz was enrolled at the University of Vienna, and in 1525 he appears as a notary public in Laibach (modern Ljubljana). He was proficient in Slovenian, German and also Latin, which he probably learnt at the diocesan collegiate chapter at Oberburg, which had been established after 1473 when the monastery was closed by Pope Sixtus IV.

It is most likely that his language skills led to his appointment as an interpreter as part of a diplomatic mission sent by King Ferdinand I of Hungary to the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I in 1530, immediately after the first Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1529. Further details of his life after the return of the mission to Germany on 2 February 1531, and the date of his death are unknown.

Curipechitz left two works, the *Itinerarium* and the *Disputation*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

G. Neweklowsky (ed.), *Benedict Curipeschitz, Itinerarium oder Wegrayß Küniglich Mayestät potschafft gen Constantinopel zudem Türckischen Keiser Soliman. Anno 1530*, Klagenfurt, 1997

Secondary

- W. Bracewell and A. Drace-Francis, *Under eastern eyes. A comparative introduction to East European travel writing on Europe*, Budapest, 2008, p. 75
- G. Procházka-Eisl and C. Römer, 'Raub, Mord und Übergriffe an der habsburgisch-osmanischen Grenze. Der diplomatische Alltag der Beglerbege von Buda abseits von Zeremonien', in R. Kauz, G. Rota, and J.P. Niederkorn (eds), *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell in Europa und im Mittleren Osten der frühen Neuzeit*, Vienna, 2009, pp. 251-64
- W. Geier, *Südosteuropa-Wahrnehmungen. Reiseberichte, Studien und biographische Skizzen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 2006, pp. 46-56

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ein Disputation oder Gespräch zwayer Stalubenen;
Disputation, 'A disputation or discussion between
two stable lads'

DATE 1531

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Curipeschitz wrote the *Disputation* (in full, *Ein Disputation oder Gespräch zwayer Stalubenen so mit künigklicher Maye. Botschafft bey dem türckischen Keyser zu Constantinopel gewesen*, 'A disputation or discussion between two stable lads with his royal majesty's embassy to Constantinople to the Turkish emperor') on his return from Constantinople, and published it in Augsburg in 1531. It is a 31 page analysis and discussion of the internal and external reasons for the Ottoman successes and Christian defeats, together with an outline of the appropriate measures required to face the menace.

The main characters are two stable lads, one seasoned and sensible and the other young and more impulsive, who the author is supposed to have overheard in the stables. Within this framework, the *Disputation* refers to the social and political conditions of ordinary Christians under Ottoman rule, the customs of the Ottomans, and the similarities and differences between them and the Christians in Curipeschitz's own country. In addition, it describes the Ottoman court and its ceremonial, the morals and religious practices of the Turks, and the structure of the Ottoman army.

In their conversation, the two grooms identify the reasons for Ottoman military successes: a standing army leading to low expenditure and high

efficiency, in contrast to European mercenary armies; strong centralised rule without factionalism, in contrast to sectional interests in the Holy Roman Empire between hereditary nobles and rising urban burgesses; the overall enslavement and suppression of local Christian populations; discord among Christian rulers. Curipeschitz particularly emphasises the problems arising from disunity among Christian rulers, and calls for a kind of ecumenical approach which disregards denominational lines within Christianity and includes non-Catholic Christians in the Balkans, because 'they believe in God, who created heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, born of Mary. They have their churches and priests without any difference in the (holy) mass; that is why I take them for good Christians' (pp. 8-9). This unity would open the possibility of expelling the Turks from the Holy Roman Empire within three years, and could be followed by a covenant with Christians in Ottoman lands, so that they rose up against the Turks (p. 24).

Curipeschitz includes details about the beliefs and customs of the Turks: that they believe in one God, and in Muḥammad (Machameth) as a prophet (p. 19); they can have as many wives as they can support; they perform ablutions before prayers as a form of confession; they have six daily prayers at which there is 'collective weird yelling and swaying until they become tired' (p. 20) – here he appears to confuse the normal prayers with Sufi rituals. He does appear to acknowledge forms of Muslim piety and good deeds, although these are cancelled out by their wrong beliefs; as the younger stable lad says, 'It does not help anything, for they don't believe in Christ, the only son of God. That's why they have to suffer for their tyranny in hell' (p. 20).

Curipeschitz alludes to the common belief that the Ottomans are God's punishment on Christians: the Turk is certainly evil, one lad says, 'but we are vicious also, and that's why God punishes us with the evil, and they are our scourge' (p. 20). And while Christians may be blamed for sins such as haughtiness, gluttony and insobriety (p. 27), 'yet the Turk is worse than us. They lack the true faith and are occupied with the blasphemous sin with boys, abhorrent to nature, and feature a lot of (further) subhuman manners' (p. 29).

Curipeschitz is particularly agitated by the *devşirme* system. He comments that the Turk 'only builds up, maintains and enhances his realm by Christians and Christian children . . . and it is not a minor insult to the whole of Christianity that the faith of the Christians should be annihilated by those related to them by religion rather than by the real Turks' (pp. 2-3).

SIGNIFICANCE

Curipeschitz's attitude towards the Turks is undeniably biased, though this is understandable in the circumstances of the clear threat of invasion. So, like the *Itinerarium*, the *Disputation* is not to be taken as a literal account of the state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire. Rather, these are two works of political propaganda, intended to encourage a united front among Christians against the Ottoman threat. Both are significant as early examples of strategies to counter the Ottoman advance, and also as early contributions to ideological accounts of the Turks that have persisted to the present.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

G. Neweklowsky (ed.), *Benedict Curipeschitz, Ein Disputation oder Gespräch zwayer Stalbuben am Hof des türkischen Sultans 1530 über Gebräuche, Glauben, Heerwesen, Politik der Türkei und ihr Verhältnis zum Deutschen Reich*, Klagenfurt, 1998 (includes a facsimile of the 1531 edition)

Ein Disputation oder Gespräch zwayer Stalbuben so mit künigklicher Maye. Botschafft bey dem türckischen Keyser zu Constantinopel gewesen, Augsburg: Steiner, 1531

STUDIES

Bracewell and Drace-Francis, *Under eastern eyes*

Procházka-Eisl and Römer, 'Raub, Mord und Übergriffe an der habsburgisch-osmanischen Grenze'

Itinerarium oder Wegrayß Küniglich Mayestät potschafft gen Constantinopel zudem Türckischen Keiser Soleyman, anno 1530, 'Itinerary or journey of his royal majesty's embassy to Constantinople to the Turkish Emperor Süleyman, in the year 1530'
Itinerarium, 'Itinerary'

DATE 1531

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Curipeschitz's *Itinerarium* is a description of the journey to Constantinople and back, giving his observations on the road and reports about the

progress of his ultimately fruitless mission. It was written immediately after Curipeschitz's return, and was printed in Augsburg in 1531. This edition, held in the Austrian National Library, consists of 63 pages.

The main object of the mission was to agree a treaty with the Sublime Porte and to secure the claim of Charles V's brother Ferdinand to authority in Hungary, or at least a reversion to the position before the Battle of Mohács in 1526, in return for comprehensive annual tribute. Süleyman rejected this outright in favour of John Zápolya, who had been elected by a faction of the Hungarian nobility as King of Hungary against the claims of the Habsburg Ferdinand.

The mission started in Laibach on 22 August 1530, and followed a route via Bosnia and southern Serbia, through Ključ, Sarajevo, Višegrad, Novi Pazar, Mitrovica and Kosovo Polje, Sofia and Adrianople. This was because the way through Budapest, Belgrade and Niš was unsafe because of the recent conquest of central and southern Hungary by the Ottomans. The mission reached Constantinople 17 October, and remained until 22 December, arriving home on 2 February, 1531.

A major feature of the *Itinerarium* is the account it gives about Bosnia and the conditions of the subject Christian populations there. This early German eye-witness report on what had become an Ottoman province remained unparalleled until the 17th century. Curipeschitz writes in detail about the institution of the *devşirme*, and is keenly concerned about possible strategies for Christian counterattacks in the region. He frequently cautions against the Turkish menace.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Itinerarium* gives a highly biased view of Islam, though this is hardly surprising in the circumstances of an immediate military threat from the Ottoman state. Curipeschitz wrote a work of political propaganda, intended to induce unity against a common enemy.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

G. Neweklowsky (ed.), *Benedict Curipeschitz, Itinerarium oder Wegrayß Küniglich Mayestät potschafft gen Constantinopel zudem Türckischen Keiser Soliman. Anno 1530*, Klagenfurt, 1997 (repr. of Lamberg-Schwarzenberg, 1910, with a new introduction and facsimile of the Augsburg 1531 edition)

S.M. Džaya and J. Džambo (eds), *Benedikt Kuripešić, Itinerarium der Gesandtschaft König Ferdinand I. von Ungarn nach Konstantinopel 1530*, Bochum, 1983 (includes a facsimile of the 1531 edition)

- Ö. Nutku (trans.), *Yolculuk Günlüğü. 1530 yılında, Bosna, Sırbistan ve Bulgaristan üzerinden İstanbul'a giden Joseph Lamberg ve Niclas Jurischitz'in Elçilik günlüğü*, Ankara, 1977 (Turkish trans.)
- D. Pejanović (trans.), *Putopis kroz Bosnu, Srbiju, Bugarsku i Rumeliju 1530*, Sarajevo, 1950, Belgrade, 2001² (Croatian trans.)
- E. Gräfin Lamberg-Schwarzenberg (ed.), *Benedict Curipeschitz, Itinerarium der Botschaftsreise des Josef von Lamberg und Niclas Jurischitz durch Bosnien, Serbien, Bulgarien nach Konstantinopel 1530; aus einer gleichzeitigen Handschrift neu herausgegeben*, Innsbruck, 1910
- Benedict Curipeschitz, *Wegraysz Keyserlicher Maiestat Legation im 32. jar, zu dem Türcken geschickt, wie, vnd was gestalt, sie hinein, vnd widerumb herauß, komen ist*, Augsburg: Steiner, 1532 (Munich, Bavarian State Library – Res/4^o Eur. 333, 49, http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10200201_00012.html)
- Benedict Curipeschitz, *Itinerarium oder Wegraysß Königlich Mayestät potschafft gen Constantinopel zudem Türckischen Keiser Soleyman, anno 1530*, Augsburg: Steiner, 1531

STUDIES

- Procházka-Eisl and Römer, 'Raub, Mord und Übergriffe an der habsburgisch-osmanischen Grenze. Der diplomatische Alltag der Beglerbege von Buda abseits von Zeremonien'
- Geier, *Südosteuropa-Wahrnehmungen. Reiseberichte, Studien und biographische Skizzen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, pp. 46-56

Sevket Küçüküseyin

Šimun Kožičić Benja

Simon, Simon Begna, Simon de Begna, Simon Modrusiensis

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1460
PLACE OF BIRTH Zadar (present-day Croatia)
DATE OF DEATH March 1536
PLACE OF DEATH Zadar

BIOGRAPHY

Šimun Kožičić Benja was born in Zadar in about 1460, into the noble family called Begna (and its variants) in Latin sources, and Kožičić in Croatian works. He most probably received his education and took holy orders in Zadar, where he also came into contact with the Croatian Glagolitic tradition. In 1500, he visited Rome (where Pope Alexander VI made an unfavourable impression on him), and in 1502 he was made a canon in Zadar. Pope Julius II appointed him Bishop of Modruš (or Krbava) on 7 November 1509, and in June 1510 Julius sent him on a diplomatic mission to the court of Vladislas II, King of Hungary and Croatia, whom the pope wanted to make peace with Venice and wage war against the Turks.

He was present at some of the sessions of the Fifth Lateran Council, convened in 1512. At that time, Cardinal Marco Vigerio entrusted him with the task of organising his personal library, as well as writing a foreword to his book *Controversia de excellentia instrumentorum Dominicae passionis* (Rome, 1512). This short foreword was the first work by Kožičić to be printed.

In the sixth session of the Lateran Council on 27 April 1513, Kožičić delivered a speech in Latin as the first speaker before the newly elected Pope Leo X (1513-21). In the same year, he was appointed administrator of the diocese of Senj (until 1521). He delivered his second Latin speech before Pope Leo X and the cardinals on 5 November 1516 (this time not at the Lateran Council). The speech was reprinted in Paris a short time later (probably in 1517), and a French translation of it was published in 1518.

Kožičić returned to Modruš sometime at the end of 1516 or the beginning of 1517. When the Turks captured Modruš in 1527 and set fire to the bishop's palace and partially demolished it, he retreated to Novi Vinodolski, but, fearing the Turks, he moved to Rijeka in 1529. There,

he established a printing house, and in the period 1530-31 he printed six books in Glagolitic script. In 1532, he moved permanently to Zadar, where he died in March 1536.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

D. Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, Venice, 1769, vol. 4, pp. 110-12

Secondary

- S. Damjanović, art. 'Kožičić Benja, Šimun (Simon Modrusiensis; Kožičić, de Begna, Begnii, Begnius)', in V. Visković et al. (eds), *Hrvatska književna enciklopedija*, Zagreb, 2010, vol. 2, 392-3
- A. Nazor, art. 'Kožičić Benja, Šimun (Simon Modrusiensis; Kožičić, de Begna, Begnii, Begnio, Begnius)', in T. Macan et al. (eds), *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, Zagreb, 2009, vol. 7, 838-41
- A. Nazor, 'Šimun Kožičić Benja (oko 1460. do 1536.)' = 'Šimun Kožičić Benja (ca 1460 to 1536)', in Šimun Kožičić, *Knjižice od žitja rimskih arhijerejev i cesarov, Rijeka, 1531.*, ed. A. Nazor, Rijeka, 2007, vol. 2, 11-30, pp. 11-16; 36-50, pp. 36-42
- A. Nazor, 'Inhabitant of Zadar Šimun Kožičić and his Glagolitic printing house', in Z. Bolanča (ed.), *11th International conference of printing, design and graphic communications Blaž Baromić*, Zagreb, 2007, 19-26
- S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, Zagreb, 1992, 2004², pp. 36-7
- M. Stanković-Avramović, *Šimun Kožičić Benja, hrvatski književnik*, Rijeka, 2002, pp. 9-23
- B. Modrić, 'Šimun Benja Kožičić', *Sushačka revija* 10 (2002) 37, 107-11
- N. Valerjev, 'Zaboravljeni otac riječkog tiskarstva', *Novi List* 55 (2001) 18. XI, supplement, 4-5
- J. Lokmer, 'Šimun Kožičić Benja – najugledniji riječki građanin starije povijesti', *Novi List* 54 (2000) 17. XII, supplement, 4-5
- S. Antoljak, 'Šimun Kožičić Begna i njegovo doba', in N. Kolumbić, M. Moguš and A. Nazor (eds), *Zbornik radova o Šimunu Kožičiću Benji*, Zagreb, 1991, 5-25
- P. Kolendić, 'Zadranin Šimun Kožičić i njegova štamparija na Reci', *Južni pregled* 9/2 (1934) 61-71 (repr. in *Magazin sjeverne Dalmacije* 2 [1935])
- F. Bulić, art. 'Begni (Siméon)', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1934, vol. 7, 451
- I. Broz, *Crtice iz hrvatske književnosti*, Zageb, 1888, vol. 2, pp. 114-19
- C.F. Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, Zara, 1877, vol. 1, pp. 205-6
- A. Kuzmanić, 'Kožičić', *Glasnik dalmatinski* 18 (1865) 20: 4; 21: 4; 22: 4; 23: 4; 24: 4; 25: 3-4; 26: 4; 27: 3-4; 28: 4; 29: 3-4; 31/32: 4; 34: 4
- F. Rački, 'Život Šimuna Kožičića-Begne, biskupa modruškoga i pisca', *Zagrebački katolički list* 12 (1861) 1: 1-2; 2: 9-11; 3: 17-18; 4: 25-27; 5: 33-35; 6: 41-42

- G. Ferrari Cupilli, 'Della vita e degli scritti di Simeone Begna zaratino vescovo di Modrussa', *Annuario Dalmatico* 1 (1859) 61-86, pp. 61-75
- S. Gliubich, art. 'Begna, Simeone', in *Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri della Dalmazia*, Vienna, 1856, 25-6
- Othon, baron de Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, 'Les auteurs dalmates et leurs ouvrages. Esquisse bibliographique', *Bulletin du bibliophile Belge* 12 (1856) 37-55, p. 44

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Simonis Begnii, episcopi Modrusiensis, oratio
in sexta sessione Lateranensis concilii habita,
'Address by Simon Begnius, Bishop of Modruš, in
the sixth session of the Lateran Council'*

DATE 1513

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Kožičić's Latin address (also known by its Croatian title *Govor Šimuna Benje, modruškoga biskupa, održan na šestom zasjedanju Lateranskog koncila, 27. travnja 1513*) is eight pages long in the Glavičić edition, four pages of which deal with the Ottoman conquests and unsuccessful Christian resistance. The first part presents a systematic historical overview of church history, conciliar schisms and other troubles encountered by the Church as a result of not following 'the teachings of the evangelical law' (Glavičić, 'Simonis Begnii oratio', p. 213), which coincided with the loss of Christian territories (the fall of Constantinople, Bosnia, Euboea, etc.). Nevertheless, the Christian community was saved through the efforts of secular rulers and some pontiffs, particularly popes Martin V and Eugene IV. Kožičić clearly defines himself as an opponent of conciliarism (the ascendancy of Church councils over the power of popes), but he does not support papal authority as unquestioningly as some other speakers at the Council (Minnich, 'Concepts of reform', p. 187).

Then he moves on to contemporary events: first he depicts the ravages committed by the Ottomans in his native region of Krbava, Dalmatia and Modruš, and then he chastises church leaders and secular rulers for their callousness and improvidence, exemplified by the wars in Italy, which is 'the pivot of all the wars raging now' (Glavičić, 'Simonis Begnii oratio', p. 217). The final part is dedicated to conciliar subjects: the need for unity in the Church, its reform, and the holy war against the Turks. Kožičić believes reform should be carried out root and branch (Minnich,

'Concepts of reform', p. 187), and consequently he has great expectations of the new pope, Leo X. He welcomes him as saviour (Glavičić, 'Simonis Begnii oratio', p. 217), and invites him to wage war against the Turks, for if no action is taken they will soon conquer Rhodes and plunder Italy. He advises the Council fathers to settle their disagreements, which are the cause of the past and present troubles: when the Church achieves inner unity, reform and peace, the Turkish invasion will be successfully checked.

SIGNIFICANCE

Kožičić's address maintains the long tradition (from the middle of the 15th century) of anti-Turkish speeches in Croatian literature. Although his native region had been exposed to Ottoman raids and plundering for 50 years already, Kožičić only touches upon an appeal for military aid and a crusade, and focuses mainly on the conciliar subjects pertaining to Church reform. The restoration of unity in the Church, Church reform, and the crusade against the Ottomans were the proclaimed objectives of the Fifth Lateran Council.

It is evident that Kožičić wanted to gain favour with the new pope, the only person he thought he could positively rely on to organise a holy expedition against the Turks (Glavičić, 'Simonis Begnii oratio', p. 218). Notwithstanding this, he undoubtedly believed that the moral reform of the Church based on evangelical principles was an essential prerequisite for its successful fight against both internal enemies (heretics) and the Ottomans.

Discussing current events, Kožičić stresses that Italy has been protected from the Ottomans so far thanks to the mettle of the Dalmatians, the strength of the Venetian navy and the valour of the Hungarians and Poles. The Ottomans themselves are treated rather generally, in the context of their advance into Europe. Kožičić explicitly refrains from going into detail, and describes them in terms of a few well-known characteristics: they burn and destroy cities, turn Christians into slaves, and drink horse blood while thirsting for the blood of Christians. They are infidels and heretics (*infideles perfidosque*), belonging to the most abominable of sects (*foedissimam sectam*), as well as followers of 'most wretched Muḥammad' (*turpissimum Maumetum*) (Glavičić, 'Simonis Begnii oratio', p. 217).

Although the idea of a crusade came to nothing, on 15 July 1513 Leo X, possibly prompted by Kožičić's speech, appointed Cardinal Toma Bakač legate *de latere* to organise war against the Turks, while in March of 1515 the pope sent a substantial quantity of food and gun powder, together

with 20,000 ducats, to the Croatian leader Petar Beriszló, for him to organise defence against the Turks (Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, pp. 150-1, 158).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- V. Gligo (trans.), 'Govor Šimuna Benje, modruškog biskupa, održan na šestom zasjedanju Lateranskog sabora', in M. Stanković-Avramović, *Šimun Kožičić Benja, hrvatski književnik*, Rijeka, 2002, 226-36 (Croatian trans.)
- B. Glavičić (ed.), 'Simonis Begnii, episcopi Modrusiensis, oratio in sexta Lateranensis concilii sessione quinto Kalendas Maias habita MDXIII' = 'Govor Šimuna Benje, modruškoga biskupa, održan na šestom zasjedanju Lateranskoga koncila, 27. travnja 1513.', in Kolumbić, Muguš and Nazor (eds), *Zbornik radova*, pp. 211-19 (Latin text); pp. 225-37 (Croatian trans. by V. Gligo)
- 'Govor Šimuna Kožičića Benje na šestom zasjedanju Lateranskog sabora održan 27. travnja 1513.', in V. Gligo (ed.), *Govori protiv Turaka*, Split, 1983, pp. 323-8 (Croatian trans. by V. Gligo, selections); pp. 589-602 (facsimile of the first edition)
- 'Oratio per Simonem Begnium episcopum Modrusiensem in sexta sessione Lateranensis synodi habita', in J.D. Mansi et al. (eds), *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Paris, 1902, vol. 32, cols 798-805, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k51617m/f406>
- C. Baronius et al. (eds), *Annales ecclesiastici*, Paris, 1877, vol. 31, pp. 9-10 (extract), <http://archive.org/stream/annalesecclesias31barouoft#page/8/mode/2up>
- Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 4, p. 111 (extract), <http://books.google.hr/books?id=s5m6iCgNWRIC&pg=PA111>
- C. Baronio, O. Rinaldi and G.D. Mansi (eds), *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi desinit Cardinalis Baronius*, Lucca, 1755, vol. 12, pp. 10-11 (extract), http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10939034_00018.html
- O. Rinaldi (ed.), *Annales Ecclesiastici: ab anno quo desinit Card. Caes. Baronius MCXCVIII usque ad annum MDXXXIV continuati*, Cologne, 1694, vol. 20, pp. 136-7 (extract), http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10938885_00146.html
- 'Oratio per Simonem Begnium episcopum Modrusiensem in sexta sessione Lateranensis synodi habita', in P. Labbé, G. Cossart and E. Baluze (eds), *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta*, Venice, 1732, vol. 19, cols 798-805, http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10321897_00411.html

- 'Oratio per Simonem Begnium, episcopum Modrusiensem, in sexta sessione Lateranensis synodi habita', in J. Hardouin, P. Labbé and G. Cossart (eds), *Acta conciliorum et epistolae decretales, ac constitutiones summorum pontificum*, Paris, 1714, vol. 9, cols 1683-8, http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10321957_00854.html
- 'Oratio per Simonem Begnium episcopum Modrusiensem in sexta sessione Lateranensis synodi habita', in P. Labbé and G. Cossart (eds), *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta*, Paris, 1672, vol. 14, cols 144-52, http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10321978_00084.html
- 'Oratio per Simonem Begnium episcopum Modrusiensem in sexta sessione Lateranensis synodi habita', in S. Binius (ed.), *Concilia generalia et provincialia Graeca et Latina quae reperiri potuerunt omnia. Item epistolae decretales et Romanorum pontificum vitae*, Paris, 1636, vol. 9, pp. 71-5, http://books.google.hr/books?id=73nDyVBR_g4C&pg=PA71
- 'Oratio per Simonem Begnium episcopum Modrusiensem in sexta sessione Lateranensis synodi habita', in S. Binius (ed.), *Concilia generalia et provincialia Graeca et Latina quaecunque reperiri poterunt. Item epistolae decretales et Romanorum pontificum vitae*, Cologne, 1618, vol. 4/2, pp. 56-9, http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10321866_00066.html
- Simonis Begnii episcopi Modrusiensis oratio in sexta Lateranensis concilii sessione quinto Kalendas Maias habita MDXIII*, s.l., s.a. [Rome, 1513] (facsimile: Gligo [ed.], *Govori*, pp. 589-602), <http://books.google.hr/books?id=gB48AAAACAAJ> (for the place and year of the edition, see A. Tinto, *Gli annali tipografici di Eucario e Marcello Silber (1501-1527)*, Florence, 1968, p. 87; B. Lučin, 'Šimun Kožičić Benja, plivač u matici', *Mogućnosti* 49 (2002) 7/9, 115-22, pp. 118-21)

STUDIES

- B. Lučin, 'Prilozi tekstu i recepciji Kožičićeva govora *De Coruatiae desolatione*', *Fluminensia* 24/1 (2012) 77-107, pp. 80-2
- Nazor, 'Inhabitant of Zadar', p. 20
- Stanković-Avramović, *Šimun Kožičić Benja*, pp. 43-52
- B. Glavičić, 'O stilskim i jezičnim odlikama latinskih govora Šmuna Kožičića Benje', in Kolumbić, Moguš and Nazor (eds), *Zbornik radova*, pp. 81-91
- M. Kurelac, 'Povijest i suvremenost u djelima Šimuna Kožičića Benje', in Kolumbić, Moguš and Nazor (eds), *Zbornik radova*, 115-24, pp. 120-1

- C.L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, Bloomington IN, 1985, 1998², pp. 92, 109
- K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, Philadelphia PN, 1984, vol. 3, pp. 147-8
- V. Gligo (ed.), *Govori protiv Turaka*, Split, 1983, pp. 34, 45-6
- N.H. Minnich, 'Concepts of reform proposed at the Fifth Lateran Council', *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae* 7 (1969) 163-251, pp. 185-9, 230-4
- K.M. Setton, 'Pope Leo X and the Turkish peril', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 113 (1969) 367-424, pp. 372-3
- C.-J. Hefele and J. Hergenröther, *Histoire des conciles, d'après les documents originaux*, Paris, 1917, vol. 8, pp. 400-1 (trans. H. Leclercq)
- L. Pastor, *The history of the popes from the close of the Middle Ages*, London, 1908, vol. 8, pp. 385-6 (and other editions)
- L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1906, vol. 4, p. 560 (with numerous trans.)
- C.-J. von Hefele and J. Hergenröther, *Conciliengeschichte: nach den Quellen bearbeitet*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1887, vol. 8, pp. 563-5
- Rački, 'Život Šimuna Kožičića-Begne', 2: pp. 10-11
- Ferrari Cupilli, 'Della vita e degli scritti', pp. 78-9

*Simonis Begnii, episcopi Modrusiensis, de Coruatiae
desolatione oratio ad Leonem X, Pontificem
Maximum, Nonis Nouembris habita MDXVI,
'Address on the devastation of Croatia delivered
by Šimun Kožičić, Bishop of Modruš, to Pope Leo X
on 5 November 1516'*

DATE 1516

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

In the Lučin edition, the address is a little more than four pages long, three of which deal with the Ottoman conquests and cruelties, ending in an appeal to the pope to mount a crusade. Kožičić opens his address with a reminder of his previous address, of 1513, and then outlines the history of the Frankapan family, with a commendation of its members.

In addition, the commendation contains a discrete paraphrase of the historical events outlined in the first address. Kožičić then gives a short geographical description of Croatian lands, and laments the tragic state of affairs in his see, which has been ravaged and the population for the most part reduced to slavery. Christian rulers deceive themselves when they think that danger is far away, and they keep on warring against each other in Italy. Consequently, Kožičić addresses Leo X by way of a request or even a grim warning, rather than an entreaty: 'You are the shepherd of your flock; God appointed you ruler over kingdoms and kings, and you will be called to account for the blood of the poor Christians!' If they do not receive aid soon, the remaining parts of Croatia and Dalmatia will certainly be put under the yoke of slavery to the Muhammadans (*Maumethanae seruitutis iugum*; Lučin, 'Simonis Begnii de Coruatiae desolatione oratio', p. 99). All that Kožičić wants on behalf of the defenders is a pittance in comparison with the gold and silver being spent in Rome on sumptuous buildings; only a small fraction of this treasure would save many Christians from dishonour, slavery and death. Therefore, Kožičić appeals to Leo to launch a crusade himself: no ruler would disobey his summons, and an army powerful enough to defeat the enemy could be recruited.

Should this cry for help also come to no avail, the Christians will be left with no choice but to strike up an alliance with the Ottomans, and as a result plunder other Christians. At the end of the address Kožičić warns the pope once again that he will be held personally responsible should such a situation arise: 'Let whosoever causes this to happen answer to God Almighty!' (Lučin, 'Simonis Begnii de Coruatiae desolatione oratio', p. 101).

SIGNIFICANCE

De Coruatiae desolatione was delivered outside the Lateran Council, which probably reflects the urgent circumstances resulting from the death on 13 March 1516 of Vladislas II, king of Hungary and Croatia. The address is barely half as long as the 1513 speech and is less coherent and considerably harsher in tone. It alternates between historical excursions and descriptions of an almost hopeless state of affairs in Croatia, and uses stern rebukes because nothing whatsoever had been done to mount resistance against the Ottomans. There are no theological considerations, and the main purpose of the address is to instigate a crusade. For the most part, Kožičić directly addresses Pope Leo X, whom he sternly warns about his duty and responsibility before God. Another difference from the earlier speech lies in the attitude he shows towards the French: in the 1513 address Kožičić mentioned the French cardinals negatively, as the

inciters of schism (that address was delivered when the Council of Pisa was still in session, and the French representatives were at Pisa and not at the Lateran). In November of 1516, however – less than four months after the Concordat of Bologna – Kožičić refers to the shining example of ‘the most Christian French kings, dukes, marquises and princes’ (Lučin, ‘Simonis Begnii de Coruatiae desolatione’, p. 98), who were motivated only by the zeal of their faith when they embarked on a crusade to free Jerusalem from the infidels.

The Ottoman advance is portrayed as ‘a creeping evil’ (*serpit hoc malum*, ‘Begnii de Coruatiae desolatione’, p. 98), and the standard topics (they plunder and burn down cities and villages, turn Christians into slaves, desecrate churches, defile virgins, trample on the consecrated host, etc.) are reinforced by personal experience of the tragic events in his own see. However, Christian rulers are not exempt from Kožičić’s indignation: they ignore the danger, do not heed cries for help, wage wars against each other incessantly, and selfishly hoard up riches.

The reason *De Coruatiae desolatione* received such a strong response in France can be traced primarily to the keen criticism levelled at the pope, in addition to the recognition of the contribution of the French nobility to the crusades. It comes as no surprise that the second edition was printed soon in Paris (probably in 1517, i.e. after the first edition, but before the French translation), in the climate of growing discontent with the pope that followed the Concordat of Bologna (Lučin, ‘Prilozi tekstu’, pp. 83-9). The address was evidently perceived as an additional argument in the fight for the autonomy of the Church of France, which becomes clear from the fact that as early as 1518 it was translated into French and published in a collection of pamphlets in defence of Gallican liberties. The translation was reprinted in similar collections in 1560 and 1561 (Lučin, ‘Prilozi tekstu’).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- B. Lučin (ed.), ‘Simonis Begnii, episcopi Modrusiensis, de Coruatiae desolatione oratio ad Leonem X, Pontificem Maximum, Nonis Nouembris habita MDXVI’ = ‘*Opustošena Hrvatska*, govor Šimuna Benje, modruškoga biskupa, održan pred papom Leonom X. 5. studenoga 1516.’, *Fluminensia* 24/1 (2012) 96-106 (Croatian trans. V. Gligo, V. Gortan and B. Lučin). (This is the first complete and critical modern edition and translation of the address; previous modern editions were based upon an incomplete copy of the first edition), http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=130380&lang=en.

- ‘Opustošena Hrvatska: govor Šimuna Benje, modruškog biskupa, održan pred papom Leonom X. 5. studenoga 1516.’, in Stanković-Avramović, *Šimun Kožičić Benja*, pp. 236-8 (Croatian trans. V. Gligo and V. Gortan, selections)
- ‘Simonis Begnii, episcopi Modrusiensis, de Coruatiae desolatione oratio ad Leonem X. Pontificem Maximum, Nonis Nouembris habita MDXVI’ = ‘Opustošena Hrvatska: govor Šimuna Benje, modruškoga biskupa, održan pred papom Leonom X. 5. studenoga 1516.’, in Kolumbić, Moguš and Nazor (eds), *Zbornik radova*, pp. 221-23 (Latin text, ed. B. Glavičić); pp. 239-42 (Croatian trans. V. Gligo and V. Gortan, selections)
- Šimun Kožičić Benja, ‘Opustošena Hrvatska (govor održan pred papom Leonom X)’ = ‘Simonis Begnii, episcopi Modrusiensis, de Coruatiae desolatione oratio ad Leonem X. Pontificem Maximum, Nonis Nouembris habita MDXVI’, in Gligo (ed.), *Govori protiv Turaka*, pp. 329-34 (Croatian trans. V. Gligo and V. Gortan, selections); pp. 605-10 (facsimile of an incomplete copy of the first edition)
- ‘De Corvatiae desolatione (oratio ad Leonem X Pontificem Maximum habita)’ = ‘Opustošena Hrvatska (govor održan pred papom Leonom X)’, in V. Gortan and V. Vratović (eds), *Hrvatski latinisti = Croatici auctores qui Latine scripserunt*, Zagreb, 1969, vol. 1, 508-13 (Croatian trans. V. Gortan, selections)
- J. de Rely (ed.), *Les remonstrances faictes au Roy Loys unzieme, sur les priuileges de l'Eglise Gallicane, et les plaintifs et doleances du peuple*, Paris, 1560, fols 20v-28r (French trans. lacking name and title, but cf. ‘Ceste oraison a esté recitée en latin deuant nostre saint Pere le pape Leon dixiesme, par reuerend pere en Dieu l'Euesque de Modrusie, ambassadeur deuers sa sainteté, pour le païs de Croätie’, fol. 20r), <http://www.bvh.univ-tours.fr/Consult/index.asp?numfiche=140> (repr. Paris, 1561, <http://books.google.hr/books?id=oco5AAAaAAJ>)
- ‘Epistre exortatiue a nostre saint pere le pape leon x. de ce non pour la recouurance de la terre sainte’, in J. de Rély (ed.), *Cest lordre tenu et garde en la notable et quasi diuine assemblee des troys estatz representans tout le royaulme de france, conuoquez en la ville de Tours par le feu roy charles viii. contenant la treseloquente et fructueuse propositio(n) faite en ladicte assemblee present le roy et son co(n)seil par feu maistre Iehan de Rely [...]*, Paris, 1518, fols 85r-92r (French trans.; the year of the edition is established by the date of the privilege, while the title of the translation is taken from the

long title on the frontispiece; on fol. 84v the unnamed author of the address is designated as 'reuerend pere en dieu leuesque de modrusie, ambassadeur deuers sa saintete pour le pais de coruacia')

Simonis Begnii episcopi Modrusiensis de Coruatiæ desolatione oratio ad Leonem X. Pontificem Maximum Nonis Nouembris habita M. D. XVI, s.l., s.a. [Paris, c. 1517] (for the place of publication see the printer's mark – Jean Petit – on the frontispiece; for the probable year of the edition, see Lučin, 'Prilozi tekstu', p. 83-86)

Simonis Begnii episcopi Modrusiensis de Coruatiæ desolatione oratio ad Leonem X. Pontificem Maximum Nonis Nouembris habita MDXVI, s.l., s.a. [Rome, 1516] (for the place and year of publication, see Lučin, 'Šimun Kožičić Benja', pp. 118-21), <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8415504>

STUDIES

B. Lučin, 'Prilozi tekstu i recepciji Kožičićeva govora *De Coruatiæ desolatione*', *Fluminensia* 24 (2012) 77-107, pp. 77-95

Nazor, 'Inhabitant of Zadar', pp. 20-1

Stanković-Avramović, *Šimun Kožičić Benja*, pp. 52-4

Glavičić, 'O stilskim i jezičnim odlikama', in Kolumbić, Moguš and Nazor (eds), *Zbornik radova*, pp. 81-91

M. Kurelac, 'Povijest i suvremenost', in Kolumbić, Moguš and Nazor (eds), *Zbornik radova*, pp. 121-2

V. Gligo (ed.), *Govori protiv Turaka*, Split, 1983, pp. 46-7

Rački, 'Život Šimuna Kožičića-Begne', 4: p. 25

Ferrari Cupilli, 'Della vita e degli scritti', p. 79

Knjižice od žitija rimskih arhijerejev i cesarov, 'Little books on the lives of the Roman pontiffs and emperors'

DATE 1531

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

In its first edition of 1531, *Knjižice od' žitiš rimskih' arhieršov' i cesarov'* (in full, *Šimuna Kožičića Zadranina, biskupa Modruškoga, knjižice od žitija rimskih arhijerejev i cesarov: od Petra i Julija: daže do sadanjih Klimenta Sedmoga i Karla Petoga: let Gospodnjih 1531*) numbers 60 folios. It

is composed of two main parts equal in length: the first contains the lives of the pontiffs from the Apostle Peter to Clement VII, and the second the lives of the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Charles V. At the beginning, there is a dedicatory epistle to Toma Niger, Bishop of Trogir (dated 4 May 1531), in which Kožičić urges Niger to write a book 'about the Croatian land and its glory'. In the second part, there are four excursions: one on the capture of Rome by the Goths ('Vazetje Rima', Kožičić, *Knižice*, fols 40v-41r) and another three on oriental subjects: the history of Persia, or the Middle East ('Od gospodstva Partov' i Prsiěnov', fols 36v-37v), the beginnings of Islam ('Mahometa početie', fols 42v-43r), and the history of the Ottoman Empire ('Od' početiě turačkago', fols 49r-50v). Information about the Turks, however, can also be found elsewhere: in the opening dedication Kožičić remarks that his 'Croatian land' is ravaged by 'the pagan hand'. In the history of the pontiffs, speaking about Pope Boniface V, he mentions Muḥammad, who gave 'a false new faith and law, which he called Alkoran' (fol. 15r); later on he mentions Christian-Turkish conflicts in the middle of the 15th century, at the time of János Hunyadi: the Battle of Varna (1444), the Turkish siege of Belgrade (1456) and the anti-Turkish plans of Pope Pius II (fols 32-33r). In the history of the emperors, Turks are mentioned in the description of the fall of Constantinople (fols 48v-49r) and in connection with the defence of Belgrade under the leadership of János Hunyadi and St John of Capistrano (fol. 57r-v).

The work is not an original composition, but a combination of translation and compilation. This is acknowledged by Kožičić himself at the end of the first part (Kožičić, *Knižice*, fol. 33v), although he does not cite his sources. These have been discovered only recently: for the lives of the pontiffs he used Bartolomeo Sacchi (Platina), *Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum* (Tutschke, *Die glagolitische Druckerei*, pp. 286-99), and for the lives of the emperors Giovanni Battista Cipelli (Egnatius), *De Caesaribus libri III* (Mrkonjić, 'Egnacij i Kožičić', pp. 127-29). Kožičić introduces some structural changes in his translation (Tutschke, *Die glagolitische Druckerei*; Mrkonjić, *Žitija rimskih cesarov*): in some places he abridges his translation, though he also makes his own additions, which he considers his Croatian readers might find interesting. They usually pertain to local history, but there is also some autobiographical information (Nazor, 'Šimun Kožičić Benja', pp. 20-21).

The Croatian used by Kožičić is a carefully thought-out mixture of Chakavian and the Croatian recension of Church Slavonic, which he may have considered a literary language.

SIGNIFICANCE

While in his Latin speeches Kožičić speaks from the perspective of danger from the infidel conquerors, here his scope is much wider, thanks to his sources; nevertheless, one should not disregard Kožičić's personal interest in history, which he studied and knew well (it is known that he collected and copied documents about Croatian history).

Even though it is entitled 'Of the rule of the Parthians and Persians', the first oriental excursus mostly deals with the history of the Saracens and discusses their acceptance of Islam and conquests in Europe. The second excursus, 'Of Muhammad's birth', is even more interesting, being 'the oldest known text on the Prophet Muḥammad in Croatian' (Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*, p. 58). It draws attention to the Prophet's lowly origins, his marriage to a rich widow, connections with a Christian monk Sergius, the spread of the faith among the Arabs and the Muslim threat to contemporary Europe as a result of the heedlessness of Christian rulers. The information on the Prophet's life and the birth of the Muslim faith was to be repeated by later Croatian authors, including Antun Vramec, Ivan Gundulić and Filip Grabovac. The depiction of the fall of Constantinople (in the chapter on Constantine XI Palaeologus) is the first of its kind intended for Croatian readers.

The third excursus, 'Of the origin of the Turks', is the most important and the longest: it discusses the original homeland of the Turks, the founders of the dynasty (Süleyman, Osman I and Orhan), the battles of Kosovo, Nicopolis and Varna, and the battles between Mehmed II and Skanderbeg in the mid-15th century. Some parts of the text here were composed by Kožičić himself (Mrkonjić, *Žitija rimskih cesarov*, p. 72). On the whole, the depiction of the battles in this excursus is neutral in terms of its attitude, though the description of the atrocities by the Turks in Constantinople after it was captured is anything but neutral (Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*, p. 59).

This work stands out in Croatian historiography as 'the first world history printed in our country in Croatian, which includes information about Islam and the Ottoman Empire from its beginnings to its expansion to Byzantium and the Balkans all the way to our regions up to Kožičić's time' (Kurelac, 'Povijest i suvremenost', p. 115), as well as in Croatian literary culture in general as 'an important reference work of church and world history, which must have had an influence on the shaping of the mentality of the epoch' (Kurelac, 'Povijest i suvremenost', p. 119).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Šimuna Kožičića Zadranina, biskupa Modruškoga, knjižice od žitija rimskih arhijerejev i cesarov: od Petra i Julija: daže do sadanjih Klimenta Sedmoga i Karla Petoga: let Gospodnjih 1531, ed. A. Nazor, Rijeka, 2007 (vol. 1: facsimile of the 1531 edition; vol. 2: Latin transliteration with foreword and introduction in Croatian and English)

‘Šimuna Kožičića Zadranina, biskupa Modruškoga, knjižice od žitiē rimskih’ arhierēov’ i cesarov’: od Petra i Juliē: daže do sadanih’ Klimenta sedmoga i Karla petoga: let’ gospodnih’ 1531.’, in G. Tutschke, *Die glagolitische Druckerei von Rijeka und ihr historiographisches Werk. Knižice od žitiē rimskih arhierēov i cesarov*, Munich, 1983, 38-240, <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0005/bsb00057089/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&id=00057089&seite=1>

‘Knjižice od žitja rimskih arhijereov i cesarov, Rijeka 1531’, in V. Štefanić (ed.), *Hrvatska književnost srednjega vijeka*, Zagreb, 1969, 86-8 (selections)

Šimuna Kožičića Zadranina biskupa Modruškoga knjižice od’ žitiē rimskih’ arhierēov’ i cesarov’: od’ Petra i Juliē: daže do sadanih’ Klimenta sedmoga i Karla petoga: let’ Gospodnih’ 1531, Rijeka, 1531 (in Glagolitic script), <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10201465.html>

STUDIES

D. Dukić, ‘Das Türkenbild in der kroatischen literarischen Kultur vom 15. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts’, in R. Lauer and H.G. Majer (eds), *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa*, Berlin, 2014, 157-92

T. Mrkonjić, ‘Žitija rimskih cesarov. Vjernost izvorniku i originalnost prijevoda’, *Fluminensia* 24 (2012) 57-75

T. Mrkonjić, ‘La versione croata glagolitica dell’opuscolo “Vite dei pontefici e degli imperatori Romani” di G. B. Cipelli detto Egnazio’, in C. Alzati, M. Grusovin and S. Tavano (eds), *L’eredità di Cirillo e Metodio. Omaggio a Vittorio Peri*, Gorizia, 2009, 319-27

Nazor, ‘Inhabitant of Zadar’, pp. 23-4

A. Nazor, ‘Predgovor [Foreword]’, in Kožičić, *Knjižice*, vol. 2, pp. 5-7, 31-3

Nazor, ‘Šimun Kožičić Benja’, vol. 2, pp. 19-22, 44-8

F. Paro, ‘Tehnički podaci o faksimilu; Tipografske karakteristike originalnog izdanja’ [Technical details concerning the facsimile; Typographic characteristics of the original publication], in Kožičić, *Knjižice*, vol. 2, pp. 8-9, 34-5

- D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca. Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar, 2004, pp. 56-61
- Stanković-Avramović, *Šimun Kožičić Benja*, pp. 111-35
- T. Mrkonjić, 'Egnacij i Kožičić. Pitanje predložka za Kožičićeve "Knjižice od žitič rimskih arhierčov i cesarov"', in Kolumbić, Moguš and Nazor (eds), *Zbornik radova*, pp. 125-36
- Kurelac, 'Povijest i suvremenost', in Kolumbić, Moguš and Nazor (eds), *Zbornik radova*, pp. 117-19
- Tutschke, *Die glagolitische Druckerei*, pp. 30-2, 241-317
- Štefanić, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 85
- Ferrari Cupilli, 'Della vita e degli scritti', pp. 80-1

Bratislav Lučin

Andronicus Tranquillus

Andronicus Tranquillus Parthenius Dalmata, Andronicus
Tranquillus Dalmata Traguriensis, Fran Trankvil Andreis,
Franjo Andreis, Francisco Andreis, Andreisi Ferenc

DATE OF BIRTH About 1490
PLACE OF BIRTH Trau, Dalmatia
DATE OF DEATH 1571
PLACE OF DEATH Trau, Dalmatia

BIOGRAPHY

Andronicus Tranquillus was born around the year 1490 in Trau, Dalmatia. After studying in various places, such as Ragusa and the universities of Bologna and Rome, he taught in Padua for a short period. He failed to gain admission to the University of Vienna in 1516, and in the next year he was rejected at the University of Ingolstadt. He travelled to Augsburg on the occasion of an imperial conference, where one of his works, *Oratio contra Thurcas ad Germanos habita*, was printed. Then he went to Leuven to meet Erasmus, but they missed each other. The humanist later mentioned him in his work *Convivium poeticum*, under the name of 'Parthenius'. After a pause, he published *Dialogus sylla*, a treatise on giving up power, in 1527.

In the same year, he arrived in France as the emissary of King John I of Hungary. When Ferdinand I launched a campaign against John I over the throne of Hungary, Andronicus sailed back to Dalmatia, fearing that he might be killed. Once there, he left for Wallachia and then for Istanbul when the Wallachian voivode, Radul, denied the Hungarians his support. It was there that Andronicus and Ludovico Gritti met for the first time. From the year 1530, Andronicus was part of Gritti's inner circle after the latter was elected regent.

Andronicus tended to travel to Istanbul frequently around this time. Imre Cibak, the bishop of Várad and a fierce rival of Gritti, was killed by the regent's followers in 1534. In turn, Cibak's supporters started plotting against Gritti, and eventually managed to take their revenge. Andronicus recorded his experiences of this event in *De rebus in Hungaria gestis ab Ludovico Gritti deque eius obitu epistola*. John Statilius, the bishop

of Transylvania, also from Dalmatia, managed to save Andronicus from captivity by paying a ransom.

In 1538, Andronicus entered the service of Ferdinand I and became his secretary in 1541. In this capacity, he was sent to the pope and Charles V to ask for their aid. During this time, he published two of his famous orations, *Oratio ad Germanos de bello suscipiendo contra Thurcas*, and *Oratio ad Carolum Imperatorem*, addressed to Charles V. He was in Istanbul to negotiate the surrender of Buda with Süleyman I, but had to flee when it turned out that the Habsburgs had been defeated by the Turkish army.

Many of his works were published in Krakow in 1545, including the *Ad optimates Polonos admonitio*, which he wrote for the Polish against the Turks, along with religious writings and a dialogue on philosophy called *Dialogus philosophandum ne sit*.

For the remainder of his life, he settled down in Trau, withdrawing from public affairs. Nevertheless, he was often on the road, visiting his pen friends Tamás Nádasdy and Antun Vrančić many times. During his stay in Vienna in 1564, he co-authored a polemic against Ferdinand I, which stirred up trouble, given that it was printed just after the king's death. An exhortation addressing Maximilian I also appeared in 1566, in which the authors express their hopes for the outcome of the war against the Turks. In the winter of 1570-71, Andronicus sent a letter to Pope Pius V, seeking help against the Turks. Eager to publish the letter, he travelled to Bratislava to meet Vrančić, but he did not find him at home. Returning to Trau, he died shortly after.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- O. Tatar, 'The regional identity of Transylvania in the mid-sixteenth century with regard to diplomatic relations between the house of Austria and the Ottoman Po', *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica* 16 (2012) 195-215
- Z. Glavaš, 'Franjo Trankvil Andreis i njegovo djelo De rebus in Hungaria gestis ab illustrissimo et magnifico Ludovico Gritti deque eius obitu epistola', Zagreb, 2011 (Diss. University of Zagreb), <http://darhiv.ffzg.unizg.hr/1792/>
- O. Tatar, 'Problema Transilvaniei în rapoartele diplomaților Casei de Austria la Istanbul în perioada 1547-1550', *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica* 11 (2007) 286-302
- G. Barta, 'An unsuccessful humanist in the 16th century (Tranquillo Andreis)', in I. Zombori (ed.), *Az értelmiség Magyarországon a 16.-17. században* [Intellectuals in Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries], Szeged, Hungary, 1988, 61-77

- S. Cavazza, 'Tranquillo Andronico e la guerra contro i Turchi, 1569-1571', *Rivista di Studi Ungheresi* 1 (1986) 21-40
- N. Kolumbić, *Krvava rijeka. Franjo Trankvil Andreis*, Zagreb, 1979
- Á. Szalay Ritoókné, 'Andronicus Tranquillus Dalmata und die Vita Aulica', *Živa Antika* 25 (1975) 202-9
- Á. Szalay Ritoókné, 'A politikai szatíra Magyarországon a XVI. Században', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 3 (1971) 265-77
- M. Cytowska, 'Andronicus Tranquillus dalmata – a Łaski család és Zápolya János udvarának familiárisa', in I. Csapláros et al. (eds), *Tanulmányok a lengyel-magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok köréből*, Budapest, 1969, 129-43
- M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti do narodnog preporoda*, Zagreb, 1945, pp. 71-2
- H. Barycz, art. 'Tranquillus Andronicus', W. Konopczyński (ed.), *Polski słownik biograficzny*, Krakow, 1935, vol. 1, 96-7
- I. Lukinich, 'Tranquillus Andronicus életéhez', *Levéltári Közlemények* 1 (1923) 179-86

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tranquilli Andronici Dalmatae Traguriensis de rebus in Hungaria gestis ab illustrissimo et magnifico Ludovico Gritti deque eius obitu epistola; Memorandum, 'The letter of Tranquillius Andronicus about the things done in Hungary by the most illustrious and magnificent Ludovico Gritti and about his death'; 'Andronicus Tranquillus emlékirata'

DATE 16 December 1534

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Andronicus Tranquillus addressed his reminiscences of Ludovico Gritti, regent of Hungary, to Jan Tarnowski, the Grand Crown Hetman of Poland at the time. The most recent edition of the letter, by Florio Banfi, containing a short description of the circumstances of Gritti's death on 26 September 1534 and the events leading to it, is 31 pages long. The letter was written on 16 December of the same year, testified by Andronicus's signature. The oldest known manuscript copy dates from the year 1578, as the original letter has not survived.

Andronicus says that, in 1527, Ludovico Gritti and Hieronymus Łaski, the legate of John I of Hungary, were in Istanbul, attempting to win the sultan over to help against Ferdinand I. They were successful in their effort, and the Turkish army recaptured Hungary on behalf of John I. Vienna was besieged by Süleyman I but to no avail, and he had to return home. According to Andronicus, the Germans soon appeared in Hungary to occupy Buda. John I immediately sent for Gritti, who was in Istanbul, asking for his assistance. While the king was contemplating making an escape, Gritti defeated the German army and became the regent of Hungary. This success was not well received by the king and his followers, as rumours emerged that he wanted to seize the throne. Around this time, Andronicus was assigned by the king to be close to Gritti.

Andronicus goes on to say that Süleyman I laid siege to Vienna again in 1532, also without success. Since the Hungarians had attacked the Turkish army on their return through Slavonia, Süleyman threatened to occupy the region but was deterred by Gritti's intervention. During his stay in Hungary in 1534, Imre Cibak, the bishop of Várad, was plotting against Gritti, but this was discovered by the regent, who ordered Cibak to be killed. Fearing the wrath of the Hungarians, Gritti decided to flee to Transylvania. The Hungarian army followed him to Medgyes with the support of Peter, the voivode of Moldavia. Gritti summoned the Turkish army, but their arrival was delayed and many of his followers changed sides. He then chose to surrender to the voivode, who let the Hungarians kill him.

In the closing lines of the letter, Andronicus laments Gritti's death and tries to justify his actions. He also refers briefly to his own situation, and writes a few words about John I, who, in Andronicus's opinion, was right to fear Süleyman's retribution.

SIGNIFICANCE

Andronicus Tranquillus's memories are a detailed account on the last years of Ludovico Gritti, who was a key figure in enabling the Turkish presence in Hungary in the 1530s. Gritti was favoured by Süleyman I, and he was also one of Ibrahim Pasha's confidants. In the *Memorandum*, Andronicus sets out to explain the Regent's role in the relationship between the Ottomans and the Hungarians. The *Memorandum* conveys no sense that religious difference was an obstacle to seeking alliances or a factor in fighting enemies.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár *Kézirattára* – Fol. Lat.
3760 (1578)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- P. Kulcsár, 'Andronicus Tranquillus emlékirata', in P. Kulcsár (ed.),
Krónikáink magyarul 3/3, Budapest, 2008, 53-77 (Hungarian trans.)
F. Banfi, *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, Rome, 1934, 437-68
H. Kretschmayr, 'Adalékok Szapolyai János király történetéhez', *Törté-
nelmi Tár* 26 (1903) 198-229

STUDIES

Glavaš, 'Franjo Trankvil Andreis i njegovo djelo'

Szabolcs Zsótér

Caspar Ursinus Velius

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1493
PLACE OF BIRTH	Schweidnitz (present-day Świdnica, Poland)
DATE OF DEATH	1539
PLACE OF DEATH	Vienna

BIOGRAPHY

Caspar Ursinus Velius was born Caspar Bernhardi in Schweidnitz, Silesia, in 1493. He enrolled at the University of Cracow in 1505, where he must have mastered humanist Latin perfectly, as he excelled among his fellow students, with his poems (*Epistolarum et epigrammatum liber*, Vienna, 1517; *Poematum libri quinque*, Basel, 1522). He remained at Wrocław for a while in the service of John Thurzó. In order to complete his humanist education, he took Greek courses in Leipzig. He visited his home town in 1509 and entered the service of Matthäus Lang, Bishop of Gurk, as a secretary.

Owing to the fact that the bishop, later to be cardinal, was an influential member of Emperor Maximilian's court, this connection was a breakthrough in Ursinus's career. In 1512, he followed Lang to Rome, where he befriended such illustrious humanists as Johann Coricius and Paulo Giovio. After leaving Rome, he returned to Augsburg in 1514. The following year, he accompanied his master to Bratislava and participated in the preparations for the Congress of Vienna (1515). In the winter of the same year, he studied at the University of Vienna. There he became friends with numerous humanists from Vienna and members of the *Sodalitas litteraria Danubiana*. From 1516, he was again in the service of John Thurzó, who helped him to gain a canonical benefice in the chapter of Wrocław.

Like many humanists, Ursinus remained Catholic at the beginning of the Reformation, and retained his hostility towards Protestantism. At the same time he started to exchange letters with Erasmus of Rotterdam, and their correspondence continued until Ursinus's death. It was not until the winter of 1525 that he established a close relationship with humanists in Hungary. After the Battle of Mohács, he was given a completely new opportunity. Archduke Ferdinand Habsburg (1503-64), pretender to the throne of Hungary, needed a firmly anti-Protestant historian to support

his claim against John Zápolya, who had been elected and crowned king of Hungary by a group of Hungarian nobles. The archduke chose Ursinus, who worked as his court historian from then on. Following a petition to be relieved of his ecclesiastical orders, he got married in Vienna in 1529 during the siege of the city by the Ottomans.

In his address delivered at Ferdinand's coronation in Székesfehérvár, Ursinus called upon his audience to defend Christianity against Muslim conquest. Later, he wrote a poem of exhortation on the same topic (*Querela Austriae sive epistola ad reliquam Germaniam*, Augsburg, 1532). His most significant historical work, which discusses Ferdinand's war against John Zápolya in Hungary, remained unfinished. This work also contains a meticulous description of the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1529. He died unexpectedly in 1539; his body was found in the River Danube, and his friends suspected that he had committed suicide. His letters reveal that he suffered a lot because of his wife's infidelity.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Details of Velius's life can be found in many of his unpublished letters, whose exact locations are given in Bauch, *Caspar Ursinus Velius*.

M. Rothkegel, *Der lateinische Briefwechsel des Olmützer Bischofs Stanislaus Thurzó. Eine ostmitteleuropäische Humanistenkorrespondenz der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg, 1975

Secondary

Zs. Szebelédi, 'Magyarország két tűz között [Hungary between two enemies]', in Caspar Ursinus Velius, *Tíz könyv a magyar háborúról* [Ten books about Hungarian war], trans. Z. Szebelédi, Máriabesnyő, 2013

B. Lakatos, art. 'Caspar Ursinus Velius', in *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon*, Budapest, 2003-12, vol. 12, 232-3

A. Truhlář et al., 'Caspar Ursinus Velius', in *Rukověť' humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě. Echiridion renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae*, Prague, 1982, vol. 5, 423-4

G. Bauch, art. 'Caspar Ursinus Velius', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig, 1875-1912, vol. 39, 367-9

G. Bauch, *Caspar Ursinus Velius, der Hofhistoriograph Ferdinands I. und Erzieher Maximilians II.*, Budapest, 1886 (full biography), <http://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/dms/load/img/?PPN=PPN513986685>

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Oratio, 'Speech'

DATE 1527

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Caspar Ursinus Velius delivered his speech (its full title is *Oratio habita in Alba Regali die felicissimae coronationis inclyti ac potentis Ferdinandi Ungariae Bohemiaeque regis etc. anno 1527 non. 3 novembris*) on 3 November 1527 in Székesfehérvár, at Ferdinand's coronation as king of Hungary. The text was published in print the same year, in a document 18 pages long; to our present knowledge no manuscripts have survived.

At the beginning of his speech, which reveals his humanist education, Ursinus points out the legitimacy of Ferdinand Habsburg's claim to the throne. On the one hand, he refers to the treaties between the Habsburgs and the late Jagiellonian kings of Hungary, and on the other he exalts the power and excellence of Ferdinand's family. In reference to the civil war between John Zápolya and Ferdinand, he stresses the 'official' Habsburg view: Zápolya seized the royal title illegally and Ferdinand entered Hungary not as an enemy, but to liberate the kingdom from the oppression of the 'tyrannical' usurper. Ursinus was well-aware of the traditional aversion of the Hungarian nobility towards kings of foreign origin and does not miss the opportunity to discuss this problem. As Ferdinand was not Hungarian, Ursinus reminds the Hungarians present at the coronation that their foreign kings were often better rulers than those from their homeland. He continues by listing the kings of Hungary who successfully fought against the internal and external enemies of Christianity. The catalogue is concluded with Ferdinand himself, who is presented as a worthy successor to rulers who had sustained the Christian faith in Hungary. Then, Ursinus praises the prosperity of Hungary in order to contrast it with the tragic consequences of Ottoman raids. In order to avoid further deterioration, he calls the Hungarians to unite against the infidels and to support Ferdinand.

SIGNIFICANCE

Addressed to the Hungarians present at the coronation, the speech mirrors faithfully the Habsburg court's view of its enemies, including the Muslim Ottomans. Ursinus's main aim is to prove to his Hungarian audience that Ferdinand is taking the throne legitimately, though in addition

to legal arguments he emphasises Ferdinand's suitability for the war against the Ottomans. He draws a parallel between the former 'pagan' foes of Catholic Hungary (Cumans, Sarmatians, Hussites) and the Muslim Ottomans. The importance of the text is enhanced by the fact that it calls Hungary 'the rampart of Europe' (*propugnaculum et spirantes muri Europae*). This echoes the centuries-old expression 'rampart of Christianity' (*propugnaculum Christianitatis*), which had been applied to the Christian countries situated on the frontier of the advancing world of Islam. The expression was deeply ingrained in Hungarian identity and still affects the country's historical consciousness today.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A.F. Kollár (ed.), *Casparis Ursini Velii De bello Pannonico libri decem*, Vindobona, 1762 (includes text of speech)

Oratio habita in Alba Regali die felicissimae coronationis inelyti ac potentis Ferdinandi Ungariae Bohemiaeque regis etc. anno 1527 non. 3 novembris, Vindobonae (Vienna), 1527, Basileae (Basel), 1527, 1528²

STUDIES

K. József, *Történelmi és irodalmi kalászatok* [Historical and literary collections], Pest, 1861, p. 73

De bello Pannonico libri decem, 'On the war in Hungary, ten books'

DATE Between 1531 and 1537

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *De bello Pannonico* of Ursinus Velius amounts to 182 pages in the edition of Franciscus Kollár made in 1762. According to Kollár, the tenth book of the fragmentary work was left uncompleted because of Ursinus's death. No critical edition has yet been published, and there is only one translation, into Hungarian. The manuscript, presumably in an incomplete form, can be found in a mid-16th-century codex held in the National Library of Austria.

Consisting of ten books of different lengths, Ursinus's work focuses on one period, 1527-31, in the war of succession for the throne of Hungary between Ferdinand I Habsburg (1503-64) and John Zápolya (1487-1540),

and on the incursions of the Ottomans under Sultan Süleyman (1520-66). The first three books (Kollár, pp. 1-54) describe the events of 1527. Ferdinand and his troops entered Hungary on 1 August to take the throne and expel John Zápolya, who had been crowned earlier. Zápolya withdrew eastwards and, at the Diet of Buda, Ferdinand delivered two long speeches in which he emphasized the need to expel the Ottomans and prevent any renewed incursions into Hungary. Later in the year, he was crowned king of Hungary at Székesfehérvár. Zápolya made two attempts to fight against him, but was defeated on both occasions.

The fourth book covers the year 1528 (Kollár, pp. 55-92). Ferdinand first prepared his troops garrisoned in Hungary for defence and then went to Prague, where the Bohemian estates readily offered their financial and military assistance for the war against the Ottomans. Defeated again, Zápolya fled to Poland, where he accused Ferdinand of triggering the armed conflict and blamed him for blocking an effective defence against the Ottomans' attack (Kollár, pp. 75-6). He also rejected Ferdinand's allegation that he had sided with the sultan against Christians. In his reply, Ferdinand called Zápolya a usurper and an ally of the Ottomans, and asked the Polish king not to grant him asylum. Zápolya returned to Hungary, but at the Diet of Bratislava, held in October, it soon became commonly known that he had, in exasperation, asked help from the Ottomans to recover the Hungarian crown. In order to resist the imminent Ottoman attack, Ferdinand turned to the Austrian provinces for help.

In Books 5-7 (Kollár, pp. 93-139), which discuss the year 1529, Muslims play the central role. First, Ursinus describes Ferdinand's speech at the Diet of Speyer, in which the king called for a union of Christians against the Ottomans. The whole of Book 6 is devoted to Sultan Süleyman's campaign against Vienna. When the sultan crossed the Hungarian border, John Zápolya, now an ally, greeted him on the field of Mohács and joined him against Buda, which was under Habsburg control. After the occupation of Buda and Zápolya's restoration to the throne, Süleyman besieged Vienna. Ursinus, who was in the city at that time, gives a detailed eyewitness account of the unsuccessful siege and, following the departure of the Turkish army, the mutiny of the defending mercenaries, who demanded higher pay.

Books 8 and 9 (Kollár, pp. 140-70) cover the events of 1530. Ursinus presents the major stages of the winter campaign against Zápolya and a battle between Count Hardeck and the Ottomans, which the count won.

This part of the work focuses mainly on the Diet of Augsburg, where, besides the Ottoman question, the imperial estates were mostly preoccupied with the Reformation. Although every participant underlined the importance of Christian unity, Ursinus is correct when he observes that the internal Christian conflicts remained unresolved. This part concludes with a report on Wilhelm von Roggendorf's futile campaign to recapture Buda.

In the tenth and last book (Kollár, pp. 171-81), Ursinus describes Ferdinand's coronation as king of the Romans and lists the main points of the treaty that led to a three-month truce with Zápolya. He mentions the return of Ferdinand's envoys from Istanbul, but does not give any details of the negotiations. The book ends in mid-sentence.

SIGNIFICANCE

In the 16th century, the Catholic Habsburgs, who also held the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, were the main obstacle in the way of Ottoman expansion. As the court historian of Ferdinand Habsburg, the second most important member of the family, Ursinus represents the official attitude of the family towards the Muslims. He regards the Ottomans as the main threat to Christianity, whom all Christians were obliged to fight, and illustrates the brutality of Muslim soldiers through the speech of Siegmund von Dietrichstein (1484-1533): they do not spare children or even unborn babies, and kill Christians with immense cruelty (Kollár, pp. 156-60). According to the clear conception of the work, it is only Ferdinand, the chief defender of the faith, who is powerful enough to block Ottoman expansion. Ferdinand, as the leader of Christian resistance, therefore looks for cooperation and asks for the financial and military help of the Empire. Ursinus evaluates any alliance with the Ottomans as an obvious outrage, and, in fact, this is the main argument against the anti-king Zápolya (Kollár, pp. 72-3). He realizes that a united Christian front was made impossible by the Reformation, and this is part of the reason for his strong opposition to it.

Although *De bello Pannonico* abounds in propaganda, it is a first-rate source for researchers. From the point of view of Christian-Muslim relations, its significance lies in the fact that it provides a clear-cut presentation of the anti-Ottoman ideology of the Habsburgs, representing them as the defenders of Christian Europe. Ursinus's image of the Muslims prevailed firmly in the Habsburgs' court until the expulsion of the Ottomans from Hungary.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vienna, Austrian National Library – Cod. 7688, fols 352a-363b
(16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Z. Szebelédi, *Tíz könyv a magyar háborúról* [Ten books about the Hungarian war], Máriabesnyő, 2013 (full Hungarian trans.)

A.F. Kollar, *De bello Pannonico libri decem*, Vindobonae (Vienna), 1762, 2008²

STUDIES

Z. Szebelédi, 'Magyarország két tűz között [Hungary between two enemies]', in Caspar Ursinus Velius, *Tíz könyv a magyar háborúról* [Ten books about the Hungarian war], trans. Zs. Szebelédi, Máriabesnyő, 2013

B. Lakatos, art. 'Caspar Ursinus Velius', in *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon*, Budapest, 2003-12, vol. 12, 232-3

M. Waczulik, 'Ismeretlen magyar vonatkozású részletek I. Ferdinánd udvari történetírójának munkájából [Unknown Hungarian-related details from work of Ferdinand's court historiographer]', *Történetírás* 3-4 (1939) 149-60

M. Waczulik, *A török korszak kezdetének nyugati történetirodalma a 16. században* [Western historical literature of the beginning of the Turkish era in the 16th century], Budapest, 1937, pp. 45-56

G. Bauch, *Deutsche Scholaren in Krakau in der Zeit der Renaissance 1460 bis 1520*, Breslau, 1901

G. Bauch, *Caspar Ursinus Velius, der Hofhistoriograph Ferdinands I. und Erzieher Maximilians II*, Budapest, 1886

Zsolt Szebelédi

Nicolaus Olahus

Oláh Miklós, Nicolae Valahul, Mikuláš Oláh

DATE OF BIRTH 10 January 1493
PLACE OF BIRTH Cibinium (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben, Sibiu)
DATE OF DEATH 15 January 1568
PLACE OF DEATH Tyrnaviae (Tyrnau, Nagyszombat, Trnava)

BIOGRAPHY

Although there has long been uncertainty about Nicolaus Olahus's mother tongue, recent research suggests that he was either bi- or trilingual. While most of his works were written in Latin, Hungarian and German *epistulae* have also survived, and his surname 'Valahus' implies a Romanian ethnic origin. He was raised in the court of King Vladislas II of Hungary (r. 1490-1516), and left the country following the 1526 Battle of Mohács, escorting Mary of Hungary to Brussels.

After becoming the queen's secretary, he was also made regent of the Low Countries. During his Brussels years, he maintained extensive correspondence with Erasmus of Rotterdam, and enjoyed the friendship of the most prominent humanists of his age. In 1542, he moved from the service of Mary to that of Ferdinand I (r. 1527-64), and returned to Hungary. First, he became chancellor, then Bishop of Zagreb from 1543, Bishop of Eger from 1548, and finally Archbishop of Esztergom from 1553 until his death. He was also Comes of Hont County from 1560, and royal governor from 1562 to 1568. After returning to Hungary, he appears to have adopted a more active politico-religious role, rather than engaging in literary pursuits. He assumed the mission of subduing the spread of the Protestant Reformation in Hungary, which led him to publish Peter Canisius's *Catechismus minor* in the translation by Nicolaus Telegdy in 1562. He also dedicated considerable sums of money to the development and innovation of Catholic education, founding the Jesuit College in Trnava in 1558, the predecessor of the university established in 1635 by Petrus Pázmány.

Olahus's complete correspondence is not yet accessible, though its publication (now in preparation) is expected to shed ample light on his literary and political relationships between 1542 and 1568. Olahus's system of patronage is a similarly important field of research, as he is known

to have launched the careers of numerous politico-religious personalities by supporting their studies and later granting them an ecclesiastical benefice or a post at the chancellery. Among them were Nicolaus Telegdy, Antonius Verantius, Johannes Listhius and Nicolaus Istvánffy. His work at the chancellery was also significant: it was thanks to his reforms that the office attained a form that remained unchanged until 1690.

One of the works for which Olahus is known is *Hungaria, sive de originibus gentis, regni Hungariae situ, habitu, opportunitatibus* ('Hungary, or on the origins of the Hungarian people, the location, condition and advantages of the Kingdom of Hungary'), a paean for Olahus's homeland, written in Brussels in 1536. While the Ottomans occasionally appear in this work, often as aggressors, they are not demonised. Opposition between Christians and Muslims is not a point of main attention, even though the work was written only ten years after the Battle of Mohács.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- N. Olahus, *Breviarum secundum usum Almae et Metropolitanæ ecclesiæ Strigoniensis*, Vienna, 1558
- C. Péterffy (ed.), *Sacra Concilia Ecclesiæ Romano-Catholicæ in regno Hungariæ celebrata ab anno Christi MXVI usque ad annum MDCCXXXIV. Accedunt regum Hungariæ, & Sedis apostolicæ legatorum constitutiones ecclesiasticæ*, Bratislava, 1742, pp. 45-128, 187-90 (edition of *Catholicæ ac Christianæ religionis Præcipua* and *Chronicon Nicolai Olahi, Breviario, Anno MDLXVIII, jussu ejusdem ante Synodo edito, appositum*)
- M.G. Kovachich (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum minores hactenus inediti, synchroni, aut proxime coævi quos e codicibus autographis, partim etiam apographis inter se rite collatis, desumptos et collectos*, Budape, 1798, vol. 1, pp. 41-3, 92-7, 154-5 (edition of *Genesis filiorum Sr. Reg. Ferdinandi; Ephemerides; Brevis descriptio, cursus vitæ Benedicti Zercheky sectetarii cancellariæ regiae sub Ferdinando I. Conscripta c. a. 1568*)
- Theatrum chemicum, præcipuos selectorum auctorum tractatus de chemiæ et lapidis philosophici*, vol. 3, Strasbourg, 1602, pp. 848-55 (edition of the *Processus sub forma Missæ, a Nicolao Melchiore Cibinensi Transilvano, ad Ladislaum Ungariæ & Bohemiæ Regem olim missum*; Olahus's authorship is uncertain)
- A. Ipolyi (ed.), *Oláh Miklós II. Lajos és Mária királyné titkára, utóbb Magy. Orsz. Cancellár, esztergomi érsek prímás és kir. Helytartó levelezése*, Budapest, 1875, 1876² (edition of *Codex epistolaris* from MS Budapest)
- N. Olahus, *Carmina*, ed. I. Fogel and L. Juhász, Leipzig, 1934 (edition of poems)

- N. Olahus, *Hungaria – Athila*, ed. C. Eperjessy and L. Juhász, Budapest, 1938 (edition of *Hungaria* and *Athila*)
- V. Bucko, *Mikuláš Oláh a jeho doba. 1493–1568*, Bratislava, 1940, pp. 192-6, 197-201 (edition of *Restauratio scholae Tyrnaviensis per Nic. Olahum a. 1554* and *Litterae Fundationales Seminarii Tyrnaviensis Nic. Olah*)

Secondary

- E.R. Szilágyi, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Nicolaus Olahus' *Hungaria*', in Z. Cziráki et al. (eds), *Wiener Archivforschungen. Festschrift für den ungarischen Archivdelegierten in Wien*, István Fazekas, Vienna, 2014, 69-75
- I. Fazekas, 'A magyar udvari kancellária', *Rubicon* 2-3 (2013) 45-57
- I. Nagy, 'Mikuláš Oláh v službách Márie Habsburskej', in A. Klimeková and E. Augustínová (eds), *Ján Jessenius*, Martin, Slovakia, 2012, 184-97
- C. Neagu, 'The "Processus sub Forma Missae" and Nicolaus Olahus', *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 29 (2009) 387-95
- P. Kulcsár, 'Oláh Miklós', in P. Kőszeghy (ed.), *Magyar művelődéstörténeti lexikon*, 2008, vol. 8, 301-3
- I. Fazekas, 'Miklós Oláh, secretary to Queen Mary of Hungary (1526-1539)', in O. Réthelyi (ed.), *Mary of Hungary. The Queen and her court 1521–1531*, Budapest, 2005, 41-7
- C. Neagu, *Servant of the Renaissance. The poetry and prose of Nicolaus Olahus*, Bern, 2003
- C. Neagu, 'The Carmina of Nicolaus Olahus in the context of his literary career', Oxford, 2000 (DPhil Diss. University of Oxford)
- G. Adriányi, 'Der erste Erneuerer des katholischen Lebens nach der Reformation in Ungarn. Primas Miklós Oláh, Erzbischof von Gran (1493-1568)', *Ecclesia Militans* 2 (1998) 491-517
- M. Beke, 'Oláh Miklós tevékenysége az Esztergomi érseki székből (1553-1568)', *Strigonium Antiquum* 2 (1993) 19-24
- H. Mózes (ed.), *Program és mítosz között. 500 éve született Oláh Miklós*, Budapest, 1993
- I. Ionescu, 'Nicolaus Olahus (Nicolae Românu) (1493–1568)', *Studii Theologice* 45 (1993) 135-44
- E. Moisu, 'O scrisoare autografă a lui Nicolaus Olahus', *Revista Arhivelor* 4 (1972) 691-3
- A. Tonk, 'Diplomele de înobilare ale lui Nicolaus Olahus. Unele probleme privind genealogia familiei Olahus', *Revista Arhivelor* 12 (1969) 13-31
- Z. Jakó and A. Kovács, 'Diplomele de înobilare și iconografia lui Nicolaus Olahus', *Revista Muzeelor* 6 (1969) 101-10
- I.S. Firu and C. Albu, *Umanistul Nicolaus Olahus (Nicolae Românu) (1493–1568)*, Bucharest, 1968
- Bucko, *Mikuláš Oláh a jeho doba*

- Ș. Bezdechi, *Nicolaus Olahus, primul umanist de origine română*, Aninoasa, Romania, 1939
- J. Szemes, *Oláh Miklós*, Budapest, 1936
- É. Amann, art. 'Olah, Nicolas', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris, 1903-46, vol. 11, 960-1
- Ș. Bezdechi, art. 'Familia lui Nicolaus Olahus', *Anuarul Inst. de Istorie Națională*, Cluj, Romania, vol. 5, 1928-30, 63-85
- I. Lupaș, 'Doi umaniști români în secolul al XVI-lea', *Anuarul Inst. de Istorie Națională*, Cluj, Romania, vol. 4, 1926-7, 337-63
- R. Békefi, 'Oláh Miklós nagyszombati iskolájának szervezete', *Századok* 31 (1897) 881-902

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Epistolae familiares N. Olahi ad amicos; Codex epistolaris, 'Private letters of Nicolaus Olahus to his friends'

DATE After 22 August 1538

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This volume, also known as *Codex epistolaris*, which was compiled by Olahus himself, contains a selection of 611 letters written by and to him between 1527 and 1538, together with poems in commemoration of the death of Erasmus (Ipolyi, pp. 581-95). It comes to 582 folios in the manuscript, and 622 pages in the edition by Ipolyi.

Political topics frequently occur: almost every second letter refers to attacks by the Ottomans and battles with them, including the Battle of Mohács and the siege of Vienna. Olahus repeatedly emphasises the importance of Christian leaders uniting against the Ottomans, and he urges noblemen, bishops and the pope himself to come together.

From the end of 1530 Olahus begins to urge Christian powers to unite under the leadership of King Ferdinand. He regards disunity as the most serious problem, and encourages all Christians to work for harmony.

SIGNIFICANCE

While the collection reveals the mind of a leading humanist, it is only a subsidiary resource for Christian attitudes towards Muslims, because the majority of Olahus's information about the Ottomans and their movements was derived from other works.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Budapest, National Archives – P 108 Rep. 71. 474. k, fasc. 23 (early 16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- T. Klaniczay (ed.), *Janus Pannonius. Magyarországi humanisták*, Budapest, 1982, pp. 324-36, 694-713 (*Carmina* and *Epistles*; Hungarian trans. by Gy. Hegyi, L. Geréb and I. Tóth)
- M. Capoianu (trans.), *Nicolaus Olahus. Corespondență cu umaniști batavi și flamanzi*, Bucharest, 1974 (incomplete Romanian trans.)
- S.V. Kovács (ed.), *Magyar humanisták levelei*, Budapest, 1971, pp. 597-684 (*Epistles*; incomplete Hungarian trans. by Gy. Hegyi)
- I. Tóth (ed. and trans.), *Alkinoosz kertje. Humanista költőink Janus Pannoniustól Bocatius Jánosig*, Kolozsvár, 1970 (*Carmina*; Hungarian trans.)
- L. Geréb (ed. and trans.), *A magyar renaissance költői*, Budapest, 1947 (*Carmina*; Hungarian trans.)
- I. Fögel and L. Juhász (eds), *Nicolaus Olahus. Carmina*, Leipzig, 1934
- A. Ipolyi (ed.), *Oláh Miklós II. Lajos és Mária királyné titkára, utóbb Magy. Orsz. Cancellár, esztergomi érsek prímás és kir. Helytartó levelezése*, Budapest, 1875, 1876² (*Epistles*; edition from the Budapest MS)

STUDIES

- G. Tournoy, 'Petrus Nannius and Nicolaus Olahus', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 55 (2006) 129-60
- Neagu, *Servant of the Renaissance*
- M. Theunissen-Faider, 'La correspondance de Nicolas Oláh (1493-1568)', in J.-F. Gilmont (ed.), *Nugae humanisticae sub signo Erasmi*, Brussels, 2000, vol. 1, 65-77
- C. Neagu, 'Nicolaus Olahus, the Jesuits and the rhetoric of the *ars epistolandi*', *Archaeus (Études d'Histoire des Religions)* 4/3 (2000) 1-8
- Neagu, 'The *Carmina* of Nicolaus Olahus'
- V. Huszti, 'Oláh Miklós pályafutása, levelezése és leveleskönyvének humanista vonásai', in J. Jankovics (ed.), *A magyar művelődés és a kereszténység*, Budapest, 1998, vol. 2, 622-30
- A. Corneliu, 'Der Briefwechsel des rumänischen Humanisten Nicolaus Olahus mit Erasmus von Rotterdam', *Cahiers roumains d'Études Littéraires* 2 (1986) 70-84
- A. Corneliu, 'Le correspondance de Nicolaus Olahus avec Erasme', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 7 (1968) 515-23

- A. Vizkelety, 'Libri epistolaeque... Dokumente einer Humanistenfreundschaft', in S. Joost (ed.), *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, Wiesbaden, 1967, vol. 4, 225-39
- P. Schleicher, *Oláh Miklós és Erasmus*, Budapest, 1941
- L. Juhász, 'De carminibus Nicolai Olahi in mortem Erasmi scriptis', *Gedenkschrift zum 400 Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, Basel, 1936, 316-25
- S. Hegedüs, *Analecta recentiora ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*, Budapest, 1906, pp. 371-429
- A. Roersch, 'La correspondance de Nicolaus Olahus', *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand* 11 (1904) 297-307
- Ö. Noszkay, *Oláh Miklós levelezésének művelődéstörténeti vonatkozásai*, Érsekújvár, 1903
- F. Kollányi, 'Oláh Miklós és Rotterdami Erazmus', *Magyar Sion* 16 (1885) 585-604, 736-58

Emoke Rita Szilágyi

Ferenc Zay

DATE OF BIRTH	Between 1498 and 1505
PLACE OF BIRTH	Near Valkóvár/Vukovar, present-day Croatia
DATE OF DEATH	1570
PLACE OF DEATH	Uhrovec/Zayugróc, present-day Slovakia

BIOGRAPHY

Ferenc Zay was a high-ranking military officer and a diplomat of King Ferdinand I Habsburg (r. 1526-64) as well as a memoir-writer and historiographer. He originated from near Valkóvár/Vukovar, in present-day Croatia and attended the University of Padua. He must have had an excellent humanist education, since he is the first Hungarian nobleman about whose library there is any detailed knowledge: he owned over 90 books, many of them on philosophical and historical topics. Although his family were not wealthy, through family relationships on his mother's side he gained access to the royal court and started his career as a secretary to King Louis II (r. 1516-26).

After the battle at Mohács (1526) in which he took part, he became strongly committed to the Habsburg side in the rivalry between Ferdinand I and János Szapolyai, and being convinced that János's overtures to the Ottomans would lead to disaster, he became a close follower of King Ferdinand. In his early years, between the late 1520s and early 1530s, he fought in battles and skirmishes against the Turks, being incited to resist them by the loss to them of his family estates. He was in the Habsburg army that attempted to recapture Buda in 1542, and in 1546 he was one of the leaders of the force against the Protestant League of Schmalkalden, for which he was rewarded with estates. In 1548, he was appointed vice-castellan of Eger, one of the strongest fortresses in central Hungary, and between 1552 and 1560/67 he was vice-captain of a protective flotilla on the Danube.

Zay's major diplomatic commission was to Istanbul between 1553 and 1557, during which time he also followed the court of Süleyman through Anatolia. He had close relationships with high Ottoman dignitaries and reported information of much significance to Vienna. In 1557, he negotiated the peace treaty between Hungary and the Porte. He reached the summit of his career when he was nominated as assessor of tribunals and

was appointed captain-in-chief of Upper Hungary from 1560 to 1565. In 1559, he became a member of King Ferdinand's Hungarian Council, and in 1560 he was raised to baronial status.

Among Zay's works are *Az János király árultatása* ('The betrayal of King János'), directed against János Szapolyai, and a short piece, *Az chazar Ellen walo coniuracionak Ky Nylathkozzassa* ('A declaration of the conspiracy against the emperor').

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

L. Thallóczy, *Csömöri Zay Ferencz*, Budapest, 1885 (Magyar Történeti Életrajzok)

Secondary

Ferenc Zay, 'János király árultatása', in J. Bessenyei (ed.), *Zay Ferenc, János király árultatása. Kis Péter, Magyarázat. [Bánffy György]. Második János... török császárhoz menetele*, Budapest, 1993, 7-14

J. Bessenyei, 'Egy olvasó nemesúr a XVI. században. (Zay Ferenc könyvtárának katalógusa 1552-ből)', [A reader nobleman from the 16th century. The catalogue of Ferenc Zay from 1552] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 2 (1983) 165-70

I. Bitskey (ed.), *Magyar emlékirók (16-18. század)* [Hungarian memoir writers, 16th-18th century], Debrecen, 1982

I. Kovács, *Az Landor Feyrwar fejrjár el weetzesenek oka e wotht es így esewth (1535 k.)*, Debrecen, 1982 (facsimile and critical edition)

I. Kovács and F. Szakály, *Az Lándorfejrjár elvesztésének oka e wót és így esött*, Budapest, 1980

E. Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből* [Chapters from the history of 16th-17th century Hungarian historical literature], ed. Z. Ritoók, Budapest, 1975, pp. 44-51

J. Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében* [In the spirit of Reformation], Budapest, 1957, pp. 125-9, 492-3

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Az Landor Fejrjár elvesztésének oka e wót és így esött; Az Lándorfejrjár; Az Landor Feyrwar el weetzesenek oka e wotht es így esewth, 'The loss of Belgrade and reasons for its fall'

DATE About 1535-8

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Hungarian

DESCRIPTION

Az Landor Fejérvár elveszésének oka e vót és így esött (in the original, *Az Landor Fejérvár elweeztesenek oka e wotth es így esewth*, though it is usually referred to by its modernised title) is a memoir of the 1521 Ottoman campaign against Hungary and the siege of Belgrade (in contemporary Hungarian, Nándorfehérvár). The original text in Ferenc Zay's own hand is extant, and there is also a Latin translation, *Historia de Belgradi amissione et causis*, 37 folios long, probably around 1790.

The work is a remarkable example of the Hungarian linguistic heritage, and one of the first extant works of historiography in the Hungarian language. However, it is much more a work of literature than a genuine piece of history writing. Some scholars go as far as labelling it a work of historical propaganda, a polemical pamphlet, or an 'indictment' against the aristocracy for the loss of Belgrade. It contains factual errors, and the chronology of events is disordered. Some claim that Zay's exaggerations and distortions are deliberate in places, and they can even appear to be a manipulation of historical facts since Zay was pro-Habsburg, loyal to Ferdinand I (r. 1526-64) and biased against his rival János Szapolyai (r. 1526-40). Nevertheless, although it may have to be approached with much caution as a historical source, it has its strengths.

It gives minute details of the various stages in the siege of Belgrade as well as those of the nearby castles of Zimony (Zemun) and Sabac, the looting and burning carried out by the Ottomans in the surrounding region, and the counter-measures of the Hungarian leaders. It provides a shockingly realistic description of the derelict and neglected Hungarian frontier fortresses, lacking in ammunition, food and supplies, as well as the unpaid garrison forces, of whom only a handful remained at their posts. It serves as a first-rate source for the political situation in Hungary and the conflicts between the aristocrats, and it judges 'the enmity of the lords' as a major cause of their own disaster.

One of the main values of the work is the insight it gives into the workings of the Ottoman military machinery, so detailed that it records the debates of Ottoman military leaders regarding strategy and tactics. It also gives a clear picture of the fall of the key stronghold of the frontier castle system of Hungary, focused on Belgrade, opening a way into the heart of Hungary.

SIGNIFICANCE

One of the most intriguing elements of *Az Landorfejérvár* is the so-called 'peace offer of Süleyman', a subject of heated debate in Hungarian

historiography. When Süleyman became sultan he sent a messenger to King Louis II of Hungary to renew the peace treaty between the two powers. The messenger did not receive a prompt answer, and was kept prisoner in Hungary. It has been speculated (though without evidence) that this was because the Hungarian nobles refused to agree to new conditions that Süleyman wanted to impose, which were tribute and free passage for his armies through their country. Zay, one of the nearest in time to the 'peace offer', mentions Süleyman's embassy but speaks only of tribute: 'in order to renew the peace, [the sultan] wished and asked for tribute'. He also says that the Hungarians mutilated Süleyman's envoy, possibly picking up this rumour from other accounts, among them that given by the Dalmatian chronicler, Ludovicus Tubero, who wrote in 1522 that the mutilation and the 'violation of the law of nations' was deliberately spread by the propaganda of the Ottomans as a *casus belli*. The point that Zay makes is that the arrogance shown by the Hungarian nobles when they kept Süleyman waiting and humiliated his servant, gave the sultan an excuse to invade, and so the Hungarians brought their fate down on their own heads.

Zay has little but contempt for the Hungarian nobles and commanders. He goes into great detail about the disputes between custodians of the fortresses around Belgrade and the king, and their pursuit of these even in the face of the threats from the Turks. At Sabac, István and Balázs, Sulyok refused to let the king's soldiers into the castle until the very last moment, even though the garrison forces were few and lacking food, gunpowder and cannons. He also blames the self-centred and conceited nobles for not recruiting fighting men or for arriving too late to mount a proper defence, so that the Ottomans were free to move around 'with many gains without any resistance'.

Many Hungarians are inspired by crusading fervour and sacrificial zeal, preferring to die as martyrs than to surrender. Their heroism is highlighted by the contrasting example of the traitor János Morgay, who deserted to the Ottoman side, but did not receive the reward promised by Süleyman and disappeared after the fighting. The Hungarian Christians never surrender and never lay down their arms, but fight to the last man, true to their oath to the king and loyalty to their country. Thus, in his last speech, vice-castellan Oláh desires 'to die amongst his fellows, but never serve the Turk'. In contrast, the Turks, who are generally portrayed as cruel and treacherous, are dismayed at such heroism, and the sultan even contemplates withdrawal (this is historically improbable).

Zay even suggests that the only reason for the capture of Belgrade was treason: had the traitor Morgay not revealed the weakest points in the city wall, Süleyman would have ordered retreat since thousands of Turks had been killed.

The story fits into the centuries-long 'shield of Christendom' (*propugnaculum Christianitatis*) ideology, Nándorfehérvár being the very bulwark of the whole of Christianity and its loss having tragic consequences, because it could no longer protect the believers against the infidels. It had served as a bastion, 'where many thousands of heathen lost their heads', a theme of crusading martyrology that is discernible throughout the text.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Budapest, National Széchényi Library of Hungary [Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Kézirattár] – Fol. Hung. 96 (c. 1530s-50s)
 MS Budapest, National Széchényi Library of Hungary [Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattár] – MNy [Magyar Nyelvelmékek] 63, pp. 4-78 (c. 1530s-50s)
 MS Budapest, National Széchényi Library of Hungary [Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattár] – Quart. Hung. 89 (19th-century copy)
 MS Budapest, National Széchényi Library of Hungary [Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattár] – Fol. Hung. 1031, fols 45-65 (19th-century copy)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Kovács, *Az Landor Feyrwar*
 Bitskey, *Magyar emlékirók*
 Kovács and Szakály, *Az Lándorfejtúr*
 L. Szalay, *Az Lándorfejtúr elveszésének oka e vót és így esött*, in *Verancsics Antal... Összes Munkái*, Pest, 1857, vol. 2, pp. 121-85

STUDIES

- L. Jakab and A. Bölcskei, *Egy XVI. századi emlékirat szókincstára. Zay Ferenc. Az Landor fejrwar el wezessenek oka e woth es így essewth (1535 k.)*, Debrecen, 2003
 Zay Ferenc, 'János király árultatása', ed. Bessenyei Bessenyei, 'Egy olvasó nemesúr a XVI. Században'
 Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a XVI-XVII*, 44-51
 Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében*, 125-9, 492-3
 Thallóczy, *Csömöri Zay Ferencz*

Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Verhältnisse zwischen Österreich, Ungern und der Pforte im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderte. aus Archiven und Bibliotheken gesammelt von Anton von Gévay. ii.i. Gesandtschaften König Ferdinands I. an Sultan Suleiman I. 1532-1536; i Gesandtschaft König Ferdinands I. an Sultan Suleiman I. 1532-1533, Vienna 1838

Ludovici Tuberonis, *Commentarii de rebus suo tempore, in Pannonia et finitimis regionibus gestis*, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*, cura et studio Joannis Georgii Schwandtneri, Vienna, 1766, vol. 2/1, pp. 111-381

Attila Barany

Bartoloměj Dvorský

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Bohemia
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; mid or late 16th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about the life of Bartoloměj Dvorský, other than what he wrote about himself in his polemic, *Proti Alchoranu*. He was an Utraquist pastor in the town of Kouřim in central Bohemia, and the Ottoman successes in Hungary in the 1540s provoked him to write this work.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only source associated with the author is the *Proti Alchoranu* itself.

Secondary

- L. Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity, and the making of Czech identity, 1453-1683*, Burlington VT, 2013
- T. Rataj, *České země ve stínu půlměsíce. Obraz Turka v raně novověké literatuře z českých zemí*, Prague, 2002
- M. Kaňák, 'Husitský předchůdce Budovcova Antialkorán', *Náboženská Revue Církve Československé* 28 (1957) 248-56

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Proti Alchoranu, 'Against the Qur'an'

DATE 1542

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Czech

DESCRIPTION

This work is a polemic that seeks to point out so-called errors in the Qur'an for its Christian audience (its full title is *Proti Alchoranu, totiž zákonu Tureckému a Saracenskému a falešnému jich náboženství, a že vrchnostem církve křesťanské přináleží víry svaté i lidu proti jich ukrutenství obhajovati. A kterak se k tomu připraviti mají, aby jim Pán Buoh ráčil dáti vítězství, knížky dvoje*, and the original edition is 92 pages long). It follows the tradition that sees Islam as a Christian heresy and begins by

picking out basic tenets of Islam and linking them with heresies in the early Church. For example, the belief that there is only one God coupled with the denial of Jesus's divinity is classified as Arianism.

After establishing Islam as a heresy and giving a brief account of Muḥammad's life and the origins of Islam, it devotes 20 chapters to identifying errors in the Qur'an and correcting them by referring to texts in the Bible. The concerns range from material details, such as whether Jesus was born under a palm tree, to abstract issues, such as the nature of the Trinity. Dvorský explicitly acknowledges his debt to Dionysius the Carthusian in this section of the book.

In the second part of the work, Dvorský turns from Islam in general to concerns about the Ottoman threat. He identifies the Turks as the 'scourge of God', and calls for two parallel responses. He states that it is the duty of secular authorities to combat Ottoman military advances, while the Church and individual believers should repent and reform so that they can regain God's favour. Much of this section is a reworking of the ideas in Martin Luther's *On war against the Turk* (1529).

SIGNIFICANCE

Though this work is almost entirely derived from other sources, it played a significant role in synthesizing the ideas in them and introducing them to a Czech reading public. It demonstrates the influence that pre-existing narratives about Islam had on Czech authors in the 16th century and the desire for knowledge about the Ottomans in the wake of their conquests in Central Europe. It also provides evidence of the extent of Luther's influence in Bohemia. It is mentioned by Kryštof Harant in one of the most widely-read Czech travelogues of this period, and it laid the groundwork for the later and better-known polemic, the 1614 *Antialkorán* by Václav Budovec z Budova.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- B. Dvorský, *Proti Alchoranu, totiž zákonu Tureckému a Saracenskému a falešnému jich náboženství, a že vrchnostem církve křesťanské přináleží víry svaté i lidu proti jich ukrutenství obhajovati. A kterak se k tomu připraviti mají, aby jim Pán Buoh ráčil dáti vítězství, knížky dvoje*, Prague: Jan Severin, 1542

STUDIES

- Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity, and the making of Czech identity*
 Rataj, *České země ve stínu pŮlměsíce*
 Kaňák, 'Husitský předchůdce Budovcova Antialkorán'

Moldavian diplomatic correspondence

The Moldavian 16th century is marked by the legacy of Prince Ștefan the Great (Romanian *cel Mare*, r. 1457-1504), whose reign provided the principality with political strength and stability. This was not easy to maintain, because the Moldavian rulers had constantly to navigate between the Polish crown, the Kingdom of Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and the Austrian Habsburgs, whose interests conflicted with one another and often clashed on Moldavian territory. Thus, Moldavian diplomatic correspondence of the epoch reflects the country's difficult position, lying as it did on the crossroads between the *Respublica Christiana* and the 'infidels'.

This situation proved difficult to control for Ștefan the Great's successors, Bogdan the One-Eyed (*cel Chior*, r. 1504-17) and Ștefan the Younger (*cel Tânăr*, r. 1517-27). They both intended to forge an anti-Ottoman coalition involving Wallachia, Hungary, Poland and the Habsburgs, but they were eventually compelled to resume the payment of tribute to the Sublime Porte.

The major figure of this period was Petru Rareș (r. 1527-38, 1541-6), an illegitimate son of Ștefan the Great. He took part in the war against Ferdinand of Habsburg and John Zápolya for the Hungarian crown, a war that was also intended to secure Moldavia's position in the region. His hostile attitude towards the Polish kingdom provoked the intervention of Süleyman the Magnificent, his suzerain but also Poland's ally. The Ottoman military expedition of 1538, led by the sultan in person, and intensified by Polish and Tatar attacks, forced Rareș to flee the country. After this campaign, Süleyman declared Moldavia a conquered territory and assumed the right to impose and depose rulers. As a result, Moldavian autonomy decreased dramatically in the following decades. In 1541, Rareș won the sultan's forgiveness and regained his throne. Nevertheless, he attempted again to forge an anti-Ottoman coalition during his last years, although without success.

Moldavia's negotiations to establish an anti-Ottoman front in south-eastern Europe, especially with the Habsburgs, continued after Petru Rareș's death. However, political circumstances after the Ottoman conquest of Hungary and Transylvania proved to be inauspicious, as Poland preferred to maintain peaceful relations with the Porte, and the Moldavian nobility was reluctant to fight against the Ottomans. Ștefan (r. 1551-2),

Petru Rareș's son, and the Greek-born adventurer Ioan Vassilikos Heraclides (r. 1561-3) worked for an anti-Ottoman alliance, but suffered violent deaths as a result of conspiracies.

Under these conditions, the majority of the ruling princes chose to follow a pro-Ottoman political line, though this did not exclude diplomatic contacts with Christian leaders. On the other hand, when the political context seemed propitious, anti-Ottoman attitudes re-emerged. Ioan the Terrible (Romanian *cel Cumplit*, r. 1572-4), a (putative) grandson of Ștefan the Great, tried to take advantage of the conflict between the Holy League and the Sublime Porte (1571-3) and to mobilise the Polish Commonwealth, the Cossacks and Muscovy in a war against the Ottomans. After some success, he was defeated and executed. Twenty years later, this scenario repeated itself in the context of the 'Long' or 'Thirteen-years war' (1593-1606). Encouraged by Habsburg manoeuvres against the Ottomans and papal 'crusading' messages, Aron the Tyrant (*Tiranul*, r. 1591-5), in alliance with Prince Mihai the Brave (*Viteazul*) of Wallachia (r. 1593-1601) and Sigismund Báthory, Prince of Transylvania (r. 1586-1602, with interruptions), declared war on the Porte. But Aron soon lost his throne, while Mihai placed himself under Habsburg protection, succeeded in unifying Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania (1599-1600), and continued fighting the Ottomans until 1601.

The 'Long war' did not change Moldavia's political status much, but it left the realm under the dual control of the Ottomans and Poles, and under a new dynasty, the Movilă, descendants in the female line from Petru Rareș; according to the Treaty of Țușora (October 1595), Poles and Ottomans agreed to Ieremia Movilă's rule over Moldavia (1595-1606, with interruptions). This agreement was equally convenient for the sultan and the Polish Commonwealth, since each wanted to maintain Moldavia as a buffer state between them.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Cronica lui Macarie, ed. P.P. Panaitescu, in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan*, Bucharest, 1959, 74-90 (original text), 90-105 (Romanian trans.)

Cronica lui Eftimie, ed. Panaitescu, in *Cronicile slavo-române*, 109-16 (original text), 117-25 (Romanian trans.)

Cronica lui Azarie, ed. Panaitescu, in *Cronicile slavo-române*, 126-39 (original text), 139-51 (Romanian trans.)

- G. Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei până la Aron Vodă*, ed. P.P. Panaitescu, Bucharest, 1958, pp. 126-209
- M. Costin, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei de la Aaron-Vodă încoace*, ed. P.P. Panaitescu, in *Opere*, Bucharest, 1965, vol. 1, 3-24

Secondary

- A. Falangas, *Jacques Vassilikos-Despote. Un Grec, voievode de Moldavie*, Bucharest, 2009
- L. Pilat, *Între Roma și Bizanț. Societate și putere în Moldova (sec. XIV-XVI)*, Iași, Romania, 2008
- Movileștii. Istorie și spiritualitate românească*, vol. 1, 'Casa noastră Movilească'; vol. 2, *Ieremia Movilă. Domnul. Familia. Epoca*, Sucevița, Romania, 2006
- Ș.S. Gorovei and M.M. Székely, *Princeps omni laude maior. O istorie a lui Ștefan cel Mare*, Putna, Romania, 2005
- C. Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor din Țara Românească și Moldova (a. 1324-1881)*, vol. 1. *Secolele XIV-XVI*, Bucharest, 2001, pp. 546-800
- N. Iorga, *Istoria Românilor*, vol. 5, *Vitejii*, Bucharest, 1998²
- N. Iorga et al., *Istoria Românilor*, vol. 4, *Cavalerii*, ed. S. Cheptea and V. Neamțu, Bucharest, 1996²
- G. Pungă, *Moldova în vremea lui Alexandru Lăpușeanul*, Iași, Romania, 1994
- Ș. Andreescu, 'Restituția Daciae'. *Relațiile politice dintre Țara Românească, Moldova și Transilvania în răstimpul 1526-1593*, Bucharest, 1980
- L. Șimanschi (ed.), *Petru Rareș*, Bucharest, 1978
- Ș.S. Gorovei, *Mușatinii*, Bucharest, 1976
- D.C. Giurescu, *Ioan Vodă cel Viteaz*, Bucharest, 1966²
- I. Minea, 'Aron Vodă și vremea sa', *Cercetări Istorice* 8-9 (1932-3) 104-84

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Moldavian diplomatic correspondence

DATE 16th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various

DESCRIPTION

In order to preserve their independence from neighbouring powers, Moldavian princes were compelled to engage in significant diplomatic activity. This explains why, in addition to documents delivered in Church Slavonic, which was the religious and cultural language of the country until the middle of the 17th century, the Moldavian chancery also issued documents in Latin, Polish, Italian and Ottoman Turkish. The major part of the Moldavian diplomatic correspondence consists of letters addressed to Polish and Hungarian kings, and to independent

Saxon cities in Transylvania (Braşov/Kronstadt, Sibiu/Hermannstadt and Bistriţa/Nösen). There is evidence that Moldavia also maintained diplomatic exchanges with Venice, Muscovy and the Habsburgs. On the other hand, as vassals of the sultan, the ruling princes had regularly to inform the Porte about the movements of the Christian powers, although only a few documents of this sort are known.

The majority of the original diplomatic documents issued by the Moldavian chancery are now lost, while the items that still exist are scattered in archives and libraries all over Europe, especially in Austria and Poland. This loss is partially made up by contemporary copies and translations made for the use of the courts with which Moldavian princes had relations; later copies, written down by historians and archivists, are also very useful. To these should be added two indirect sources, both of which help to reconstruct the dynamics of Moldavian diplomatic activities over time. The first is the minutes, which record matters that Moldavian ambassadors were entrusted to communicate to foreign courts on behalf of their masters. The second consists of the accounts that foreign envoys to Moldavia were required to present to their rulers (or to the Senate, in the Polish case) to inform them about the negotiations they had conducted. In the absence of the original documents, these 'digests' provide useful glimpses into the opinions of the political actors.

The first four decades of the century were dominated by an anti-Ottoman and 'crusading' discourse, which however did not exclude agreements with the Ottoman Empire. In their diplomatic correspondence, Moldavian princes constantly claim that they belong to Christendom, for they 'share the same blood as all the Christians'. This communion of Christian faith and blood directly refers to Christ's sacrifice on the Cross and draws an encompassing and homogeneous picture of Christendom, in which any confessional and ethnic difference is deliberately smoothed over. Communion of faith and blood also implies unity of decision and action. In this respect, in 1523 Ştefan the Younger pointed out that the recent conquest of neighbouring Wallachia by the Turks was putting all Christendom in jeopardy; moreover, he added, the sultan himself had initiated the siege of Rhodes, a key outpost of the crusade in the eastern Mediterranean. In such circumstances, Ştefan besought the Polish king to act, and to summon 'his holiness the pope, the emperor, and all the Christian lords to gather all of their might and to confront the unfaithful enemies of Christianity'. He urged Christian princes to respond immediately to the Ottoman advance, to put aside any disputes and to fight together against the Turks 'like a nail attached to its finger' (*Documente*

privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, 2/2, pp. 708-9). Similar ideas were shared by Prince Ioan the Terrible 50 years later: 'It is the duty of Christians to provide each other with mutual advice', and to work against 'the enemy of the holy Cross' (Corfus, *Documente privitoare la istoria României... Secolele al XVI-lea și al XVII-lea*, pp. 72-73). Thus, God and the Christian faith were the keystone of the Moldavian vision of the world; as the same prince asserted: *Si Deus nobiscum quid contra nos?* (Corfus, *Documente privitoare*, pp. 72-73).

This communion, that Jesus Christ himself had created and nourished with his own blood, was critically threatened by a major enemy, the 'pagans' or 'infidels', meaning Ottomans and Tatars, whose main goal was 'to destroy the Christian faith'. Sources often called them 'dogs', 'brigands' or 'damned Turks', whose first and foremost goal was to sow discord among Christians. Therefore, a lot of caution was required when dealing with them, because their friendship was nothing but illusion and treachery. A letter that some Moldavian nobles addressed to the Polish king (dated 1540-1) tellingly illustrates this utter opposition between Christians and 'pagans'. After his victory over Petru Rareș (1538), the sultan placed his own protégé on the Moldavian throne. The nobles thought this would be an end to their pain as the new prince was a Christian, 'someone of our religion', who would love and protect them. But he soon revealed his true nature, and proved to be 'a Turk in Christian dress', who intended to hand over the country to the 'enemy of Christendom' (*Documente privitoare, Supliment 2*, vol. 1, pp. 139-40, 141-2). Thus, the opposition between Christians and 'pagans'/'infidels' appeared to be practically unbridgeable for the Moldavian political actors, as it did not derive from cultural factors but from a natural background.

In this context, the main concern of the Moldavian princes was to keep themselves inside the 'normal' world of Christendom. Accepting the 'infidel emperor' as overlord meant for them nearly stepping across Christendom's borders and facing the danger of being deprived of their faith, as had already occurred in the Balkans and in Constantinople. Falling under Ottoman control is depicted as the first step towards a kind of 'de-Christianization' of Moldavians. When Ștefan the Younger alerted the Polish king that the Ottomans were trying 'to cut him off from Christendom', he meant that they were acting against nature, because they wanted to institute an abnormal situation, in which Christians (i.e. Moldavians) would be 'engulfed' by infidels or, even worse, would become infidels themselves. In order to prevent this catastrophe, he urged the king 'to wake up all the Christian princes and the pope' and

drive them against the Turks (*Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, 2/3, pp. 723-4).

On the other hand, warning often meant blaming Christian monarchs for their compliant attitude towards the Ottomans. Petru Rareș's discourse during his second reign is telling in this respect; his message to the Polish king called him the too loyal ally of the 'pagans'. For a long time Moldavia had been a shield for Hungary and Poland, 'the gate and key of Christendom': 'I do not know,' he says, 'what you have done and how, but you have destroyed the well-being of these three Christian countries and allowed the pagans to conquer Moldavia.' Thus, they 'knocked the gate down and broke the key off, and no help came from [other] Christians.' In other words, it was not the Ottomans who defeated him, but the Christians themselves who delivered him into the pagans' hands (letter of 1542; see Corfus, *Documente privitoare*, pp. 69-71, 72-3).

The political context in the second part of the century proved to be unfavourable for an all-out war against the Porte. Moldavian princes had to acknowledge the sultan's authority; indeed, many of them had been appointed by the sultan himself. These circumstances led to important changes in the diplomatic discourse. The 'crusading' times had passed, and now the sultan was often depicted as a source of legitimacy and a protector of his vassals, who in turn began to integrate the Ottoman Empire and its rulers into the general world order. However, this does not mean that the opposition between Christians and 'pagans'/'infidels' was obliterated; on the contrary, accusing someone of 'acting like a pagan' implied banishing them from the Christian community and placing them outside the 'normal' world. As the same Petru Rareș asserted, Moldavia's situation under the authority of the Porte was entirely unnatural, because Christians were forced to live together with the Ottomans, and they were doing it 'like the sheep with the wolf' (letter of 1542; see Corfus, *Documente privitoare*, pp. 69-71, 72-3).

SIGNIFICANCE

This diplomatic correspondence provides a valuable insight into the attitudes that the last Orthodox Christian rulers of the Balkans showed towards the Ottomans and towards Islam in general during the climax of the Ottoman expansion. Although the Moldavian princes shaped their discourse in accordance with their immediate interests and used and reused many 'crusading' clichés, some of which they borrowed from Hungarian and Polish diplomatic rhetoric, they voiced a belief shared

by the most of their contemporaries, that Christians and Muslims (i.e. Ottomans) were two irreconcilable cultural entities.

It is noteworthy that the anti-Ottoman message that emerges from the diplomatic correspondence perfectly fits the iconography of several churches and monasteries that Petru Rareș and his close entourage built in northern Moldavia. Two scenes are particularly relevant in this respect: the siege of Constantinople, an allegory of the fall of the Christian Empire in 1453 but also of the Final Hour to come; and the representation of the 'damned nations' in scenes of the Last Judgement. In the first, the images witness to the general attitude of a world that felt itself besieged by the enemies of the faith, who aimed to destroy its fundamental values. The latter makes apparent the unquestionable opposition between Christians and non-Christians: while Christians stand on the right of the Judge awaiting salvation, the 'pagans' (Turks, Tatars and Arabs/Saracens), Jews and 'heretics' (Armenians and Roman Catholics) are all doomed to eternal torment. Believers in the true God are thereby warned of the mortal danger that threatens them throughout their lives: losing their faith, which means losing their own identity and any hope of eternal life. It is also telling that this iconographical schema was abandoned in the second half of the century.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- I. Corfus (ed.), *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolele al XVI-lea și al XVII-lea*, Bucharest, 2001, pp. 1-141
- I. Corfus (ed.), *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 1979
- M.A. Mehmet (ed.), *Documente turcești privind istoria României*, vol. 1, Bucharest, 1976, pp. 7-146
- I.Ț.S. Grosul et al. (eds), *Istoricheskie svîazi narodov SSSR i Rumynîi v XV - nachale XVIII v.: dokumenty i materialy v trekh tomakh / Relațiile istorice dintre popoarele URSS și România în veacurile XV – începutul celui de al XVIII-lea. Documente și materiale în trei volume*, vol. 1 (1408-1632), Moscow, 1965, pp. 82-237
- A. Veress (ed.), *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești. Acte și scrisori*, 11 vols, Bucharest, 1929-
- E. Veress (ed.), *Acta et epistolae relationum Transylvaniae Hungariae cum Moldova et Valachia*, vol. 1. (1468-1540), Budapest-Kolozsvár, 1914

- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. 15/1 (1358-1600), ed. N. Iorga, Bucharest, 1911
- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. 12 (1594-1602), ed. N. Iorga, Bucharest, 1903
- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. 9 (1517-1612), ed. N. Iorga, Bucharest, 1900
- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. 2/5 (1552-75), ed. N. Densușianu, Bucharest, 1897
- N. Iorga (ed.), *Acte și Fragmente cu privire la istoria Românilor adunate din depozitele de manuscrise ale Apusului*, vol. 1, Bucharest, 1895
- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. 2/4 (1531-52), ed. N. Densușianu, Bucharest, 1894
- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. 8 (1376-1650), Bucharest, 1894
- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor. Urmare la colecțiunea lui Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki. Suplimentul 2*, vol. 1 (1510-1600), ed. I. Bogdan, Bucharest, 1893
- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. 2/3 (1518-30), ed. N. Densușianu, Bucharest, 1892
- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. 2/2 (1451-1517), Bucharest, 1891
- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. 2/1 (1451-1575), Bucharest, 1891
- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor. Urmare la colecțiunea lui Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki. Supliment 1*, vol. 1 (1510-1600), ed. G.G. Tocilescu and A. Odobescu, Bucharest, 1886
- Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. 3/1 (1576-99), Bucharest, 1880

STUDIES

- V. Panaite, *Pace, război și comerț în Islam. Țările Române și dreptul otoman al popoarelor (secolele XV–XVII)*, Bucharest, 2013²
- Ș. Andreescu, 'Presiune otomană și reacție ortodoxă în Moldova urmașilor lui Petru vodă Rareș', *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 27 (2009) 25-60
- Pilat, *Între Roma și Bizanț*, pp. 219-49
- Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică*, pp. 546-800
- V. Panaite, *The Ottoman law of war and peace. The Ottoman Empire and tribute payers*, Boulder CO, 2000

- M. Maxim, *L'Empire ottoman au nord du Danube et l'autonomie des Principautés roumaines au XVI^e siècle. Études et documents*, Istanbul, 1999
- M. Cazacu, 'La chancellerie des principautés valaque et moldave (XIV^e-XVIII^e siècles)', in C. Hannick (ed.), *Kanzleiwesen und Kanzleisprachen im östlichen Europa*, Cologne, 1999, 87-127
- E. Denize, *Țările Române și Veneția. Relații politice (1441-1541). De la Iancu de Hunedoara la Petru Rareș*, Bucharest, 1995, pp. 175-233
- Pungă, *Moldova în vremea lui Alexandru Lăpușneanul*, pp. 245-85
- Iorga, *Istoria Românilor*, vol. 5, pp. 125-62
- Iorga et al., *Istoria Românilor*, vol. 4, pp. 187-212, 242-313
- M. Maxim, *Țările Române și Înalta Poartă. Cadru juridic al relațiilor româno-otomane în evul mediu*, Bucharest, 1993
- T. Gemil, *România și otomanii în secolele XIV-XVI*, Bucharest, 1991
- V. Ciobanu, *La cumpănă de veacuri. Țările Române în contextul politicii poloneze la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea și începutul secolului al XVII-lea*, Iași, Romania, 1991
- G. Veinstein and M. Berindei, *L'Empire ottoman et les pays roumains, 1544-1545. Étude et documents*, Paris, 1987
- V. Ciobanu, *Țările Române și Polonia. Secolele XIV-XVI*, Bucharest, 1985
- Andreescu, 'Restitutio Daciae'
- Ș. Simonescu, 'Les pays roumains dans le projet de croisade (1517) du Concile de Latran', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 18 (1979) 507-14
- Șimanschi, *Petru Rareș*, pp. 85-161, 229-66
- R. Constantinescu, *Moldova și Transilvania în vremea lui Petru Rareș. Relații politice și militare*, Bucharest, 1978
- Ș. Simionescu, 'Țările Române și începutul politicii răsăritene anti-otomane a Imperiului Habsburgic (1526-1594)', *Revista de Istorie* 28 (1975) 1197-213
- D. Ciurea, 'Relațiile externe ale Moldovei în secolul al XVI-lea', *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie 'A.D. Xenopol'* 10 (1973) 1-46
- M.K. Garidis, 'La représentation des "nations" dans la peinture post-bizantine', *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 86-103
- Giurescu, *Ioan Vodă cel Viteaz*
- S. Ulea, 'L'origine et la signification idéologique de la peinture extérieure moldave', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 2 (1963) 29-71
- G. Bezviconi, *Contribuții la istoria relațiilor româno-ruse (din cele mai vechi timpuri până la 1854)*, Bucharest, 2004², pp. 58-72

Minea, 'Aron Vodă'

V. Motogna, *Relațiunile dintre Moldova și Ardeal în veacul al XVI-lea*,
Dej, 1928

I. Ursu, *Die auswärtige Politik des Peter Rareș, Fürst von Moldau (1527-1538)*, Vienna, 1908

Radu G. Păun & Ovidiu Cristea

Martin Luther

DATE OF BIRTH 1483
PLACE OF BIRTH Eisleben, Germany
DATE OF DEATH 1546
PLACE OF DEATH Eisleben

BIOGRAPHY

Martin Luther was the central figure of the early Protestant Reformation. His primary vocation – from 1512 until his death in 1546 – was as professor of theology and the Bible at the University of Wittenberg. In addition to his academic work, he was often involved in ecclesiastical and socio-political affairs in Germany but he kept abreast with and often commented on other matters of religious and political consequence to Christian Europe. The most far-reaching of these was the expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the Kingdom of Hungary from the mid-1520s, as far as Vienna in 1529, and the Franco-Ottoman alliance beginning in 1536.

Luther never met a Muslim, although there is evidence that Sultan Süleyman tried to establish some sort of relations with him around 1528 or 1529, and he occasionally remarked that he would like to live amongst the Turks as a missionary. His involvement in political matters relating to Europe's relations with the Ottomans is likewise meagre, and is largely limited to his opinions (solicited by the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony) on the legitimacy and wisdom of going to war with them at various stages during the conquests of eastern and central Europe. Nevertheless, the Ottomans and Islam were always on Luther's mind, so much so that references to the Turks occur throughout the corpus of his work. He was also responsible for the publication of material on Turkish culture, such as George of Hungary's *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum* in 1530, and a German translation of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's *Contra legem Saracenorum* in 1542, and he was in many ways the primary influence on the decision of the city officials in Basel to permit the publication of Robert of Ketton's Latin translation of the Qur'an in 1543. His enduring interest in Islam and the Ottomans was not really of an academic nature, although he sought accurate knowledge, but rather served to help Christians come to terms with what he

regarded, alongside the papacy, as the chief threat to the integrity of Christian Europe.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

D. Martin Luthers Werke: Schriften, 69 vols, Weimar, 1833-2001

D. Martin Luthers Werke: Briefwechsel, 18 vols, Weimar, 1930-85

D. Martin Luthers Werke: Deutsche Bibel, 12 vols, Weimar, 1906-61

D. Martin Luthers Werke: Tischreden, 6 vols, Weimar, 1912-21

J. Pelikan et al. (eds), *Luther's works*, 60 vols, St. Louis MO, 1955-

Secondary

D.K. McKim (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Martin Luther*, Cambridge, 2003

B. Lohse, *Martin Luther's theology. Its historical and systematic development*, Minneapolis MN, 1999

B. Lohse, *Martin Luther. An introduction to his life and work*, Edinburgh, 1986

M. Brecht, *Martin Luther*, 3 vols, Minneapolis MN, 1985-94

M.U. Edwards Jr, *Luther's last battles. Politics and polemics, 1531-1546*, Ithaca NY, 1983

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vom Kriege wider die Türken, 'On war against the Turks'

DATE 1529

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Luther made numerous comments on the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. This work is his first focused treatment of the threat. It is 41 pages long in the modern critical edition, and covers a number of topics related to the anticipated Turkish siege on Vienna. Consistent with remarks from the previous decade or more, here he interprets the expansion of the Ottomans into central Europe as God's chastising punishment upon a theologically and morally corrupt Christendom. This did not mean, however, that he believed Christians were not to resist the Turkish armies with force, as many of the Anabaptists were teaching at the time. He forcefully advocates armed resistance but only insofar as it is conceived and executed as a defensive or just war. Throughout the book, Luther attacks justifications for war with the Turks that employ

crusading rhetoric, even going so far as to suggest to his readers that if they saw a bishop in the field rallying the troops for the cause of the cross they should flee from him as though he were the devil.

Though supporting a physical defence of Vienna or wherever the Turks might attack, he also encourages his readers to keep in mind his initial point that God is using the Turks to chastise Christendom, and thus to respond with appropriate repentance before going into battle.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work is one of the earliest systematic critiques of crusading ideology, if not the first. It also includes a brief but broad analysis of Muslim theology and ideology, and features of Muslim social life (especially concerning marriage and divorce) that was meant to provide for German Christians a framework for understanding the differences that separate Christianity and Islam.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- J. Pelikan et al. (eds), *Luther's works*, vol. 46, Philadelphia PA, 1967, pp. 155-205
- W. Holsten (ed), *Martin Luther. Schriften wider Juden und Türken*, Munich, 1936, pp. 404-48
- H.E. Jacobs (ed.), *Works of Martin Luther*, Philadelphia PA, 1931, pp. 75-123
- D. *Martin Luthers Werke. Schriften*, vol. 30/2, Weimar, 1909, pp. 81-148 (on the numerous collected editions of Luther's writings in which this appears, see p. 100)
- T. Mundt (ed.), *Martin Luther's politische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 61-108
- D. *Martin Luther's Büchlein Vom Kriege wider den Türcken*, Leipzig, 1854 (foreword by D. Kahnis)
- D. *Martin Luthers Büchlein wider den Türcken*, Leipzig, 1826
- Ottomanus theologicus, darinnen erstlich, ob der Türcke noch endlich das Römische Reich oder Deutschland eröbern werde, oder nicht? . . . vom Kreige wider den Türcken . . .*, Eisleben, 1601, 1-105
- Antityrcica Lytheri: Das ist, Vom Kriege, und . . .*, Leipzig, 1596, 1-105
- Buchlein Vom Krieg wider den Türcken*, 1593
- Kriegssbuch*, Frankfurt am Main, 1573, pp. 328-41
- Vom Kriege Wider den Türcken*, Wittenberg, 1566
- Vom Krieg wider den Türcken*, Frankfurt am Main, 1563
- Vom Kriege, Wider den Türcken*, Wittenberg, 1542
- Vom Kriege wider die Türcken*, Zwickau, 1529

Vom Kriege wyder die Türcken, Nuremberg, 1529

Vom Kriege wider die Türcken, Wittenberg, 1529

STUDIES

- J. Ehmann, *Luther, Turken und Islam. Eine Untersuchung zum Turken- und Islambild Martin Luthers (1515-1546)*, Heidelberg, 2008
- A.S. Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*, Leiden, 2007
- G. Miller, 'Fighting like a Christian. The Ottoman advance and the development of Luther's doctrine of just war', in D. Whitford (ed.), *Caritas Reformatio*, St Louis MO, 2002, 41-57
- G. Miller, 'Luther on the Turks and Islam', *Lutheran Quarterly* 14 (2000) 79-97
- H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Beirut, 1995, pp. 90-5
- G. Forell, 'Luther and the war against the Turks', in W. Russell (ed.), *Martin Luther. Theologian of the Church*, St Paul MN, 1994, 123-34
- R. Mau, 'Luthers Stellung zu den Türken', in H. Junghans (ed.), *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526 bis 1546*, Göttingen, 1983, 647-62
- E. Grislis, 'Luther and the Turks', *The Muslim World* 64 (1974) 180-93, 275-91
- K. Setton, 'Lutheranism and the Turkish peril', *Balkan Studies* 3 (1962) 133-68
- H. Buchanan, 'Luther and the Turks, 1519-1529', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 47 (1956) 145-60
- R. Lind, *Luthers Stellung zu Kreuz- und Türkenkrieg*, Giessen, 1940
- H. Lamparter, *Luthers Stellung zum Türkenkrieg*, Munich, 1940
- A. Kappus, 'Die Türken vor Wien und Luther', *Die Wartburg* 28 (1929) 394-99
- W. Jannasch, 'Luther und die Türken', *Die Christliche Welt* 30 (1916) 154-7

Eine Heerpredigt wider den Türcken,
'Muster-sermon against the Turks'

DATE 1529

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This muster-sermon was written in the aftermath of the siege of Vienna in 1529. Its 37 pages (in the modern critical edition) are divided into two distinct parts. The first half presents an apocalyptic interpretation of the

rise and expansion of the Ottoman Empire based on Luther's exegesis of Daniel 7, where he interprets the Ottoman Empire as the historical manifestation of the little horn that emerges on the head of the last great beast. For Luther, this symbolises that the last days are near, but it does not mean Christians should not take Turkish expansion seriously. In fact, throughout the second half of the work he offers theological, spiritual and practical advice for Christians in danger of becoming Turkish subjects. In short, he recommends Christians not to flee but to stay and serve their Turkish masters faithfully in every respect while, at the same time, remaining committed to the Christian faith.

SIGNIFICANCE

Eine Heerpredigt is historically significant in that Luther perpetuates the Christian exegetical tradition of assigning Islam a role in Christian eschatology. This was to become a commonplace in the Lutheran tradition for centuries after (see, *inter alia*, R. Barnes, *Prophecy and gnosis*, Stanford CA, 1988). It is also significant for the history of Christian-Muslim relations, for he gives practical advice about how Christians should conduct themselves in a Muslim society.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- C.B. Brown et al. (eds), *Luther's works*, vol. 56, St. Louis MO, forthcoming
D. Martin Luthers Werke. Schriften, vol. 30/2, Weimar, 1909, pp. 149-97
 (on the numerous collected editions of Luther's writings in which this appears, see p. 154)
Martin Luthers politische Schriften, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 109-48
Dr. Martin Luthers Heerpredigt wider den Türken, Leipzig, 1826
Der 'Ottomannus Theologicus', Eisleben, 1601
Die 'Antitircica Lutheri', Leipzig, 1596, pp. 106-97
Heerpredigt D. Martin Luthers, wider den Türcken, 1593
Kriegssbuch, Frankfurt am Main, 1573, pp. 342-52
Ein Heerpredig, Wider den Türcken, Strasbourg, 1542
Eine Heerpredigt, Wider den Türcken, Wittenberg, 1541
Ein heer predigt widder den Türcken, Marburg, n.d.
Eine herpredig wider den Türcke, Nuremberg, 1530
Eine Heerpredigt widder den Türcken, Wittenberg, 1529

STUDIES

- Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam*
 Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*
 Miller, 'Luther on the Turks and Islam'

- J. Baldwin, 'Luther's eschatological appraisal of the Turkish threat in *Eine Heerpredigt wider den Türken*', *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 33 (1995) 185-202
 Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*

*Vorwort zu dem Libellus de ritu et moribus
 Turcorum: Martinus Lutherus lectori pio,
 'Foreword to the Book on the ritual and customs
 of the Turks: Martin Luther to the pious reader'*

DATE 1530

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This short, four-page preface explains why Luther had the work to which it was affixed, George of Hungary's *Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum*, published. He wanted to make sure his readers had the most accurate information on the Turks that was available at the time, rather than some of the hyperbolic polemical material he had apparently read. Interestingly, in the preface Luther gives a hint of fair-mindedness towards the Turks, and even offers qualified praise for them and for the seriousness with which they attend to their religion. In the end, though, he explains that he was publishing the *Libellus* so that Christians would not mistake Islam for an aberrant form of Christianity should they encounter its claims or culture.

SIGNIFICANCE

This little preface appeared in what has been described as the best European source on Turkish culture in the late Middle Ages. It was published under the direction of Luther in Wittenberg for the purpose of informing Germans about the customs and religious beliefs and practices of the Turks.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- C.B. Brown et al. (eds), *Luther's works*, vol. 59, St. Louis MO, 2012, 255-62
 D. *Martin Luthers Werke. Schriften*, vol. 30/2, Weimar, 1909, 198-208 (on the numerous collected editions of Luther's writings in which this appears, see p. 204)

Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran, Basel, 1543

Zween brief, Einer D. Doctoris Martini Luther . . . von der Turcken Historien P. Jovii, Halle, 1542

Ursprung des Turkischen Reichs, Wittenberg, 1538

Chronica und beschreibung der Türcken, Nuremberg, 1530

Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum, Wittenberg, 1530

STUDIES

Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam*

Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*

S. Henrich and J.L. Boyce, 'Martin Luther. Translations of two prefaces on Islam: Preface to the *Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum* (1530) and Preface to Bibliander's edition of the Qur'an', *Word and World* 16 (1996) 250-66

Georgius de Hungaria, *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum*, ed. R. Klockow, Cologne, 1994, pp. 57-60

Vermahnung zum Gebet wider den Türcken,
'Appeal for prayer against the Turks'

DATE 1541

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

This 40-page appeal was written at the request of the Saxon princes. The Ottomans had recently occupied Hungary and war was inevitable. The princes wanted Luther not only to appeal to Germans to pray for the imminent conflict but also to build the morale of the people and encourage those to whom the responsibility fell to take up arms for the defence of Germany. Luther believed that war against the Turks should not be fought without proper spiritual preparation, so he insisted that Germans in general and soldiers in particular should prepare for war with the appropriate repentance. To that end, he provided instructions for worship and prayers for those affected by war with the Turks.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Appeal for prayer against the Turk* is invaluable for its insight into the way Luther, his princes, and Germans in general thought about and reacted to the Ottoman occupation of Hungary in the early 1540s.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek – Cod. Pal. Germ. 731 (1541)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J. Pelikan et al. (eds), *Luther's works*, vol. 43, Philadelphia PA, 1968, pp. 213-41

D. Martin Luthers Werke. Schriften, vol. 51, Weimar, 1914, pp. 577-625 (on the numerous earlier collected editions of Luther's writings in which this work appears, see p. 582)

Homiliae XXII sub incursionem Turcarum in Germaniam ad populum dictae, Frankfurt, 1546

Christlicher und kurtzer unterricht, Von vergebung der Sunde, und Seligkeit, Wittenberg, 1542, D4^b-E2^a

Vermanunge zum Gebet, Wider den Türcken, Wittenberg, 1542

Vermanunge zum Gebet, Wider den Türcken, Wittenberg, Augsburg, Strasbourg, 1541

STUDIES

Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam*

Miller, 'Luther on the Turks and Islam'

Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi,
'Brother Riccoldo's refutation of the Qur'an'

DATE 1542

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

Running to 124 pages, the modern critical edition of Luther's works contains the Latin text Luther used to translate Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's *Contra legem Saracenorum*, with the German text on the facing page. In his preface, Luther makes it clear that he believed it was the best polemic against Islam available (there were others available to him, such as Nicholas of Cusa's *Cribratio Alcorani*), and he wanted to make it accessible to a general German-speaking audience.

The translation is quite free; parts of it are abridged. In some places Luther simplifies the scholastic arguments of the original, and in other parts he adds his own coarse rhetoric. The whole translation is tailored for its audience, to convince them of the theological weakness and absurdity of Islam. In addition, Luther hoped the book would aid and serve in

the apologetic promotion of the Gospel as part of any potential German-Turkish religious dialogue.

SIGNIFICANCE

The translation brought one of the most influential and informed medieval polemics against Islam to a German audience, and almost certainly influenced the way its readers thought about Islam and the theology of the Qur'an.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- C.B. Brown et al. (eds), *Luther's works*, vol. 60, St Louis, 2011, 251-66 (Preface and afterword only)
- J. Ehmann (ed.), *Ricoldus de Montecrucis Confutatio Alcorani (1300). Martin Luthers Verlegung des Alcoran (1542) (Corpus Islamo-Christianum 6)*, Würzburg, 1999
- D. Martin Luthers Werke. Schriften*, vol. 53, Weimar, 1919, pp. 261-396 (on other collected editions of Luther's writings in which this appears, see p. 270)
- Kurtzer Inhalt Des Gotteslästerlichen Alcorans, und Religion der Türcken*, Nuremberg, 1684
- Kurtzer Inhalt Des Gotteslästerlichen Alcorans, und Religion der Türcken*, Rudelstadt, 1664
- Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi, Prediger Ordens, Anno. 1300*, Wittenberg, 1542

STUDIES

- Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam*
- Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*
- Ehmann (ed.), *Ricoldus de Montecrucis Confutatio Alcorani*
- Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*

*Martini Lutheri Doctoris Theologiae et ecclesiastis
ecclesiae Wittenbergensis in Alcoranum Praefatio;
Vorrede zu Theodor Biblianders Koranausgabe,
'Preface to the Qur'an by Martin Luther, Doctor of
Theology and priest of the church of Wittenberg'*

DATE 1543

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This is a short four-page preface that Luther wrote for Theodore Bibliander's edition of the Qur'an. It was written to alleviate any apprehensions Christians might have about reading a heretical text. Luther especially encourages teachers of the Church to become familiar with the teachings of the Qur'an, and also presents what he considers the most basic points a Christian should know about Islam: that it is a theological innovation devised by Muḥammad, and it undermines the Gospel.

SIGNIFICANCE

The most significant thing about this preface is the context in which it was drafted. After convincing the city council of Basel that they should permit the Swiss Reformed humanist theologian Theodor Bibliander and his publisher Johannes Oporinus to print the medieval translation of the Qur'an by Robert of Ketton, Luther drafted it for inclusion in Bibliander's large compendium of texts on Islam. It therefore played some role in shaping how readers of the work thought about Islam.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

C.B. Brown et al. (eds), *Luther's works*, vol. 60, St. Louis MO, 2011, pp. 286-94

Henrich and Boyce, 'Martin Luther. Translations of two prefaces on Islam'

D. Martin Luthers Werke, vol. 53, Weimar, 1919, 561-72 (for information on the numerous reproductions, see pp. 269-70)

Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran, Basel, 1543 (only appears in one of the editions)

STUDIES

Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam*

Henrich and Boyce, 'Martin Luther. Translations of two prefaces on Islam'

Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*

Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*, pp. 153-56

Adam S. Francisco

Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter

Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter; Johann Albert
Widmanstetter; Hans Albrecht Widmannstetter;
Johannes Albertus Widmanstadius; Widmestadius;
Johann Albrecht Widmanstadt; Johann Albrecht
Widmannstätter; Lucretius; Oesiander

DATE OF BIRTH 1506
PLACE OF BIRTH Nellingen
DATE OF DEATH 28 March 1557
PLACE OF DEATH Regensburg

BIOGRAPHY

Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter was born in Nellingen, near Ulm, most probably in 1506. Concerning the different versions of his name, the form 'Widmanstad(t)' has been proved to be an erroneous translation back into German from the Latin 'Widmestadius', while Oesiander is a Greek translation of Widmanstetter's name using the words for withy (*oisos*, German *Weide*) and man (*aner*, *andros*, German *Mann*), a common practice among humanists. After receiving his initial education and being encouraged in his Greek studies by Johannes Reuchlin, he studied jurisprudence, theology and Hebrew in Tübingen, Basel and Heidelberg. In 1527, he was in Italy, where he fought for the emperor against the French. He continued his studies in Turin, where he also gave lectures on Greek literature. His first studies in Arabic are documented in Bologna in 1530, where he took lessons from the theologian and humanist Diego López Zúñiga (Jacobus Stunica). According to his own words, there he also benefitted from 'some preceptors from Africa'. In the same year he went to Naples, where he found Samuel Abrabanel (or Abarbanel), the head of the Neapolitan Jewish colony, and deepened his knowledge of the Talmud (hearing David ben Josef Yahya and the cabbalist Baruch of Benevento). At the same time, he gained access to the Accademia Pontaniana through his relations with Girolamo Seripando. In Naples, he lectured again in classical philology, among others on Homer's *Iliad*. Later, he was invited to Rome by Egidio da Viterbo, who taught him further Arabic and whose library he was able to use even after Viterbo's death in 1532, thanks to Seripando.

In 1533, Widmanstetter began his diplomatic career, and became secretary to Pope Clement VII, to whom he proposed the introduction of Arabic and Syriac studies in Christian schools. After Clement's death, he continued his diplomatic career as secretary to Pope Paul III (1534), then to Cardinal Nikolaus of Schönberg, Archbishop of Capua (1535-7), again as 'secret counsellor of the Germans' (*Geheimrat der Deutschen*) in the Holy See, and then in the service of Duke Ludwig X of Bayern-Landshut. In 1541, he was sent by Ludwig to the Reichstag of Regensburg where he met the Flemish orientalist Andreas Masius and the Protestant reformers Martin Frecht and Wolfgang Musculus. To these last two and to the reformer Martin Bucer he showed an Arabic Qur'an manuscript and a Latin Qur'an translation, apparently made by himself.

In 1542, Widmanstetter married Anna of Leonsberg, a natural daughter of Ludwig X, and in 1543 he published his first book, *Mahometis . . . theologia*, presumably in Nuremberg. He continued his diplomatic career and also engaged in military activities, leading a Spanish regiment through the region of Salzburg during the Schmalkadic War. In the service of King Ferdinand I, he was appointed Chancellor of lower Austria in 1553, and in 1554 Superintendent of the University of Vienna. In 1553, he met with the Jacobite priest Moses of Mardin (Moses Mardenus) and, together with him and the French orientalist Guillaume Postel, he published the first Syriac New Testament in Vienna in 1555.

After the death of his wife in 1556, Widmanstetter retired from public life and became a member of the cathedral chapter of Regensburg. He was ordained priest in 1557 and died on 28 March of the same year, being buried in Regensburg cathedral.

Widmanstetter did not write many works. In addition to *Mahometis . . . theologia*, there is the Syriac New Testament (1555), which however was a ground-breaking publication as the first printing of this text inside the borders of the *Reich* to use moveable characters, and the *Syriacae linguae . . . prima elementa*, an introduction to Syriac with a short anthology of liturgical texts and prayers (1555). Widmannstetter is said to have written an Arabic grammar, though this has not survived (see Wurzbach, 'Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter', p. 263b; questioned by Schelhorn, *Amoenitates*, p. 8, and Schwarz, *Nachrichten*, p. 421), and an Arabic-Syriac dictionary (see Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 311). His Latin translation of the Qur'an is known only through two indirect sources (Martin Frecht's diary [see Schelhorn, *Amoenitates*, p. 470]; and a letter from Martin Bucer to Bonifacius Amerbach [see Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 291]), and from a mention in

Widmanstetter's letter to the Nuremberg printer Johannes Otto included in *Mahometis . . . theologia*, in which he expresses the intention to give it to Otto for publication, though this seems never to have happened. *De societatis Iesu initiis* (1556; according to Müller, *Johann Albrecht v. Widmanstetter*, p. 65, the first biography of Ignatius of Loyola and the oldest publication about the Jesuits), which bears on the title page the attribution to Widmanstetter's brother Jacob Phillip, appears to be another work by him.

Widmanstetter's importance in the field of oriental studies (and also classical philology) lies chiefly in his collection of books and manuscripts. He did not miss any opportunity to purchase books from the libraries of his oriental language teachers, such as Egidio da Viterbo, or on other occasions. His library was later bought by Duke Albert V of Bayern, and, together with the library of Jakob Fugger, it represents the first body of what is today the Bavarian State Library in Munich. This library, composed of about 1200 items, included 136 manuscripts in Hebrew and 49 in Arabic (see Hartig, *Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek*, p. 135, Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 279, n. 17). Among these are very expensive luxury copies, many of them displaying annotations by Widmanstetter as proof of his studies. His scholarly activities and his interest in Hebrew, of which he had a deep knowledge, as well as in Arabic and Syriac, show a wide and open-minded conception of 'oriental studies', because he did not draw any boundaries between the different linguistic, religious and cultural traditions of the Middle East. This also emerges in his comparisons with Talmudic and Kabbalistic sources in his annotations to *Mahometis . . . theologia*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- 'Ad div. Ferdinandum [...] Iohannis Albertis VVidmanstadii [...] Dedicatio', in *Liber sacrosanti Evangelii de Iesu Christo*, Vienna, 1555, www.digitale-sammlungen.de
- 'Iohannes Albertus VVidmanstadius [...] Philippo Iacobo Fratri [...] et iohanni Alberto M. Fratris F.', in *Syriacae linguae [...] prima elementa*, Vienna, 1555, www.digitale-sammlungen.de
- 'Conclusio ad VVidmanstadios suos', in *Syriacae linguae [...] prima elementa*, Vienna, 1555, www.digitale-sammlungen.de
- Philippus Iacobus Widmanstadius, De societatis jesu initiis [...] epistola ad Johannem Albertum Widmanstadium fratris filium epistola*, Ingolstadii, 1556, www.digitale-sammlungen.de

- MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Cod. Oef. 245 (original letters collected by Andreas Felix von Oefele, published in J. Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramäischen Studien*, Munich, 1854, pp. 154-232; and a list of MSS with Widmanstetter's annotations; cf. Striedl, *Bücherei*, p. 231)
- J.G. Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, vol. 14, 1731, p. 470, www.digitale-sammlungen.de (quotation from Martin Frech's diary for 28 May 1541)
- M. Lossen (ed.), *Briefe von Andreas Masius u. s. Freunden 1538 bis 1573*, Leipzig, 1886
- O. Braunsberger (ed.), *Beati Petri Canisii S.J. epistulae et acta*, Freiburg, 1896-98, vols 1 and 2
- A. Hartmann (ed.), *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, Basel, 1942-83, vol. 5, p. 399, no. 2509 (Martin Bucer's letter to Bonifacius Amerbach, 27 November 1542)

Secondary

- C. Ferrero Hernández, 'La contribución de Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (1506-1557) a la controversia islamolatina', in J.J. Caerols (ed.), *Religio in labyrintho*, s.l.: Escolar y mayo editores, 2013, 157-65, pp. 158-9
- P.M. Tommasino, *L'alcorano di Macometto*, Bologna, 2013
- P.M. Tommasino, 'Leer a Maquiavelo, traducir el Corán. Muḥammad, príncipe y legislador en el *Alcorano di Macometto* (Venecia, 1547)', *Al-Qanṭara* 33 (2012) 271-96
- T.E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, Philadelphia, 2007
- R.J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation. The first printing of the Syriac New Testament*, Leiden, 2007, esp. pp. 137-69 (most recent biographical account in English)
- H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa*, Beirut, 1995, esp. pp. 276-363 (biography pp. 282-95; together with Müller, the best available biography)
- F. Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la renaissance*, Milan, 1985² (1st ed. Paris, 1964), esp. pp. 121, 171-86, 349
- W. Strothmann, *Die Anfänge der syrischen Studien in Europa*, Wiesbaden, 1971 (Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 282, notes that the biographical data about Widmanstetter are not always correct)
- C. de Frede, *I lettori di umanità nello studio di Napoli durante il Rinascimento*, Napoli, 1960, pp. 102-8
- H. Striedl, 'Geschichte der Hebraica-Sammlung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek', in H. Franke (ed.), *Orientalisches aus Münchener Bibliotheken und Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden 1957, 1-37
- H. Striedl, 'Der Humanist Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter (1506-1557) als klassischer Philologe', in P. Ruf et al. (eds), *Festgabe der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek für E. Gratzl*, Wiesbaden, 1953, 96-120

- H. Striedl, 'Die Bücherei des Orientalisten Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter', in H.J. Kissling and A. Schmaus (eds), *Serta Monacensia*, Leiden, 1952, 200-44
- O. Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger*, Munich, 1917
- M. Müller, *Johann Albrecht v. Widmanstetter. 1506-1557. Sein Leben und Wirken*, Bamberg, 1907
- C. Wurzbach, 'Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter', in *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreichs*, vol. 55, Vienna, 1887, 262-7, <http://www.literature.at/viewer.alo?objid=11714&viewmode=fullscreen&scale=3.33&rotate=&page=270>
- J.C. Schwarz, 'Gesammelte und verbesserte Nachrichten von Johann Albert Widmanstad, Königlichem Rathe und Niederösterreichischem Kanzler', in *Literarisches Wochenblatt*, vol. 2, Nürnberg, 1770, 385-423
- J.G. Schelhorn, 'De eximiis Suevorum in literaturam Orientalem meritis schediasma historico-literarium', in *Amoenitates literariae* 13 (1730) 197-264, pp. 223-44

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mahometis... theologia; Compendium Alcorani; Epitome Alcorani, 'The theology of Muḥammad'

DATE 1543

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Mahometis... theologia extends to 117 printed pages (its title in full is *Mahometis Abdallae filii theologia dialogo explicata, Hermanno Nellingaunense interprete. Alcorani epitome Roberto Ketenense Anglo interprete*, 'The theology of Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh, explained through a dialogue, translated by Hermann of Nellingen. Abridgement of the Qur'an, translated by the Englishman Robert of Ketton'; references here are to Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/4 A. or. 1590, which was presumably printed in Nuremberg). It contains the following texts: 1. Dedication to Duke Ludwig X of Bayern-Landshut, dated Landshut, 15 January 1543; 2. Letter to the Nuremberg printer Johannes Otto; 3. *Mahometis... theologia* (23 pages, pp. b recto-d iv recto); 4. *Alcorani epitome* (60 pages, pp. d iv verso-m ii recto); 5. Widmanstetter's annotations to *Mahometis... theologia* (11 pages, pp. n recto-o ii recto); 6. *Vita Mahometi* (3 pages, o ii verso-o iii verso); 7. Widmanstetter's annotations to *Alcorani epitome* (14 pages, pp. o iii verso-q ii recto).

In the Dedication, Widmanstetter explains that he was moved to publish the book in order to preserve the state from 'religious revolutions' and to show to those who notice similarities between Islam and Christianity that Islam is full of lies and impiety, and should be resisted as firmly as the religion of the Jews.

In his letter to the printer, he gives some details about the texts that follow. About the *Theologia*, he says he used a manuscript from Byzantium, and adds that he once saw another exemplar in the library of Faustus Sabeus (d. 1559, poet and papal librarian; cf. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 113, n. 1). While the Byzantine codex did not bear the name of its translator, the other attributes the translation to a certain Hermann of Nellingen. About the *Epitome*, Widmanstetter says that it is a summary of the four books of the Qur'an made by a Muslim who is not clearly identified, which was translated into Latin by Robert of Ketton and mentioned by Nicholas of Cusa in *Cribratio Alcorani*. He adds that he saw exemplars of the *Theologia* and *Epitome* in Wrocław and in the Pera quarter of Constantinople. Widmanstetter promises the printer to deliver a translation of the whole Qur'an.

Mahometis . . . theologia, the Latin translation of *Masā'il 'Abdallāh ibn Salām* made by Herman of Carinthia for Peter the Venerable in 1143, and part of the *Corpus Islamolatinum* (formerly known as *collectio Toletana*), was printed by Bibliander in Basel in 1543. Widmanstetter's text is not precisely identical with that of Bibliander, containing some omissions and stylistic variants. These were probably due to Widmanstetter himself: the 'mixed form' of the translator's name as Hermann of Nellingen (from the first name Hermann of Carinthia plus Widmanstetter's place of birth) could be a hint to this 'translating synergy' between Hermann and Widmanstetter across four centuries (Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 333 n. 308). There are at least two other manuscripts connected with Widmannstetter's text (MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – 4662, and MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – R 113 sup), but it is difficult to establish the relationship between these and the printed text. In Widmanstetter's edition, numbers appear in the margin, corresponding to the annotations later in the work.

Alcorani epitome, presented as a summary of the Qur'an, is divided into four *orationes Arabum*, which correspond to a division of the Qur'an into four books that was known among Western scholars in the 15th and 16th centuries (it is also mentioned by Juan Andrés and Guillaume Postel). The first *oratio* appears to have three sub-chapters, *leges de homicidis*, *de matrimoniiis* and *resurrectionis modus*, though this is a mistake of the editor, who printed as titles (in capital letters in the centre of the line) what

are, in fact, no more than concise summaries of single Qur'an verses. In the *oratio secunda* and *tertia*, two further titles introduce inserted passages that do not belong to the Qur'an but are inspired by other works in the *Corpus Islamolatinum*, such as Peter the Venerable's *summula brevis*, the *Chronica mendosa et ridicula Saracenorum*, *De generatione Mahumet et nutritura eius* and *Doctrina Mahumet* itself (Bobzin, *Koran*, pp. 347-48). Apart from these insertions, what is here presented as a summary of the Qur'an in the form of continuous prose text in fact derives from a qur'anic table of contents like the one in MS Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – 120b; see Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān*, pp. 98-110). This table of contents, which Burman defines as non-polemical, because it passes over some of the passages familiar in anti-Islamic polemic and is more objective in its descriptions, lost the form of a table at a certain point and was organised in continuous form as a summary. For the interpolations from the other works listed above, Burman hypothesizes similar tables of contents, now lost, that found their way into this *Epitome*. In addition to Widmanstetter's edition, the *Epitome* is found in five manuscripts: those from Venice and Milan that are connected with *Mahometis... theologia*, and also MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 3671, MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Cod. Pal. Vindobon. 11879 [Theol. 186] (well described by Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān*, pp. 99 n. 76, 145-7), and MS Padua, Pontificia Biblioteca Antoniana – Scaff. X 207. Again, it is difficult to determine the relation between the manuscripts and the printed edition.

The short account tells about Muḥammad's parents, his marriage with Khadija, and his hiding in a cave for two years where he prepared himself for every fraud. After he freed the slave Zayd on condition that Zayd believed he was a messenger and prophet, he made the same promise to Christian and Jewish slaves, so that conversion to Islam was seen as a new beginning and a way to solve political problems by Christians and Syrians. Khadija used her influence to convince the people of Mecca, although there were some who accused Muḥammad of being a magician and liar, and of writing the Qur'an himself on the basis of what he took from Christian and Syrian slaves and from the Syrian monk Sergius (a mention of Philo Alexandrinus at this point could explain why the work was bound with Philo's work in the exemplar in the Pomeranian Library). After ten years, the people of Mecca conspired to kill or imprison him, so he fled to Medina and lived there for 13 years. As he could not persuade the Jews of Medina to join him because they would not believe in his 'dreams' and his laws, which were fashioned in line with his lust, he defeated them in battle and later defeated the people of Mecca as

well. He died a painful death at the age of 63. He continuously updated his law over 23 years. He had his 'verses' written down on paper and collected them in a box, and after his death they were organised and divided into four books by *Ozmanes* ('Uthmān), which is why the Qur'an appears to be so confused.

Widmanstetter makes 47 annotations to the *Theologia* and 73 to the *Epitome*. Some of these are polemical, pointing out the differences between Islam and Christianity, while others are more objective, explaining the passages they refer to without any explicit polemical purpose. Many establish parallels with the '*occultae Hebraeorum theologiae interpretes*', '*Thalmudistae*' and '*Cabbalistae*', Jewish exegetical traditions, sometimes pointing out that Muḥammad misunderstood them. Some entries are numerological, while others establish further parallels between Cabbalists and Greek culture. The references to the Cabbalists are so many that Widmanstetter feels the need to justify their use at the end of the book, saying that in them can be found the actual explanation of Jewish lies, Christian heresies and Muḥammedan fickleness. This remark also reveals that the struggle against Christian heresy (i.e. the Protestants) is part of the annotations, with at least the same importance as the fight against Islam and Judaism. This is well exemplified in an annotation (*Epitome*, XXXVIII) about the doctrine of Purgatory, refusal to accept which, as in the case of the Protestants, would lead to moral corruption.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work can be described as the Catholic pendant to the 'Protestant' Qur'an of Bibliander. It offers an important depiction of the historical situation of political instability and religious controversy in Widmanstetter's time, not only between religions but also within Christianity between Catholics and Lutherans. Bobzin (*Koran*, pp. 7, 330) argues convincingly that the book was written not only to avert the Turkish and Jewish dangers, but also to show the 'affinities between the new "heresy" of the Lutherans and the old one of the "Mahometistae"' (Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 7), which was not uncommon among Catholic humanists. This did not pass unnoticed by the Lutherans themselves. The book seems, in fact, to have been an object of censure, and it could not be published in its intended form, as is shown by a handwritten note on the title page (*Codex iste libroriorum culpa et senatus Norimbergensis iussu depravatus fuit maxime ubi Lutheranorum haeresis attingi videbatur*) and another at the beginning of the annotations to the *Theologia*, p. nv, (*Quae sequuntur ad hoc signo, a librario Senatus Norimbergensis iussu praetermissa fuere*).

Incidentally, these notes are good evidence that the book was printed in Nuremberg.

The annotations, which are most original part of the work, are very important for their hints at the connections between the qur'anic text and the Jewish cultural heritage; Bobzin (*Koran*, p. 335) says that Widmanstetter is one of the first Western intellectuals to have a clear conception of the relationship between Judaism and Islam, and that this aspect of Widmanstetter's scholarly activity definitely deserves further study. The work was less widely circulated and popular than Bibliander's edition of the Qur'an, even though it was acknowledged as a possible competitor by the Basel printer Johannes Oporinus (cf. Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 326) and as a work critical of Protestants by Melanchthon, among others (cf. Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 360). Nevertheless, it contributed to shaping the Italian edition by Arrivabene (Venice, 1547), which contains a translation of the annotations with significant changes, and this also contributed to identifying the translator of the Venetian Qur'an (cf. Tommasino, *Alcorano*, pp. 134-5, 196-202). Widmanstetter's 'summary of the Qur'an' is also mentioned in the preface to the German Qur'an of Salomon Schweigger. The theologian Theodor Hackspan (1607-59) mentions it in his work *Fides et leges Mohammoedis exhibitae*, while in his edition of the *Sefer Niṣṣaḥōn* he uses Widmanstetter as a reference for the polemical argument that the Qur'an is rooted in Judaism. The latest trace of the continuing influence of this work of Widmanstetter's seems to be present in an addition to the *Specimen Alcorani quadrilinguis* by Andreas Acoluthus (1654-1704; see Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 362).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 3671 (16th century)

MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – R 113 sup (16th century)

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Cod. Pal. Vindobon. 11879 [Theol. 186] (16th century)

MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – 4662 (16th century)

MS Padua, Pontificia Biblioteca Antoniana – Scaff. X 207 (16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

C. Ferrero Hernández, Universidad Autonoma Barcelona, is currently preparing a critical edition and Spanish trans. of the *Liber de doctrina Mahumet*. A team composed of Reinhold Gleis, Ulisse Cecini and Concetta Finiello is also working on a critical edition and German trans. of the Latin *Doctrina Mahumet*, which takes account of Widmanstetter's version, as well as of the Arabic text from which the *Doctrina* was translated, the *Masā'il 'Abdallāh ibn Salām*.

Scanned version of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Res/4 A. or. 1590, [http://dfg-viewer.de/v3/?set\[mets\]=http%3A%2F%2Fdaten.digitale-sammlungen.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00086337_mets.xml](http://dfg-viewer.de/v3/?set[mets]=http%3A%2F%2Fdaten.digitale-sammlungen.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00086337_mets.xml)

Scanned version of Gdańsk, Pomeranian Library – Cc 12457 8° adl. 1, http://pbc.gda.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=1203&from=&dirids=1&ver_id=&lp=1&QI=6892FA2057DB7BE08AD8277A6A27CFED-1 (this exemplar is bound with *Philonis Alexandrini [...] omnes quae [sic] apud Graecos et Latinos extant libri*, Basel, 1538)

O. de la Cruz Palma, 'Vita Mahometi Widmestadii', <http://grupsderecerca.uab.cat/islamolatina/sites/grupsderecerca.uab.cat.islamolatina/files/Vita%20Mahometi%20Widmestadii.pdf> (with an annotated edition of the Milan MS)

Portions of the work are published in the studies listed below, especially Bobzin, *Koran*, pp. 323-63

STUDIES

C. Ferrero Hernández, 'La traducción latina de Hermann de Carinthia del Masa'il Abdallah b. Salam', in A. Musco and G. Musotto (eds), *Coexistence and cooperation in the Middle Ages*, Palermo, 2013, 557-67

C. Ferrero Hernández, 'La contribución de Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (1506-1557) a la controversia islamolatina', in J.J. Caerols (ed.), *Religio in labyrintho*, Madrid, 2013, 157-65

P.M. Tommasino, *L'alcorano di Macometto*, Bologna, 2013

U. Cecini, *Alcoranus Latinus. Eine sprachliche und kulturwissenschaftliche Analyse der Koranübersetzungen von Robert von Ketton und Marcus von Toledo*, Münster, 2012, (particularly pp. 79-80 with description of MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – R 113 sup)

P.M. Tommasino, 'Leer a Maquiavelo, traducir el Corán. Muḥammad, príncipe y legislador en el *Alcorano di Macometto* (Venecia, 1547)', *Al-Qanṭara* 33 (2012) 271-96

C. Ferrero Hernández, 'Difusión de las ideas islámicas a partir del Liber de doctrina Mahumet', in C.E. Prieto Entralgo (ed.), *Asturiensis Regni territorium. Documentos y estudios sobre el período tardorromano y medieval en el noroeste hispano*, vol. 3, Oviedo, 2011, 191-204

T.E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, Philadelphia PA, 2007, pp. 98-110 (with descriptions of the Paris and Milan MSS)

- R.J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation. The first printing of the Syriac New Testament*, Leiden, 2007, pp. 137-69
- H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa*, Beirut, 1995, pp. 323-63
- F. Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la renaissance*, Milan, 1985² (first edition Paris, 1964)
- R. Gleis, *Petrus Venerabilis. Schriften zum Islam*, Altenberge, 1985
- G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1939
- G.F. Pijper, *Het boek der duizend vragen*, Leiden, 1924

Ulisse Cecini

Philipp Melanchthon

DATE OF BIRTH About 16 February 1497
PLACE OF BIRTH Bretten, Germany
DATE OF DEATH 19 April 1560
PLACE OF DEATH Wittenberg

BIOGRAPHY

Philipp Melanchthon was born Philipp Schwartzertdt in Bretten in 1497. He changed his name to Melanchthon, the Greek equivalent of Schwartzertdt (which means 'black earth') on the suggestion of his great-uncle, Johannes Reuchlin, the famous humanist and Hebraist. Young Philipp's willingness to take up the suggestion, while possibly indicative of a care for his uncle, was surely characteristic of the scholarly interests that informed his youth. From an early age, he studied Latin and Greek authors, classical and Christian, continuing at the University of Heidelberg, where he studied rhetoric, philosophy, astronomy, and became proficient at Greek. By 1518, Melanchthon was in Wittenberg, the city with which he would forever be associated. Here Reuchlin continued to influence him, recommending him to the University of Wittenberg and Martin Luther. Melanchthon, then, was installed as professor of Greek at the age of 21. Two years later, he married Katharina Krapp.

Melanchthon spent his life studying and writing. He produced commentaries on the sacred scriptures, and major theological texts – specifically his *Loci communes*, which went through a number of editions and was very influential both inside and outside Lutheranism. Arguably, however, his real penchant was education, where his humanist learning was blended with his Lutheran faith and his love of classical literature. Philipp did not see himself as possessing the same skills and calling as Luther, whom he regarded as a prophet. He rather viewed himself as an educational reformer, and in this role he put his energies into teaching and curriculum reform.

The synthesis of 'pagan' learning and Christian truth he produced was unsurprisingly influenced by Desiderius Erasmus's humanist agenda. Yet it was also developed in response to specific contemporary problems. One such problem was the barbarity (as Philipp perceived it) of scholastic educational methods. Another was the so-called Wittenberg

Movement of 1521, during which – in the absence from the city of Martin Luther – individuals such as Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt and Gabriel Zwilling sought to bring to fruition the reforming aspirations initiated by Luther, leading to rioting and unrest in the city. In response, Melanchthon laboured to produce an educational system that would instil true (Lutheran) piety in its students. In particular, his aims focused on the transformation of natural philosophy. In this capacity, he worked in Wittenberg for decades, editing and publishing ancient texts, lecturing, and corresponding with reformers throughout Europe. He became known as *Praeceptor Germaniae*.

Melanchthon's views on topics such as astrology would bring him into contact with the works of Muslim authors. But any appreciation he might exhibit for them as a result of a shared interest in the movements of the stars and planets was negligible. Like the rest of European Christendom, he feared the rising threat of Islam and the Turkish armies that were ravaging Europe at remarkable speed. Commenting on the Turks, Melanchthon does, on some occasions, merely pass on Luther's thought. Such is the case in *Scripta Phil. Melanchthonis ad historiam . . . chronicon Carionis*, where he summarizes Luther's views in a kind of syllogistic argument. Various negative comments and warnings about the Ottomans appear in other portions of his works, particularly in orations he delivered at graduation ceremonies. Elsewhere, Melanchthon addressed the Ottomans more substantially.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Melanchthon reader, trans. R. Keen, New York, 1988

Philip Melanchthon: Orations on philosophy and education, ed S. Kusukawa, Cambridge, 1999

H. Claus, *Melanchthon-Bibliographie 1510-1560. Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte*, vol. 87, Gütersloh, 2014

Secondary

M. Greschat, *Philipp Melanchthon. Theologe, Pädagoge und Humanist*, Gütersloh, 2010

A. Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam. A study in sixteenth-century polemics and apologetics*, Leiden, 2007

R. Stupperich, *Melanchthon. The enigma of the Reformation*, London, 2006

H. Scheible, *Melanchthon. Eine Biografie*, Munich, 1997

S. Kusukawa, *The transformation of natural philosophy. The case of Philip Melanchthon*, Cambridge, 1995

R. Stupperich, *Melanchthon*, Berlin, 1960

M. Köhler, *Melanchthon und der Islam. Ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Verhältnisses zwischen Christentum und Fremdreigionen in der Reformationszeit*, Leipzig, 1938

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

In Daniele Prophetam commentarius, 'Commentary on the Prophet Daniel'

DATE 1543

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

When Melanchthon's commentary on Daniel appeared, Europe had been living with the Turkish threat for more than 100 years. Marching westward, they had taken Thessalonika in 1430 and Otranto in 1480. Advancing through the Balkans, they were at the gates of Vienna in 1529. This terrifying menace prompted numerous publications. Juan Luis Vives published *De conditione vitae Christianorum sub Turca*, and Luther *Vom Kriege wider die Türken* in 1529. In the same year, Erasmus wrote his *Consultatio de bello Turcis inferendo*, publishing it a year later. Many other writings, including popular tracts, songs and poems, appeared at the time. As Melanchthon wrote and published his commentary on Daniel more than ten years later, the Turkish threat was still fully occupying the minds of northern Europeans. In the 1543 edition, the commentary is 397 pages long, preceded by a Dedicatory epistle and an introductory *Argumentum*.

The Turkish threat fitted perfectly into the prophetic material that appears in the second half of the Book of Daniel, which can fundamentally be divided into two parts (chs 1-6 focusing on history and chs 7-12 on prophecy). Accordingly, while different approaches to the Ottomans were taken by different individuals, Melanchthon's emphasis here rests squarely on the apocalyptic. The full title of his commentary includes the phrase, 'in which is described the great corruption existing in our age and the end of the Turkish cruelty' (*in quo seculi nostri status corruptissimus, & Turcicae crudelitatis finis describitur*), which, given the historical context in which he wrote, comes as no surprise.

In expounding Daniel ch. 7, Melanchthon commences by asserting that here Daniel begins to prophesy concerning the vision of the coming

kingdoms, Christ's advent, and the battle the Church will find herself in at the end of the age. These themes fill his treatment of the second half of Daniel.

Developing and elaborating upon an already existing strand of Christian exegetical tradition, including Luther, Melanchthon treats the Turks in relation to the Antichrist. In his reading, the Turks are part of a dual threat of the Antichrist along with the pope. This can be understood without the need for careful investigation, because Melanchthon makes this assertion explicitly in several places. As he sees it, these two threats are represented in various parts of Scripture, such as the Book of Revelation ch. 13, which speaks of two beasts arising from the land and from the sea. He also mentions Gog and Magog, who are spoken about in Ezekiel ch. 38.

Melanchthon is not interested in predicting the date of the end of the age; he keeps speculation to a minimum. His application of Daniel is focused more on strengthening the faith of believers, who should know that the things occurring in their day have been foretold by God, so they should place their faith in God knowing that all is in God's hands.

SIGNIFICANCE

Melanchthon's decision to take up a prophetic text such as the Book of Daniel, and to interpret it apocalyptically, are both significant. While he could not be called an important apocalyptic voice, he was nonetheless a major intellect who was respected throughout Europe for his learning. His exposition of Daniel fits quite neatly into a humanist style of biblical interpretation. His learned warning of the coming threat to the Church of the Ottomans sounded a sober note throughout Europe, and developed thought on Antichrist in a manner that was adopted and developed by numerous Lutheran exegetes, preachers, and theologians.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

In Daniele prophetam commentarius, Basel, 1543

Opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. C.G. Bretschneider and H.E. Bindseil in *Corpus Reformatorum*, vols 1-28, Halle, 1834-60 (*In Daniele prophetam commentarius* is in vol. 13)

Supplementa Melanchthoniana, 5 vols, Leipzig, 1910-29

Werke in Auswahl, ed. R. Stupperich, 9 vols, Gütersloh, 1951-75

STC (Short Title Catalogue) USTC 665439 (lists the locations where editions are available)

Electronic editions:

http://www.prld.org/author_view.php?a_id=9

<http://www.melanchthonedition.com/>

http://www.melanchthon.com/Melanchthon-Akademie/Wissenschaft_und_Forschung/Melanchthon_im_Internet.php

The complete works of Melanchthon from the *Melanchthonis opera* database (*Corpus Reformatorum*) edition and the *Supplementa Melanchthoniana* are available in DVD format from Instituut voor Reformatieonderzoek, Apeldoorn, The Netherlands

STUDIES

- G. Hobbs, 'Pluriformity of early Reformation scriptural interpretation', in M. Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament*, vol. 2. *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, 2008, 452-511, pp. 495-6
- B. McGinn, *Anti-Christ. Two thousand years of the human fascination with evil*, New York, 2000
- M. Köhler, *Melanchthon und der Islam – Ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Verhältnisses zwischen Christentum und Fremdreligionen in der Reformationszeit*, Leipzig, 1938 (repr. Hamburg, 2013)

Praemonitio ad lectorem, preface to Theodor Bibliander's *Machumetis Saracenorum principis eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina ac ipse alcoran*, 'Warning to the reader'

DATE 1543

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Melanchthon's preface, which he calls a 'warning (*praemonitio*)', served to introduce Bibliander's edition of the Qur'an. Produced at a time when Europe perceived herself to be under the dark cloud of aggressive Ottoman expansion, Bibliander's publication was controversial and required support to make it to the publisher. The character of this fear is captured in Melanchthon's title. In his eyes, as in those of much of Europe, the threat posed by the Turks was apocalyptic in character. Many in European Christendom understood the advancing Turkish army as a sign of the end of the age, the coming of Christ, and the final judgement.

In this short preface, Melanchthon depicts the Turks as casting away the revelation of God and replacing it with the words of Muḥammad. He insists that the revelation associated with Islam is blasphemous and completely at odds with the true Gospel. It spits blasphemies at the Lord Jesus Christ and declares nothing about the forgiveness of sins. He continues for some time declaring how wicked and diabolical the religion of the Ottomans is, insisting that it contains nothing but impious fables and was authored by the devil himself.

While Melanchthon mentions in this preface the prophecy in the second half of the Book of Daniel, he does not treat the Turkish menace as apocalyptic as he does in his *In Danielelem prophetam commentarius*. Rather, his preface is written in a fairly simple style, and focuses primarily on basics about the wicked contents of the Qur'an. His overall aim seems to be to discuss the ideas of Islam so as to lead one to the conclusion: 'You see therefore, pious reader, the errors and kingdom of Muḥammad are condemned by the clear word of God (*Vides igitur, pie lector, clara uoce Dei damnatos esse Mahometi errores ac regnum*).

That fact notwithstanding, as Gregory Miller points out, Melanchthon notes that not everything in the Qur'an is wholly unsound. He regards Islam as a religion informed by natural law and by ideas found in Judaism, Christianity, and 'pagan' beliefs, mentioning specifically in this preface ancient Egyptian religion – the mention of which in such a short preface is intriguing, given its general tone.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is difficult to ascribe profound significance to the contents per se of Melanchthon's preface. That being said, it played its part well as an introduction to Bibliander's publication. It was part of the intercessory efforts of a number of leading reformers and scholars, including Martin Luther himself, by which they urged the Basel magistrates to allow the work to be printed and published.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Machumetis Sarracenorum principis vita ac doctrina omnis, quae & Ismahelitarum lex, & Alcoranum dicitur: ex Arabica lingua ante 400 annos in Latinam translata, nuncque demum ad gloriam Domini Iesu, & ad Christianae fidei confirmationem, doctorum ac piorum aliquot virorum, nostraeque a deo religionis orthodoxae antistitum studio & autoritate, velut è tenebris in lucem protracta atque edita: quo volumine perlecto, pius & studiosus lector fatebitur, librum nullum

potuisse vel opportunè vel tempestivè magis edi hoc rerum Christianarum & Turcicarum statu. Adiectae quoque sunt Annotationes, Confutationes, Sarracenorum ac rerum Turcicarum à 1400 annis ad nostra usq. tempora memorabilium historiae, ex probatissimis autoribus tum Arabibus, tum Latinis & Graecis, quorum catalogum versa in singulis tomis pagina prima reperies. Item, Philippi Melanchthonis, viri doctissimi praemonitio ad lectorem, cum primis pia & erudita. Theodori Bibliandri, sacrarum literarum in Ecclesia Tigurina professoris, viri doctissimi pro Alcorani editione Apologia, multa eruditione & pietate referta, lectuque dignissima: quippe in qua multis ac validiss. argumentis & vitiligatorum calumniis respondetur, & quam non solum utilis, se & necessaria hoc praesertim seculo sit Alcorani editio, Basel: Johannes Oporin and Nikolaus Brylinger, 1543

Machumetis saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina, ac ipse Alcoran: his adiunctae sunt Confutationes multorum, & quidem probatiss. authorum, Arabum, Graecorum, & Latinorum, unà cum doctiss. viri Philippi Melanchthonis praemonitione: adiuncti sunt etiam De Turcarum, siue Sarracenorum / haec omnia in unum volumne redacta sunt, opera & studio Theodori Bibliandri, s.n., 1550

Théodore Bibliander, *Le Coran*, ed. H. Lamarque, *Les mondes humanistes* (GRAC – UMR 5037), 2010 (includes Melanchthon's preface), <https://sites.univ-lyon2.fr/lesmondeshumanistes/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/Le-Coran-latin-de-Bibliander1.pdf>

STC (Short Title Catalogue) USTC 674630 (lists locations where editions are available)

STUDIES

- G. Miller, 'Theodor Bibliander's *Machumetis Saracenorum principis eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina ac ipse alcoran* (1543) as the sixteenth century "Encyclopedia" of Islam', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 24 (2013) 241-54
- J. Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam. Eine Untersuchung zum Türken- und Islambild Martin Luthers (1515-1546)*, Gütersloh, 2008
- T. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom 1140-1560*, Philadelphia PA, 2007
- V. Segesvary, *L'Islam et la Réforme. Étude sur l'attitude des Réformateurs zurichois envers l'islam, 1510-1550*, San Francisco CA, 1998
- R. Barnes, *Prophecy and gnosis. Apocalypticism in the wake of the Lutheran Reformation*, Stanford CA, 1988

Ioannes Martinus Stella

Johannes Martinus Stella; Jean-Martin Stella, Stern,
de Lestoile, Lestoile, l'Étoile; Johann Martin Stella, Steller

DATE OF BIRTH	Early 16 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably the Netherlands (maybe Brussels)
DATE OF DEATH	Late 16 th century, after 1591
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The only authoritative information about the life of Ioannes Martinus Stella is to be found in his own writings. His surname may have an Iberian root, though he was probably born into a family of medical practitioners in the Netherlands in the first half of the 16th century. According to Denis (*Wiens Buchdruckergeschichte*), he was the son or brother of Peter Stern (or Labach), and he was also related to Andreas Vesalius, a physician from Brabant who wrote a book on human anatomy entitled *De humani corporis fabrica*. When Vesalius referred in this book to his student days in Leuven, he recalled his relationship to the Martinus Stella family. Further, Felix Platter recorded in his diary in 1556 that Ioannes' brother Michael, who became a Protestant, was Vesalius's cousin.

Ioannes also seems to have had Protestant sympathies from the time he spent in France in the 1530s. The headings of the letters he later wrote indicate that he had legal qualifications (*Stellae legum doctoris*), and he also mentions at the beginning of the fourth letter that he undertook the defence of Martinus Lascanus and Franciscus Salamanca, accused of treason in the spring of 1544. Most likely, he pursued his legal studies in Padua in the late 1530s, a time when he made friends with Antoine Perrenot (1517-86), with whom he conducted an extensive correspondence. He entered the service of the Habsburgs no later than 1543, though whether he continued to be a Protestant then is not clear. First, he was in the camp of Altenburg (present-day Mosonmagyaróvár), and then in Vienna. His *Descriptio et munitioes Altemburgi Hungarici* ('Description and fortifications of Altenburg in Hungary') is dated 25 July 1543, while his *Descriptio et munitio urbis Viennae* ('Description and fortification of the city of Vienna') is dated 18 May 1543. It seems that he did not himself

participate in fighting against the Ottoman Turks, and was presumably employed as a doctor and jurist in the Habsburg army.

He was in Speyer in May 1544, and from there he probably returned home, where he entered the service of the Spanish government in the Netherlands. A document in the local archives states that he became the superintendent of works and fortifications of Saint-Quentin in 1557, receiving 300 *livres* for ploughing and planting around the town (*Archives départementales du Nord*, b. 2539, fol. 551). By about 1562, he was one of the leading members of the Provincial Council in Luxembourg. He was sent to King Charles IX of France as an ambassador in July 1566, and in 1591 he was the supreme prosecutor of the Provincial Council. The place and date of his death are unknown.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- De Turcarum in regno Hungariae annorum MDXLIII. et XLIV. successibus ad Guilielmum et Michaelem Martinum Stellam fratres epistolae quatuor* (the only source directly associated with Ioannes Martinus Stella), ed. I.G. Schwandtnerus, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*, Vienna, 1746-48, vol. 1, pp. 603-22
- A. Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica septem libri*, Venetiis, 1568, vol. 5, c. 15
- C.G. Jöcher (ed.), *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1733
- J.H. Zedler (ed.), *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon*, 1-64 [nebst], suppl. 1-4, Halle, 1732-54, vol. 39, p. 175^o
- M. Denis, *Wiens Buchdruckergeschichte bis 1560*, Vienna, 1782, p. 281
- M. Gachard (ed.), *Rapport à Monsieur le ministre de l'intérieur sur différentes séries de documents concernant l'histoire de la Belgique*, Brussels, 1841, p. 334
- E. Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, Paris, 1874, p. 56
- M. Roth, 'Andreas Vesalius in Basel', *Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte* 12 (1888) 159-82, pp. 180-2
- E. Lemaire et al., *La guerre de 1557 en Picardie, bataille de Saint Laurent, siège de Saint-Quentin . . .*, St-Quentin, 1896

Secondary

- J. Monfasani, *Nicolaus Scutellius, OSA, as Pseudo-Pletho. The sixteenth-century treatise Pletho in Aristotelem and the scribe Michael Martinus Stella*, Florence, 2005, pp. 117-30
- C.D. O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, 1514-1564*, London, 1964, p. 29
- H. Patry, 'Débuts de la Réforme protestante à Bordeaux et dans le ressort du parlement de Guienne', *Revue Historique* 110 (1912) 291-321, pp. 311, 313
- A. Pierrot, *Histoire de Montmédy et du pays Montmédién, dès origines à la Révolution Française*, Lyon, 1910, vol. 1, pp. 242-3

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De Turcarum in regno Hungariae annorum MDXLIII. et XLIV. successibus ad Guilielmum et Michaelem Martinum Stellam fratres epistolae quatuor,
 ‘Four Letters about the Ottomans’ successes in
 the Kingdom of Hungary in 1543 and 1544, to his
 brothers Guilielmus and Michael Martinus Stella’

DATE 9 August 1543–10 May 1544

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

In 1543, Süleyman the Magnificent appeared in Hungary in person. The conquest of Valpó, Siklós, Székesfehérvár and Esztergom secured the region between the heartland of the Ottoman-occupied zone and the important military road running from Buda to Esztergom on the right bank of the Danube. By conquering several smaller but strategically important cities and forts in the following two years, the Pasha of Buda created a ring of strong points around his capital, the heart of Ottoman Hungary.

In his four letters, (also known under the titles *Exemplaria literarum de Thurcarum in regno Hungaria, praeteriti et praesentis anni successibus* and *De vastato Ungariae regno, 1543-1544*) Ioannes Martinus Stella touches upon the military endeavours of the years 1543 and 1544, when he was in the imperial army camp in Altenburg. These letters were not written expressly for literary purposes but were actually rough drafts, containing many mistakes in the information and dates they give. They were addressed to Ioannes’ brothers in Antwerp, Guilielmus and Michael Stella. Guilielmus had them published in 1544, though he only included his own and Ioannes’ names. Michael himself inserted his own name when he had them reprinted in revised form in Basel in 1556 (Monfasani, *Nicolaus Scutellius*, pp. 158-9). In Schwandtnerus’s edition of 1748 the letters come to 20 pages.

A certain degree of literary arrangement can be detected in the letters, though in the course of writing Ioannes’ emotions frequently run away with him, and his accounts of military movements often become incoherent and inconsistent. He repeatedly reflects on the reasons for the Turkish successes, the questionable morality of Christian troops, and

the cruel massacres that took place after the Turkish capture of Christian strongholds.

In the first letter, Ioannes refers to the military events of the year 1543 that led up to the siege of Esztergom on 26 July. The Turks captured one stronghold after another, starting with Valpó in Bosnia. Its defenders gave in when the Turkish army arrived, and all except the warden were slaughtered. This was followed by the surrender of Pécs in southern Hungary without a fight, and Soklós (viz. Siklós), which offered some resistance but finally surrendered. The Turks did not assault the poor because they had nothing that could be taken away, but they killed the rich for their property (*ob suspicionem praedae et divitiarum*). Ioannes suggests that, because the conquerors do not keep their promises (*quantum fidei, Turcarum promissis aut pactis sit adhibendum*), there is no alternative to heroic resistance and death (*quam si pro patria certantes, gloriosam et honestam mortem oppeterent*).

The greater part of the second letter deals with the loss of Esztergom. Although the defenders led by Franciscus Salamanca repelled many attacks by the Turks, the tower, which contained the gunpowder, exploded during the last assault. An Italian soldier went to negotiate, but Ioannes again describes the Turkish cruelties. The second letter ends with the capitulation of Tata without resistance and its devastation by the Turks.

At the beginning of the third letter, Ioannes concedes that the Turkish army is superior to that of the Holy Roman Empire: they outclass the imperial soldiers in expertise, patience and endurance (*quanta peritia esset rei militaris apud hostes, et quam longe nos, et scientia et patientia laborumque tollerantia, superarent*). He goes on to refer to the Italian commander, Annibale Tasso, who abandoned the castle of Tata and was later beheaded in Komárom. After demolishing Tata, the Turks turned against Székesfehérvár and, although the defenders resisted bravely, the Turks' strength and courage finally prevailed (*sed superatis nostris, et multitudine et virtute hostium*). Süleyman granted free and honourable retreat to the defenders and civilian population, but the leading citizens were nevertheless killed inside the city a few days later (*Turca, nullius pacti aut conventionis religione motus, ad unum omnes interfecit*). At the end of this letter Ioannes relates the activities of Hayreddin Barbarossa and his fleet off Marseilles in their assistance to France, as well as the questionable conduct of Pope Paul III. The letter closes with a description of the discord in the Christian camp at Altenburg.

In the fourth letter, from Speyer in 1544, Ioannes gives an account of the imperial army's disbanding at the end of 1543, the Diet of Besztercebánya (present-day Banská Bystrica) in 1543 and the Diet of Prague in 1544, as well as the surrender of Visegrád in the spring of 1544 and the fortification of Vienna. The defenders of Visegrád had stipulated a free withdrawal, but the Turks did not honour this agreement and all except the warden of the castle were killed.

SIGNIFICANCE

While the Battle of Mohács in 1526 had most serious political consequences, only the final loss of Buda in 1541 and the Turkish campaigns in 1543 and 1544 made permanent the territorial fragmentation of the central lands of the Hungarian Kingdom. Many contemporary sources report on the 'wars of the castles' in 1543 and 1544, although they are often inconsistent in what they describe. Ioannes Martinus Stella writes about the military successes of the Turks from a Christian point of view, and in some instances he examines the reasons for them. His letters are remarkable in this respect, since he is frank about the lack of *virtus* on the Christian side, while he does not disregard the horrific cruelty of the Muslims, especially the Turkish and Tartar soldiers. Although his descriptions are inaccurate in some places, his letters are a source of prime importance when they are read carefully.

European public opinion was very interested in events in Hungary in the 16th century. Although Ioannes obtained his information at second-hand, he was able to report the events of the Turkish wars with the authenticity of a witness. His letters proved very popular in published form, and were translated into French only one year after they were first published in 1544.

MANUSCRIPTS

The MSS used for the preparation of the printed editions are lost.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- P. Kulcsár (ed. and trans.), *Krónikáink magyarul*, Budapest, 2006, vol. 3, pp. 134-56 (Hungarian trans.)
- J. Monfasani, *Nicolaus Scutellius, OSA, as Pseudo-Pletho. The sixteenth-century treatise Pletho in Aristotelem and the scribe Michael Martinus Stella*, Florence, 2005, p. 161 (preface to the letters), pp. 161-3 (the last of the letters)
- I.G. Schwandtnerus (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*, Vienna, 1768, vol. 2, pp. 263-89 (edition)

- I.G. Schwandtnerus (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*, Trnava, Slovakia, 1765, vol. 2, pp. 355-91 (edition)
- I.G. Schwandtnerus (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*, Vienna, 1746-8, vol. 1, pp. 603-22 (edition)
- [J. Bongarsius], *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii historici et geographici*, Frankfurt am Main, 1600, pp. 423-38 (edition)
- N. Reusner, *Epistolarum Turcicarum variorum et diversorum Authorem, libri I-XIV*, Frankfurt am Main, 1599, pp. 38-60 (edition)
- I. Melchior, *Epistolae ex historicis, tam veteribus, quam recentioribus . . .*, Montebelgradi [Montbéliard], 1594, pp. 612-64 (edition)
- P. Lonicerus et al. (eds), *Chronicorum Turcicorum, in quibus Turcicorum origo, principes, imperatores, bella, praelia . . .*, Frankfurt am Main, 1584, vol. 2, pp. 161-85 (edition)
- P. Lonicerus et al. (eds), *Chronicorum Turcicorum, in quibus Turcicorum origo, principes, imperatores, bella, praelia . . .*, Frankfurt am Main, 1578, vol. 2, pp. 226-46 (edition)
- S. Schar dius, *Historicum opus [Scriptores rerum Germanicarum]*, Basel, 1574, vol. 2, pp. 1555-78 (edition)
- J. Herold (ed.), *Laonici Chalcondylae Atheniensis de origine et rebus gestis Turcorum libri decem*, Basel, 1556, pp. 604-27 (edition)
- G. de Bossozel (ed.), *Les nouvelles & discours de la guerre faicte & yssue par les Turcs au Royaulme de Hongrie*, Paris, 1545, 32 unnumbered leaves (French trans.)
- Exemplaria literarum Ioannis Martini LL. doct. de Thurcarum in regno Hungariae praeteriti et praesentis anni successibus*, Antwerpiae, 1544, 24 leaves (A⁴-F⁴) (editio princeps)
- Unauthorized edition of some of the letters (Antwerp?), 1543 or 1544, apparently lost (first edition?)

STUDIES

- I. Leder, *Nachrichten über die Osmanen und ihre Vorfahren in Reise- und Kriegsberichten: analitische Bibliographie mit Standortnachweisen 1095-1600*, Budapest, 2005, pp. 120-1, nos 98-102
- J. Monfasani, *Nicolaus Scutellius, OSA, as Pseudo-Pletho. The sixteenth-century treatise Pletho in Aristotelem and the scribe Michael Martinus Stella*, Florence, 2005, pp. 157-60
- P. Kulcsár, *A magyar történeti irodalom lelőhelyjegyzéke a kezdetektől 1700-ig*, Budapest, 2003, p. 501
- F. Szakály, 'The early Ottoman period, including Royal Hungary, 1526-1606', in P.F. Sugar, P. Hanák and T. Frank (eds), *A history of Hungary*, Bloomington IN, 1990, 83-99

- E. Liptái, *Magyarország hadtörténete*, Budapest, 1984, vol. 1, pp. 175-6
- E. Cockx-Indegeste, G. Glorieux, and B. op de Beeck, *Belgica typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, Nieuwkoop, 1968-94, vol. 1, p. 361, no. 4423
- J. Zoltán (ed.), *Budapest történetének bibliográfiája*, Budapest, 1967, vol. 1, pp. 518-19
- C. Göllner, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, Bucharest, 1961, p. 404, no. 860
- J.D. Bánlaky, *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme*, Budapest, 1940, vol. 13, pp. 187-217
- A. Ballagi, *Buda és Pest a világirodalomban, 1473-1711*, Budapest, 1925, vol. 1, p. 261, no. 546
- S. Apponyi, *Hungarica. Ungarn betreffende im Auslande gedruckte Bücher und Flugschriften*, Munich, 1903-27, vol. 3, p. 179, no. 1739
- J. Thury, *Török történetírók*, Budapest, 1896

György Palotás

György Szerémi

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1490
PLACE OF BIRTH	Kamonc, Hungary (present-day Kamanica, Serbia)
DATE OF DEATH	After 1548 or 1558
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

György Szerémi was born in the market town of Kamonc, in the southern part of the Kingdom of Hungary. His father may have been a villein of John Corvinus (1473-1504), illegitimate son of King Matthias Corvinus (1457-90). He started his studies in his native town and then moved to Gyula. Presumably, he was going to pursue an ecclesiastical career from the beginning, but the exact date of his ordination is unknown. He served as chaplain in the court of Ferenc Perényi, bishop of Várad, from 1514. In 1520, he was living in the royal court in Buda, where, for a short time, he belonged to the court chaplains of Louis II (r. 1516-26). He was most probably a canon in Arad between 1523 and 1526, but the king called him back to Buda in 1526. Following the defeat inflicted upon the Hungarian army by the Ottomans at Mohács, he became a chaplain at the court of the former voivode of Transylvania, John Zápolya, who became King of Hungary after the death of King Louis in the battle. He served King John until the latter's death in 1540. Between 1526 and 1534, he was part of the king's immediate entourage, so he personally took part in most major events and military conflicts in the war of succession between Ferdinand Habsburg I (1503-64) and John Zápolya that erupted after the battle of Mohács.

Although it is likely that Szerémi did not follow Zápolya when the king moved from Buda to Várad in 1535, his exact whereabouts at this time are unknown. It is certain, however, that he was resident in Buda when Süleyman I seized the city through a trick in 1541. Isabella, Zápolya's widow, moved to Transylvania in the same year, but Szerémi stayed in Buda for a while. This is supported by his eye-witness account of the siege of Buda in 1542.

It is generally accepted that he wrote his single work, *Epistola de perditione regni Hungarorum*, in Latin, when he was in Transylvania, at

the request of Antal Verancsics (1504-73), later archbishop of Esztergom. Almost all the details of his life up to this time are known from this work. There is only one certain piece of information about his career after 1542, which is that he was studying at the University of Vienna in 1548, as he is obviously identical with one of the students in the registers of the university.

In 1548-9, the accounts of Brassó mention a certain György Szerémi, who participated in multiple diplomatic missions to the Ottoman Porte. Although these very brief sources do not allow us to identify this person as the author of the *Epistola*, arguments in favour seem to prevail. After a long silence, our sources mention another György Szerémi in 1558, a canon in Esztergom. This person is also likely to be identical with our author.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

György Szerémi, *Szerémi György II. Lajos káplánja emlékirata Magyarország romlásáról. 1484-1543* [Memoir of György Szerémi, chaplain of Louis II, on the decay of Hungary], ed. G. Wenzel, Pest, 1857

Secondary

- S. Ćirković, 'Svedočenje popa Đurđa Sremca' [A letter of György Szerémi], in M. Polgar (trans.), *Poslanica o propasti ugarskog kraljevstva*, Belgrade, 1989, 7-27
- E. Bartomić, *Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből* [Chapters from the history of 16-17th-century historiography in Hungary], Budapest, 1975, 57-60
- J.V. Vid, *Szerémi György emlékiratának művelődéstörténeti adatai* [Historico-cultural details of the memoir of György Szerémi], Budapest, 1910, pp. 11-32
- F. Kollányi, *Esztergomi kanonokok 1100-1900* [The Canons of Esztergom 1100-1900], Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Káptalan, 1900, p. 163
- Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt*, Kronstadt, 1886-96, vol. 3/3, pp. 442, 446, 449, 451, 501-2, 505, 510
- I. Acsády, 'Verancsics Antal és Szerémi György' [Antal Verancsics and György Szerémi], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 4 (1894) 44-6
- L. Szádeczky, *Szerémi György élete és emlékirata* [The life and memoir of György Szerémi], Budapest, 1892, pp. 12-42
- L. Erdélyi, *Szerémi György és emlékirata. Történelmi forrástanulmány* [György Szerémi and his memoir. Study on a historical source], Budapest, 1892, pp. 19-52

- G. Wenzel, 'Bevezetés [Preface]', in G. Wenzel (ed.), *Szerémi György II. Lajos káplánja emlékirata Magyarország romlásáról 1484-1543* [Memoir of György Szerémi, chaplain of Louis II, on the decay of Hungary], Pest, 1857, pp. 8-12

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

[Epistola] De perditione regni Hungarorum,
 'Letter on the downfall of Hungary'
Epistola, 'Letter'

DATE Between 1546 and 1547

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This account of the history of Hungary between 1456 and 1543 survives in a single manuscript in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest. It is described as an autograph in the library catalogue, though there is no agreement about this; the manuscript may have been copied shortly after the composition of the *Epistola*. The manuscript contains 134 folios, and the edition by Gusztáv Wenzel comes to 401 pages (with many errors). A critical edition is currently under preparation. It is disputed whether the *Epistola flebilis*, added at the end of the manuscript, which repeats the account of the battle of Mohács and the death of Louis II with some minor alterations, was written by Szerémi or not. Some researchers hold the view that it was composed by Miklós Tatai, a fellow-chaplain of Szerémi. The manuscript is supposed to have belonged to the collection of Antal Verancsics, Archbishop of Esztergom. When the codex was bound, several of the last pages were mixed up, and some of these are missing from the Wenzel edition.

The genre of the *Epistola* is close to both historiography and memoir literature, and although it was composed in the 16th century, it is influenced by late medieval clerical scholarship rather than by humanism. Szerémi did not use written sources, and his accounts are based on gossip and his own experience so they are often unreliable. But he was not attempting to document events with the ambition and accuracy of a professional historian. The *Epistola* does not have a carefully designed structure, and only the first third of the manuscript is divided into chapters, while the remaining part is written without any division. In his edition, Wenzel introduced chapters, but this is not followed by

any of the translations. The contents of the work can be described in three structural units.

The first unit (Wenzel, pp. 1-120) discusses the history of Hungary between 1456 and 1526. In this part, Szerémi includes stories that are not primarily based upon his own experience but on vague oral tradition. As a result, the reliability and accuracy of these descriptions is very questionable, and the mistakes in them can be proved easily in many cases. The *Epistola* begins with the conflict between Ladislaus Hunyadi (1431-57) and Ulrich II, Count of Celje (1440-57), which leads to Ulrich's murder by Hunyadi's men and Hunyadi's beheading by order of King Ladislaus V. Shortly after this, King Ladislaus is reported to have been drowned by Mihály Szilágyi (c. 1400-60), although it is widely known that the king died of an illness in Prague. Szerémi treats the reign of Matthias exhaustively, together with the fate of his illegitimate son, John Corvinus and his family.

Despite the fictitious and incredible stories, this part of the work provides much valuable information on Christian-Muslim relations. Szerémi presents an authentic description of the affairs of Hungarian and Ottoman soldiers in his frequent references to duels between them. He gives a more detailed description of the duel between an Ottoman and György Székely, the future leader of the peasants' revolt in 1514, in which the Christian, the follower of the true faith, wins. Such duels were regular in the frontier zone and provided an opportunity for soldiers to prove their skills. Immediately after this, Szerémi turns to the peasants' revolt and highlights the fact that it began as a crusade against the Muslims. The peasants turned overtly against their lords only after the campaign had been called off, partly because the crusaders were deprived of their promised indulgences when the holy war was cancelled. A recurring theme in the first section of the *Epistola* is betrayals, which for Szerémi means alliance with the Ottomans. In his view, the Turkish occupation of Nándorfehérvár in 1521 was caused by the greed of the Hungarian captains, who sold off the castle to the enemy. This and the report that John Zápolya, voivode of Transylvania, allied himself with the Ottomans, are strongly questionable. The author dedicates a longer account to the Battle of Sremska Mitrovica (Szávaszentdemeter) against the Ottomans in 1523, which ended in a Hungarian victory. The first section is concluded by the Battle of Mohács, in which the author did not participate personally, thus explaining the inaccuracy of his description.

The second unit of the *Epistola* covers events from 1526 to 1534 (Wenzel, pp. 121-345). In this part, Szerémi chiefly relies on his own experiences

and, as in the other units, the Ottomans do not play a prominent role here. The author primarily focuses on the war of succession between Ferdinand Habsburg and John Zápolya, while also relating his own personal experiences. Owing to repeated military defeats in the first period of the war, John Zápolya has no alternative but to flee to Poland, where he is followed by Szerémi. Zápolya returns to Hungary only after signing the alliance treaty with the sultan. From the perspective of Muslim-Christian relations, the most valuable point is the meeting of John Zápolya and Süleyman I on the field of Mohács in 1529, where the sultan assures Zápolya of his support in the war against Ferdinand, and promises to help him regain the throne. Szerémi remains in the company of Zápolya throughout the meeting, and provides a careful description of the Ottoman camp and the atmosphere in the assembly.

Following Zápolya's recapture of Buda with the assistance of the Ottomans, Szerémi stays in the city with him. He reports that Ottoman auxiliary troops were present in Zápolya's entourage from 1529, and sees clearly that after Zápolya's appointment of the Venetian Lodovico Gritti (1480?-1534), a favourite of the sultan, as the governor, the king's power and independence diminish. In the remaining part of the second unit, Szerémi deals with the activity of Gritti in Hungary and his deepening conflict with the Hungarian aristocrats.

After some silent years, the closing unit of the work (Wenzel, pp. 345-401) continues the course of events from 1539. Szerémi relates the marriage of Zápolya with Isabella Jagiellon (1519-59), a daughter of the Polish king, and the birth of John Sigismund (1540-71), although many details are incorrect. In Szerémi's report, Zápolya is poisoned shortly after the birth of his son. Szerémi attributes nearly all royal death to scheming, but in this case he was incorrect. From this point on, Muslims play an important role again, and the *Epistola* contains valuable details about relations with Muslims. At first, Szerémi describes the siege of Buda in 1541 by Ferdinand's forces under Wilhelm von Roggendorf (c. 1481-1541). Queen Isabella and György Fráter, guardian of the infant John Sigismund, ask for the sultan's help. He breaks the siege and takes possession of Buda, resorting to a stratagem. Isabella, John Sigismund and György Fráter leave for Transylvania, but Szerémi stays in Buda and lives there through the next unsuccessful German siege. He ends his work with the Ottoman campaign in 1543. The sultan occupies Székesfehérvár, which had recently turned away from Catholicism, and then Esztergom. Szerémi depicts the sultan on these pages as quite tolerant to Catholicism, but

after his departure Ottoman officers showed a radically different attitude towards Christians, resorting to brutal rape and butchery.

The appendix to the manuscript (Wenzel, pp. 402-10) contains three different stories. The first discusses the confessions of two aristocrats, Imre Török and Ambrus Sárkány, the second relates the capture of Vienna by Matthias Corvinus, and the third is the *Epistola flebilis*, which covers the Battle of Mohács and the alleged murder of King Louis II.

SIGNIFICANCE

The importance of the *Epistola* lies in the person of the author himself. As a court chaplain, György Szerémi was a member of the middle-ranking clergy, and up to the time of the composition of the *Epistola* had not pursued university studies. The knowledge he possessed had only been acquired in a parish school. He was not affected by the humanism that characterized the highest levels of education, and his attitude was not influenced by the ideals and patterns of humanist literature. As a result, his work is far more personal and vivid than books written by professional historians, since the reader can get an insight into the unmapped way of thinking of a whole social class. Its most important virtue does not lie in its accuracy, but in the fact that we can get acquainted with the attitude towards the Muslims of a social group that did not belong to the political and cultural elite.

It is true, however, that Szerémi's viewpoint does not differ essentially from the contemporary Christian approach. As a Catholic priest, he considers Muslims as pagans and the enemies of Christianity. For him, the only true belief is Catholicism, and he contrasts it sharply not only with Islam but also with Protestantism. His position becomes crystal-clear when one reads the passage describing the duel between György Székely and an Ottoman warrior. Szerémi sees the victory of the Christian soldier over the 'pagan' Muslim as evidence of 'the justice of the Christian faith' (Wenzel, p. 57), while the captains who converted to Islam after the alleged betrayal of Nándorfehérvár had to die a gruesome death because God punishes those who leave the Christian faith (Wenzel, p. 103). He also mentions the Ottomans' acts of wickedness, massacres and rapes against Christians. The longest of these is the account of the year 1543, when, after Süleyman leaves Hungary, Turkish soldiers who occupy Hungarian towns wreak terrible havoc on Christians (Wenzel, pp. 399-400). However, despite Szerémi's aversion to Muslims, it is remarkable that he does not see Süleyman as an unambiguously negative character. To

a certain extent, this might be explained by Szerémi's experience of the sultan showing tolerance towards Catholics (Wenzel, p. 396).

The *Epistola* also reports the attitude of John Zápolya and his court towards their Ottoman allies, and the extent of the Turkish soldiers' cultural influence in Zápolya's entourage. Despite this alliance, however, Christians around Zápolya had a definite dislike of Muslims. This distrust must have been mutual, because Ottoman soldiers did not respect Hungarian aristocrats either, and rather listened to their own commanders. According to Szerémi's report, Muslim Ottomans and Christian Hungarians hardly ever communicated with each other, both keeping their distance. He makes clear that Hungarians adhered to their Christian faith, and Islam did not attract them at all.

Furthermore, the well-known theme of the Ottomans being sent by God against the Christians as retribution is also present, a recurrent topic among Protestant preachers, who thought that the corruption of the Church was one of the main sources of sin. This question is, however, judged by the Catholic Szerémi in a totally different way. Although he also acknowledges the immoral life of some prelates, for him the main sin of the Christians is the Protestant separation from the true Church. He attributes the unsuccessful German siege of Buda in 1542 to Lutheran soldiers being among the besiegers (Wenzel, p. 375), and when Süleyman captures Székesfehérvár in 1543, he claims that the conversion of the citizens to Lutheranism contributed to the quick fall of the town.

Finally, the *Epistola* reveals how much information contemporary Catholic clergy had about Islam. Szerémi was evidently not well-acquainted with the faith, because he does not mention the Qur'an or Muslim religious precepts at all, though he is aware that Muslims regard Muḥammad as their prophet and also revere Christ as a prophet. He writes that the Hungarians' confiscation of church property to finance their fighting was considered by Süleyman as an offence against 'the prophet Jesus Christ' (Wenzel, p. 119). This is an apparent invention, but the statement speaks for Szerémi's awareness.

Although in many cases it cannot be used as a reliable source due to its inaccuracies, the *Epistola* is a unique piece of literature, providing valuable information about contemporary Christian-Muslim relations and the way of thinking of those who were not well educated.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Budapest, National Széchényi Library – Fol. Lat. 4020, fols 1r-134v
(mid-16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Zs. Szebelédi, 'Juhász László Szerémi-fordításának kézirati kérdései' [Some problems of the manuscript of László Juhász's Szerémi – translation], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 128 (2012) 260-2 (the Hungarian translation at the end – fols 130r-130v; 132v; 134r-134v)
- G.F. Farkas, 'II. Lajos rejtélyes halála 2. [The death of Louis II]', *Magyar Könyvszemle* 117 (2001) 33-66 (at the end, edition of fols 130r-130v; 132v; 134r-134v)
- I. Bori, *Szerémi György emlékirataiból* [From the memoirs of György Szerémi], Újvidék, 1996 (Hungarian trans. of selected fragments)
- M. Polgar (trans.), *Poslanica o propasti ugarskog kraljevstva*, Belgrade, 1987 (Serbian trans. of fols 1r-134v)
- L. Erdélyi and L. Juhász (trans.), *Magyarország romlásáról* [On the decay of Hungary], Budapest, 1961, 1979² (Hungarian trans., except fols 130r-130v; 132v; 134r-134v)
- L. Erdélyi (trans.), *A mohácsi vész kora* [The age of the Mohács-Bane], Budapest, 1941 (Hungarian trans. except fols 130r-130v; 132v; 134r-134v)
- L. Szádeczky, *Szerémi György kiadásának hiányai* [Errors in the edition of György Szerémi], Budapest, 1894 (at the end, edition of fols 130r-130v; 132v; 134r-134v)
- J. Mogyoróssy, *Történelmi adatok Szerémi György emlékirataiból* [Historical facts from the memoirs of György Szerémi], Gyula, 1882 (Hungarian trans. of selected excerpts)
- K. Zilahy, 'Szerémi György emlékirata' [Memoir of György Szerémi], *Budapesti Szemle* 10 (1860) 160-200 (Hungarian trans. of selected excerpts)
- J. Gyorgyevics, 'Georgii Sirmiensis epistola de perditionum regni Hungarorum', *Letopis Matice Srpske* 98 (1858/1) 222; (1858/2) 1-72 (incomplete Serbian trans.)
- G. Wenzel, *Szerémi György II. Lajos káplánja emlékirata Magyarországra romlásáról 1484-1543* [Memoir of György Szerémi, chaplain of Louis II, on the decay of Hungary], Pest, 1857 (this edition does not include the text of manuscripts fols 130r-130v; 132v; 134r-134v)
- A. Gévay, 'II. Lajos király halála. Egy kortárs előadása' [Death of king Louis II. Account of a contemporary], *Tudománytár* 8 (1840) 167-76 (fols 128v; 130v-132v)

STUDIES

- Zs. Szebelédi, 'A zemet szó jelentése Szerémi György latin nyelvű művében' [The meaning of the word 'zemet' in the Latin history of György Szerémi], *Magyar Nyelv* 108 (2012) 470-3
- Zs. Szebelédi, 'Juhász László Szerémi-fordításának kézirati kérdései' [Some problems of the manuscript of László Juhász's Szerémi – translation], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 128 (2012) 256-62
- D. Csorba, *Mohács – egy 'mesemondó' szemével. Emlékezeti rétegek Szerémi György Epistolájában* [The battle of Mohács through the eyes of a storyteller. Layers of memory in the *Epistola* of György Szerémi], Nyíregyháza, 2012
- A. Bojtos, 'Történelemszemlélet, folklór és obszervancia. Szerémi György és a késő középkori magyar társadalmi tudat forrásairól' [View of history, folklore and observance. On the sources of György Szerémi and late medieval social consciousness], *Magyar Egyház-történeti Vázlatok* 3-4 (2011) 19-44
- D. Csorba, 'Un riferimento dantesco finora sconosciuto della letteratura antica ungherese', *Rivista di Studi Ungheresi N.S.* 10 (2011) 47-68
- D. Csorba, 'Szerémi György emlékezete' [The memoir of György Szerémi], in M. Balázs and Cs. Gábor (eds), *Emlékezet és devóció a régi magyar irodalomban*, Kolozsvár, 2007, 447-56
- J. Bessenyei, 'Änderungen im Stadtnetz Ungarns in der Anfangsphase der türkischen Besatzung, Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der geflohenen Bürger', *Sectio Philosophica* 10 (2005) 3-20
- I. Bori, 'Utószó' [Afterword], in I. Bori (ed.), *Szerémi György emlékirataiból* [From the memoirs of György Szerémi], Újvidék, 1996, 85-105
- E. Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből* [Chapters from the history of 16-17th century historiography in Hungary], Budapest, 1975
- L. Erdélyi, *A mohácsi vész nemzedéke* [Generation of the battle of Mohács], Budapest, 1941
- J.V. Vid, *Szerémi György emlékiratának művelődéstörténeti adatai* [Historico-cultural details of the memoir of György Szerémi], Budapest, 1910
- I. Acsády, 'Verancsics Antal és Szerémi György' [Antal Verancsics and György Szerémi], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 4 (1894) 1-59
- L. Szádeczky, *Szerémi György kiadásának hiányai* [Deficiencies in the Edition of György Szerémi], Budapest, 1892

- L. Szádeczky, *Szerémi György élete és emlékirata* [The life and memoir of György Szerémi] Budapest, 1892
- L. Erdélyi, *Szerémi György és emlékirata. Történelmi forrástanulmány* [György Szerémi and his memoir. Study of a historical source], Budapest, 1892
- Gy. Dudás, 'Szerb volt-e Szerémi?' [Was Szerémi Serbian?], *Századok* (1887) 462-4
- Gy. Dudás, *Szerémi György emlékirata. Történetkútfői tanulmány* [The memoir of György Szerémi. A critical study], Budapest, 1886
- Gy. Dudás, 'Szerémi György élete' [The life of György Szerémi], *Századok* (1886) 242-52
- G. Wenzel, 'Bevezetés' [Preface], in Wenzel (ed.), *Szerémi György II. Lajos káplánja emlékirata Magyarország romlásáról 1484-1543* [Memoir of György Szerémi, chaplain of Louis II, on the decay of Hungary], 5-34

Zsolt Szebelédi

Marin Držić

Marin Držić; Marino Darsa

DATE OF BIRTH 1508
PLACE OF BIRTH Ragusa (Dubrovnik)
DATE OF DEATH 2 May 1567
PLACE OF DEATH Venice

BIOGRAPHY

Marin Držić (Marino Darsa in Italian) was a Croatian poet and playwright, the most famous Renaissance author of comedies in Croatia.

Only a few reliable data about his life are available. He attended the Latin school in Dubrovnik, where in 1526 when still a young man he was appointed rector of the Church of the Holy Spirit (a hereditary office of the Držić family). In 1538 he became the organist at Dubrovnik Cathedral, and in the autumn of that year he went to Siena to study canon law, with a government scholarship. In 1541 he was elected student vice-rector. In Siena he participated in a comedy (title unknown) despite the ban on assemblies.

He was back in Dubrovnik in 1545, from where he travelled to Istanbul as a companion and translator to the Austrian Count Christoph Rogen-dorf. The journey began in August 1546, but Držić returned home in January 1547 and he remained in Dubrovnik until 1562.

Between 1548 and 1558 he wrote many plays, organized performances, and translated Euripides' *Hecuba* into Croatian. Within just ten years Držić had completed the dramas that are still very popular today and are often performed on stage, particularly during the annual Dubrovnik Summer Festival. His most important dramas are: pastoral plays *Tirena* and *Grižula*, the burlesque *Novela od Stanca, Venera* and *Adon*, comedies *Pomet*, *Dundo Maroje*, *Skup*, *Mande* (also known as *Tripče de Utoľče*), *Arkulin*, *Džuho Krpeta* and *Pjerin*. His works are not all preserved in their full form: the endings of *Dundo Maroje* and *Skup* are lost, while the beginnings of *Mande* and *Arkulin* are missing.

In 1550 Držić is referred to as a priest. In 1562 he went to Venice and, with the exception of short trips to Dubrovnik and Florence, he remained there as archbishop's chaplain for the rest of his life.

In 1566 Držić wrote five 'conspiracy letters' to the Tuscan Duke Cosimo I de' Medici and his son Francesco. In these, he asked the duke to overthrow the government of the Republic of Dubrovnik and to oust the ruling oligarchy, saying how cruel and unjust it was. Since the Republic of Dubrovnik acknowledged the sovereignty of the Ottomans, this plan was very dangerous. However, Držić expressed the hope that the Grand Vizier Mehmed Paša Sokolović (Sokollu Mehmet Paša, 1505-79), who had himself been brought from Bosnia to Istanbul as a child, would not react to this coup. In his last letter Držić recognized the potential danger into which he was bringing Dubrovnik, and he abandoned the idea.

These letters did not come to light until 1930.

Držić died in 1567, and was buried in the Church of St John and St Paul (Zanipolo) in Venice.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- [Marin Držić], *Piesni Marina Darxichia viedno stavgliene s mnosim drusim liepim stvarmi* [Poems of Marin Držić with many other agreeable things], Venice, 1551, 1607², 1630³ (facsimile with English summary Zagreb, 2008)
- Marin Držić, *Dundo Maroje* [Uncle Maroje], Dubrovnik, 1867
- Djela M. Držića* [Works of M. Držić], Zagreb, 1875, 1930² (the 1930 edition of his collected works is still the best)
- Marin Držić, *Djela* [Works], Zagreb, 1979, 1987
- Marin Držić, *The conspiracy letters to Cosimo I. de' Medici*, Dubrovnik, 2008
- Marin Držić, *Izabrana djela I* [Selected works I], Zagreb 2011

Secondary

- V. Franić-Tomić, *Tko je bio Marin Držić?* [Who was Marin Držić?], Zagreb, 2013 (with comprehensive information concerning secondary source material)
- M. Tatarin, *Čudan ti je animao čovjek. Rasprave o Marinu Držiću* [The admirable animal is a man. Studies on Marin Držić], Dubrovnik, 2011
- Leksikon Marina Držića*, Zagreb, 2009 (in this lexicon information about Držić is collected in alphabetical order)
- L. Košuta, *Saggi su Marino Darsa – Marin Držić commediografo croato rinascimentale*, Dubrovnik, 2008
- H.R. Cooper Jr, art. 'Marin Držić', in V.D. Mihailovich (ed.), *South Slavic writers before World War II*, New York, 1995, 40-46
- L. Košuta and G. Minucci, 'Documenti per la storia dello studio senese dal 1531 al 1542', *Lo studio di Siena nei secoli XIV-XVI*, Milan, 1989
- F. Čale, *Marin Držić (Tirena – Grižula – Novela od Stanca – Dundo Maroje – Skup – Hekuba)*, Zagreb, 1971

- M. Rešetar, 'Jezik Marina Držića' [Language of Marin Držić], *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti (JAZU)* 248 (1933) 99-238
- P. Dayre, 'Marin Držić conspirant à Florence', *Revue des études slaves* 10 (1930) 77-80
- M. Rešetar, *Djela Marina Držića* [Works of Marin Držić], Zagreb, 1930, pp. i-cxlvii
- V. Jagić, *Die Aulularia des Plautus in einer südslavischen Umarbeitung aus der Mitte des XVI. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1898
- M. Šrepol, *Skup Marina Držića prema Plautovoj Aululariji* [Marin Držić's 'Skup' (Assembly) and Plautus's 'Aulularia'], *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti (JAZU)* 99 (1890) 185-237

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mande; Tripče de Utolče

DATE After 1547, probably between 1549 and 1551

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

The original title of Držić's comedy has not survived, and it is known by the names of the main characters. Mande (short for Magdalena) is the wife, and Tripče is her husband (diminutive of Triphon, the name of the patron saint of the coastal town of Kotor, today in Montenegro, where the play takes place). It was lost for many centuries, and did not appear in print until 1875.

The Turk Mustafa appears in Act 4, scene 1, and Act 5, scene 4. He turns out to be Mande's lost brother whom the Turks had kidnapped at sea. He eventually explains that his real Turkish name is Mahmud, and his original Christian name was Frančesco. But before his identity is revealed he is one of Mande's suitors, bringing him into conflict with the character of Chris (Krisa), and occasioning the utterance of ripe language. He uses a mixture of Croatian terms and Turkish swear words, e.g. *sidigim* (my friend), *ćopek đidisi* (*köpek gidisi*, 'son of a bitch'), *haramzada* ('forbidden', 'bastard') and so on. He also employs epic formulas ('my shiny saber', 'slender spear', 'heroic horse') and typically Petrarchan phrases: 'What? He'll defend that my heart does not want one of the fairies of the mountain, that my mouth does not boast, does not celebrate her black eyes, the red hair, white face, yellow (ugh!) breasts...?'; 'O my splendid morning star, have mercy, your slave dies!'. He is a comical character, at once belligerent and overbearing, and also helpless and smitten by love.

He is intended to show the ridiculousness of Petrarchan conventions, and also the Ottoman tyrants.

SIGNIFICANCE

Before Držić, the Ottoman Turks were not portrayed in the theatre in Dubrovnik, though afterwards the figure of the 'Turk' remained a major feature in Croatian poetry and popular epics until the occupation of the Republic by Napoleon in 1808.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Djela M. Držića [Works of Marin Držić], Zagreb, 1875, 1930² (*Mande* is found on pp. 166-98)

Marin Držić, *Djela* [Works], Zagreb, 1979

STUDIES

Leksikon Marina Držića (see entries on *Mande*, *Tripče*, *Turčin*)

Zvonko Pandžić

Emericus Zigerius

Imre Eszéki Szigeti

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably Osijek, Croatia
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1553
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Emericus Zigerius was born in Osijek (Eszék), probably into a Hungarian family, though he also had knowledge of Croatian or other South Slavic languages. He was a Lutheran preacher and teacher in Tolna in Ottoman Lower Hungary. After studying in Padua (Varga, 'Kirchen, Peregrination und Schulbildung', p. 38), he enrolled in Wittenberg on 20 December 1544 (not to be confused with Stephanus Szegedi Kis, who enrolled there on 22 March 1543; Foerstemann, *Album academiae Vitebergensis*, pp. 202, 218). His teachers were Philipp Melanchthon and Matthias Flacius Illyricus, the addressee of a letter from Zigerius containing a detailed description of his life.

In late 1545, he returned to Tolna in the sanjak of Pecs-Mohács. Only two weeks later, he moved to Kálmánca for six weeks, where, under his influence, the local teacher Máté Endericus and subsequently the entire community converted to the Lutheran faith. Zigerius seems to have been one of the Lutheran ministers who moved through the country, preaching in villages and small towns that had lost their Catholic clergy under Ottoman rule. He later stayed in Vörösmart (modern Smajevac in Croatia) for two years and nine months, where, in Lásko (Lass), he reached doctrinal agreement with Michael Sztáray, the most important Hungarian church reformer after the death of Matthias Dévai (Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation*, p. 289; Varga, 'Ethnic groups', p. 20; Varga, 'Kirchen, Peregrination und Schulbildung', p. 38). At the end of 1548, Zigerius returned to Tolna and founded the Protestant Latin school, which was attended by 60 students and 300 lay persons. It is over the teaching in this school that he had the dispute with the Roman Catholic senator that he wrote about in his *Epistola ex Turcia*.

In 1551, Zigerius edited a Hungarian translation of Ecclesiasticus (*Jézus Sirah könyve*). It is documented that he acted as a teacher in Tolna until

1553 (Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation*, p. 286), after which we have no more information about him.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Emericus Zigerius, *Epistola civisdam pii concionatoris, ex Turcia ad M. Illy. missa, qualis nam status Evangelij, & Ecclesiarum sub Turco sit, indicans, cum Praefatione Illyrici*, 1549 [1550]

Emericus Zigerius, *Ein schrifft/ eines fromen Predigers aus der Türckey/ an Illyricum geschrieben/ Darinnen angezeigt wird/ wie es dort mit der Kirche vnd dem Euangelio zugehet*, Magdeburg, 1550

Secondary

S. Varga, 'Ethnic groups, denominations and migration in south Transdanubia and Slavonia in the 16th and 17th centuries', in R. Bendel and N. Spannenberger (eds), *Kirchen als Integrationsfaktor für die Migranten im Südosten der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. Jahrhundert*, Münster, 2010, 13-27, p. 20

S. Varga, 'Kirchen, Peregrination und Schulbildung in der Fünfkirchener Diözese im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 29 (2008) 33-58

S. Andrić, 'Baranjski promicatelj Reformacije Emericus Zigerius', in D. Fališevac, J. Lisac and D. Novaković (eds), *Hrvatska književna baština*, Zagreb, 2004, 455-89

A. Jembrih, 'Mirko Ciger i Matija Vlačić Ilirik', in S. Jambreč (ed.), *Matija Vlačić Ilirik. Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa 'Matija Vlačić Ilirik'*, Labin, 20.-21. travnja 2001. godine, Labin, Croatia, 2004, 229-52

T. Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation. Magdeburgs 'Herrgotts Kanzlei' (1548-1551/2)*, Tübingen, 2003, pp. 286-93

E. Thury, 'Eszéki Szigeti Imre magyar reformátor', *Protestáns Szemle* (1898) 311

C.E. Foerstemann, *Album academiae Vitebergensis*, Leipzig 1841, vol. 1, p. 218

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Epistola ex Turcia; Ein schrifft eines fromen Predigers aus der Türckey, 'Letter from the Turkish Empire'

DATE 3 August 1549

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

On 3 August 1549, Emericus Zigerius, Lutheran preacher of Tolna in the sanjak of Pecs-Mohács in Ottoman Lower Hungary, wrote a letter to his former teacher, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, in Wittenberg, who published

it in 1550 in both in Latin and German (its full title is *Epistola civisdam pii concionatoris, ex Turcia, ad M. Illy. missa, qualis nam status Euangelij, & Ecclesiarum sub Turco sit indicans, cum Praefatione Illyrici*). The Latin text comprises no more than 14 pages, of which seven are taken up with Flacius's preface and some of his polemical poems, and only five with the actual letter. Almost half of the text deals with Ottoman power from a Christian perspective. The imprint date of the Latin text is 1549, but that seems to be an error. Wrong spellings of personal and geographical names indicate that Zigerius had drafted the letter in a South-Slavic language that was translated by the Croatian Flacius into Latin. Zigerius wrote the letter in the style of St Paul's missionary correspondence in Galatians 1-2 (Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation*, p. 289).

The letter aims to bear witness to Zigerius's evangelical life and his pious deeds in a Protestant manner. He therefore explains the various stages of his activities. After studying in Wittenberg for one year, he returned to Tolna where he had earlier been a teacher. Two weeks later, he moved to Kálmánca and persuaded the local teacher Máté Endericus as well as the entire community to convert to Lutheranism. Later, he relocated to Vörösmart for two years and nine months. During this period, in Lásko, he worked out a doctrinal agreement with Michael Sztáray, the most important Hungarian church reformer after Matthias Dévai (Varga, 'Kirchen, Peregrination und Schulbildung', p. 38; Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation*, p. 289). In late 1548, he moved again to Tolna where he founded the Protestant Latin school, which was attended by 60 students and 300 lay persons. He instructed the students primarily about Lutheran doctrine and thus came into conflict with the Catholic clergy and authorities. A senator of the Catholic magisterium named Richter accused him before the Ottoman financial administrator (*defterdar*), and demanded his execution or at least expulsion from Tolna. It was Kasım pasha himself, the *beylerbeyi* of the province of Buda (Eyālet-i Budin), who refused this demand and discharged Zigerius. Kasım pasha instead accused the magistrate and allowed Lutheran preaching in Tolna.

The *beylerbeyi* apparently declared the Lutheran faith to be the true Christian religion. Although this may be Zigerius's very optimistic interpretation of Ottoman politics in Hungary, the Muslim power often pragmatically supported denominations according to their local relevance, a religious policy aimed at avoiding conflicts and suppressing turmoil.

At the end of the letter, Zigerius praises himself for spreading true Lutheran faith right down to the Hungarian borders on the rivers Danube and Sava. He also complains about Catholics in Lower Hungary and invites German theologians to come and fill the vacant parishes there.

SIGNIFICANCE

The letter took a whole year to reach Flacius, and at the time of writing Zigerius had not been aware of the complicated situation in Germany that followed the Lutheran defeat in the Schmalkaldic war (1546-7). He asked Flacius to pass on his regards to Melanchthon, not knowing that Flacius had by now begun disputing with Melanchthon about the Lutheran heritage. Flacius opposed any compromise, and moved to Magdeburg, where a small group of theologians were convinced they were the real heirs of Luther. There, he made use of Zigerius's accounts of the confessional change in Ottoman Lower Hungary, and particularly his references to Christians appealing to Ottoman authorities, to show their pragmatic behaviour towards the Muslim power. He also cited the example of the Ottoman toleration of Lutheran religious practices to blame the Christian authorities for suppressing the true religion.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J. Ribini, *Memorabilia Augustanae confessionis in regno Hungariae, Tomus I. A Ferdinando I. usque ad III.*, Posonii [Bratislava], 1787, pp. 89-94

F. Hortleder, *Der Römischen Keyser- Vnd Königlichen Maiestete, Auch des Heiligen Römischen Reichs Geistlicher vnnnd Weltlicher Stände, Churfürsten, Fürsten, Graffen, Reichs- vnd anderer Stätte... Handlungen vnd Ausschreiben, Send-Brieffe... vnd viel andere treffliche Schrifften... Von den Vrsachen des Teutschen Kriegs Kaiser Carls des Fünfften, wider die Schmalkaldische Bundts Oberste Chur- und Fürsten... Anno 1546. und 47*, Frankfurt, 1617, p. 1106-9

Ein schrifft/ eines fromen Predigers aus der Türckey/ an Illyricum geschrieben/ Darinnen angezeiget wird/ wie es dort mit der Kirche vnd dem Euangelio zugehet, Magdeburg, 1550

Epistola cuiusdem pii concionatoris, ex Turcia ad M. Illyricum missa, qualis nam status Evangelii et ecclesiam sub Turco sit, indicans, cum praefatione Illyrici, Magdeburg, 1549 [1550]

STUDIES

Varga, 'Kirchen, Peregrination und Schulbildung', p. 38

Jembrih, 'Mirko Ciger i Matija Vlačić Ilirik'

Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation*, pp. 286-93

Harald Bollbuck

Ivan Peresvetov

Ivan Semenovich Peresvetov, Ivashko son of Semen
Peresvietov, Iwan or John Pereswetoff

DATE OF BIRTH Early 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Lithuanian Rus'
DATE OF DEATH Probably 1550s or 1560s
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Muscovite Rus'

BIOGRAPHY

Ivan Peresvetov is the name of a presumed 16th-century author of political essays in Muscovite Rus' (Early Modern Russia). According to his own writings, Peresvetov came from Western Rus' (East Slavic territory controlled by Lithuania). After serving various eastern European rulers in a military capacity, he migrated to Moscow in the late 1530s. Despite his foreign origin, Peresvetov is often regarded as a voice of the lesser (service) nobility in Muscovy. His writings are remarkable for (*inter alia*) expressing approbation of the Ottoman Turkish Empire.

Owing to the fact that virtually the only sources on Peresvetov's life are his own writings, scholars have raised a number of issues concerning the reliability of the biographical data about him and works attributed to him. A large secondary literature (see below for salient examples) has repeatedly revisited such questions as: whether Peresvetov existed as a real person or was merely a pseudonym; whether the texts attributed to him genuinely date from the first half of the 16th century or were written later (the earliest extant manuscripts date from the 1620s); and where he fitted in the world of ideas of 16th- and 17th-century Rus' and Europe. Scholarly opinion has swung convincingly to the side of belief in Peresvetov's existence and authorship in the first half of the 16th century, though many specific questions remain unanswered. The following summary represents a synthesis of the somewhat inconsistent autobiographical remarks in his writings; it should be remembered that no independent confirmation (or contradiction) can currently be offered for this account.

Peresvetov was probably born in the first decade of the 16th century to a clan of Russian Orthodox nobles living in Lithuanian Rus'. He claimed that his family name derived from the hero-monk St Aleksandr Peresvet,

said to have fought in single combat against the Mongol-Tatar champion Temir-Murza (Chelubei) at Kulikovo Field (1380). By the late 1520s, Peresvetov was a professional soldier in the service of King John (János) I Zápolya of Hungary, together with 300 other nobles owing allegiance to the Polish-Lithuanian crown. After three years, Peresvetov moved to the service of Ferdinand I of Habsburg, now as part of a battalion of 500 Polish-Lithuanian nobles and again for a period of three years. Peresvetov was careful to stress that he had served in these positions with the full knowledge and approval of his own sovereign, the Polish king Zygmunt/Sigismund I Stary.

According to his 'Greater petition' (*Bol'shaia chelobitnaia*), but not mentioned in his 'Lesser petition' (*Malaia chelobitnaia*), Peresvetov subsequently served for five months under Peter (Petru) IV Rareș, Voivode of Moldavia (r. 1527-38, 1541-46). This short stay apparently inspired him: he was to place virtually his entire argumentation in the 'Greater petition' into the mouth of his former lord, Peter (see below; this incident has even earned him a place in Romanian drama: I. Zamfirescu (ed.), *O antologie a dramei istorice românești. Perioada contemporană*, Bucharest, 1986, pp. 448-49). In the late 1530s, Peresvetov arrived in Moscow, possibly after spending a year or two in Poland-Lithuania. He brought with him what he called a 'Macedonian' design for hussar shields. Receiving a commission to manufacture these shields for the Russian military, Peresvetov worked for a short time under the supervision of the boyar Mikhail Iur'evich Zakhar'in. However, Zakhar'in soon died, leaving Peresvetov without a protector. According to his story, he suffered in relative poverty for the next 11 years. Having also brought with him collections of wise sayings accumulated over the course of his travels, he tried to become a kind of philosophy tutor at the Muscovite court. However, his attempts to transmit his writings to the young Tsar Ivan IV (1530-84) went amiss. Peresvetov believed that the boyars who held power during Ivan's minority hindered his every step, not wanting the tsar to come under the influence of ideas inimical to their own interests.

In about 1549, Peresvetov submitted his 'Lesser' and 'Greater' petitions to the tsar. His other surviving works also seem to date from approximately this period. They include: *Skazanie o knigakh* ('The tale about books'), *Skazanie o Magmete-saltane* ('The tale of Sultan Mehmed'), two *Predskazaniia filosofov i doktorov* ('Predictions of philosophers and doctors'), *Skazanie o tsare Konstantine* ('The tale of Emperor Constantine'), and some other partial works and re-workings of earlier tales. His writings share the general feature, highly unusual for Orthodox Christian

Russia, of excoriating the regime of the last Christian Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus, and extolling the Muslim sultans who took over Constantinople. Peresvetov drew these conclusions on the basis of his view that a good ruler enforces justice/truth (*pravda*) with terror (*groza*), conscientiously rewarding his military men, while a bad ruler allows the nobility to take control, leading to corruption, laziness, greed, slavery, and ultimately the destruction of the state. Some of Peresvetov's proposals for government were so similar to the actions of Ivan IV (known as *Groznyi*, the 'Terrible' or 'Awe-inspiring') in the 1550s and 1560s that early investigators believed they had been written retrospectively. The question of whether and how much Peresvetov influenced Ivan remains controversial, though the survival of his writings in multiple copies suggests that they met with some approval. Later Russian literature, such as *Povest' o dvukh posol'stvakh* ('The tale of two embassies') and *Skazanie o Petre voevode Volosskom* ('The tale of Voivode Peter of Wallachia'), drew considerably from his works. Peresvetov's texts incidentally contain some Polonisms, a circumstance arguably supporting their authenticity. On the other hand, the author's fluency in Muscovite Russian may suggest a Russian author or editor.

Peresvetov's ultimate fate is not known. An enigmatic mention of his name in connection with a lost document probably dating from the 1550s or 1560s may indicate that he was implicated in a trial. Some have speculated that he was accused of heresy, as he may have had connections to schools of thought that fell out of favour in Muscovy and were repressed. Several scholars have noted similarities between the works of Peresvetov and his contemporary Fedor Ivanovich Karpov, who drew from Aristotle and was similarly concerned with justice/truth (*pravda*) as a chief element of good government (see D.M. Bulanin, art., 'Karpov Fedor Ivanovich', *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi. 2.1 [vtoraiia polovina XIV-XVI v., A-K]*, Leningrad, 1988, 459-61). Noting additional connections to various 'heretics' such as Matvei Bashkin, Zimin has proposed that Peresvetov belonged to an 'incomplete' and 'limited' humanist school of thought in Early Modern Russia, which slowly started to escape the dominance of ecclesiastical ideology (Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki*, pp. 404-5; Klibanov, 'Les mouvements hérétiques', pp. 682-83). Richard Pipes writes: 'Peresvetov was the earliest political writer in Russia to address the question of governmental forms in a thoroughly secular manner, on the basis of historical observation and without reference to the Scriptures' (*Russian conservatism and its critics*, p. 43). Although this statement is somewhat exaggerated (Peresvetov did

cite scripture to support his arguments, and his historical argumentation was not always factual), Pipes' evaluation summarises a common and mostly correct view of this important 16th-century author.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Primary sources on the life of Ivan Peresvetov consist almost exclusively of the works attributed to him, which have been preserved in 17th-century manuscripts. A description of the royal archive compiled c. 1562-75 mentions a document concerning Ivan Peresvetov (which has not survived). For the texts and lists of their manuscripts, see:

- A.A. Zimin and D.S. Likhachev (eds), *Sochineniia I. Peresvetova*, Moscow, 1956
 A.A. Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki. Ocherki po istorii russkoï obshchestvenno-politicheskoi mysli serediny XVI veka*, Moscow, 1958

Secondary

Hundreds of works make mention of Ivan Peresvetov and his compositions. Salient and representative studies include:

- K.I. Erusalimskii, 'Publitsist i tsentralizovannoe gosudarstvo. I.S. Peresvetov v tvorchestve A.A. Zimina', *Dialog so vremenem* 38 (2012) 100-28
 T.V. Mikhailova and A.V. Mikhailov, 'Vera i pravda v tekstakh Ivana Peresvetova kak chast' politicheskoi terminologii Moskovskogo tsarstva, ili chemu turetskii sultan mozhet nauchit' russkogo tsaria', *Politicheskaiia lingvistika* 39 (2012) 127-31
 F. Martelli, *Lo zar e il suo doppio. Simbologie e metafore dell'ideologia monarchica nella Russia ivaniana*, Bologna, 2011, pp. 29, 46-9
 S.M. Narozhniaia, 'Sochineniia I.S. Peresvetova. Lingvostilisticheskie sredstva sozdaniia publitsistichnosti', *Nauchnye vedomosti Belgorodskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Gumanitarnye nauki* 9 (2011) 242-57
 T. Riha, *Readings in Russian civilization*, Chicago, 2009, vol. 1, pp. 98-103, 116 (other editions exist but may have different content and page numbers)
 D.N. Al'shits, *Ot legend k faktam*, St Petersburg, 2009, pp. 223-71
 R. Pipes, *Russian conservatism and its critics. A study in political culture*, New Haven CT, 2007, pp. 42-3
 I. de Madariaga, *Ivan the Terrible*, New Haven CT, 2006, pp. 88-90
 O.É. Leïst (ed.), *Istoriia politicheskikh i pravovykh ucheniï*, Moscow, 2006, pp. 158-62 (multiple editions and printings exist but may have different content and page numbers)
 S. Schneck, 'Political thinking in Moscow in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Peresvetov, Križanić and the grammatisation of knowledge', *Cahiers du monde russe* 46 (2005) 327-35

- S.K. Novikov, 'Politicheskie i pravovye vzgliady I.S. Peresvetova i ikh realizatsiia v gosudarstvenno-pravovom stroitel'stve vo vtoroi polovine XVI-XVII vv.', Moscow, 2005 (Diss. Russian Academy of Sciences)
- M.A. Batunskii, *Rossiiia i islam*, Moscow, 2003, vol. 1
- D. Al' [= D.N. Al'shits], *Pisatel' Ivan Peresvetov i tsar' Ivan Groznyĭ. U istokov izvechnoi diskussii – kak obustroit' Rossiuu*, St Petersburg, 2002
- I.V. Zaĭtsev, "Vol'naia gramota" turetskogo sultana "nekoemu rusinu", *Tiurkologicheskiĭ sbornik / Turcologica* [13] (2002) 229-44 (repub. *Rusin* 24 (2011) 152-63)
- A.V. Karavashkin, *Russkaia srednevekovaia publitsistika. Ivan Peresvetov, Ivan Groznyĭ, Andreĭ Kurbskiĭ*, Moscow, 2000
- I.S. Lu'ë, art. 'Skazanie o Petre, voevode Volosskom', in *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*. 3.3 (XVII v., P-S), St Petersburg, 1998, 428-9
- A.L. Iurganov and I.N. Danilevskii, "Pravda" i "vera" russkogo srednevekov'ia', *Odiseĭ. Chelovek v istorii* (1997) 144-70
- G. Hosking, *People and empire, 1552-1917*, Cambridge MA, 1997, pp. 47-56
- A.L. Iurganov, 'Idei I.S. Peresvetova v kontekste mirovoi istorii i kul'tury', *Voprosy istorii* 2 (1996) 15-27
- A.L. Iurganov, 'Ideal Ivashki Peresvetova', *Znanie – sila* 96 (1996) 80-9
- A. Dvorkin, *Ivan the Terrible as a religious type. A study of the background, genesis and development of the theocratic idea of the first Russian tsar and his attempts to establish 'free autocracy' in Russia*, Erlangen, 1992, pp. 40-54
- I.S. Lu'ë, art. 'Peresvetov Ivan Semenovich', in *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*. 2.2 (vtoraia polovina XIV-XVI v., L-Ia), Leningrad, 1989, 178-82
- M.D. Kagan, art. 'Povest' o dvukh posol'stvakh', in *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*. 2.2 (vtoraia polovina XIV-XVI v., L-Ia), Leningrad, 1989, 234-6
- D.S. Likhachev (ed.), *A history of Russian literature. 11th-17th centuries*, Moscow, 1989 (includes section on Peresvetov)
- D.S. Likhachev, 'Èpokha reshitel'nogo pod"ema obshchestvennogo znacheniiia literatury', *Pamiatniki literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Moscow, 1984, vol. 6, 5-19 (repub. *Biblioteka literatury Drevnei Rusi*, St Petersburg, 2000, vol. 9, 5-19)
- G.M. Basile, 'Il termine "popolo" nella *Povest o Car'grade*. Una ipotesi di interpretazione', *La nozione di 'Romano' tra cittadinanza e universalità*, Naples, 1984, 523-7
- M. Cazacu, 'Aux sources de l'autocratie Russe. Les influences roumaines et hongroises, XV^e-XVI^e siècles', *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 24 (1983) 7-41, pp. 9, 23-30
- P.B. Brown, 'Early Modern Russian bureaucracy. The evolution of the chancellery system from Ivan III to Peter the Great, 1478-1717', Chicago, 1978, vol. 2, pp. 627-35 (Diss. University of Chicago)
- J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan. Conquest and imperial ideology (1438-1560s)*, The Hague, 1974, pp. 93, 190-200

- J.H. Billington, *The icon and the axe. An interpretive history of Russian culture*, New York, 1970, p. 67
- M. Cherniavsky, 'Ivan the Terrible as Renaissance prince', *Slavic Review* 27 (1968) 195-211, pp. 202-9 (Polish translation: 'Iwan Groźny jako książę renesansu', trans. Mirosław Filipowicz, *Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej [w Lublinie]* 5 (2007) 97-113, pp. 104-11)
- J.M. Letiche and A.I. Pashkov (eds), *A history of Russian economic thought. Ninth through eighteenth centuries*, Berkeley, 1964, pp. 128-35
- A. Danti, 'Ivan Peresvetov. Osservazioni e proposte', *Ricerche Slavistiche* 12 (1964) 3-64
- O.P. Backus, 'Muscovite legal thought, the law of theft, and the problem of centralization, 1497-1589', in A.D. Ferguson and A. Levin (eds), *Essays in Russian history. A collection dedicated to George Vernadsky*, Hamden CT, 1964, 33-68
- V. Giterman, *Storia della Russia. Dalle origini alla vigilia dell'invasione napoleonica*, Florence, 1963, pp. 161-7 (other editions exist but may have different content and page numbers)
- A. Klibanov, 'Les mouvements hérétiques en Russie du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle', *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 3 (1962) 673-84
- A. Podraza, 'Iwan Pereswiewow, rosyjski pisarz polityczny XVI wieku. Na marginesie nowej edycji pism i nowych badań nad poglądami Pereswiewowa', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 6 (1961) 203-25
- A.A. Zimin, 'K izucheniiu vzgliadov I.S. Peresvetova', *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 16 (1960) 639-46
- G. Stökl, 'Das Echo von Renaissance und Reformation im Moskauer Rußland', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n.f., 7 (1959) 413-30
- A.A. Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki. Oчерki po istorii russkoj obshchestvenno-politicheskoj mysli serediny XVI veka*, Moscow, 1958 (classic work)
- A.L. Sakketti and I.F. Sal'nikov, 'O vzgliadakh I. Peresvetova', *Voprosy istorii* 1 (1957) 117-24
- A.A. Zimin and D.S. Likhachev (eds), *Sochineniia I. Peresvetova*, Moscow, 1956 (standard critical edition of texts with commentary)
- A.L. Sakketti, 'Politicheskaja programma I.S. Peresvetova', *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Serii obshchestvennykh nauk* 6 (1951) 107-17
- I.U. Budovnits, *Russkaia publitsistika XVI veka*, Moscow, 1947, pp. 208-19
- G. Bezviconi, *Călători ruși în Moldova și Muntenia*, Bucharest, 1947, pp. 20-6
- W. Philipp, 'Ivan Peresvetov und seine Schriften zur Erneuerung des Moskauer Reiches', *Osteuropäische Forschungen*, n.f., 20 (1935) (entire issue)
- V.F. Rzhiga, 'Peresvetov i zapadnaia kul'turno-istoricheskaja sreda', *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk* 16 (1911) 169-81

- V.F. Rzhiga, 'Peresvetov, publitsist XVI v.', *Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* 224 (1908) i, §2, no. 1, 1-84
- I.A. Iavorskii, 'K voprosu ob Ivashke Peresvetove, publitsiste XVI v.', *Chteniia v Istoricheskoi obshchestve Nestora letopistsa* 20 (1907) 59-86
- D.N. Egorov, 'Ideia "turetskoï reformatsii" v XVI v.', *Russkaia mysl'* 28 (1907) §13, 1-14

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Skazanie o Magmete-saltane, 'The tale of Sultan Mehmed [II]'

DATE About 1547-49

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Skazanie o Magmete-saltane is one of Ivan Peresvetov's most remarkable works, both in general terms and specifically with respect to Christian-Muslim relations. The text explicitly sets out to analyse a Muslim ruler from a Christian perspective. On the basis of internal evidence and comparison with the author's other works, the time of writing can be estimated as the late 1540s (provided that one accepts Peresvetov's historicity; see the biography of the author above). Based on comments by Rzhiga, much scholarly literature assigns the tale to 1547. However, Zimin argues that the date of composition should be put at 1549. (For a discussion of the main issues involved in dating the text, see Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki*, pp. 266-72. In the opinion of the present author, attempts to define the precise date of composition are somewhat speculative.)

In its current form, the 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed' consists of approximately 3,400 words. Rzhiga based the first published edition of this text on a manuscript (Pogodin 1611) in which the tale occupied 21 pages; his printed version covered seven pages. However, it is worth noting that the original form of Peresvetov's tales, including the way they were divided, may have been different. As an example, consider that in the same manuscript the 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed' follows directly after the 'Tale of Emperor Constantine', which closes with the following words: 'And after a short time Sultan Mehmed, the Turkish emperor, came up by land and by sea to Constantinople with a great force'. Then begins Peresvetov's account of Sultan Mehmed, which has been demarcated as a separate tale but obviously flows together with, makes reference to, and indeed

builds upon the previous text. The 'Tale of Emperor Constantine' itself begins with the word 'And', and follows part of a tale about the capital Constantinople. It is therefore uncertain whether the titles and divisions by which we now know Peresvetov's works belonged to his original conception or were inserted by manuscript copyists and editors, together with other modifications.

Like most of Peresvetov's writing, the 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed' is at once historical, contemporary, political, religious, polemical, popular, recursive, direct, complex, and original. Although it appears on the surface to be a story or essay about the Ottoman Turkish ruler Mehmed II (the Conqueror, 1432-81), the main message of the work actually seems to pertain to Christian societies. This first becomes evident in a harsh critique of the Christian Byzantine Empire in its final years and the contrast Peresvetov draws between that 'unjust' polity and the 'justice' manifest under Mehmed. Despite the author's effort to demonstrate the historical actuality of these illustrations, it soon becomes evident that his hyperbolic depictions serve a primarily polemical purpose. By means of an exaggerated and idealized opposition, Peresvetov attempts to prove his vision of good government. The conquest of 1453 and other historical references are merely the means of demonstrating how a good ruler should govern, i.e. of presenting a political theory. The main purpose of the work finally becomes apparent in its final passages, as Peresvetov addresses himself to Tsar Ivan IV of Muscovy and advises him to adopt the 'just' form of rule described in the text.

Peresvetov's experience of service under two Ottoman vassals, John (János) I Zápolya of Hungary and Peter (Petru) IV Rareș of Moldavia, gave him the opportunity to acquire some familiarity with Ottoman practices. Despite or perhaps because of this, his depiction of the ideal ruler ('Sultan Mehmed') appears to be a conflation of Mehmed II (r. 1444-6, 1451-81) with Süleyman I (the Magnificent or Lawgiver, r. 1520-66). Similarly, Peresvetov's version of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaeologus, may be a composite figure representing the failure to execute 'justice'. The themes discussed in this text are common to Peresvetov's whole oeuvre, but are here presented in an especially bold and striking manner. His 'Greater Petition', for example, presents a modified and much more 'Christianized' version of much of the same content.

The 'Tale' is a multi-layered work that can be analysed from a number of different perspectives. At root it seems to be concerned (despite appearances) primarily with social and political issues in 16th-century Muscovite Russia, and these aspects of the text have garnered the most

attention in historiography. For instance, Zimin devoted nearly 70 pages of his seminal work on Peresvetov to an analysis of the author's 'socio-political views'. This analysis is further subdivided into sections on Peresvetov's social, military, legal, financial, administrative, and foreign policy programmes and proposed reforms, with reference to contemporary Muscovite actuality (Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki*, pp. 339-405). Ostensibly, however, the 'Tale' seeks to explain the causes of 1453 – why the great Byzantine Christian Empire fell to the Muslim Turks – and to compare and contrast the Byzantine and Ottoman rulers. It also implicitly takes up the cause of all Christendom, considering what will be of most benefit to Christians everywhere – and indeed to the whole world. Christian-Muslim relations are thus obviously central to the text.

The 'Tale' begins: 'The Turkish emperor (*tsar*) Sultan Mehmed was himself a wise philosopher by reason of his own Turkish books; and he [also] read Greek books, and wrote [them] out word for word in Turkish, and thus great wisdom was added to the emperor.' After this striking introduction, the text immediately has Sultan Mehmed speak to his advisors (*sayyids*, *pashas*, *mullahs*, and *hafizes*, all of whom are collectively termed 'philosophers') about the last reigning Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI. Mehmed's description is suspiciously unlike a biography of the latter, and suspiciously like a depiction of the early reign of Tsar Ivan IV. The Christian emperor is said to have been an awesomely powerful warrior and conqueror who ascended the throne at the age of three when his father died; the magnates who had power during his minority were corrupt and greedy, enriching themselves 'by the tears and the blood of the human race'; evil and injustice ruled while the *tsar* was young, but the blood and the tears of the oppressed cried out to God in heaven. When the *tsar* grew up, he began to understand more and wanted to make changes, but the lying, traitorous magnates perceived that they would lose their wealth and power if the *tsar* began to rule in his own right, and so they used the 'deceptions of the devil' against the good *tsar*. God had to punish such sin, which led to the destruction of the state. This opening section ends with the sultan asking his 'wise philosophers' to be sure to help him guard against any lies, deception, or injustice that could bring down God's wrath on the Ottomans in the same way.

The 'Tale' continues by recounting one of Mehmed's first orders after conquering Constantinople. Instead of assigning territories to the magnates or great lords and allowing each to dispense justice in his own domain, with the concomitant temptation to bribery and corruption, the sultan appointed paid officials and charged them repeatedly

with judging honestly and correctly. Peresvetov's most constant motif makes an appearance here: God loves justice (*pravda*) and hates injustice (*nepravda*), so you (the sultan tells his officials) must hold to justice and not give in to any injustice. The officials are described as the sultan's faithful pashas, qadis, shubashes, and amins. The positive nature of Peresvetov's portrayal of Mehmed may be understood from the words he puts into the sultan's mouth: 'My beloved brothers, faithful ones, judge rightly, and [in this way] render to God heartfelt joy.'

However, the sultan did not merely instruct his officials and send them out. After some time, Peresvetov tells us, he tested his judges by having bribes offered to them. Those who proved corrupt Mehmed did not bother to charge with crimes; he simply gave orders for them to be flayed alive. Peresvetov insists that it is 'impossible to establish justice in a realm without such terror' (*bez takovyiya grozy ne mochno v tsarstvo pravdy vvesti*). Since justice is what pleases God, it must be introduced at all costs and without any favouritism shown to anyone. A tsar who tries to rule without terror is like one riding a horse without a bridle: 'It is impossible for a tsar to hold an empire without terror' (*Ne mochno bez grozy tsarstvo tsariu derzhati*). Peresvetov has Sultan Mehmed explain that Constantine XI failed in this task of establishing justice by terror. Although his great lords took oaths 'according to their Christian faith', they broke those oaths, betrayed their ruler, perverted justice, and fell into heresy. All this angered God; the clear implication again is that this is what engendered the conquest of 1453.

Mehmed takes a lesson from the experience of Constantine, and fiercely and terribly executes justice. He 'tests' the oaths of his servants by lethal games of chance and trials by ordeal. A sword would be hung over the neck of a litigant, or arrows set up and aimed directly at his heart and throat, while a spiritual leader read out a religious text. For Greeks (Christians), the text consisted of a tenfold repetition of the 'evangelical teachings', apparently the Decalogue; for Turks (Muslims), mullahs would read an equivalent Islamic text. If the cleric finished his entire recitation without the arrows or sword being released and killing the man, the latter was considered justified. For other disputes, the two adversaries would be locked naked in a dungeon in which a single razor had been hidden. Whichever found it was considered to be in the right, won the case, and had the option of either killing his opponent or letting him go free. 'Thus God's judgment was accomplished', comments Peresvetov.

The 'Tale' explains that Mehmed gleaned this 'wisdom' from 'Greek books', studying how the Byzantines should have lived according to their own writings. The sultan pleased God greatly by establishing justice and rooting out falsehood. Peresvetov's main catchphrases are here repeated and attributed to the sultan: 'God loves justice above all' (*Bog liubit pravdu lutchi vsego; Bog liubit silniee vsego pravdu*); it is impossible for a tsar to rule (justly) without terror; the wrath of God burned with unquenchable force against Constantine, his lords, and the whole Greek Empire due to their lack of justice (*pravda*). Mehmed is careful to keep close watch on his own lords and officials to ensure that they do not lead him and his empire into similar disaster. He places under threat those charged with administering justice, eliminates fees that can easily turn into bribes and extortion, and gives clear instructions about how to carry out justice. Soldiers are judged separately and with great strictness, capital punishment being the primary or perhaps the only penalty for wrongdoing. The great wisdom and justice of the sultan brings heartfelt joy to himself and to his army.

Peresvetov next turns his attention to tax collection and the means of maintaining the army. The Turkish sultan is said to be so wise and just that God blesses him with an 'unending' treasury. Using similar means to those described above, he rigorously fights against any possibility of embezzlement in the chain of collection. This enables him fully to support and equip a standing army. Mehmed extols the virtues of 'service' to his soldiers and charges them never to let their weapons out of their hands. In this way, he avers, they act on earth just as the angels do in heaven – never putting down their weapons for a moment, but standing on guard to preserve 'the human race [that comes] from Adam'. The sultan's army, greatly encouraged and strengthened by these words, responds by expressing another of Peresvetov's key motifs: 'God loves the army' (*Bog liubit voinstvo*). The soldiers understand that they are fulfilling the will of God on earth; and if any of them die in battle, their sins will be washed clean by their own shed blood. Meanwhile, any cowards not ready to die in the 'game of death' (war against the enemy) should be executed immediately. The sultan is also wise enough to keep 40,000 well-trained and well-paid janissaries continually about himself to help guard against the 'sin' of rebellion. Peresvetov explains that, by preserving himself, the 'tsar' actually preserves his whole land and empire. In sum: 'Wise is the tsar who makes the heart of his army glad' with proper pay and strict order.

According to Peresvetov, Mehmed abolished slavery in his empire and laid down this law for all generations to come. Servants were to be engaged of their own free will and only for set periods of time: seven years (almost the same as in the biblical Torah; cf. Exodus 21:2; Deuteronomy 15:12; Jeremiah 34:13-14) or a maximum of nine years. Any master who did not release his servant after this contractual period was to be put to death. Mehmed burned the books of slavery and supported his policy by referring to the biblical story of Exodus, when God punished the Egyptian Pharaoh for enslaving the people of Israel. Rather than enslaving each other, the sultan's people must recognise that 'One God is over us [all], and we are his slaves.' An enslaved people, we learn, does not fight bravely; that is part of what doomed Constantine's Byzantine Empire. Peresvetov stresses that the Turkish sultan learned all of this wisdom by copying 'Christian books' – the principles are those that a Christian ruler should also follow.

Peresvetov's egalitarianism went further even than opposition to slavery. He reported that Sultan Mehmed promoted all brave and wise men in his empire, without favouritism or any regard for lineage. To high and low alike he proclaimed his policy of impartial promotion with the words, 'Brothers, we are all children of Adam!' This greatly motivated all his soldiers, who knew they had the opportunity for advancement if they stood firm and fought bravely against the enemy in battle. As examples of this meritocracy, Peresvetov cites 'the Arvanidic pasha' (Gedik Ahmed Pasha) and 'the Karamani pasha' (Karamani Mehmed Pasha). Peresvetov's sultan clearly uses the carrot and stick approach: the constant threat of terrible punishment invariably accompanies these incentives of great reward.

As might be expected, justice within the army is strict and swift. Peresvetov describes the military organisation (commanders of tens, hundreds, and thousands) and how they ensure discipline among the troops. All spoils are to be gathered to the tent of the great pasha and distributed according to set payments already established by the sultan. Thievery, drunkenness, banditry, and other crimes are punished harshly, execution again being the preferred sentence. We learn again that God was enraged against Emperor Constantine because he did the opposite. The great Byzantine nobles were corrupt, unjust, oppressive, and murderous: 'whoever among them was rich was also guilty' (*kto byl u nikh bogat, tot i vinovat*; cf. James 2:6)! Sultan Mehmed, who has learned from Christian books, asks why anyone would dare to so anger God merely for the sake of earthly wealth. They acquire gold, but also earn divine wrath and vengeance, which may be carried out to the ninth generation (again

a concept similar to Torah; cf. Exodus 20:5; Numbers 14:18; Deuteronomy 23:3). Wealthy oppressors do not benefit even themselves: rather, for comparatively little benefit, they 'lose the way to the heavenly kingdom' (*put' tsarstva nebesnago poteriali*; cf. Proverbs 10:2; Matthew 16:26; Mark 8:36; Luke 9:25, 12:20).

Peresvetov's Muslim sultan now turns into an apologist for Christianity, arguing that those who spread it are praiseworthy and (if they are killed) become glorious martyrs honoured in heaven. Constantine should have stood firm for justice and the Christian faith (*vera* or *viera*), which is unmatched in God's eyes among all the religions. In fact, according to the 'Tale', Sultan Mehmed had a deep desire to convert to Christianity. Peresvetov did not simply fabricate this surprising assertion for reasons of literary or ideological convenience; it resembles the contemporary reports of Hekim Yakub Pasha (Jacopo of Gaeta), an influential Jew at the court of Mehmed II (see, e.g. E. Kohen, *History of the Turkish Jews and Sephardim. Memories of a past Golden Age*, Lanham MD, 2007, p. 19).

The wrath of God having fallen on the Byzantines for their injustice and reckless parody of the Christian faith, all hope and pride among Greek Christians now turns toward 'the pious Russian tsar'. In a phrase that appears to have become a key conception of the Muscovite state in the 16th-17th centuries, Peresvetov remarks: 'There is no other free Christian empire of the Greek [i.e. Eastern Orthodox] law' (*inogo tsarstva volnogo khristiiian'skogo i zakonu grecheskago niet*). Moreover, Ivan IV himself is the answer to Catholic anti-Orthodox polemics. In disputations with Greek Orthodox Christians, Catholics denigrate their opponents by comparing them to Jews, who were punished by God with the destruction of their polity and subjection to foreign domination. God similarly destroyed Byzantium on account of the injustice and pride of its elite. However, Greek Christians answer this charge proudly: 'We do have a free empire and a free tsar, the pious sovereign and grand prince Ivan Vasil'evich' of all Rus'. The power of the Muscovite state and the presence of miracle-working saints are adduced as signs of divine choice and blessing. Hearing this, the Catholics capitulate and admit the truth or justice (*pravda*) of what the Orthodox say. The final postulates of the 'Tale' read as follows: 'Would that to this true Christian faith (*viera*) [could be added] also Turkish justice (*pravda*), so that angels would converse with them [the Greek Orthodox]. And [would] that to that Turkish justice (*pravda*) [could be added] also Christian faith (*viera*), so that angels would converse with them [the Ottoman Muslims]'.

This final double aphorism expresses Peresvetov's notion of the ideal state: one in which both justice (executed with terror or awe) and Orthodox Christianity exist conjointly. The Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI failed dreadfully: though he was Orthodox, his regime was unjust. As justice is the most important virtue to God, in Peresvetov's understanding, Sultan Mehmed ranks far higher: though he was Muslim, his regime was just. Now, however, Ivan IV has the historic opportunity to combine these two great elements and forge a truly ideal empire. Peresvetov's *principum specula*, though expressed in a rather complex form, is quite clear and straightforward in its essential content.

SIGNIFICANCE

The 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed' is highly significant and exceptional in the context of Muscovite Russian literature for a number of reasons. As a foreigner who had lived previously in Poland-Lithuania, Hungary, the Habsburg Empire, and south-eastern Europe, Peresvetov introduced many ideas that were unusual and even shocking to 16th-century Muscovy. The 'Tale' departs strongly from society's standard and accepted forms for describing Muslims. In virtually all Muscovite Russian texts from the 14th to the 17th centuries, Muslims are called by derogatory terms such as *besurmane* (also *basurmane*, *besermene*, etc.) or *agariane* (*agariene*, Hagarites) and described as evil infidels hateful to the Christian God. Peresvetov avoids this terminology altogether, and his 'Tale' portrays Ottoman Muslims in a much more favourable light than Greek (Byzantine) Christians. This seems almost incredible in comparison to the rest of Muscovite Russian literature, all the more so because Byzantium was generally venerated as the holy source of the one true faith. Peresvetov bases his historical and moral evaluations on a prioritization that must have seemed inverted or even incomprehensible to many Muscovites: for him, justice/truth (*pravda*, conceived in a rather biblical sense as 'what is right' generally) is by far the most important in God's eyes, and even faith (*vera*) occupies a distant second place. By contrast, most Muscovite Russian literature holds up the Orthodox Christian faith itself as the be all and end all of justice (and every other good); what is true or just, according to that understanding, is simply what accords with Eastern or Greek Orthodox Christianity. Peresvetov, perhaps, does not completely reject this conception – he claims that Sultan Mehmed gained his most important wisdom from Greek Christian books – but he certainly challenges it on a deep level by presenting the Muslims as just and the Orthodox Christians as unjust. The 'Tale' intentionally smashes through any

facile equation of 'Orthodox' with 'good' and 'Muslim' with 'bad' – the very mindset expressed throughout virtually all other Muscovite Russian literature.

Presuming that his autobiographical sketches were accurate or roughly so, Peresvetov lived in societies in east-central and south-eastern Europe that tolerated multiple religions, including his own. Poland-Lithuania and territories under Ottoman domination were multi-confessional and multi-linguistic, allowing for a wide range of practices (despite the simultaneous presence of prejudice and discrimination). By comparison, Muscovy at this time was relatively less diverse and less tolerant. Tsar Ivan IV himself banned Jews from entering his empire; Poland-Lithuania, with its 'Latins, Lutherans, and Yids', and the Muslim Tatars to the south and east of Muscovy, were seen as the quintessential evil enemies. Peresvetov stands out markedly in the Muscovite context by evaluating people's moral standing and worth almost without regard to religion at all. Though many of his ideas about how to govern may have been accepted and implemented by Ivan, it is almost ridiculously easy to see how he might also have been accused of heresy in a society that looked askance at even the slightest deviation from religious norms.

Peresvetov's God is far more ecumenical and universal than was common anywhere in Europe in the 16th century; and so are his people. As the author's Sultan Mehmed proclaims: there is one God over everyone; and anyone (from any religion) can please or displease him by acting in accordance with either justice/truth or injustice/lies. In Peresvetov's 'Tale', valiant Muslims have their sins cleansed and enter paradise, while corrupt Christians lose their salvation and are excluded from heaven. In this life, too, God blesses just Muslims and curses unjust Christians. Rich and poor are also inverted: the greatest magnates are always the guiltiest and most liable to sin. They must be watched, and their power broken. Meanwhile, the poor who suffer are not 'Russians' or 'Greeks' or even 'Christians' – they are members of the 'human race'. Peresvetov goes out of his way to stress the commonality of Muslims with Christians, portraying both as descendants of Adam responsible before God for the same fundamental obligations. He places biblical examples in the mouth of the Muslim sultan, again suggesting a common heritage.

Having a Muslim sultan – ostensibly the greatest enemy of the Christian faith, in the Muscovite mindset – teach Orthodox Christians about the Bible and the ways of God was a brilliant (if dangerous) stroke. Peresvetov's entire 'Tale' represents a kind of *a fortiori* argument: If the *Muslim*

sultan rules according to justice and pleases God, how much more should *Christian* rulers do the same? Peresvetov softens the blow for his Christian audience somewhat by having Mehmed almost become a Christian at the end of the story. Nonetheless, his presentation would probably have seemed strikingly offensive to traditionalists. Perhaps most incomprehensibly from the usual Muscovite perspective, the 'Tale' contains not a single trace of anti-Muslim bias. The sultan is presented as an ideal ruler from whom Christians can learn much; if he were to become an Orthodox Christian himself, he would be absolutely perfect. The terror/awe (*groza*) with which he rules is regarded as a highly positive characteristic: Mehmed ruthlessly destroys the unjust and corrupt among his subjects, but favours and rewards those who are just, true, and brave. All these unusual features of Peresvetov's writing tend to support his own reality as a historical individual. It seems much less likely that a native author would have attributed the 'good' teachings to a Muslim, while denigrating Byzantine Christians and otherwise blatantly transgressing many common norms and prejudices of his own society.

Peresvetov thus appears as a semi-Machiavellian thinker in early modern Muscovy. Like Machiavelli, he separates the methods of good government from religion. Though Orthodox Christianity (for Peresvetov) is a better choice than Islam, his Muslim Sultan Mehmed is a far better ruler than his Orthodox Christian Emperor Constantine. Also like Machiavelli, Peresvetov stresses the importance of ruling through terror, fear, and harsh punishments (Blane, however, argues that 'there is no *necessary* connection between cruelty and *groza* in the writings of Ivan Peresvetov' in spite of the very cruel examples he uses; A. Blane, *The religious world of Russian culture*, The Hague, 1975, p. 105, emphasis added). Unlike Machiavelli, however, Peresvetov does not abandon a vision of morality defined by God in describing how to rule in the proper way. His prescription is directed toward 'justice' – what is right and true – and his rulers are rewarded and punished by God with reference to their performance vis-à-vis this standard. One God rules over all. Might does not make right; nor can the mightiest hope to get away with their crimes.

It is not at all impossible that Peresvetov was acquainted with Machiavellian ideas. *The Prince* dates from about 1513 and was first published (in Italian) in 1532. However, as early as 1523 a Latin work entitled *De regnandi peritia* was published in Naples; it is regarded as a (modified or distorted) plagiarism of Machiavelli's *Prince* accomplished by Agostino Nifo (see P. Cosentino, 'Un plagio del *Principe*: Il *De regnandi peritia* di

Agostino Nifo', in R. Gigliucci (ed.), *Furto e plagio nella letteratura del classicismo*, Rome, 1998, pp. 139-60). As a result, quasi-Machiavellian ideas were available to a Latin readership; speculatively, this may have enabled them to become popular in Poland. The first Latin edition of Machiavelli's *Prince* itself (as opposed to the 1523 plagiarism) dates from 1560 and was dedicated to a Polish noble (see V. Lepri, 'Machiavelli in Polonia', *Conferenze* 129 (2014) 1-10, p. 2; and other works by the same author). Though this evidence is later than Peresvetov's time of writing, and significantly later than his time in Poland-Lithuania, it may still carry relevance for earlier decades. Apparently, for some time the kinds of ideas espoused by Machiavelli and directly or indirectly attributable to him had been gaining ground among the Polish-Lithuanian nobility, from which Peresvetov himself also hailed. (On these themes, see also A. Dvorkin, *Ivan the Terrible*, pp. 48-9; H.B. Segel, *Renaissance culture in Poland. The rise of humanism, 1470-1543*, Ithaca NY, 1989.)

The originality of the 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed' may be readily appreciated by comparing this text to an earlier Old Russian tale or set of tales about the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Commonly attributed to Nestor Iskander, *Povesti o vziatii Konstantinopolia turkami v 1453 g.* existed in many versions by the early 16th century. Peresvetov was familiar with at least one redaction, which he used in his works. These tales enjoyed great popularity and exerted a very strong influence on subsequent Muscovite literature (see O.V. Tvorogov, art., 'Povesti o vziatii Konstantinopolia turkami v 1453 g.', *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi. 2.2 (vtoraia polovina XIV-XVI v., L-Ia)*, Leningrad, 1989, 195-7; M.N. Speranskii, 'Povesti i skazaniia o vziatii Tsar'grada turkami (1453) v russkoï pis'mennosti XVI-XVII vekov', 2 parts, *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoï literatury* 10 (1954) 136-65; 12 (1956) 188-225). In contrast to Peresvetov's writings, the tales attributed to Iskander follow a much more typical pattern for Muscovite Russian literature. Mehmed II is termed 'godless' (*bezbozhnyi*), 'cursed' (*okaannyi*), 'lawless' (*bezzakonnyi*), 'immoral' (*zlonravnyi*), and 'of evil faith' (*zlovrnyi*). All this was absolutely typical for Rus' literature – but the contrast to Peresvetov's 'Tale' could not be starker. Moreover, the earlier texts explained the fall of Constantinople in entirely religious terms. Vague Byzantine 'sins' and impiety indeed brought about God's punishment, which had already for centuries represented essentially the sole explanation for disasters in Rus' literature. However, the nature of the failure to be Orthodox enough remained imprecise; certainly nothing like Peresvetov's quite practical exposition of universally definable

injustices and falsehoods, and their logical effects, figured into these tales. (For the text of one version of Iskander's tale, see 'Povest' o vziatii Tsar'grada turkami v 1453 godu', *Pamiatniki literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Moscow, 1982, vol. 5, pp. 216-67, 602-7.)

Peresvetov quite possibly also knew the anti-Islamic tracts of Maximus the Greek (c. 1475-1556; see the entry in this volume), who was like himself an immigrant to Moscow. However, again Peresvetov's 'Tale' is completely different in character from works such as these, as it contains absolutely no anti-Islamic polemic. (On anti-Islamic polemical literature in Muscovite Russia, see P. Bushkovitch, 'Orthodoxy and Islam in Russia, 988-1725', *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 76 (2010) 117-44.) Many scholars point to *Skazanie o Drakule* ('The tale of Drakula'), usually attributed to Fedor Vasil'evich Kuritsyn (d. beginning of 16th century), as a possible source for Peresvetov's notions about the role of 'terror' in ruling justly. Though there may have been some influence, Peresvetov's ideas on this score are much more developed and unambiguous than those evident in that story. It is worth noting, as a sign of the general environment in Muscovy at this time, that the authors Maximus and Kuritsyn were themselves both accused of heresy. As Maximus came to discover, Greek learning was not always accepted in Moscow, despite the adulation constantly expressed with regard to the 'parent' Christian civilization. In actual fact, even the 'Greek books' and 'philosophy' about which Peresvetov wrote could be viewed with considerable suspicion (see I. Gruber, 'Lexical daring: Muscovite Russian experimentation with Greek language as a reflection of underlying civilizational rivalry', in O. Alexandropoulou and P. Sophoulis (eds), *The Slavs and the Greek world (Slavoi kai ellēnikos kosmos)*, Athens, 2014, 129-45).

Peresvetov's perspective on Christian-Muslim relations, as expressed in the 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed', is thus quite unique in its historico-literary context. Even the late 17th-century *Skifskaia istoriia* ('Scythian history') by Andrei Ivanovich Lyzlov still expressed a much more traditional Rus' perspective on Islam and Muslims. Lyzlov's tale employs the same religiously laden, anti-Muslim language as that of Iskander approximately two centuries earlier (and many other authors throughout Rus' history). Attempts have been made to have Peresvetov fit smoothly within the context of 16th-century Muscovite Russian religious culture. However, it is surely evident that Peresvetov's 'Tale' represented the introduction of a very different way of thinking about Muslims into early modern Orthodox Christian Russia. Given that Russians maintain great interest in their

national history and historical literature, this atypical text may still have some relevance and influence today.

MANUSCRIPTS

The 'Tale' exists in a number of 17th-century MSS. For lists of these and discussion, see:

- Rzhiga, 'Peresvetov, publitsist XVI v.', pp. 57-8
 Zimin and Likhachev, *Sochineniia I. Peresvetova*
 Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki*, pp. 243-51

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- N.V. Sinitsyna and V.S. Pribytkov (eds), *Vse narody edino sut'. Istoriia otechestva v romanakh, povestiakh, dokumentakh – vek XV-XVI*, Moscow, 1987, pp. 629-41 (modern Russian trans. by S.A. Eliseev)
 Basile, *Scritti politici di Ivan Semënovic Peresvetov* (Italian trans.)
 Vernadsky, *A source book for Russian history*, vol. 1, pp. 162-4 (brief excerpts in English trans.)
 J. Fennell and D. Obolensky (eds), *A historical Russian reader. A selection of texts from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 126-35, 198-200 (Russian text with English annotations)
 Zimin and Likhachev, *Sochineniia I. Peresvetova*
 S.P. Obnorskii and S.G. Barkhudarov (eds), *Khrestomatiia po istorii russkogo iazyka*, Moscow, 1938, vol. 1, 170-3 (excerpts; multiple editions)
 N.K. Gudziï (ed.), *Khrestomatiia po drevneï russkoï literature XI-XVII vv.*, Moscow, 1935, pp. 189-94 (this work exists in multiple editions)
 Rzhiga, 'Peresvetov, publitsist XVI v.', pp. 71-8

STUDIES

- Hundreds of works make mention of Peresvetov's 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed'. Salient and representative studies are listed below. For additional bibliography, see Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki*, pp. 458-78; Erusalimskii, 'Publitsist i tsentralizovannoe gosudarstvo', pp. 100-28.
 Mikhaïlova and Mikhailov, 'Vera i pravda v tekstakh Ivana Peresvetova'
 Martelli, *Lo zar e il suo doppio*, pp. 29, 46-9
 Narozhniaia, 'Sochineniia I.S. Peresvetova'
 Riha, *Readings in Russian civilization*, vol. 1, pp. 98-103, 116 (other editions may have different content and page numbers)
 Al'shits, *Ot legend k faktam*, pp. 223-71
 Pipes, *Russian conservatism*, pp. 42-3
 De Madariaga, *Ivan the Terrible*, pp. 88-90

- Leïst, *Istoriia politicheskikh i pravovykh ucheniï*, pp. 158-62 (other editions may have different content and page numbers)
- Schneck, 'Political thinking in Moscow'
- Novikov, 'Politicheskie i pravovye vzgliady I.S. Peresvetova'
- Batunskiï, *Rossia i islam*, vol. 1 (comparative perspective)
- Al', *Pisatel' Ivan Peresvetov*
- Karavashkin, *Russkaia srednevekovaia publitsistika*
- Lur'e, 'Skazanie o Petre, voevode Volosskom'
- Iurganov and Danilevskiï, "'Pravda" i "vera"'
- P.M. Austin, *The exotic prisoner in Russian romanticism*, New York, 1997, p. 25
- Hosking, *People and empire*, pp. 47-56
- Iurganov, 'Idei I.S. Peresvetova',
- Iurganov, 'Ideal Ivashki Peresvetova'
- Dvorkin, *Ivan the Terrible*, pp. 40-54
- Lur'e, 'Peresvetov Ivan Semenovich'
- Kagan, 'Povest' o dvukh posol'stvakh'
- Likhachev, *A history of Russian literature* (section on Peresvetov)
- Likhachev, 'Épokha'
- Cazacu, 'Aux sources de l'autocratie Russe'
- Brown, 'Early Modern Russian bureaucracy', vol. 2, pp. 627-35
- Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*
- Billington, *The icon and the axe*, p. 67
- Cherniavsky, 'Ivan the Terrible'
- Letiche and Pashkov, *A history of Russian economic thought*, pp. 128-35
- Danti, 'Ivan Peresvetov'
- Backus, 'Muscovite legal thought'
- Giterman, *Storia della Russia*, pp. 161-7 (other editions may have different content and page numbers)
- Klibanov, 'Les mouvements hérétiques'
- Zimin, 'K izucheniiu vzgliadov I.S. Peresvetova'
- Stökl, 'Das Echo von Renaissance'
- Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki*
- Sakketti and Sal'nikov, 'O vzgliadakh I. Peresvetova'
- Zimin and Likhachev, *Sochineniia I. Peresvetova* (standard critical edition of texts with commentary)
- Sakketti, 'Politicheskaia programma I.S. Peresvetova'
- Budovnits, *Russkaia publitsistika*, pp. 208-19
- Bezviconi, *Călători ruși în Moldova și Muntenia*, pp. 20-6

Philipp, 'Ivan Peresvetov und seine Schriften' (entire issue)
 Rzhiga, 'Peresvetov i zapadnaia kul'turno-istoricheskaiia sreda'
 Rzhiga, 'Peresvetov, publitsist XVI v.'
 Iavorskii, 'K voprosu ob Ivashke Peresvetove'
 Egorov, 'Ideia "turetskoï reformatsii"'

Bol'shaia chelobitnaia, 'Greater petition'
Vtoraia chelobitnaia; Pervaia chelobitnaia

DATE About 1549

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Two petitions to Tsar Ivan IV of Muscovy (r. 1533-84) bearing the name 'Ivashko son of Semen Peresvietov' have survived. As one of them is significantly longer than the other, it is customary in historiography to refer to them as the 'Big' and 'Small', or 'Greater' and 'Lesser' petitions. (The alternatives, 'First' and 'Second' petitions, are better avoided, as they sometimes refer to the order of appearance in manuscripts and sometimes to the order of presentation to the tsar.) Both petitions state that they were written 11 years after the author arrived in Muscovy. On the basis of internal evidence and comparison with other texts, they can be roughly dated to 1548-50. Most scholars accept that they were delivered to the tsar in 1549, the 'Lesser' before the 'Greater'. (For a discussion of the main issues involved in dating the petitions, see Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki*, pp. 266-70.) Their authenticity has been challenged but is now commonly accepted (see the biography above).

Peresvetov's apparently earlier 'Lesser' petition is concerned primarily with his own plight, and includes significant autobiographical data. The 'Greater' petition is a kind of political tractate as well as a repeated personal plea. It consists of approximately 4,300 words. The most recent edition, by Kagan-Tarkovskaia, covers ten printed pages and is based on a manuscript (BAN 33.7.11) in which the text is spread across 54 pages. The 'Greater petition' is unusual in that virtually the entire discourse is placed in the mouth of Peter (Petru) IV Rareș of Moldavia (r. 1527-38, 1541-6), whom Peresvetov for some reason terms 'the voivode of Wallachia', and the text is peppered with indications of this attribution: 'And so said Petr, voivode of Wallachia. . . Thus says Petr, voivode of Wallachia. . . So also says Petr, voivode of Wallachia. . . Petr, voivode of Wallachia, says with

great tears...'. According to Peresvetov's account in this text, but oddly absent from the 'Lesser petition', he himself had served under Peter for five months prior to immigrating to Muscovy. It is not entirely clear why Peresvetov chose to speak through Peter in the 'Greater petition', but it may be in response to a perceived need to appeal to a foreign Orthodox Christian authority. Given the nature of Peresvetov's argumentation, a Byzantine source would not have been suitable (for reasons explained below).

The 'Greater petition' repeats many of the themes in Peresvetov's other major work, the 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed'. However, the message seems to have been 'softened' and made more palatable for a Russian Orthodox Christian audience. Moreover, the author addresses himself throughout to Tsar Ivan, making this text explicitly about the Muscovite rather than the Byzantine or Ottoman Turkish Empire. In addition, he urges the conquest and conversion of neighbouring Muslim states. Due to the lateness of the manuscripts, which date from some 80 years after the presumed time of composition, the question of whether these elements formed part of Peresvetov's original conception remains very much open. These aspects of the 'Petition' differ notably from the perspective expressed in the 'Tale', despite the obvious commonality of basic content. Textual incongruities do suggest that the petition attributed to Peresvetov was at least modified and supplemented, if not systematically reworked, in the process of transmission.

The 'Petition' seems more rambling than the 'Tale', but highlights many of the same motifs (using a somewhat different approach) and may in fact be just as consciously structured. Near the opening of the 'Petition', the Christian Voivode Peter (rather than the Muslim Sultan Mehmed) explains that justice/truth (*pravda*) is what gives joy to the heart of God and great wisdom to the ruler. Throughout the text, it is Peter who gives instruction about Byzantine and Ottoman government and shares advice about how Ivan should rule. The overall framing is provided by Peresvetov's declaration that he has brought with him to Moscow several collections of wise sayings from the various countries where he has sojourned. He attributes the sayings to 'Greek philosophers', 'Latin doctors', and Peter of Moldavia. The tone in the 'Petition' is quite different from that of the 'Tale': Peter describes how the Greeks (i.e. Byzantines) failed to stand firmly against the 'infidels', and as a result many are now compelled to convert to Islam. He speaks of the crying and mourning of parents as their seven-year-old children are taken from them to serve the sultan – a reference to the *devşirme* that would certainly engender

sympathy among an Orthodox Christian audience. In the 'Tale', by contrast, the janissary troops thus 'recruited' were held up as an example of the sultan's great wisdom.

The 'Petition' is also much more clearly an attempt to curry favour with Tsar Ivan and/or to promote his image. As in his two short 'Predictions of philosophers and doctors', Peresvetov informs Ivan of the great esteem in which he is reportedly held among 'wise people' abroad. Foreign philosophers and doctors have been greatly impressed with heavenly omens and other signs of Ivan's divine calling, and this is why they wanted him to have their wise sayings, to write them out 'in gold', and eventually to pass them on to his successors. Peresvetov writes that he arrived with these sayings 11 years ago from Lithuania, wanting to serve the tsar, much as his own claimed ancestors (Peresvet and Osliaibia) served the tsar's forebears. He reports that the philosophers and doctors predict great glory for Ivan, similar to that of Caesar Augustus or Alexander the Great. They have heard of his great wisdom, and of how he brings God great joy by establishing justice (*pravda*) throughout his realm. In brief, Ivan is a matchlessly 'terrible' or 'awesome' (*groznyi*) and wise sovereign.

Peresvetov then cleverly transitions to his own story by saying that both Augustus and Alexander rewarded humble warriors who came to them with military inventions. Similarly, Peresvetov himself has come bearing the design for a special shield. However, (as recounted in the author's biography) his protector has died and he has been left without attachment and in an uncertain situation. In addition to his attempts to manufacture military equipment, Peresvetov has also given the tsar books of wisdom but has apparently received nothing for his pains and heard nothing in response. He asks the tsar to return these valuable books if they do not please him.

Next, the author mentions his service in Suceava under Voivode Peter. According to Peresvetov, Peter speaks every day about Ivan's empire and its key role in strengthening Christendom. He prays for Ivan and Muscovy, that they will be protected from the infidel and from heresies. These most dangerous 'heresies' seem to consist of offences familiar to readers of the 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed': corruption and greed on the part of magnates who 'enrich themselves by the tears and blood of the Christian race' (note the shift from 'the human race' of the 'Tale'), and widespread violation of sworn oaths. Not surprisingly for readers of the 'Tale', Peter now lauds Mehmed (*Makhmet-saltan*) for establishing justice and wisdom in his empire. He gives a brief précis of some of the points

expounded in the 'Tale'. Notably, however, he calls Mehmed an 'infidel' (*neviernyi*), although describing him as acting in a manner pleasing to God and in accordance with scripture (in establishing a justice system that renders 'to each according to his deeds', Romans 2:6).

As if not wanting to stray far from the main point, Peresvetov has Peter immediately return to the topic of Ivan himself and the prophecies about his great wisdom and justice. He further reveals that the Russian magnates are false to God and the tsar, as they are lazy, corrupt, greedy, and unwilling to fight unwaveringly for the Christian faith (*viera*). As in the 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed', the reader learns that the rich are by the nature of their circumstances simply not motivated to fight. The author then applies the 'wisdom' explained in the 'Tale' to Muscovite Russia, proposing specific methods for collecting revenue and supporting the army, as well as maintaining discipline and executing justice. 'Peter' wants Ivan to maintain a standing army of 20,000 elite soldiers to resist the Crimean Tatars. He claims that 'these 20,000 will be better than 100,000' troops collected in the usual manner.

Peter picks up on another theme of the 'Tale' and other works attributed to Peresvetov: the unjust situation in the final years of the Byzantine Empire under Constantine XI Palaeologus, and how it led to capitulation to the Ottoman Turks. Here in the 'Petition', however, stress is placed on the pitiable fate of the Byzantine Christians, who live as slaves of the sultan and have to pay heavy *obrok*, and whose great nobles must even work in trade. Weeping, Peter speaks of Russian Christianity and Tsar Ivan as providing the only hope for Christians suffering 'from the violence of the Turkish foreigner-emperor'. He longs to know if justice (*pravda*) exists in that Orthodox land. A Muscovite in his service, Vaska (Vas'ko, Vasilii) Mertsalov, reveals when questioned that Russia does indeed have the 'good Christian faith' and 'great ecclesiastical beauty' – but justice is lacking. Peter dejectedly responds: 'If there is no justice, then there is nothing at all' (*Koli pravdy niet, ino to i vsego nietu*).

Unlike Peresvetov's 'Tale', the discourse now suggests that true *pravda* may not exist apart from the true faith. 'Christ is the true *pravda*', Voivode Peter remarks: 'Great is the Christian God.' Mixed into the same passage are refrains familiar from the 'Tale': justice is what gladdens the heart of God; 'nothing is stronger than justice in the divine Scriptures'; God favours and does not destroy any regime that practises justice. However, these phrases have been given a different hue by the admixture of specifically Christian content. Peter prays that God will preserve the Russian tsardom so that Orthodox Christians will not be left – like Jews

and Armenians – without an independent state of their own. He goes further, expressing wonder that the ‘strong and pious’ Russian tsar continues to tolerate ‘his worst enemy’, the Kazan khanate (Ivan IV will conquer Kazan in 1552 after a series of wars lasting a decade and a half). Via a confused history of Ottoman-Byzantine relations, the text’s ‘Peter’ then inverts completely the presentation in Peresvetov’s ‘Tale’: here Sultan Mehmed ‘of bandit stock’ is said to have killed the ‘pious’ Emperor Constantine and destroyed the ecclesiastical beauty of Constantinople. This reads more like a lament than a celebration of God’s preference for justice.

The recursive remainder of the ‘Petition’ is similarly a curious admixture of the ideas and programme expressed in the ‘Tale’ on the one hand, and on the other the much more Christian slant put into the mouth of Peter. The main cause of the collapse of the Byzantine Empire is repeated: the corruption and ‘heresy’ of the great lords, who enrich themselves by oppressing the ‘Christian’ (again not ‘human’) race. According to Peter, such people should be burned with fire (as befits heretics). Moreover, the military should be paid and maintained well; this is of the utmost importance. When the lords and tax collectors grow rich, the warriors grow poor, injuring the state. Yet a tsar cannot exist without his military, which should be like the host of heaven: never resting, but always protecting and fighting for the ‘Christian’ (again not ‘human’) race. Soldiers should be promoted in accordance with their deeds; slavery should be abolished. The Byzantine Empire was destroyed because of pride and slavery, just as the Jews were scattered after they failed to recognize Christ.

Interestingly, Mehmed II is again held up as a positive example, as in Peresvetov’s ‘Tale’, but more briefly and with qualifications. The sultan is said to have pleased God by asking for his help in establishing justice and by instituting justice in his own realm. As in the ‘Tale’, references to ‘Adam’ in the speech of Mehmed himself suggest a common heritage. The text informs us that one God is over the whole world, and he loves justice (*pravda*) even more than faith (*vera*). However, the ‘Petition’ is careful to mention that the Muslim sultan was a ‘foreigner’ and ‘not a Christian’. He could please God by introducing justice, but (in this account) his justice was not complete without Christ.

Peter advises that Kazan should be conquered by paying warriors well and sending them against the Muslim khanate to burn, kill, and enslave. This strategy will also bring about divine assistance, he says. Moreover, the conquered Muslims should be converted to Christianity to make the

conquest secure (*Ashche vozmet ikh, da krestit, to i kriepko budet*). Peter professes amazement that such a fruitful land, which his informants compare to paradise, has not yet been conquered and annexed by Ivan. He recommends doing this immediately (a proposal probably intended to please Ivan).

The petition ends on a personal note. Peresvetov again recounts how he has served under Voivode Peter and acquired many wise sayings, including the much-repeated predictions of glory for Ivan attributed to 'philosophers and doctors'. The author has now brought these edifying texts, as well as military technology, as a service to the Muscovite tsar. Hoping for favour from Ivan, Peresvetov asks in closing: 'O sovereign, how does my humble service, that of your slave, please you' (*Kak tebie, gosudariu, poliubitsia sluzhbishko moe kholopa tvoego*)?

SIGNIFICANCE

In the form in which it has survived, Peresvetov's 'Greater petition' is not a consistent text. It appears to be a rewriting of the 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed' with significant modifications designed to appeal to a Russian Orthodox Christian readership. How many of these modifications were introduced by Peresvetov himself, and how many should be attributed to other editors and censors, is simply not known. However, the 'Petition' feels very much like an attempted synthesis of the 'Tale' – a strikingly exceptional treatment of the Muslim theme in the context of Muscovite Rus' literature – with a much more traditional Russian Christian approach. This compromise is not entirely successful; textual 'seams' and inconsistencies seem rather evident. Mehmed is alternately esteemed and disliked; slavery is alternately condemned and advocated (and the author even refers to himself as a 'slave' of the tsar). The repeated substitution of 'Christian' for 'human' completely transforms the entire worldview expressed in the text from universalist to particularist. Sultan Mehmed has some good qualities but is carefully termed a 'foreigner' ('Other'). Yet at the same time, remnants of the universalist thinking remain: references to 'one God over all' and to Adam, the father of the human race. Justice is regarded as superior to faith; but actually true justice consists in having the right faith. Muslims can please God as Muslims; but they should be forcefully converted to Christianity. And so forth.

Hence, although the 'Greater petition' is perhaps Peresvetov's most-cited work, it should be attributed to him only with caution and with significant qualifications. The text manifests strong evidence of alterations carried out under pressures exerted by traditional Muscovite society. It

may be that Peresvetov himself accomplished this revision, replacing Muslim 'Mehmed' with Orthodox Christian 'Peter' as his main narrator and instructor. This in itself would already make the text much less cutting and offensive to Christian sensitivities. Peresvetov may also have decided that Peter should advocate (Orthodox) Christianity and not only justice/truth (*pravda*), should bewail the conquest of 1453 and the plight of Christians under Ottoman rule, and should promote the conquest of Tatar regimes. However, the possibility that another author/editor carried out major revisions of Peresvetov's original text, or perhaps even forged it by using the 'Lesser petition' and the 'Tale of Sultan Mehmed' as sources, should not be excluded. The content of Peresvetov's text should also be compared to the *Kazanskaia istoriia* ('Kazan chronicle'; see the entry in this volume) of the 1560s, which treats some similar themes.

The main significance of the 'Greater petition' with respect to Christian-Muslim relations consists precisely in this fusion of the traditional, pro-Orthodox and anti-Muslim ideas of Muscovite society with the much more universalist and apparently unbiased perspective of the 'Tale'. In addition, the 'Petition' is more explicitly concerned with the problems of Muscovite Russian society, rather than ostensibly being a tale about the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. The text of the 'Petition' makes it clear that the Turkish sultan has justice/truth (*pravda*) but not faith (*vera*); Muscovy has faith but is missing justice. In the 'Tale', it was the Greeks who were lacking *pravda*, and the reference to Russia was more muted and indirect. However, despite all the differences between the two texts, Peresvetov's principal ideological vision remains the same: to combine *pravda* and *vera* within a single empire.

MANUSCRIPTS

The 'Greater petition' exists in a number of 17th-century MSS. For lists of MSS and discussion, see:

Rzhiga, 'Peresvetov, publitsist XVI v.', pp. 57-8

Zimin and Likhachev, *Sochineniia I. Peresvetova*

Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki*, pp. 243-51

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

M.D. Kagan-Tarkovskaia (ed.), 'Sochineniia Ivana Semenovicha Peresvetova. Bol'shaia chelobitnaia', *Biblioteka literatury Drevnei Rusi*, St Petersburg, 2000, vol. 9, 432-51, 557-60 (text accompanied by a translation into modern Russian by A.A. Alekseev and commentary by I.S. Lur'e)

- M.D. Kagan-Tarkovskaia (ed.), 'Sochineniia Ivana Semenovicha Peresvetova. Bol'shaia chelobitnaia', *Pamiatniki literatury Drevnei Rusi*, Moscow, 1984, vol. 6, 596-625, 755-63 (text accompanied by a translation into modern Russian by A.A. Alekseev and commentary by I.S. Lur'e)
- G.M. Basile, *Scritti politici di Ivan Semënovic Peresvetov*, Milan, 1976 (Italian trans.)
- G. Vernadsky (ed.), *A source book for Russian history from early times to 1917*, New Haven CT, 1972, vol. 1, pp. 162-3 (brief excerpts in English trans.)
- Zimin and Likhachev, *Sochineniia I. Peresvetova*
- Ş. Ciobanu, 'Domnitorul Moldovei Petru Rareş în literatura rusă veche', *Revista Istorică Română* 14 (1944) pp. 327-52 (text and Romanian trans.)
- V.I. Lebedev, M.N. Tikhomirov and V.E. Syroechkovskii (eds), *Khrestomatiia po istorii SSSR*, 3 vols, Moscow, 1937, pp. 210-14 (excerpts; published in multiple editions)
- M.N. Kovalenskii (ed.), *Khrestomatiia po russkoï istorii*, Moscow, 1915, vol. 2, pp. 35-8 (excerpts; published in multiple editions)
- M.N. Kovalenskii, *Moskovskaia politicheskai literatura XVI veka*, St Petersburg, 1914, pp. 90-6 (text somewhat abbreviated)
- Rzhiga, 'Peresvetov, publitsist XVI v.', pp. 79-81
- S.A. Belokurov (ed.), 'Chelobitnaia I.S. Peresvetova tsariu Ivanu IV, 7057 (1548-1549) gg.', *Chteniia v Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete* 203 (1902) iv, §2, 3-14
- N.M. Karamzin, *Istoriia gosudarstva Rossiiskogo*, St Petersburg, 1821, vol. 9, pp. 286-9 (excerpts; published in multiple editions and reprints)

STUDIES

- Hundreds of works make mention of Peresvetov's 'Greater petition'. Salient and representative studies are listed below. For additional bibliography, see Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetovi ego sovremenniki*, pp. 458-78; Erusalimskii, 'Publitsist i tsentralizovannoe gosudarstvo', pp. 100-28.
- Mikhaïlova and Mikhaïlov, 'Vera i pravda v tekstakh Ivana Peresvetova' Martelli, *Lo zar e il suo doppio*, pp. 29, 46-9
- Narozhniaia, 'Sochineniia I.S. Peresvetova'
- Riha, *Readings in Russian civilization*, pp. 98-103, 116 (other editions may have different content and page numbers)
- Al'shits, *Ot legend k faktam*, pp. 223-71

- Pipes, *Russian conservatism*, pp. 42-3
- De Madariaga, *Ivan the Terrible*, pp. 88-90
- Leïst, *Istoriia politicheskikh*, pp. 158-62 (other editions may have different content and page numbers)
- Schneck, 'Political thinking'
- Novikov, 'Politicheskíe i pravovye vzgliady I.S. Peresvetova'
- Batunskii, *Rossia i islam*, vol. 1 (comparative perspective)
- Al', *Pisatel' Ivan Peresvetov i tsar' Ivan Groznyĭ*
- Karavashkin, *Russkaia srednevekovaia publitsistika*
- Lur'e, 'Skazanie o Petre, voevode Volosskom'
- Iurganov and Danilevskii, "'Pravda" i "vera"'
- Hosking, *People and empire*, pp. 47-56
- Iurganov, 'Idei I.S. Peresvetova'
- Iurganov, 'Ideal Ivashki Peresvetova'
- Dvorkin, *Ivan the Terrible*, pp. 40-54
- Lur'e, 'Peresvetov Ivan Semenovich'
- Kagan, 'Povest' o dvukh posol'stvakh'
- Likhachev, *A history of Russian literature* (section on Peresvetov)
- Likhachev, 'Ėpokha'
- Cazacu, 'Aux sources de l'autocratie Russe'
- Brown, 'Early Modern Russian bureaucracy'
- Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*
- Billington, *The icon and the axe*, p. 67
- Cherniavsky, 'Ivan the Terrible'
- Letiche and Pashkov, *A history of Russian economic thought*, pp. 128-35
- Danti, 'Ivan Peresvetov'
- Backus, 'Muscovite legal thought'
- Giterman, *Storia della Russia*, pp. 161-7 (other editions may have different content and page numbers)
- Klibanov, 'Les mouvements hérétiques'
- Zimin, 'K izucheniiu vzgliadov I.S. Peresvetova'
- Stökl, 'Das Echo von Renaissance'
- Zimin, *I.S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki*
- Sakketti and Sal'nikov, 'O vzgliadakh I. Peresvetova'
- Sakketti, 'Politicheskaia programma I.S. Peresvetova'
- Budovnit, *Russkaia publitsistika XVI veka*, pp. 208-19
- Bezviconi, *Călători ruși în Moldova și Muntenia*, pp. 20-6
- Philipp, 'Ivan Peresvetov und seine Schriften zur Erneuerung des Moskauer Reiches'

Rzhiga, 'Peresvetov i zapadnaia kul'turno-istoricheskaia sreda'

Rzhiga, 'Peresvetov, publitsist XVI v.'

Iavorskiĭ, 'K voprosu ob Ivashke Peresvetove'

Egorov, 'Ideia "turetskoĭ reformatsii"'

Yeshayahu Gruber

Feodosii, Archbishop of Novgorod

DATE OF BIRTH 1491
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH 25 February 1563
PLACE OF DEATH Volokolamsk Monastery

BIOGRAPHY

Born in the late 15th century, Feodosii was professed as a monk in the early 16th century. He became *hieromonakh* of the Iosifo-Volokolamsk Monastery in 1523, and on 21 November 1532, he was made abbot of the Novgorod Khutynskii Monastery by Grand Prince Vasiliï III. In this position, he kept watch over the secular authorities in Novgorod while Archbishop Makarii was visiting Moscow in 1535. He also intervened against pagan priests and rites in the Russian north, e.g. in Karelia. Feodosii is thought to have been a member of Makarii's literary circle.

In 1539, Feodosii was shortlisted for the metropolitan see of Novgorod. He was not elected on that occasion, though he did succeed to the see on 18 June 1542. From that time, he supported Tsar Ivan IV in his wars against Kazan. In May 1551, he was removed from the metropolitan see (some speculate because of misconduct), and he then lived in the Monastery of Volokolamsk until his death on 26 November 1563. In spite of his removal, Feodosii continued to be active in politics, and on his deathbed he blessed the abbot of Volokolamsk, who was due to accompany the tsar on a campaign to Polock in Lithuania. He also wrote many letters (*poslaniia*) to leading Muscovites about the Kazan campaigns (most have not been published).

Though he had no close relations to Muslims, he made his attitude towards them clear in the epistles he wrote to Ivan IV in support of the Kazan campaign.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Akty, sobrannye v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh Rossiiskoi imperii Arkheograficheskoiu ekspeditsieiu Akademii Nauk, vol. 184, St Petersburg, 1836, p. 161

Nikonovskaia letopis' (*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* 13), Moscow, 1904, p. 62
Pskovskie letopisi, vol. 2, Moscow, 1955, p. 232

Secondary

- D.D. Smirnova, 'Poslanie novgorodskogo arkhiepiskopa Feodosiia v ustiu zhnu zhelezopol'skuiu. K voprosu ob istochnikakh i avtorskom stile', *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 1 (2013) 142-56
- A.I. Filiushkin, "Poslanie k igumenu" novgorodskogo arkhiepiskopa Feodosiia', *Germenevtika drevnerusskoi literatury* 11 (2004) 784-801
- A.I. Filiushkin, "Poslanie k igumenu" nobgorodskogo arkhiepiskopa Feodosiia kak istochnik po cerkovnoi zhizni i obshchestvennoi mysli 1550-kh godov', in *Proshloe Novgoroda i novgorodskoi zemli. Materialy nauchnoi konferentsii 11-13 noiabria*, Velikii Novgorod, 1999, vol. 1, 64-9
- D.M. Bulanin, 'Feodosii, arkhiepiskop Novgorodskii', in D.S. Likhachev (ed.), *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, vol. 2/2 (*vtoraia polovina XIV-XVI v.*), Leningrad, 1989, 457-60
- D. Goldfrank, art. 'Feodosii, Archbishop of Novgorod', in J.L. Wiczynski (ed.), *The modern encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet history*, Gulf Breeze FL, 1979, vol. 11, pp. 97-8
- I.U. Budovnits, *Russkaia publicistika XVI veka*, Moscow, 1947, pp. 180-2
- G.Z. Kuntsevich, 'Feodosii, arkhiepiskop novgorodskii (1491-1563) ('Ego ,zhitie')', in *Jahresbericht der Reformierten Kirchenschule für 1899-1900*, St Petersburg, 1900, 1-14

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Three epistles to Ivan IV during the Kazan campaign

DATE Epistles 1 and 3, 1545-6; Epistles 2 and 4, 1550-1

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

The discrepancy in numbers between three and four epistles comes from the fact that the Epistle 2 has a second distinct redaction and is sometimes counted as Epistle 4.

In all the epistles, Feodosii uses the Psalms and the Donation of Constantine, and refers to the first Russian Princes, Igor', Sviatoslav and Vladimir, who had dealings with the Byzantine emperors. Feodosii also makes extensive use of Vassian Rylo's letter to Ivan III during the 'Standing at the Ugra', one of the last 15th-century confrontations of Muscovites with the Tatars at the river Ugra, concerning the payment of tribute.

Epistle 1 is two pages long and claims to be an answer to an epistle from the Grand Prince Ivan IV, who intends to wage war against Kazan and its Mongol leaders. Feodosii assures Ivan that he will support him

in prayer, and he compares him to Constantine the Great who fought against Maxentius, Moses who fought the Amalekites (Exodus 17:12-13), and Joshua taking Jericho (Joshua 6:1-15; Hebrews 11:30). By comparing Ivan to Constantine, Feodosii makes him a defender of the Christian faith and the Christian people. His opponents, the Mongols of Kazan, are made to appear like the heathen opponents of the Old Testament Hebrews and the early Christians. As another example for Ivan, Feodosii names the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, who defeated the Muslims with the help of the Icon of the Mother of God, and had Russian mercenaries in his army. Finally, Feodosii advises Ivan to act like Moses, Joshua and Manuel against the heathen.

Epistle 2 is two pages long and again claims to be an answer to a letter from the Grand Prince Ivan IV, in which he is announcing his intention to wage war against Kazan. Feodosii reassures Ivan that moving against Kazan is his duty, because Kazan is an enemy and the people of Kazan spill Christian blood. He also reassures the Grand Prince that the clergy of Novgorod will pray that God will give him help, strength, and victory. He compares Ivan to Constantine at the Milvian bridge, and compares his opponents to the Emperor Maxentius. As biblical references, Feodosii uses the examples of David against the Philistine Goliath (1 Kings 17:55-8) and Samson against the Philistines (Judges 15:9-16). In a further historical argument, Feodosii refers to the great Grand Princes of Kievan Rus, Igor', Sviatoslav and Vladimir, who successfully fought against the Byzantine Greeks in their empire south of Rus.

Epistle 3 is two pages long and is also an answer to an epistle from Grand Prince Ivan IV, in which he announces his campaign against Kazan in the spring and seeks forgiveness for all his sins. Feodosii answers that he and his fellow clergy of Novgorod will pray 'day and night' for God to help the prince. Making an allusion to Isaiah 45:1-2, Feodosii compares Ivan IV to the Persian King Cyrus to whom God promised that he would lead in his campaign and open all doors. Then, Feodosii explains that Christians and heathens are opposites, and denounces the Mongols for idolatry. As a new Constantine, Ivan will have victory over his foes with the help of God, his angels and his saints, particularly the Russian miracle-workers. Feodosii then exhorts Ivan to stay firm in the faith and against the foes of God. Feodosii also grants him forgiveness for his sins, and calls down the help of the Father and the Son, the Mother of God and the 14th-century Russian saints who were involved in state affairs but also worked wonders: the holy metropolitans Petr, Aleksei and Iona,

the wonder-workers Leontii of Rostov, Isaia and Ignatii, the new holy abbots Sergii, Varlaam and Kirill and, lastly, himself. At the end of his letter, the bishop blesses Ivan, his brother, his princes, boyars, voevodas, and his army, for the first time referring to all the significant people in the campaign.

It is notable that Feodosii predicts the victory over Kazan seven years before it occurred, though the change of biblical references between epistles 1-3 of 1545-6 and epistle 2 of 1550-1 is indicative of changing circumstances. While in the earlier epistles Feodosii refers to examples of kings taking towns, in the later epistle he refers to David and Samson, two Old Testament characters who were less strong than their opponents but nonetheless beat them. This change of themes shows how desperate the Russians were after five years of futile fighting against Kazan.

SIGNIFICANCE

Feodosii's letters are about the duty of a Christian ruler to convert the heathen. He regards it as the particular duty of the Russian rulers to struggle against the pagan Tatars. His main concern a religious one, that Christians should triumph over Muslims, whom he evidently regards as pagans.

As the letters were only made known at the end of the 18th century, no immediate influence on Russian thought or action against Muslims seems likely.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS St Petersburg, Otdel rukopisei Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki – Q.XVII.50: first epistle, pp. 243-4v; second epistle, pp. 166r-6v; third epistle, pp. 241-3 (mid 16th century, before 1587)

MS St Petersburg, Otdel rukopisei Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki, sobranie Sankt-Peterburgskoi Duchovnoi Akademii – No. 430: fourth epistle, or second redaction of the second epistle, pp. 42-3 (last quarter of 16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A.I. Filiushkin, 'Gramoty novgorodskogo arkhiepiskopa Feodosiia, posviashchennye "Kazanskomu vziatiuu"', *Germenevtika drevnerusskoi literatury* 10 (2000) 327-46, pp. 345-6 (fourth epistle, or second redaction of the second epistle)

Dopolneniia k aktam istoricheskim, sobrannia i izdannia arkheograficheskoiu kommissieju, St Petersburg, 1846, vol. 1, no. 37 (1-2), pp. 38-9 (second epistle), pp. 39-40 (third epistle)

- N. Novikov, *Drevniaia Rossiiskaia Vivliofika. Soderzhashchaia v sebe sobranie drevnostei rossiiskikh, po istorii, geografii i genealogii rossiiskaia kasaiushchikhsia*, Moscow, 1790², vol. 14, pp. 263-5 (first epistle), pp. 260-3 (third epistle)

STUDIES

- Filiushkin, 'Gramoty novgorodskogo arkhiepiskopa Feodosiia'
- R.P. Dmitrieva, 'Volokolamskie chet'i sborniki XVI v.', *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 28 (1974) 202-30, pp. 205, 213-14
- B.M. Kloss, 'Nil Sorskii i Nil Polev – "spisateli knig"', in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Rukopisnaia kniga*, Sb. 2, Moscow, 1974, p. 162
- Ia.S. Lur'e, *Ideologicheskaia bor'ba v russkoi publitsistike kontsa XV-nachala XVI veka*, Moscow, 1960, pp. 505-6
- 'A.A. Zimina and Ia.S. Lur'e (eds), *Poslaniia Iosifa Volotskogo*, Moscow, 1959, pp. 107-13

Cornelia Soldat

Abbot Macarie

Episcopul Macarie de Roman

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably the end of the 15 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	1 January 1558
PLACE OF DEATH	Roman, Moldavia

BIOGRAPHY

Macarie was the most prominent Church Slavonic writer in 16th-century Moldavia. He was born at the end of the 15th century. We have practically no information about his youth, but he claims to have been an ‘apprentice’ of the metropolitan of Moldavia, Theoctist II (1509-28), whom he certainly met at the monastery of Neamț, the foremost cultural centre of Moldavia at that time. It was in Neamț that Macarie completed his Slavonic (and maybe Greek Byzantine) education and even became the abbot of this monastery (before 1523).

Soon after 1527, Prince Petru Rareș (r. 1527-38, 1541-6) charged Macarie with composing the chronicle of Moldavia in continuation of the already extant official chronicles. On 23 April 1531, Macarie was appointed bishop of Roman. Falling victim to internal power struggles, he was deposed by Prince Iliăș Rareș (r. 1546-51) sometime after 1550 (probably in April or May 1551), but was reinstated soon after (before 11 June 1551) by the new prince Ștefan Rareș (r. 1551-2), whose main counsellor he became. Although a partisan of the Rareș family, Macarie kept his position under the new prince Alexandru Lăpușneanul (r. 1552-68, with interruptions), his patrons’ rival, and even accomplished an important diplomatic mission to Constantinople on his behalf at the end of 1554. He died in Roman on 1 January 1558, and was buried in the monastery of Râșca.

Bishop Macarie is best known for his *Chronicle* and for an annotated translation of the *Syntagma* (the juridical treatise of Matthaios Blastarès, 14th century) from Greek into Slavonic. This work (completed in 1556) was commissioned by Prince Alexandru Lăpușneanul, who sent it in 1561 as a present to the Muscovite ruler Ivan the Terrible (r. 1547-84). It seems however that the manuscript never reached Muscovy.

Some scholars regard Macarie as the individual responsible for the thinking behind important iconographical programmes carried out in

Moldavia, at the monasteries of Neamț, Bistrița and Râșca, his own religious foundation. These depict Orthodox Christians in relation to other traditions, including Islam, and make clear that the Orthodox alone are acceptable to God. He also contributed to the reconstruction of the episcopal church in Roman (1550).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- P.P. Panaitescu (ed.), 'Cronica lui Macarie', in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan*, Bucharest, 1959, pp. 77, 81-3, 89-90
 P.P. Panaitescu (ed.), 'Cronica lui Eftimie', in *Cronicile slavo-române*, pp. 109, 112
 P.P. Panaitescu (ed.), 'Cronica lui Azarie', in *Cronicile slavo-române*, pp. 129, 130-1

Secondary

- B.P. Maleon, 'O schimbare de domn la mijlocul secolului XVI și rolul elitei clericale moldovenești', *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'A.D. Xenopol'* 42 (2005) 57-69, pp. 60-8
 R.G. Păun, 'Le couronnement des princes dans les chroniques roumaines en langue slave. La chronique de Macaire, XVI^e siècle', in V. Gjuzelev and A. Miltenova (eds), *Medieval Christian Europe, East and West. Traditions, values, communications*, Sofia, 2002, 557-66
 E. Turdeanu, art. 'Egumenul Macarie de la Neamțu dăruiește mitropolitului Teoctist al Sucevei o Psaltire (1523)', in E. Turdeanu, *Oameni și cărți de altădată*, ed. Ș.S. Gorovei and M.-M. Székely, Bucharest, 1997, 257-60
 E. Turdeanu, 'Mitropolitul Teoctist răspunde la darul egumenului Macarie cu un Tipic bisericesc', in E. Turdeanu, *Oameni și cărți de altădată*, ed. Ș.S. Gorovei and M.-M. Székely, Bucharest, 1997, 261-3
 M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, Bucharest, 1992², vol. 1, pp. 484-7
 S. Ulea, 'O surprinzătoare personalitate a Evului Mediu românesc. Cronicarul Macarie', *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria artă plastică* 32 (1985) 14-49
 D.H. Mazilu, *Literatura română în epoca Renașterii*, Bucharest, 1984, pp. 280-304, 379-82
 S. Ulea, 'La peinture extérieure moldave. Où, quand et comment est-elle apparue?', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 23 (1984) 285-311
 S. Porcescu, *Episcopia Romanului*, Roman, 1984, pp. 158-65
 R. Șuiu, art. 'Macarie', in *Dicționarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900*, Bucharest, 1979, 525-6
 M. Păcurariu, 'Contribuții la istoria Episcopilor Romanului și Rădăuților în secolul al XVI-lea', *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei* 52 (1976) 322-37, pp. 323-32

- G. Mihăilă, 'Sintagma (Pravila) lui Matei Vlastaris și începuturile lexicografiei slavo-române (secolele al XV-lea-al XVII-lea)', in G. Mihăilă, *Contribuții la istoria culturii și literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 1972, 261-306, pp. 280-5
- D.P. Bogdan, 'Le Syntagme de Blastarès dans la version du chroniqueur roumain Macaire', in *Actes du Premier Congrès international d'études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, Sofia, 1971, vol. 7, pp. 187-91
- P. Teodor, 'Cronica lui Macarie', in P. Teodor, *Evoluția gândirii istorice românești*, Cluj-Napoca, 1970, 7-12
- S. Ulea, 'Un peintre grec en Moldavie au XVI^e siècle. Stamatelos Kotronas', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts* 7 (1970) 13-26
- G. Mihăilă, 'Cronica episcopului Macarie', in G. Mihăilă and D. Zamfirescu (eds), *Literatura română veche: 1402-1647*, Bucharest, 1969, vol. 1, 168-71
- E. Turdeanu, 'L'activité littéraire en Moldavie de 1504 à 1552', *Revue des Études Roumaines* 10-11 (1965) 97-142 (repr. in E. Turdeanu, *Études de littérature roumaine et d'écrits slaves et grecs des principautés roumaines*, Leiden, 1985)
- Academia RPR, *Istoria literaturii române*, Bucharest, 1964, 1970², vol. 1, pp. 261-4
- T. Holban, 'Documente externe (1552-1561)', *Studii. Revistă de Istorie* 18 (1965) 667-75, pp. 673-4
- I. Crăciun and A. Ilieș, *Repertoriul manuscriselor de cronici interne sec. XV-XVIII privind istoria României*, Bucharest, 1963, p. 50
- S. Ulea, 'L'origine et la signification idéologique de la peinture extérieure moldave', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 2 (1963) 29-71
- S. Ulea, 'Datarea ansamblului de pictură de la Rîșca', *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei* 32 (1963) 433-7
- S. Porcescu, 'Episcopul Macarie al Romanului (1531-1558)', *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei* 36 (1960) 347-61
- Panaitescu, 'Cronica lui Macarie', pp. 74-5
- Șt. Ciobanu, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 1947, pp. 101-5
- D.P. Bogdan, 'Despre manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române', *Arhiva Românească* 4 (1940) 1-33, pp. 11-12
- N. Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 1940, 1980², vol. 1, pp. 38-9, 41-2
- I. Minea, 'Letopiseștele moldovenești scrise în slavonește', *Cercetări Istorice* 1 (1925) 66-98
- I.A. Îafsimirskii, 'Romanskii mitropolit Makarii', *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Proveshchenie* (n.s.) 5 (1909) 134-66
- I. Bogdan, 'Letopiseșul lui Azarie', *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secției Istorice*, ser. 2, 31 (1908-9) 5-214, pp. 20-8 (repr. in I. Bogdan, *Scrieri alese*, ed. G. Mihăilă, Bucharest, 1968)

- N. Iorga, *Istoria bisericii românești și a vieții religioase a românilor*, Vălenii de Munte, 1908, vol. 1, pp. 155-8
- I. Bogdan, *Vechile cronice moldovenesci până la Urechia. Texte slave cu studiu, traducere și note*, Bucharest, 1891, pp. 69-89, 97-139, 268-79 (repr. in Bogdan, *Scriseri alese*)
- E. Kaluzhniafski, 'Obzor slaviano-russkikh pamiatnikov, iazika i pisma, nahodiaschchikhsia v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh l'vovskikh', in *Trudy Tret'ego Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda v Rossii, v vshego v Kieve v avguste 1874 goda*, Kiev, 1878, vol. 2, (*Prilozheniia*), 214-321, pp. 258-61, 308-9

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Chronicle of Moldavia from 1504 to 1551

DATE Between 1531 and 1552

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Slavonic

DESCRIPTION

The *Chronicle* of Bishop Macarie was commissioned by Prince Petru Rareș (r. 1527-38, 1541-6) and by Toader Bubuiog, the Great Chamberlain (r. 1524-38). Their intention was to continue the court annals composed during the reign of Ștefan the Great (1457-1504), Petru Rareș's father.

Despite the fact that no manuscript directly copied by Macarie's hand has been found, the authenticity of the chronicle is beyond any doubt. It exists in two forms. The first ends in the year 1542, while the second continues to 1552. This suggests that Macarie proceeded with the composition of his work in at least two stages: first between 1527 and 1531, and second between 1542 and 1552. The short version consists of 22 leaves (in the Kiev manuscript), and the long version of 39 leaves (in the St Petersburg manuscript). References to Christian-Muslim (i.e. Ottoman) relations are found throughout the text.

For the first part of his work (1504-27), Macarie certainly employed official chronicles, while for the following part he made use of oral information, his personal experience and official documents to which he had access at the princely court in Suceava. From a linguistic and stylistic point of view, Macarie's chronicle owes a lot to the 14th-century Middle Bulgarian translation of Konstantinos Manasses' chronicle, and to the writings of the Bulgarian-born man of letters Grigorii Tsamblak (d. 1420).

Macarie's *Chronicle* illustrates the ambivalent, often ambiguous position of Moldavia between the Christian world and the Ottoman Empire.

The work marks a clear departure from the older Moldavian Slavonic chronicles, in which practically no attention is given to Ottoman religion and customs. Macarie wrote in a particularly tormented period, when Ottoman power spread terror throughout Europe. He knew about the Ottoman campaigns in Persia (1514-15) and Egypt (1516-17) and the conquest of Belgrade (1521) and Rhodes (1522), and he was confident that the crushing Hungarian defeat at Mohács (1526) was in fact the result of some Ottoman 'perfidious scheming'.

In fact, treachery is constantly associated with the Ottomans, and it is clearly a religious stereotype. The most relevant episode in this respect is the conversion of Prince Iliăş Rareş (1551). Young and ignorant, he surrounded himself with the 'sons and daughters of Hagar' and even with 'Turkish whores', and followed their malicious advice until the 'Devil settled in his soul'. He abjured the faith of his ancestors, embraced Islam and took the name of the 'damned Muḥammad', which was synonymous with Satan. The naive Christian was thus a victim of Ottoman treachery.

Thus, from a strictly religious perspective, Macarie shows himself resolutely hostile towards the Ottomans, who are constantly called 'trice-cursed Hagarians', being identified with 'obscurity' and the Devil himself. If most of these epithets are borrowed from Manasses, like many others, this is also because the chronicler's vision was, on this level, practically the same as that of his Byzantine model from centuries before.

Macarie's plain hostility towards the religion of the Ottomans is also apparent when he writes about purely political matters. The defeat of his patron Petru Rareş by the Ottomans, led by the 'thrice-damned' Süleyman, the 'Barbarian emperor', is depicted with much emotion and sorrow, as is the conquest of the Moldavian capital. Ottoman/Muslim wildness (the sultan roars like a lion and leads 'a multitude of ferocious beasts') is contrasted with Moldavian/Christian normal human behaviour, and if it was the first that prevailed, then this happened because the Lord himself decided that it should be so.

The tone of the narrative changes after 1541. The acceptance of Ottoman suzerainty by Petru Rareş is considered a desperate but ultimately clever decision inspired by God himself: defeated and abandoned by his followers, the prince realized that the only solution was to beg for the sultan's pardon. When he heard about the tragic mishap suffered by his former enemy, the 'most proud emperor' suddenly became merciful and decided to give him back his throne. This way of presenting events indicates that Macarie considered that Süleyman acted in his own right

when giving power to whomever he liked. From that point on, the sultan is seen as the legitimate suzerain of Moldavia.

SIGNIFICANCE

Macarie's chronicle provides a telling example of how clerical and lay Moldavian elites in the first half of the 16th century portrayed the Ottomans. The detailed story of Petru Rareș's defeat, exile and return to power depicts and justifies the vassalisation of Moldavia by the Sublime Porte. In Macarie's view, the Ottomans and the sultan are the instruments through whom God has chastised the Moldavians and their prince 'for their sins', according to his inscrutable design. The defeat was thus decided by God and it would have been impossible to resist the Lord's will without committing sacrilege. It is important to note that Prince Petru Rareș himself expressed similar views on these matters.

Considered from a broader perspective, Macarie's work illustrates the Orthodox reaction to the political and spiritual pressure that Islam exerted on the Christian world, in a context marked by the dispute between the Roman Catholic Church and Protestants during the Reformation. Macarie's historical perspective is consistent with his hesychast ideas about the regeneration of the faith. He viewed Orthodoxy as the prime example of a prophetic religion that was deeply threatened by the superficial understanding of the Christian way of life of the Moldavian elites and people, and by 'heresies' (he firmly condemned the Lutherans and the Armenians) and Islam. The admonitory message of the iconographic programmes that Macarie himself inspired is clearly directed against both the deviations from the right path and the 'others', as suggested by the representation of the 'foreign nations' in the scenes of the Last Judgement, in which Turks, but also Latins and Armenians, are doomed to eternal pain.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Kiev, V.I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Collection Pochaevska Lavra – 116, fols 459r-481v (between 1554 and January 1561, short version 1504-42, scribed by the monk Isaia of Slatina)
- MS Moscow, Historical Museum, Manuscripts Department, E.V. Barsov Collection – 1411, fols 154r-168r (16th century, short version, 1504-30)
- MS St Petersburg, M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library – O. XVII. 13, fols 238r-277v (end of the 16th to the beginning of the 17th century, long version, 1504-51, made in Moldavia)

MS Bucharest, Library of the Romanian Academy – Rom. 5212, fols 65r-107r (19th century copy of the St Petersburg MS)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

F.A. Grekul and V.I. Buganov, *Slaviāno-moldavskie letopisi XV-XVI vv.*, Moscow, 1976, pp. 75-94 (Russian trans.)

Mihăilă, 'Cronica episcopului Macarie', pp. 172-90 (Romanian trans.)

Panaiteanu, 'Cronica lui Macarie', pp. 74-90 (critical edition using all the available MSS), pp. 90-105 (Romanian trans.)

Bogdan, 'Letopiseșul lui Azarie', pp. 59-63 (edition, MSS St Petersburg and Moscow), pp. 125-31 (Romanian trans.)

Bogdan, *Vechile cronice moldovenesci*, pp. 149-62 (edition, MS Kiev), pp. 198-212 (Romanian trans.)

STUDIES

The Oxford history of historical writing, ed. S. Foot and C.F. Robinson, vol. 2, Oxford, 2012, pp. 342-3

Păun, 'Le couronnement des princes'

Turdeanu, 'Egumenul Macarie'

P. Boicheva, 'Moldovskīiat letopisešs Makariī i tradišsiite na Evtimievata knizhovna shkola v Moldova prez XVI v.', in *Tŭrnovska knizhovna shkola*, Veliko Tŭrnovo, 1994, vol. 5, 147-54

Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe*

Mazilu, *Literatura română*, pp. 280-304, 379-82

Ulea, 'O surprinzătoare personalitate'

Șuiu, art. 'Macarie'

M. Berza, 'Turcs, Empire Ottoman et relations roumano-turques dans l'historiographie moldave des XV^e-XVIII^e siècles', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 10 (1972) 595-627, pp. 604-8 (repr. in M. Berza, *Pentru o istorie a vechii culturi românești*, ed. A. Pippidi, Bucharest, 1985)

Teodor, 'Cronica lui Macarie'

Mihăilă, 'Cronica episcopului Macarie', pp. 168-71

Turdeanu, 'L'activité littéraire en Moldavie'

Academia RPR, *Istoria literaturii române*, vol. 1, pp. 261-4

Panaiteanu, 'Cronica lui Macarie', pp. 75-7

Ciobanu, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, pp. 101-5

Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, vol. 1, pp. 38-9, 41-2

Minea, 'Letopiseșele moldovenesci scrise în slavonește'

Îațsimirskii, 'Romanskii mitropolit' Makariī'

Bogdan, 'Letopiseșul lui Azarie', pp. 59-63

I.A. Īaġsimirskġi, *Grigorġ Īsamblak. Ocherk ego zhizni, administrativnoġ i knizhnoġ deġatel'nosti*, St Petersburg, 1904, pp. 289-90
Bogdan, *Vechile cronice moldovenesci*, pp. 69-89

Radu G. Păun

Bartholomaeo Georgius

Bartol Đurđević, Bartolomej Đurđević, Bartholomaeus
Gjorgevic, Bartol Jurjević, Bartolomeo Georgijević,
Bartholomaeo Georgievitz, Bartholomaeo Gyurgievits,
Bartłomiej Georgiewicz

DATE OF BIRTH 1505
PLACE OF BIRTH Near Esztergom, Hungary
DATE OF DEATH After 1566
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Bartholomaeo Georgius was the author of several very popular books about the Ottomans, who usually figured in European representation as 'Turks'. According to his autobiographical report in *De ritibus et differentijs Graecorum* (in Klockow and Ebertowski, *De captivitate sua*; cf. also Kidrić, *Bartholomaeus Gjorgevic*), he was born about 1505 in the region of Esztergom, Hungary, and probably came from a Croatian background. He studied the Latin classics, and possibly also law, and was a protégé of Ladislaus Szalkay, Archbishop of Esztergom and Chancellor of Louis II, King of Hungary. Both Szalkay and Georgius participated in the battle of Mohács in 1526, which brought parts of Hungary under Ottoman rule. Georgius was captured and sold as a slave. In the following decade (Georgius's claim to have spent 13 years in captivity is apparently exaggerated), he was sold six times by his masters, who were reportedly displeased with either his initial lack of skills as a water seller, shepherd and fieldworker, or his refusal to convert to Islam, or his attempts to escape. With his last master, a high-ranking Ottoman official and tax collector, he participated in the Ottoman campaign against Persia in 1533-4.

In 1535, Georgius escaped in Armenia. He disguised himself as a Greek Christian and in 1537 went with Armenian pilgrims to Jerusalem and found work in the Franciscan convent there. A year later, he returned to Europe via Santiago de Compostela and started 'finally to live again as a free man among free Christians' (Klockow and Ebertowski, *De captivitate sua*, p. 82). In the following years, Georgius wrote several quite short texts about his experiences, and promoted many editions of his writings in Europe, dedicated to various rulers. In 1544, he met Martin Luther and

Philip Melanchthon in Wittenberg. In 1544-5, he published most of his works in Antwerp – all of them written originally in Latin – followed by *Haec nova fert Affrica*, a ‘description of a dispute with a Turk over the Christian faith’ that reportedly took place in Transylvania.

Around 1551, he was probably at the court of Maximilian II before going to Rome, where he spent most of the following two decades in receipt of a small pension of unspecified origin. In 1551, he wrote a pilgrimage book in Rome (*Specchio della peregrinatione*). We have no information about him after 1569, when he wrote from Rome an exhortatory letter to Maximilian II (*Lettera di Bartolomeo Georgijević a Massimiliano II*). References to him may apparently have been erased, perhaps even deliberately, by Francesco Sansovino and other contemporaries for unknown reasons (Moretti, ‘Profezie’).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- B. Georgiewicz, *Haec nova fert Affrica* (...). *Pro fide Christiana cum Turca disputationis habitae, et mysterio sanctiss. Trinitatis in Alchorano invento, nunc primum sermonem verso, brevis descriptio*, Vienna, 1548
- B. Georgiewicz, *Specchio della peregrinatione delli piu notabili luoghi della Terra Santa di promessa, et delle processioni, et cerimonie, che nella città di Hierusalem si sogliono celebrare*, Rome, 1554
- B. Georgiewicz, *Lettera di Bartolomeo Georgijević a Massimiliano II*, Rome: G.B. Cavalieri, 1569 (preserved in two copies in Florence and Milan, ed. Moretti, ‘Profezie’, pp. 20-1)
- R. Klockow and M. Ebertowski (eds), *Bartholmaeus Georgievits De captivitate sua apud Turcas*, Berlin, 2000 (with German and Turkish trans.)

Secondary

- D. Dukić, ‘Das Türkenbild in der kroatischen literarischen Kultur vom 15. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts’, in R. Lauer and H. Majer (eds), *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa*, Berlin, 2013, 157-91
- M. Moretti, ‘Profezie scritte e figurate. La lettera di Bartolomeo Georgijević a Massimiliano II alla vigilia di Lepanto’, *Giornale di Storia* 8 (2012) 20-34, http://www.giornaledistoria.net/public/file/Content20120602_Morettiar-ticolorivisto01-1DEF.pdf
- M. Moretti, ‘Immagini del Turco. Vita, scritti et figure di Bartolomeo Georgijević “Pellegrino di Gerusalemme” (1505-ca. 1569)’, San Marino, 2008 (Diss. Università degli Studi della Repubblica di San Marino)
- Z. Blažević, ‘Discourse of alterity. Ottomanism in the works of Bartol Đurđević’, in E. Ivetić and D. Roksandić (eds), *Tolerance and intolerance on the Triplex Confinium 1500-1800*, Padua, 2007, 45-59

- D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca. Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar, 2004
- A. Höfert, 'Ist das Böse schmutzig? Das Osmanische Reich in den Augen europäischer Beobachter des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', *Historische Anthropologie* 11 (2003) 176-92
- A. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. 'Türkengefahr' und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich (1450-1600)*, Frankfurt am Main, 2003
- A. Jembrih, 'Bartol Jurjević (Đurđević), prvi hrvatski pisac konverzacijskih priručnika i rječnika', in A. Jembrih, *Hrvatski filološki zapisi*, Zagreb, 1997, 17-87
- S. Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman (XIV-XVI^{ème} siècles). Bibliographie, itinéraire et inventaires des lieux habités*, Ankara, 1991
- C. Göllner, *Turcica*, Bucharest, 1961-78, 3 vols
- F. Kidrić, *Bartholomaeus Gjorgejevic. Biographische und bibliographische Zusammenfassung* (Museion. Veröffentlichungen aus der Nationalbibliothek 2), Vienna, 1920

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De afflictione Christianorum, 'On the suffering of the Christians'

DATE 1544

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

In this 32-page book (its fuller title is *De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tribute viventium Christianorum*, 'On the suffering of both the captives and also the Christians living under the tribute of the Turk'), Georgius presents his experiences as a slave in the Ottoman Empire, presenting them as calamities suffered by a true believer among cruel infidels. He describes the miserable fate of Christian slaves, their transport in chains to the slave market, the various functions they were given according to age, sex, beauty and skills, and also the dangers of attempting to escape. Slaves who resist conversion to Islam are treated even worse.

Christians who live as Turkish subjects have to pay heavy taxes, can hardly practise their religion, must not carry weapons and may even be deprived of their sons if the boys are taken for the *devşirme*: 'Neither the Egyptian slavery, the Babylonian exile, the Assyrian captivity, nor the destruction by the Romans' can be compared to such misery (*De afflictione*, fol. C4v). As in the language guide in *De Turcarum ritu*, here Georgius presents samples of Slavonic words and Latin equivalents.

This text was often published together with other works by Georgius, as, for example, in the *Epitome*.

SIGNIFICANCE

See the entry on the *Epitome* below.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

E. Fügedi, *Kimondhatatlan nyomorúság. Ket emlékirat a 15-16. századi oszmán fogságról*, Budapest, 1976 (Hungarian trans.)

De Tyrcarvm moribvs epitome, Bartholomaeo Georgieui, peregrino auctore, Lyon, 1558 (repr. 1578, 1598)

Türcken Büchlin. Ganz warhaftige vnnnd aber erbaermkliche beschreibung von der peín marter schmerzen vnd Tyranny so die Türcken den gefangnen Christen mann vnnnd weib jungen vnnnd alten an thûn Auch von ihren Ceremonien Policien Kriegen Feldtbaw Gebreuchen vnnnd ein Disputatz eines Christen vnnnd Türcken vom glauben mit angehenckten Dialogis Türckisch Sclauonisch vnd das Pater noster Arabisch Türckisch vnd Sclauonisch; Jetzund widerumb von Neuwem vberlesen vnd gebessert Mit angehenckten Historien so vorhien in disem buechlin nit begriffen, Strasbourg, 1548 (German trans.)

De Afflictione, Tam Captivorum Qvam Etiam Svb Turcae tributo uiuentium Christianorum: cum figuris res clarè exprimentibus; Similiter de Ritu, deq[ue] Caeremoniis domi, militiaeq[ue] ab ea gente usurpatis; Additis nonnullis lectu dignis, linguarum Sclavonicae & Turcaicae, cum interpretatione Latina, libellus, Worms, 1545

Vander benautheyt ende tribulatiën, der gheuanghenen Christenen onder des Turcx tribuyt leu ēde: met schoonen figuren... Daer toghedaen sommige uocabulen eñ woorden Met den Pater noster Ave maria, eñ dat gelooue in Sclauonischer spraken ouerghesct int Duytsch, Antwerp, 1544 (Dutch trans.)

Les misères et tribulations des chrétiens tributaires et esclaves tenus par le Turc seuffrent et sont constraints endurer, mises par figures: Avec aucunes oraisons, et vocable en langue esclavonique, qui jusques icy nont este veues ny mises en lumiere, Antwerp, 1544 (repr. Paris, 1545, 1594; French trans.)

De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tribute viventium Christianorum, cum figuris res clare exprimentibus: additis nonnullis vocabulis libellus, Antwerp, 1544

STUDIES

Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs*

De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis, 'On the ritual and ceremonies of the Turks'

DATE 1544

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

In the first Antwerp edition of 1544, *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis* is 40 pages long. It consists of four chapters: on religion, on the military, on everyday life, and a short language guide with vocabularies and dialogues in Turkish and Latin (Heffening, *Transkriptionstexte*). The chapters comprise between 8 and 14 sections (e.g. 'About their fasting', 'About their way of sitting and eating'), which present clearly structured information. Georgius clearly writes from a Christian perspective but, as in the majority of his texts, he refrains from any moral judgments, refers to the discipline of Ottoman soldiers, and even writes of the Prophet Muḥammad without the usual polemical tone. Only at the end of the third chapter does he express any hostility, when he condemns the 'cruelty and most ignominious abuses' of the Turks, who hope to win salvation by ablutions and cleanliness while 'they are internally filled with the filth of their crimes' (*De Turcarum ritu*, fol. D3v; cf. Höfert, *Ist das Böse schmutzig?*).

This work was often published with other works by Georgius, as, for example, in the *Epitome*.

SIGNIFICANCE

See entry on the *Epitome* below.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- N.M. Aksulu, *Bartholomäus Georgievičs Türkenschrift 'De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis' (1544) und ihre beiden deutschen Übersetzungen von 1545*, Stuttgart, 2005
- B. Georgius, *Von der Türcken gebreuchen, gewonheyten und Ceremonien*, Nuremberg, 1545 (repr. 1664) (German trans.)
- B. Georgius, *Der Turcken manieren en Ceremonien*, Antwerp, 1544 (Dutch trans.)
- B. Georgius, *La manière et cérémonies des Turcs*, Antwerp, 1544 (French trans.)
- B. Georgius, *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis*, Antwerp, 1544

STUDIES

- Aksulu, *Bartholomäus Georgievičs Türkenschrift*
- Höfert, 'Ist das Böse schmutzig?'

Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs*

W. Heffening, *Die türkischen Transkriptionstexte des Bartholomäus Georgievits aus den Jahren 1544-1548. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 27)*, Leipzig, 1942 (repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1966)

Exhortatio contra Turcas. Ad illustrissimum principem Maximilianum archiducem Austriae,
 ‘Exhortation against the Turks. To the most illustrious Prince Maximilian, Archduke of Austria’

DATE 1545

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

In the 15-page *Exhortatio contra Turcas*, Georgius combines typical elements of exhortatory writing and calls for war against the Turks (see the entry on *Türkenbüchlein*). He contrasts the virtues of the Christian nations outside the Ottoman Empire – Italian wisdom, Spanish diligence, German strength, French intrepidity, Hungarian boldness, etc. – with Greek cowardice, Asian corruptness, Egyptian effeminacy and Arab bloodlessness. However, Christians are not only divided in disharmony but they also indulge in vices and heresy. A successful war against the Turks has first to be a war ‘not against, but with God’, and should be waged by a united Christian army.

This work was often published with other works by Georgius, as, for example, in the *Epitome*.

SIGNIFICANCE

See the entry on the *Epitome* below.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

B. Georgius, *Exhortatio contra Turcas. Ad illustrissimum principem Maximilianum archiducem Austriae*, Antwerp, 1545

STUDIES

Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs*

Prognoma, 'Presage'

DATE 1545

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

In the 15-page *Prognoma* (*Prognoma, sive praesagium Mehmetanorum, primum de Christianorum calamitatibus, deinde de suae gentis interitu, ex Persica lingua in Latinum sermonem conversum*, 'Presage or augury of the Mahometans, first about the calamities of the Christians then about the doom of their people, from the Persian translated into Latin'), Georgius presents a 'Turkish' prophecy in Ottoman Turkish (starting with *Patis-sahomoz ghelur, Ciaferun memleketi alur*), along with a Latin translation and interpretation. In the prophecy, a Muslim emperor with a red apple conquers a Christian kingdom and rules for 12 years before 'the sword of the Christian will appear, that will put the Turks to flight whithersoever'.

SIGNIFICANCE

This prophecy was part of a long apocalyptic tradition in which Byzantine, Islamic and Latin threads were entwined in various ways. It changed the motif of the *kızıl elma* ('red apple'), which in the Ottoman tradition symbolised a future victory over unbelievers, into a sign of ultimate Christian victory. The prophecy may have been circulating among Christian prisoners in the Ottoman Empire, and was presented by Georgius as a Habsburg propaganda text (Denis, 'Les pseudo-prophéties'; Rossi, 'La leggenda'; Setton, *Western hostility*, pp. 29-46; Yerasimos, 'De l'arbre'; Fleischer, 'Shadows'; Moretti, 'Profezie').

This work was often published with other works of Georgius, as, for example, in the *Epitome*.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- B. Georgius, *Prognoma, sive praesagium Mehmetanorum, primum de Christianorum calamitatibus, deinde de suae gentis interitu, ex Persica lingua in Latinum sermonem conversum*, Antwerp, s.a. [1545]; Vienna 1547

STUDIES

- Moretti, 'Profezie scritte e figurate'
 C. Fleischer, 'Shadows of shadows. Prophecy in politics in 1530s Istanbul', *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007) 51-62

- S. Yerasimos, 'De l'arbre à la pomme. La généalogie d'un thème apocalyptique', in B. Lellouch and S. Yerasimos (eds), *Les traditions apokalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*, Paris, 1999, 153-92
- K.M. Setton, *Western hostility to Islam and prophecies of Turkish doom*, Philadelphia PA, 1992
- Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs*
- E. Rossi, 'La leggenda turco-bizantina del pomo rosso', in *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale degli Studi Bizantini*, Rome, 1939, 542-53
- J. Denis, 'Les pseudo-prophéties concernant les Turcs au XVIe siècle', *Revue des Études Islamiques* 10 (1936) 217-20

De Turcarum moribus epitome, Bartholomaeo Georgieviz, peregrino, autore, 'Epitome on the manners of the Turks, by the pilgrim Bartholomaeo Georgieviz'

DATE 1553

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

In order to promote further publication of his work, particularly for the French market, Georgius made this Latin compilation of his early works in Antwerp. It consists of *De afflictione*, *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis*, *Exhortatio contra Turcas*, *Prognoma* and *Epistola exhortatoria*. It amounts to 184 pages in the first edition (Lyons, 1553). As in all his other compilations, he omits the detailed report about his captivity (*De ritibus et differentijs Graecorum et Armeniorum, tum etiam de captivitate illius*), possibly because it adds a few light touches to what he wanted to present as a thoroughly dark and miserable period of his life as a slave.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Epitome* is only one example of how Georgius's writings were published in different combinations and many languages. In Venice, Francesco Sansovino printed *De ritu* and *De afflictione* in a three-volume Italian compendium about the Turks (*Dell'istoria universale*). The much more extensive report about the Ottoman Empire by Giovanni Antonio Menavino, another Ottoman prisoner, was also often printed together

with Georgius's works, starting with the first publication of Menavino's *I cinque libri (...) de' Turchi* (attached were *De afflictione* and *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis*, translated by Lodovico Domenichi). In German-speaking areas, almost all of Georgius's works were translated and combined in various ways. Along with George of Hungary (who has occasionally been confused with Georgius, both in older literature and in some library catalogues), Georgius was also brought into the Lutheran debate about the Turks – for example, in a compendium printed in Wittenberg with a preface by Philip Melanchthon (*De origine imperii Turcorum*). Other 16th-century translations were published in French, Dutch, Polish, English and Czech. The most extensive list includes almost 90 publications, mostly from the 16th century, but also from the 17th (Yerasimos, *Voyageurs*, pp. 159-63, cf. also Göllner, *Turcica*).

Georgius's enormous success was due not only to the priority he gave to the promotion of his works but also to the fact that they were short and connected very well with the topics raised in the debate on the Turks (see the entry on *Türkenbüchlein*). Being based on his long experience in the Ottoman Empire, Georgius's books gave various arguments a note of authenticity. European knowledge of the structure and everyday life of the Ottoman Empire in the early 16th century was mainly reliant on reports by prisoners of war and, compared with those written by others (Hans Schiltberger, George of Hungary, Luigi Bassano, Giovanni Antonio Menavino), Georgius's *De afflictione* contained the most vivid depiction of the cruelties and miserable conditions of a slave's life, apparently without his going through any crisis of faith such as George of Hungary had experienced.

In addition, extracts from *De ritu* were often quoted and reproduced. With its clear structure and handy small sections, the text matched perfectly the requirements of Early Modern ethnographical interests. The absence of moral judgements in these sections made them suitable for many different contexts. Compilers and editors who presented descriptions of the Ottoman Empire would employ single sections from the *Epitome* to complete their own works (Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, p. 292).

Georgius's works certainly do not represent the intellectual peak of European *Turcica*: they do not demonstrate the rhetorical brilliance of Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini, Pierre Belon's joyful curiosity in exploring new ethnographical fields, or Hans Löwenklau's scholarly enthusiasm for extending historiographical borders. However, in his instinct for meeting

the needs of a broad audience, Georgius was unmatched. There is no other author whose writings cover so extensively the various aspects of the contemporary debate on the Turks: Georgius was not only the most published but also the most typical writer of the authors of 16th-century *Turcica*.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- J. Schwarzwald, *Bartol Durdevic, Bibliografija izdanja, 1544-1686* (*Croatica bibliografije* 27), Zagreb, 1980 (Serbo-Croat trans.)
- F. Sansovino, *Dell'istoria universale dell'origine et imperio de Turchi. Parte prima*, Venice, 1560 (repr. Venice 1564, 1568, 1573, 1582, 1600) (Italian trans.)
- B. Georgius, *De origine imperii Turcorum (...) Cui libellus de Turcorum moribus, collectus a Bartholomaeo Georgieviz, adiectus est, Cum prefatione reverendi viri D. Philippi Melanctonis*, Wittenberg, 1560 (repr. Wittenberg, 1562; this collection is the same as *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Lyons, 1553)
- B. Georgius, *Türcken Büchlin. Gantz warhaftige vnnd aber erbärmliche beschreibung von der pein, marter, schmerzen und Tyranny (...)*, Strassburg, 1558 (German trans.)
- G. Menavino, *I cinque libri della legge, religione, et vita de' Turchi (...). Oltre cio, vna prophetia de' Mahomettani, et la misera de' prigioni, et de' Christiani, che uiuono sotto'l Gran Turco (...)*, Venice, 1548 (Italian trans.)
- B. Georgius, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Lyons, 1553 (repr. Lyons 1555, 1558, 1567, 1568, 1578, 1598; Paris 1556, 1566, 1588; Geneva 1598)

Almut Höfert

Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos

DATE OF BIRTH About 1510
PLACE OF BIRTH Baranya County, Hungary
DATE OF DEATH January 1556
PLACE OF DEATH Sárvár

BIOGRAPHY

Sebestyén Tinódi was born of burgher parents probably in Tinód (which no longer exists), in Baranya County, south-west Hungary. In nearby Pécs, he received a good Latin education that included classical authors and the Hungarian Thuróczy chronicle. His musical training was possibly also acquired there, because Tinódi's musical notation bears a strong resemblance to the style in music books at the cathedral of Pécs (Várnai, *Tinódi*, p. 30).

Tinódi trained in the new, complex musical lute styles popular at the Austrian and Hungarian royal court. He became a domestic minstrel for Prince Bálint Török de Enying and proudly added the appellation *lantos* ('lutenist') to his name. After his patron was taken captive by the Turks in 1541, Várnai (*Tinódi*) surmises that he may have served another patron, perhaps István Werböczi, but by 1543 he had turned away from virtuoso court playing and adopted an itinerant lifestyle. He began composing songs about the events of the Turkish incursions into Hungary and singing them for all levels of society. Apparently he had also fought in some battles, possibly accompanying Valentine Enying or István Werböczi.

In 1544, Tinódi settled in Kassa (Kosice, Slovakia) with his wife and five children. At that time, Kosice was a free royal trading city with an immigrant German population under King John Sigismund (John II) of Hungary. In the city register, Tinódi is listed as an arms-bearing citizen and lutenist, though he travelled a great deal around the country visiting courts, towns and fortresses, and collecting information from eye-witnesses concerning the repeated clashes with the armies of Süleyman the Magnificent. He primarily sang for and praised the garrison soldiers, who would be made up from the lower nobility and smaller landholders.

His songs relate the significant battles fought in the multi-ethnic region that had been ruled by the Hungarian crown until 1526. They are written from the political perspective of the ethnic Hungarians and

often include a commentary on the influences of both Habsburgs and Ottomans on Hungary, and also on the factions and defence strategies of the magnates and military commanders attempting to maintain the country's independence.

Tinódi was actively composing and performing his songs between 1541 and 1555. After he shifted his support from King John Sigismund to the alliance with the Austrians, he sought the patronage of King Ferdinand of Habsburg, who also claimed the Hungarian throne. When the alliance won a victory at Eger in autumn 1552, he wrote his presentation piece in 1553, recounting for Ferdinand the triumph over the Ottomans, and he apparently sang it before the king, possibly on the occasion of his ennoblement on 25 August 1553 (Bóta, 'Introduction', p. 10; Almási, *Uses of Humanism*, p. 148). Johannes Sambucus writes that Ferdinand commissioned him to translate the poem into Latin (Sambucus, 'Rerum ad agriam'). A facsimile of both Tinódi's letter and the conferral of nobility from Ferdinand have been published (Schönherr, 'Tinódi', 92-3).

In 1554, Tinódi collected his songs into a cycle, to be printed under the title *Cronica* together with the melodies he composed by Georg Hoffgreff in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), one of the most influential printers in Hungary. The book was dedicated to King Ferdinand of Habsburg and was rewarded well with 50 Forints. It was the first cycle of vernacular songs printed in Hungary together with musical notation. Although the book contains two songs about the Schmalkaldic war and two about biblical characters, Tinódi states his intention to exhort Hungarian soldiers to continue resisting the Ottomans and to commemorate the fighters' heroic courage and deeds.

Tinódi died on the estate of the Palatine Tamás Nádasdy in Sárvár at the end of January, 1556.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- J. Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488 (chronicle source for Tinódi's historical references)
- J. Sambucus, 'Rerum ad agriam anno MDLII gestarum brevis narratio', in P. Ransanus, *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum velut per indices descripta*, ed. J. Sambucus, Vienna, 1558 (the appendix contains Sambucus's translation of Tinódi's Eger song)
- G. Schönherr, 'Tinódi Sebestyén címeres nemeslevele', *Turul* (1902) 91-4 (facsimile of the letter of ennoblement, 1553)

Secondary

- G. Almási, *The uses of Humanism: Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584), Andreas Dudith (1533-1589), and the republic of letters in East Central Europe*, Leiden, 2009
- F. Várnai, *Tinódi és kora* ['Tinódi and his times'], Budapest, 2000 (provides a short introduction to Tinódi's life and music but is somewhat unreliable on his life, making too many assumptions where no documentation exists)
- B. Varjas, 'Tinódi politikai pártállása', in B. Varjas (ed.), *Irodalom és ideológia a 16-17. Században* ['Literature and ideology in the 16th and 17th century'], Budapest, 1987, 91-112 (discusses Tinódi's shifts in political allegiance)
- F. Szakály, 'Introduction', *Tinódi Sebestyén Krónika*, ed. F. Szakály, Budapest, 1984, 7-84 (provides a biography)
- L. Bóta, 'Introduction', in *Tinódi Sebestyén Cronica*, ed. B. Varjas, Budapest, 1959, 7-26 (provides biographical information)
- L. Dézsi, *Tinódi Sebestyén, 1505?-1556*, Budapest, 1912

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Cronica, 'Chronicle'

DATE 1554

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Hungarian

DESCRIPTION

Sebestyén Tinódi was the earliest and most prolific Hungarian poet-performer of the 16th century, with 22 narrative songs and melodies extant in print form. He recorded the clashes involving Ottoman, Hungarian and Habsburg interests from 1540 to 1556, during the tripartite division of Hungary. The songs belong to the widespread European genre of event poetry that combines a relatively factual account of a recent, significant event with an implicit or explicit political-cultural commentary. Intended for performance, this genre proves an excellent vehicle for re-creating vividly for listeners well-known and highly charged epoch-making actions. Tinódi's songs, to which scholars now apply this genre definition (Vadai, 'Tudosító', pp. 278-9), are pithy poems of 200-1800 lines, whose limited length allows for a focused vision. Once Tinódi had established his credibility by interviewing eye-witnesses and visiting battle sites, he was able to insert his interpretation of events, and the moral lessons to be learnt from them, into the collective memory through his performances (Dobozy, 'Schaffen', pp. 59-62).

Tinódi made certain that his influence would extend beyond his own performances to reach successive generations when in 1554 he collected

22 songs to form a cycle he called *Cronica* (in full: *Cronica Tinodi Sebestien szörzese. Első részebe Ianos Kirai halalatul fogua ez esztendeig Dunan innet Erdel orszaggal löt minden hadac veszödelmec, reuidedön szép notakual*, ‘Chronicle, written by Sebestien Tinodi. Part one, from the death of King John to this year, covers the events east of the Danube and in Transylvania including every battle, with lovely melodies’). He personally supervised the printing of the texts and the melodies he composed. Although he chronicles events and claims veracity, the title was a misnomer then as now – it is not a chronicle, for it has neither the length, breadth, nor organisation of a chronicle. The songs do not follow a chronological sequence and cover only Buda and east of the Danube including Transylvania, but not western Hungary. The first part encompasses events and their broader contexts from 1540 to 1554 in a few long poems; the second contains songs with specific details of some of the same events, but also biblical subjects such as David and Judith, historical pieces (i.e. the Schmalkaldic war), and complaints about patrons and drunkards. These are typical of the variety in any singer’s repertoire.

This variety nevertheless fulfils Tinódi’s stated purpose: to give an accurate account of the menacing events in Hungary so that he may praise the valiant actions of the soldiers in the border fortresses, and use their positive example to encourage others. Most of the songs can be understood in this way. Historians have examined the information in the book and concluded that much is accurate, such as the account of the siege of Eger (1551), and, while other elements, such as the song of Szeged, confuse events and details (Szakály, ‘Introduction’, pp. 33-9), Tinódi is generally regarded as a reliable historian (Várnai, *Tinódi*, p. 40), who does not dramatise events but simply presents literary commonplaces (Szakály, ‘Introduction’, p. 59). Only relatively recently have scholars begun to demonstrate literary creativity in his multi-layered metaphorical poems (Szilasi, “Kiknek bor lelkök”, pp. 726-9). For example, the retelling of David’s defeat of Goliath sets up an allegory, with the plight of the Israelites pre-figuring the Hungarians, that encourages stalwart resistance despite the difference in strength between them and Ottomans (Vadai, ‘Historia’, pp. 19-21).

Tinódi’s evaluation of the political-military situation forms the context of most of the songs. After the disastrous defeat at Mohács in 1526, the surviving Hungarian magnates realised they could not defend their kingdom without outside aid. They asked Ferdinand of Habsburg for help, but at the time he was a claimant to the Hungarian crown in contention

with John Szapolya, who was governor of Transylvania, and after him his infant son John Sigismund. This rivalry split the Hungarians, with the Ottomans supporting Szapolya's party and the Habsburgs the other magnates, and paved the way for a Hungarian-Ottoman-Habsburg struggle. During the next 14 years, the Hungarians were fighting on two fronts, and Tinódi along with others tended to switch sides as power shifted. The result was a complex relationship to the Turks, and in Tinódi's poems the depiction of Muslims is more tempered and less derogatory than it might have been if the sides remained more fixed.

Below, the ideas and content of the songs are discussed in their order of composition and not according to their sequence in the book. In the early poem, *Buda vesztéséről és Török Bálint fogságáról* ('The loss of Buda and captivity of Bálint Török') written in 1541, Tinódi's patron Bálint (Valentine) has joined Süleyman's troops to regain the capital Buda from Ferdinand's control, while other Hungarian magnates fight for Ferdinand. The song describes Bálint's prowess and loyalty to the Turkish allies, who suddenly take him captive to Istanbul (hence his epithet Török). The betrayal is framed in heroic terms: Bálint with his private army (*banderia*) was so powerful that the Turkish pashas feared him. The unspoken inference of the poem is that neither alliance with the Turks nor with the Germans will aid the Hungarians.

Soon afterwards, Tinódi rethinks the sultan's motivation and writes *Príni Péternek, Majlát Istvánnak és Török Bálintnak fogságáról* ('Captivity of Peter Príni, István Majlát, and Bálint Török') in 1542. This cautionary tale is devoted specifically to Ottoman practices of deception and conquest, pointing to the conclusion that Hungary must fight the Ottomans alone. Tinódi rehearses here the several strategies of deception used by the sultan to capture these three Hungarian magnates, and he tells their stories to demonstrate the perfidy of the Muslims, developing the theme of failed loyalty and trust and building the theme of unresolvable moral difference between the two faiths.

The opening stanzas describe a weeping Hungary contrasted with the glee of the Ottomans, who take advantage of the foolishly naive Hungarian nobles. Next, in a direct address to his listeners, Tinódi spells out the commandments of Islam: the Turks are to take non-believers captive by any means, including deceit, and are rewarded with paradise. The Christian Hungarians, in contrast, have received the commandment of love. Tinódi is not simply denigrating Muslims here. Instead, he uses Islam as he understands it to illustrate the serious faults of Hungarian nobles who fail in love. Moreover, he expresses the even more serious difference

between the two groups: The Turks follow their commandment faithfully, whereas Hungarians fail to fulfil theirs. Thus he specifically criticises the magnates' irresponsible and impious factiousness. At this point, Tinódi conceives the struggle as one between two faiths and two ethnic groups. Consequently, the Hungarians in their divisiveness are themselves responsible for the captivity of the three nobles and, worse yet, the ruin of the entire country. His argument is possibly an oversimplification of the concept of holy war as pursued by Süleyman, but it nevertheless supports his admonition: they must distrust the Ottomans, stand together, and support the Hungarian king, John Sigismund, and not ally themselves with the Habsburgs.

Ten years later, in 1552, Tinódi is still attempting to reconcile the vacillation of magnates between alliances with the Ottomans and Habsburgs in 'Siege of Lippa', in which Ferdinand's troops together with the Hungarians re-took the town and fortress. Based on an agreement in 1549 ceding Transylvania to Ferdinand, George Martinuzzi, the regent for King John Sigismund, expected military protection from the Habsburgs. As he ponders the cruelty of the Porte when it feels betrayed, he finds it necessary to negotiate with the sultan because the troops Ferdinand sends are seriously inadequate. Tinódi sympathises with Martinuzzi, and yet by negotiating with both sides, Martinuzzi loses everyone's trust. Important here is the description of the frontier mentality of the locals, represented by Martinuzzi, who wish to ameliorate human hardships by means of negotiated agreements (Stein, *Guarding the frontier*, pp. 17-27). Unfortunately, Martinuzzi's attempt to negotiate a surrender and safe-conduct for the Turks is undermined by marauding bands of Hungarians outside Martinuzzi's control, who slaughter the withdrawing Turks, and also by the cruelty and deception of Ferdinand's commanders, who murder Martinuzzi in his own chapel (Dobozy, 'Two cultural perspectives', pp. 30-7).

Gradually, Tinódi merged the religious difference first articulated in *Príni Péternek* with his admonition to unite into an exhortation to Hungarian Christians to remain worthy of God's mercy and not fall into apostasy, because winning or success is only possible if the people are virtuous. This idea is presented as a model hortatory speech in *Hadnagyoknak tanuság* ('Call to lieutenants') of 1550, in which Tinódi insists that, when Hungarians are fighting as Christians, God is the arbiter in battle, and his language resonates with typical crusading sentiments. A different reading of this poem claims that Tinódi accepted the apocalyptic view that the Turks were the advance guard of the Anti-Christ

(Jankovics, 'The image of the Turks', p. 271), though there is no explicit language in any text by Tinódi to substantiate this interpretation. Instead, it is more likely that, once he realises that the Hungarians have no reliable help and lack the resources to stand against either the Austrians or the Ottomans, faith in God and commemoration of heroic deeds and sacrifices is the only remaining resource.

These new perspectives are articulated in *Egri históriának summája* ('Summary of the Eger siege') of 1552, where Tinódi accounts for the Hungarian victory in religious terms. Eger had come under the control of Ferdinand of Habsburg, by then King of Hungary, in 1548, and at about that time Tinódi also switched allegiance to him (possibly in the hope of personal gain). Here Tinódi quite accurately names and praises the individual captains and fighters who excel in bravery and also those who are killed, though more important than historical accuracy is the elaborate distinction he draws between the two sides, which justifies the struggle in which the wicked must be vanquished. The sinful Turks are balanced against the morally upright defenders and, whenever the Turks call on Allah for help, the defenders call on God, who is implicitly the judge between the two sides. Faith provides the necessary courage for victory, even though the Hungarians are severely outnumbered, and after the Turks' final unsuccessful assault, they can only wail and cry over their dead, whereas the morally superior Hungarian fighters acknowledge God as protector.

Describing the aftermath, Tinódi elaborates further on the dichotomy between good and evil. The commander of the campaign in Hungary, Ahmed Pasha, who has lost the battle, is furious and in an imagined tirade curses Ali Pasha, the governor of Budun, because Ali has tempted him and misled him out of pride. As the Turks curse and quarrel among themselves, they commit the sin of wrath, which leads to devilish discord. This scene paints the Muslims as inherently evil in contrast to the unity found inside the stronghold, and proves that the Hungarians have overcome their divisiveness. Consequently, the Hungarian defenders are now shown to be spiritually superior to the enemy, and have earned God's protection.

This song defines the conflict against the Ottomans as a holy war against the infidel. Tinódi's moral-religious interpretation of the Eger siege and the invasions in general can be seen as a defensive crusade. Since he is not looking at a political programme from the top down but viewing the action in the fortresses, his ideas do not fit the definition of defensive crusade exactly as historians present it (Bak, 'Hungary and

crusading', p. 118). Nevertheless, the wars are definitely defensive in the Augustinian sense, because the Hungarians are fighting in response to an invasion.

After Tinódi had described the fall of several Hungarian fortresses, his antipathy to the Ottomans increased. In 1553, he chose to praise the heroism of the son of his first patron in *Enyingi Török János vitézsége* ('János Török's valiant deeds'). Bálint's son János used the epithet Török (given to his father when he was captured by the Ottomans) to signal his unrelenting desire to avenge his father's captivity and cruel death. Tinódi praises János's hard-nosed valiant deeds as he takes his private army and raids Turkish-controlled fortresses and encampments. János frees Hungarian captives and also massacres as many Turks as possible. Negotiations with the enemy and even Christian virtues give way to violent attacks, and yet the poet never raises any moral questions. By praising János, Tinódi appears to have reached a level of acquiescence or despair, in which brutal resistance to the last man is the only stance left.

In these last two poems the Ottomans have become associated with evil, and the struggle is defined as one between Christians and pagans. It is in this context that in 1554 Tinódi's introduction to the book encourages the soldiers to fight, saying that in order to gain eternal life it is proper for Christians to fight in their soul against the devil and in the world against pagans.

SIGNIFICANCE

As the earliest known Hungarian vernacular poet-performer with a historical perspective, Sebestyén Tinódi broadcast his assessment of the turbulent epoch-making events of his time. His popular performances reached large numbers of ordinary people and, most importantly, the garrison soldiers who were his target audience, and they ensured that his interpretation of events was learned and remembered. His accounts of individual events and heroic deeds captured the imagination by means of narrative tension, rhetorical ornamentation, melody and physical presence. In addition, he gave his Hungarian-speaking audiences historical and ethnic identity, while not excluding the multi-ethnic composition of the troops. Through the heroic models they encountered in his songs, the garrison soldiers learned of their own heroism that encouraged them to continue fighting for their land.

As a poet, Tinódi was the first in Hungary to adopt and blend the European genre of event poetry with his own oral tradition, and then adapt these to his goal of energizing resistance against the Habsburgs

and the Ottomans. His multi-layered, structurally sophisticated songs have not been valued by historians, though in the last 14 years literary scholars have demonstrated the artistic merit in the dramatic and vibrant dialogues and metaphorical complexity of his poetry. His thoughtful, through-composed book was the first in Hungary to bridge the divide from writing to print, and to encompass both performance and text (Vadai, 'Koložsvárott', pp 84-5). His unique and erudite use of acrostics in both Latin and the vernacular underscores the intentionally literate component of his works (Vadai, 'Függöleges', p. 635). Consequently, the combination of musical notation with acrostics ensures that the book provided two modes of reception: singing and reading.

As a historian, Tinódi is important for his political engagement because he represented the people who actually fought and experienced war at first hand, instead of recording the perspective of rulers. He evaluated the strategies of the leaders of all factions when he analysed the events surrounding a *diet* or campaign. Hence, he offers new insights into the conflicts and pressures of the time. Because he used a popular genre, people were receptive to his encouragement. Not only that, he gave the garrison soldiers hope and self-assurance by framing their bravery within the familiar classical and biblical heroic model. Probably his artistically successful commemoration of people and events is his most important contribution. The historian and humanist poet, Miklós Istvánffy (1538-1615), praised Tinódi's immortalisation of the Hungarian heroes when he wrote: 'Pannonian heroes, whom war and glorious bravery rendered blessed and placed among the stars, you owe as much to Tinódi, the poet who sang your deeds, as the great Achilles and Ajax owe to Homer of lofty words' (a translation of the Latin verse cited in Szakaly, 'Introduction', p. 41). Gáspár Heltai, George Hoffgreff's partner in Koložsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), included some of Tinódi's best known songs in his *Cancionale* (Vadai, 'Koložsvárott', p. 74).

Tinódi's image of Ottomans and Muslims is more restrained and experientially based, and therefore less ideologically governed, than one might expect. One possible reason may well be that the Hungarians had been living in a frontier situation and needed to renegotiate their relationships daily with several ethnic groups who were at some times bartering partners and at others enemies, whenever towns and fortresses changed hands. Hence, he did not think of Hungary as the 'shield of Christendom' in any clichéd manner. In addition, in Koložsvár he was among Lutherans, including his printers, and yet he did not disseminate Luther's interpretation that the Christians should return to Christian piety before

engaging the Turks in battle. For him and the garrison soldiers, continuing military resistance was absolutely imperative. He also avoids the vituperation that is present in German vernacular event poetry or in Latin poetry, nor does he attribute to the Ottomans any greater violence than to other soldiers in these battles. Instead of ascribing atrocities to the Turks that would inflame an audience, Tinódi stresses that moral superiority is necessary for successful defence. Therefore, the image he presents is not completely original but it certainly does not follow the prevalent humanist anti-Islam ideology.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- A. Makkai (ed.), *In quest of the 'miracle stag'. The poetry of Hungary*, Chicago, 1996, pp. 57-64 (excerpts from three songs: *Fall of Zolnok*, trans. G. Borrow, *Chronicle of Sigismund*, trans. M. Beevor, *Call to lieutenants*, trans. J. Leftwich)
- I. Sugár (ed.), *Tinódi Sebestyén Krónika*, Budapest, 1984 (modernised edition of Szilády's 1881 critical edition but includes misreadings)
- W.D. Snodgrass, 'All sorts of drunkards', *New Hungarian Quarterly* 11 (1970) 41-3 (trans. of 'Sok féle részögösről', 1548)
- G. Heltai, *Cancionale azaz históriás énekeskönyv. Kolozsvár (Romania), 1574* ['Cancionale, that is book of historical songs'], ed. B. Varjas, Budapest, 1962 (facsimile)
- B. Varjas (ed.), *Tinódi Sebestyén Cronica*, Budapest, 1959 (facsimile)
- N. [Miklós] Istvanffy, *Carmina, ediderunt Josephus Holub et Ladislaus Jubász*, Leipzig, 1935
- Á. Szilády (ed.), *Tinódi Sebestyén összes művei*, Budapest, 1881 (critical edition)
- Sebestyén Tinódi, *Cronica Tinodi Sebestien szörzese. Első részebe Ianos Kirai halalatul fogua ez esztendeig Dunan innet Erdel orszaggal löt minden hadac veszödelmec, reuitedön szép notakual*, Colosvarba [Kolozsvae(r)], Romania, 1554 (author's own edition)

STUDIES

- L. Seláf, 'Between lyric and epic. The great Turkish war in German, Italian and Hungarian "Ereignisliedern"', in J. Kessler, U. Kundert, and J. Oosterman (eds), *Controversial poetry*, Amsterdam, 2015 (the first study to identify affinities in the genre of event poetry across the three cultures and languages)
- M. Dobozy, 'Das Schaffen des ungarischen Dichters Sebastian Tinódi und das europäische Lied', *Phoibos. Zeitschrift für Zupfmusik* (2014) 57-71 (attempts to place Tinódi's poetry and music in the context of European event poetry)

- M. Dobozy, 'Two cultural perspectives on the Battle of Lippa, Transylvania, 1551', *Fifteenth Century Studies* 38 (2013) 21-39 (compares two accounts of the same battle from German (Speltacher) and Hungarian (Tinódi) perspectives that reveal the prejudices of each group)
- I. Vadai, 'História és fabula' ['History and fable'], in I. Csörsz Rumen (ed.), *Tinódi Sebestyén és a régi magyar verses épika* ['Sebestyén Tinódi and Old Hungarian narrative verse'], Kolozsvár/ Cluj, 2008, 17-29
- I. Vadai, 'Kolozvárott kötetet komponálni' ['Composing a book in Kolozsvár'], in C. Rumen (ed.), *Tinódi Sebestyén*, 2008, 79-85
- I. Vadai, 'A Tudósító Ének Műfaja. 1554 Megjelenik Tinódi Sebestyén "Cronicája"' ['The genre of the report. Tinódi's "Cronica" appears in 1554'], in L. Jankovics and G. Orlovsky (eds), *A magyar irodalom története a kezdetektől 1800-ig* ['The history of Hungarian literature from the beginnings to 1800'], Budapest, 2007, 274-85 (distinguishes Tinódi's genre of event poetry within the Hungarian literary genres)
- M.L. Stein, *Guarding the frontier. Ottoman border forts and garrisons in Europe*, New York, 2007
- I.G. Tóth, (ed.), *A concise history of Hungary. The history of Hungary from the early Middle Ages to the present*, Budapest, 2005 (excellent chapter on the Ottoman wars, 1526-1606, pp. 181-97)
- J. Bak, 'Hungary and crusading in the fifteenth century', in N. Housley (ed.), *Crusading in the fifteenth century. Message and impact*, New York, 2004, 116-27
- L. Szilasi, "'Kiknek bor lelkök". Tinódi Sebestyén a borfogyasztás hatásairól: a bor minőségéről szóló kritikai beszéd kezdetei a magyar kultúrában' ['"Those whose soul is wine". Tinódi Sebestyén on the effects of wine. The beginnings of critical discourse in Hungarian culture about wine quality'], *Jelenkor* 47 (2004) 725-33
- D. Abulafia and N. Berend (eds), *Medieval frontiers. Concepts and practices*, Burlington VA, 2002
- N. Berend, *At the gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c.1300*, Cambridge, 2001
- M. Molnár, *A concise history of Hungary*, trans. A. Magyar, Cambridge, 2001

- J. Jankovics, 'The image of the Turks in Hungarian Renaissance literature', in B. Guthmüller and W. Kühlmann (eds), *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, Tübingen, 2000, 267-73 (seeks to locate and trace the same chiliastic interpretation of the Ottoman invasion in all texts, even those that were not written by humanists)
- I.G. Tóth, *Literacy and written culture in Early Modern Central Europe*, trans. T. Vajda and M. Bodóczy, Budapest, 2000
- P. Fodor and G. David (eds), *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The military confines in the era of Ottoman conquest*, Leiden, 2000
- F. Várnai, *Tinódi és kora* ['Tinódi and his times'], Budapest, 2000
- I. Vadai, 'A függőleges beszéd. Tinódi akrosztichonjairól' ['Vertical speech. Tinódi's acrostics'], in M. Balázs et al. (eds), *Művelődési törekvések a korai újkorban* ['Cultural developments in the Early Modern period'], Szeged, 1997, 617-38
- S. Öze, "Kereszténység védőpajzsa" vagy "Üllő és verő közé szorult ország" ['"The stronghold of Christianity" or "a country between hammer and anvil"'], in T. Hofer (ed.), *Magyarok kelet és nyugat közt. A nemzettudat változó jelképei* ['Hungarians between East and West. Changing images of national identity'], Budapest, 1996, 99-107 (revealing study of Ákos Csányi's letters that describe the loss of pride and morale among the garrison soldiers in the 1560s as Hungarian self-identity as 'shield of Christendom' becomes untenable, though the author is unfamiliar with English language studies on the 'shield' ideology)
- S. Öze (ed.), *500 magyar levél a XVI. Századból Csányi Ákos levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz, 1549-1562* ['500 Hungarian letters from the 16th century. The letters of Ákos Csányi to Tamás Nádasdy'], Budapest, 1996
- M. Imre, 'A "magyarország panasza" – toposz a 16. század irodalmában', ['The "Complaints of Hungary" topos in 16th-century literature'], in T. Hofer (ed.), *Magyarok kelet és nyugat közt* ['Hungarians between East and West'], Budapest, 1996, 109-21
- P. Király, *A lantjáték magyarországon a XV. századtól a XVII. század közepéig* ['Lute music in Hungary from the 15th to the middle of the 18th century'], Budapest, 1995
- G. Perjés, *The fall of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Mohács 1526–Buda 1541*, trans. M. Fenyő, Highland Lakes NJ, 1989
- F. Szakály, 'Introduction' (carefully researched historian's perspective with well documented contemporary sources)

- J.M. Bak and B. Király (eds), *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi. War and society in late medieval Hungary and Early Modern Hungary*, Brooklyn NY, 1982
- B. Varjas, *A Magyar reneszánsz irodalom társadalmi gyökerei* ['The social roots of Hungarian Renaissance literature'], Budapest, 1982
- F. Szakály, *A Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban* ['Taxation in Hungary during the Turkish occupation'], Budapest, 1981
- B. Pukánszky, 'Sebastian Tinódi und der deutsche Zeitungsgesang', in *Aus den Forschungsarbeiten der Mitglieder des ungarischen Instituts und des Collegium Hungaricum in Berlin*, Berlin, 1927, 1-3
- L. Dézsi, *Magyar Történeti tárgyú szépirodalom* ['Literature containing historical topics'], Budapest, 1927
- F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1927
- Z. Ferenczi (ed.), *A régi magyar költészet* ['Old Hungarian poetry'], 2 vols, Budapest, s.d. (volume 1 contains a chapter on Tinódi and the poetry of his period)

Maria Dobozy

Johannes Dernschwam von Hradizcin

DATE OF BIRTH 23 March 1494
PLACE OF BIRTH Brüx (present-day Most, Czech Republic)
DATE OF DEATH About 1568
PLACE OF DEATH Schattmannsdorf (present-day Častá in Slovakia, Hungarian: Cseszte)

BIOGRAPHY

Johannes Dernschwam was born in Brüx (present-day Most) in Bohemia, the son of a well-off family, probably of local aldermen or *ministeriales*. His epithet 'von Hradizcin' is not a reference to any noble descent, since it was only conferred on him by Ferdinand I in 1535, probably as a reward for his service to the Fugger family. In 1507, Dernschwam enrolled at the faculty of arts of the University of Vienna. In the winter term of 1509, he moved to Leipzig, and completed his studies in 1510 with a baccalaureate. In Vienna and later in Leipzig, he came in contact with humanists (or their teachings), including Conrad Celtis (Protucius), Georg Tannstetter (Georgius Collimitus), Joachim von Watt (Vadianus), Johannes Cramers and Georg Bawer (Agricola).

In 1513, he went to Rome, where he met the Moravian humanist Stephan Stieröxl (Taurinus). With the latter's support, Dernschwam found an appointment at the Hungarian court in Buda in the entourage of Hieronymus Balbus, tutor of the children of Vladislaus II. In Balbus's employment, Dernschwam came into contact with the mercantile families of the Thurzos and Fuggers, who dominated Hungarian mining.

The beginnings of Dernschwam's professional career are ambiguous. He probably entered into the service of the Fugger company as a cashier in the copper mines in Neusohl, present-day Banská Bystrica in central Slovakia. During a local riot against the Hungarian concessions that had been made to the Fuggers, Dernschwam remained loyal to his employer, and proved his organisational qualities and administrative skills. He was given charge of the Fugger salt mines in Transylvania, and probably retained this post until 1549. After that, he returned to his estates in Schattmannsdorf, present-day Častá in western Slovakia. There is no precise information about his professional career from that time until 1558, when he was appointed head gauger at the Kremnica mint (in

present-day central Slovakia) until 1567. He probably died in 1568, at the age of 74.

Dernschwam was proficient in Hungarian, Polish, Aromanian, classical Greek and Latin, as well as his native German. He was deeply influenced by the humanist learning of the universities he attended, and maintained contacts with leading humanists in the Holy Roman Empire, among them his early employer Hieronymus Balbus, later Bishop of Gurk, and a passionate proponent of a crusade against the Turks, and also such leading figures as Joachim Schweigger (Camerarius the Elder), who published texts of Classical Antiquity, Hieronymus Wolf, the classical philologist, Sebastian Münster, author of the famous *Cosmographia universalis*, Johannes Spiessheimer (Cuspinianus), scholar, poet, diplomat and author of *De Turcarum origine*, and *Oratio protreptica Joannis Cuspiniani*, in which he called the princes of the Holy Roman Empire to wage war against the Turks. Dernschwam's learning is also evidenced by his extensive private library, which, according to his own inventory prepared in 1552, consisted of 651 codices or 1181 single volumes. This collection, which is said to have been one of the most comprehensive libraries in Middle Europe at that time (Reddig, *Reise*, p. 30), included parts of the former library of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, one of the most renowned libraries of the Renaissance world. Dernschwam possessed important works on Islam and the Turks, including writings by Juan Luis Vives and Theodore Bibliander, the German translation of Paolo Giovio's *Commentario de le cose de' Turchi*, and the works of Bartholomaeus Georgius (Bathol Jurijević), who was one of the most prominent authors on the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. Through his travels in the Ottoman Empire, he also acquired Byzantine texts, including manuscripts of John Zonaras, Nicetas Choniates and Gennadius Scholarius.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

H. Hattenhauer and U. Bake (eds), *Ein Fugger-Kaufmann im Osmanischen Reich. Bericht von einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien 1553-1555 von Hans Dernschwam*, Frankfurt am Main, 2012 (trans. into Modern High German, including an appendix with 55 epigraphs copied by Dernschwam, a glossary and the daily itinerary on the road)

Secondary

W. Geier, *Südosteuropa-Wahrnehmungen. Reiseberichte, Studien und biographische Skizzen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 2006, pp. 72-9

- M. Birnbaum, 'The Fuggers, Hans Dernschwam, and the Ottoman Empire', *Südost-Forschungen* 59 (1991) 119-44
- S. Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman (XIV^e-XVI^e siècles). Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités*, Ankara, 1991, pp. 230-3
- W.F. Reddig, *Reise zum Erzfeind der Christenheit. Der Humanist Hans Dernschwam in der Türkei (1553-1555)*, Pfaffenweiler, 1990
- K. Keveházi and I. Monok (eds), *Die Bibliothek Hans Dernschwam. Bücherinventar eines Humanisten in Ungarn*, Szeged, 1984 (inventory of Dernschwam's library; *Catalogus librorum Joannis Dernschwamii*, MS Vienna, Austrian National Library – Cod. 12652)
- F. Kochwasser, 'Der Humanist Hans Dernschwam und sein Bericht', *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 12 (1962) 204-10

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553-55), 'Hans Dernschwam's diary of a journey to Constantinople and Asia Minor (1553-55)'

DATE 1555

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German

DESCRIPTION

In 1553, at the advanced age of 59, without any official assignment or authority and at his own expense, Dernschwam joined the Habsburg diplomatic mission sent by King Ferdinand I to Süleyman I that was headed by Antonius Verantius (Antun Vrančić) and Franz Zay, both of whom Dernschwam knew well. In Constantinople, the imperial ambassador Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, who had gone ahead, and the attendant painter and draughtsman Melchior Lorck were added to the group. The actual incentives that caused Dernschwam to join are unclear, though rather than being encouraged to go by his former employer the Fuggers, it is more likely that he went in search of classical texts, epigraphs and remains, or out of a desire to explore and discover.

Dernschwam's journey lasted about two years. It began on 22 June 1553 in Vienna, and ended there on 11 August 1555. It can be divided into three parts: first, the travelling from Vienna to Constantinople, second, from Constantinople to Amasya (Amaseia) in north-central Anatolia, and third, the way back. The way from Vienna over Esztergom to Buda followed the land route. The journey from Buda to Belgrade was mainly

along the Danube, while the route from Belgrade to Constantinople was again covered overland on the *Via Militaris*. The route in Asia Minor from Constantinople to Amasya followed mainly the ancient *Via Sebaste*, and the return journey was along the same routes.

This division of the journey in three parts equally applies to Dernschwam's travelogue. Two parts deal with the road through Rumelia and Anatolia respectively, while the third and most comprehensive part is concerned with the stay in Constantinople. The ordering principle of the travelogue is a day-to-day report, with differing amounts of detail, giving the daily stages and distances, encounters, living conditions, observations and discoveries along the way, very much a private diary rather than a report for a higher authority or publication.

The original copy of this text, which consists of some 400 folios, was recovered in 1889 in the Fugger castle of Babenhausen in present-day Bavarian Swabia, and is now in the Fugger archive in Dillingen. Two transcripts were found in the Bibliotheca Augusta (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel), one probably from the 16th century and a copy of this from the 18th century. Another highly deficient version was reportedly found in the Czech National Museum in Prague. Although it has been used in a number of studies since the late 19th century, the only edition of the original copy was made in 1923 by the Ottomanist Franz Babinger, though this contains extensive changes and omissions.

Since Dernschwam was not involved in the mission's political and diplomatic concerns, he had time and space for his own observations. As is typical of travelogues, these often reveal more about his own cultural disposition than about the society and people described, although he gives largely impartial descriptions of an impressive range of items, among them the topography and road systems of the Ottoman Empire, its cultural geography and ethnic composition, and the different costumes of people he saw, reflections on housing, religious architecture and baths, as well as classical epigraphs found in Rumelia and Asia Minor. In addition, his travelogue features a wide range of opinions relating to the degree to which the Turks exhibit reason and virtue (true to his humanist outlook). Thus, he sourly comments that Hagia Sophia had been made into 'a den of thieves' (*spelunca latronum*), with its interior full of 'abject Mahometan features' (*machometisch hundtz zaichen*), that Turks do not drink wine *like other people*, but only water like livestock, and that before public prayers 'whoever of the common herd wants to, washes himself openly and shamelessly as do old whores [in our lands]' (ed. Babinger, p. 71). He reveals his estimation of Islam when he comments about the

dervishes that ‘they wanted to experience by force that God appears and speaks to them, as he did to the prophets, or they wanted to go through the way in which the devil revealed the Qur’an to their Muḥammad, who was an epileptic and alleged that an angel had spoken to him’ (ed. Babinger, p. 119).

SIGNIFICANCE

Despite the fact that Dernschwam might be expected to have some reliable knowledge about the Turks, derived from his extensive collection of works on them and his years working in the border zone between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires, the travelogue reveals that he was rarely prepared to scrutinise stereotypical attitudes, but instead it tends to confirm them. Hence, while his work heralds the change in perception of the Turks that came in during the second half of the 16th century, in itself it preserves inherited biased attitudes combined with objective factual knowledge about Turkish society and customs.

The most striking feature of Dernschwam’s attitude towards Turks as the religious other is not his limited capacity to discern certain features or the fact that in his eyes Islam is devoid of any dignity, but his basic lack of knowledge, even about the essentials of the faith. Despite possessing works that could have given him such knowledge, he appears to have shown little curiosity about what he actually witnessed and was content to harbour old prejudices without questioning them.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Dillingen, Fugger Family and Foundation Archive – no shelfmark, fols 1r-219v; I pag. 221-7; II pag. 1-I pag. 364 (1555; original copy)

MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek – Codex Guelferbytanus 40.1 Augusteus 2^o, Nr. 2499 (probably a 16th century copy of MS Dillingen)

MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek – Codex Guelferbytanus 77.1 Augusteus 2^o, Nr. 2757 (probably an 18th century copy of Nr. 2499)

MS Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic – Nr. XVII C 25 (undated; incomplete)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Hattenhauer and Bake (eds), *Ein Fugger-Kaufmann im Osmanischen Reich* (Modern High German trans. of the Babinger edition)

F. Babinger (ed.), *Hans Dernschwam’s Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553-55), nach der Urschrift im Fugger-Archiv*, Munich, 1923

STUDIES

The most recent studies include:

- W. Geier, *Südosteuropa-Wahrnehmungen. Reiseberichte, Studien und biographische Skizzen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 2006, pp. 72-9
- C. Jeggle, 'Die fremde Welt des Feindes? Hans Dernschwams Bericht einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien 1553-1556', in M. Kurz et al. (eds), *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie in der Neuzeit*, Vienna, 2005, 413-26
- Birnbaum, 'The Fuggers, Hans Dernschwam, and the Ottoman Empire' Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman (XIV^e-XVI^e siècles)*, pp. 230-3 (with a detailed itinerary)
- Reddig, *Reise* (with very useful tables of the issues treated by Dernschwam at certain stages)
- K. Kreiser, 'Gefangene, Pilger und Kaufleute. Die Transkriptionstexte des späten Mittelalters und der Neuzeit', in D. Karasek (ed.), *Germano-Turcica. Zur Geschichte des Türkisch-Lernens in den deutschsprachigen Ländern*, Bamberg, 1987, 19-24
- Kochwasser, 'Der Humanist Hans Dernschwam und sein Bericht'

Sevket Küçük Hüseyin

Abbot Eftimie

Egumenul Eftimie

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably around 1500
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly after 1571
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly the monastery of Humor, Moldavia

BIOGRAPHY

Few reliable details are known about the life and career of Eftimie. He certainly was the 'apprentice' of the bishop and chronicler Macarie of Roman, whom he likely knew during his life as a young monk. Eftimie has been successively identified as 'bishop of Rădăuți' (1552), the 'abbot of the Neamț monastery' (1553), who later became the Orthodox bishop and metropolitan in Transylvania (after 1566), the 'abbot of the monastery of Căpřiana', and finally as the 'abbot of the monastery of Humor', who was later appointed as bishop of Rădăuți (around 1558), although firm evidence for any of these identifications is lacking. It is likely that he accomplished a diplomatic mission on behalf of his patron (1561), as his spiritual master Macarie of Roman had a few years earlier (1554).

Eftimie is known for his chronicle, which is the continuation of the work (the short version) of Macarie, and covers the years 1541-54. It is certain that the chronicle was commissioned by Prince Alexandru Lăpușneanul (r. 1552-61, 1563-8) sometime before 1555.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

P.P. Panaitescu (ed.), 'Cronica lui Eftimie', in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan*, Bucharest, 1959, p. 117

Secondary

C.C. Cojocaru and M.C. Cojocaru, *Cronicarul Eftimie de Căpřiana și ucenicul său Isaia 'ot Slatina'*, Iași, 2005

G. Pungă, *Țara Moldovei în vremea lui Alexandru Lăpușneanu*, Iași, 1994, pp. 222-5

E. Turdeanu, 'Autori, copişti, cărți, zugravi și legători de manuscrise în Moldova (1552-1607)', *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'A. D. Xenopol'* (Iași) 30 (1993) 49-90, pp. 52-3

- M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, Bucharest, 1992², pp. 490-2
- Gh. Pungă, 'Adevărata identitate a cronicarului Eftimie', *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'A.D. Xenopol'* (Iași) 25 (1988) 275-80
- R. Șuiu, art. 'Eftimie', in *Dicționarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900*, Bucharest, 1979, 310-11
- G. Mihăilă, 'Cronica lui Eftimie', in G. Mihăilă and D. Zamfirescu (eds), *Literatura română veche: 1402-1647*, Bucharest, 1969, pp. 191-2
- Panaiteescu, 'Cronica lui Eftimie', pp. 106-7
- Academia RPR, *Istoria literaturii române*, Bucharest, 1964, 1970², vol. 1, pp. 261-4
- I. Crăciun and A. Ilieș, *Repertoriul manuscriselor de cronici interne sec. XV-XVIII privind istoria României*, Bucharest, 1963, p. 432
- Șt. Ciobanu, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 1947, pp. 105-9
- N. Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 1940, 1980², vol. 1, pp. 38-9, 41-2
- N. Iorga, *Istoria literaturii românești*, Bucharest, 1925², vol. 1, pp. 156-7
- I. Minea, 'Letopiseștele moldovenști scrise în slavonește', *Cercetări istorice* 1 (1925) 140-61
- D. Dan, *Mănăstirea Sucevița*, Bucharest, 1923, pp. 14, 32, 45-8
- N. Iorga, *Istoria bisericii românești și a vieții religioase a românilor*, Vălenii de Munte, 1908, vol. 1, pp. 155-8
- P.A. Syrku, 'Iz istoriï snoshenii russkikh s rumynami', *Izvestiia otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovenosti imperatorskoï Akademii nauk* (St Petersburg) (n.s.) 1 (1896) 519-42
- I. Bogdan, *Vechile cronice moldovenesci până la Urechia. Texte slave cu studiu, traducere și note*, Bucharest, 1891, pp. 90-2, 280-3 (repr. in I. Bogdan, *Scrieri alese*, ed. G. Mihăilă, Bucharest, 1968)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Chronicle of Moldavia from 1541 to 1554

DATE 1554-5

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Slavonic

DESCRIPTION

Eftimie's work was commissioned by Prince Alexandru Lăpușeanul. Although he claims to continue Macarie's chronicle (indeed Eftimie's text follows Macarie's narrative in the Kiev manuscript), he in fact rewrites the story of the years 1541-52 and then continues it until the first years of Alexandru Lăpușeanul's reign (1552-4).

The unique extant manuscript, known as the 'sbornik of Kiev' or 'of Slatina', was copied by the monk Isaia of the monastery of Slatina, Alexandru Lăpușeanul's main religious foundation, sometime before 1561.

The authenticity of the chronicle is not doubted, even though no manuscript written by Eftimie's hand is preserved. The chronicle contains 16 leaves in the Kiev manuscript and 7 pages in Panaitescu's edition.

Besides Macarie's chronicle, Eftimie also used other Slavonic texts to inform his work. As an official chronicler, it is likely that he had access to official documents and chronicles, but he also drew on his own knowledge and impressions. His style and language are less sophisticated than those of his master, Bishop Macarie.

The text should be viewed in the context of the political situation of the time when it was written, which was marked by political instability and relentless struggles for power. The victor in these struggles was Eftimie's patron, who drove the Rareș family from power and became Prince of Moldavia in 1552. This explains why Eftimie relates the episode of Prince Iliăș Rareș's conversion to Islam in sombre tones. It is also true that the event considerably shocked contemporaries, as Iliăș was the first (and only) Moldavian prince to embrace Islam.

Eftimie's logic is not much different from that of his master Macarie. For him, too, Islam is the 'evil and false faith' and Muḥammad 'the first born of Satan and the son of damnation', and treachery, perversion and debauchery constitute the main features of the Ottoman/Muslim nature and behaviour. In Eftimie's view, the young and inexperienced prince was misled by the Turks, whom he brought to Moldavia from Constantinople where he had previously lived as a hostage for his father. Among them, Eftimie names Prince Iliăș's private confidant, who appears to be the perfect type of the 'evil other': a 'perverse and perverted man' and 'well trained in devilish schemes and witchcraft'. It was under the influence of this 'bad sorcerer' that the prince decided to dismiss his Christian counsellors and rely exclusively on his Turkish entourage. The consequences appeared not long afterwards and may be analysed on two levels. On a personal level, the young prince completely changed his way of living: he no longer drank wine or ate pork, and he preferred to live in depravity with 'impure Hagarian whores' instead of marrying a Christian woman. His attitude towards the Orthodox faith and its symbols and agents also changed, for he insulted the icons and disregarded the priests. The second level concerns his way of governing the people God had entrusted to him. By choosing to live 'in a Turkish way', Iliăș became an anti-monarch: he persecuted and humiliated everybody, including nobles and clergy and, above all, he dreamed up various and brutal ways to extort more and more money from his subjects.

Sympathy for Turkish behaviour and customs was also used by Eftimie to explain the violent death of Ștefan Rareș, the brother and successor of Iliăș, who was assassinated by the nobles in 1552. This was in fact an attempt to justify the way in which his patron Alexandru Lăpușneanul came to power. The storyline is almost the same but for one exception: Ștefan brought into the country not only 'Turkish whores', but also 'Turkish priests', that is, two of the most dangerous agents of the 'wicked faith'.

On the political level, as long as the Ottomans stay away from Moldavia, the Porte's suzerainty over the country is never challenged. Like his master Macarie before him, Eftimie constantly calls the sultan 'the great emperor' or 'the great autocrat' of the Turks (or Persians). His power is without limit and no one can resist it. In consequence, it was inevitable that the Moldavian and Wallachian princes should accept his authority and act on his orders. At the same time, the sultan appreciated the qualities of a good ruler, and of course, Eftimie's patron was a case in point. In this, Eftimie is in line with Macarie's ideas about the sultan as upholder of law and protective authority.

SIGNIFICANCE

Written in a period of deep political and spiritual unrest, Eftimie's chronicle is more than a panegyric devoted to his patron, Prince Alexandru Lăpușneanul. If the stories about Iliăș Rareș's conversion to Islam and the Turkish behaviour of his brother Ștefan clearly serve to legitimize Alexandru's position, they also provide a useful insight into Moldavian ways of seeing the Ottomans. While the Ottoman Empire is regarded as a distant power whose authority over Moldavia may even exhibit positive aspects, the Ottoman as an individual is the incarnation of 'evil otherness'. Like the chronicles of Bishop Macarie and the monk Azarie, Eftimie's work should be considered an expression of a besieged and introverted world whose principles and values were being heavily challenged by direct confrontation with different attitudes and ways of life.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Kiev, V.I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Collection Pochaevska Lavra – 116, fols 482v-499r (between 1554 and January 1561, scribed by the monk Isaia of Slatina)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- F.A. Grekul and V.I. Buganov, *Slavîano-moldavskie letopisi XV-XVI vv.*, Moscow, 1976, pp. 94-104 (Russian trans.)
- Mihăilă and Zamfirescu, *Literatura română veche*, vol. 1, pp. 192-202 (Romanian trans.)
- Panaiteescu, *Cronicile slavo-române*, pp. 109-16 (edition), pp. 117-25 (Romanian trans.)
- Bogdan, *Vechile cronice moldovenesci*, pp. 162-71 (edition), pp. 212-22 (Romanian trans.)

STUDIES

- The Oxford history of historical writing*, vol. 2, ed. S. Foot and C.F. Robinson, Oxford, 2012, pp. 342-3
- Pungă, *Țara Moldovei*, pp. 222-5
- Turdeanu, 'Autori, copişti, cărți', pp. 52-3
- D.H. Mazilu, *Literatura română în epoca Renaşterii*, Bucharest, 1984, pp. 305-20, 411-13
- Şuiu, art. 'Eftimie'
- M. Berza, 'Turcs, Empire Ottoman et relations roumano-turques dans l'historiographie moldave des XV^e-XVIII^e siècles', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 10 (1972) 595-627, pp. 608-9 (repr. in Berza, *Pentru o istorie a vechii culturi româneşti*, ed. A. Pippidi, Bucharest, 1985)
- Mihăilă, 'Cronica lui Eftimie', pp. 191-2
- Academia RPR, *Istoria literaturii române*, vol. 1, pp. 261-4
- Crăciun and Ilieş, *Repertoriul manuscriselor*, p. 432
- Panaiteescu, 'Cronica lui Eftimie', pp. 106-7
- Ciobanu, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, pp. 105-9
- Cartojan, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, i, pp. 38-9, 41-2
- Minea, 'Letopiseţele moldovenesci'
- Dan, *Mănăstirea Suceviţa*, pp. 14, 32, 45-8
- Iorga, *Istoria bisericii româneşti*, i, pp. 161-2
- Syrku, 'Iz istoriîi snoshenii russkikh s rumynami'
- Bogdan, *Vechile cronice moldovenesci*, pp. 92-103, 280-3

Radu G. Păun

Hanibal Lucić

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1485
PLACE OF BIRTH	The town of Hvar (Isle of Hvar), Dalmatia
DATE OF DEATH	1553
PLACE OF DEATH	The town of Hvar (Isle of Hvar), Dalmatia

BIOGRAPHY

Hanibal Lucić was a lyrical poet and dramatist. He spent most of his life on his native island of Hvar and on the island of Vis. There are no confirmed data about his education, but it is possible that he studied law in Italy. He performed various public functions in the municipal administration of Hvar, as city judge, lawyer and municipality advocate. His works were not printed in his own lifetime, and his *Skladanje izvarskih pisan razlicih poštovanoga gospodina Hanibala Lucia vlastelina hvarskoga* ('Collection of various outstanding writings of the revered master Hanibal Lucić, the lord of Hvar') was probably published by his illegitimate son Antonij in Venice in 1556.

Skladanja contains the whole body of Lucić's preserved literary works, except for six panegyric sonnets in Italian dedicated to Venetian officials in Dalmatia. It consists of a short compilation of 22 love poems, a translation of Ovid's heroic poem about Paris and Helen, an ode *U pohvalu grada Dubrovnika* ('Praise of the city of Dubrovnik'), two epitaphs, eight poetical epistles and the drama *Robinja* ('The slave women').

Lucić's love poems are regarded as among the best lyric works of Croatian literature of the early modern age. He unified various poetic schools and traditions (Ovid, Petrarch, Bembo and Ariosto, as well as Croatian Petrarchan and popular poetry). Among Lucić's poetic epistles, the first, which was sent to the lord of Split, Jeronim Martinčić, is usually given prominence: it tells about contemporary political events – an uprising on Hvar from 1510 to 1514, and the Turkish siege of Rhodes by Süleyman I in 1522. Lucić wrote his epistle during the siege, and used oral sources for the information he gives. The panegyric *U pohvalu grada Dubrovnika* praises the social and political order of the Republic of Dubrovnik. Lucić emphasises the political skills of the citizens, who are successful in preserving their freedom from the Turks. Dubrovnik's policy of keeping peace with

the Turks is justified through stereotypic explanations, which emphasise Turkish military might and the discord among the Christians.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Skladanje izvorsnih pisan razlicih počtovanoga gospodina Hanibala Lucia vlastelina hvarskoga, Venice, 1556

Secondary

T. Bogdan, art. 'Lucić, Hanibal', in V. Viskovic (ed.), *Hrvatska književna enciklopedija*, Zagreb, 2010-12, vol. 2

J. Rapacka, art. 'Lucić, Hanibal', in D. Fališevac, K. Nemeč and D. Novaković (eds), *Leksikon hrvatskih pisaca*, Zagreb, 2000

D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca. Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar, 2004

D. Fališevac, 'Poetika Lucićeva kanconijera', in *Dani hvarskog kazališta XIII. Hanibal Lucić*, Split, 1987, 181-203

P.S. Novak, 'Posteljni i ženidbeni obredi u Lucićevoj *Robinji*', in *Dani hvarskog kazališta XIII. Hanibal Lucić*, Split, 1987, 156-67

M. Franičević, 'Hanibal Lucić', in Hanibal Lucić and Petar Hektorović, *Skladanja izvorsnih pisan razlicih. Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje i razlike stvari ine*, ed. M. Franičević, Zagreb, 1968, 7-25

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Robinja

DATE 1556

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

Robinja is a simple drama in three acts with a short prologue, 1038 verses in total. Set in Dubrovnik, it is one of the earliest secular dramas of Croatian literature, and the first with a contemporary topic. The main story is about the love between Robinja, an aristocratic girl who has been captured by Ottoman soldiers, and Derenčin, a young noble who buys her from Turkish traders on the slave market in Dubrovnik. The drama pivots around the motif of Robinja's liberation, a theme that already existed in folklore (in the popular dramatic game 'moreška', which was played throughout the Mediterranean), and also in earlier works written by authors in Dubrovnik (Džore Držić and Mavro Vetranović).

Turks are portrayed in two different ways in the drama. In Robinja's account of her capture, they are predatory violators (Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*, p. 51), though she also refers to them as helping her, while the Turkish slave traders become Derenčin's helpers. Thus, Turks cease to be merely infidel invaders from the East, and take on the role of new neighbours (Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*, pp. 51, 247). At the same time, Derenčin threatens to attack the Turks beyond the boundaries of Dubrovnik's rule, where her neutrality is no longer effective, and the drama ends with the ruler of Dubrovnik praising Robinja and Derenčin's homeland of Hungary, which has been interpreted as the author's desire for concord and solidarity between the two Christian polities in the face of the Turkish threat (Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*, p. 52). Some scholars also think that the drama voices sharp criticism of the policy followed by Dubrovnik of maintaining the *status quo* with the Turks (Vončina, *O izvorima i jezičnim slojevima*, p. 266).

Such complex representations of Christian-Turkish relations are also evident in Lucić's first letter to Jeronim Martinčić, where he is restrained in his judgments when he describes the siege of Rhodes by the Turks. He refrains from overly negative descriptions of the Turkish conquerors, avoids stereotypical explanations, and offers reasoned explanations for the Turkish attack (Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*, pp. 52-3). His approach is similar in the poem *U pohvalu grada Dubrovnika*, where despite describing the Turks stereotypically as religious enemies, there is neither any idea about the necessity of this religious war, nor any judgment of each instance of Christian cooperation with the Turks as a betrayal of Christianity (Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*, p. 52).

SIGNIFICANCE

Although Lucić's drama has been interpreted as expressing typical negative stereotypes about the Turks, it is the first work in Croatian literature that articulates the idea of the possibility of cooperation between Christians and the Turks. In addition, it is only after this drama that Turkish characters (often Muslim Slavs) appear and then only in comedies, frequently portraying the traditional image of Turkish heroism, strength or bragging (Džore Držić, *Tripče de Utoľče*; *Komedija od Raskota*; Martin Benetović, *Hvarkinja*; *Šimun Dundurilo*).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Petar Hektorović, *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*, Hanibal Lucić, *Robinja*, ed. and trans. M. Grčić, with T. Maroević and M. Tomasović, Zagreb, 1988

Hanibal Lucić and Petar Hektorović, *Skladanja izvarsnih pisan razlicih. Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje i razlike stvari ine*, ed. M. Franičević, Zagreb, 1968

S. Žepić (ed.), *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*, Zagreb, 1847 (critical edition)

A. Mažuranić (ed.), *Skladanja*, Zagreb, 1847

Robinja gospodina Anibala Lucia Hvarškoga vlastelina, Venice, 1638

Skladanje izvarsnich pisan razlicih počtovanoga gospodina Hanibala Lucia vlastelina Hvarškoga, Venice, 1556

STUDIES

D. Dukić, 'Osmanizam u hrvatskoj književnosti od 15. do sredine 19. stoljeća', in K. Bagić (ed.), *Jezik književnosti i književni ideologemi*, Zagreb, 2007, 87-103

Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*

J. Vončina, 'O izvorima i jezičnim slojevima Lucićeve *Robinje*', *Mogućnosti* 23 (1976) 253-93

F. Švelec, '*Robinja Hanibala Lucića*', *Mogućnosti* 20 (1973) 668-81

Dubravka Dulibić-Paljar

Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich

Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich przez jednego z tych Tatarów złożone sułtanowi Sulejmanowi; Risalei Tatari Leh, 'Report on the Lithuanian Tatars submitted to Sultan Süleyman by a Tatar'

DATE 1558

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Probably Polish

DESCRIPTION

This short text of 22 pages gives an abundance of information about Muslims living in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the mid-16th century. It was written in 1558 by an anonymous Tatar from the Grand Duchy, or someone who knew the circumstances of the Tatars so well that he was able to describe the Tatar settlements, and specifically to name villages and hamlets. It was addressed to the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman 'the Magnificent' when the author was in Istanbul on his way to Mecca. The original was presumably written in Polish, though the only known version is in a simple form of Turkish. This translation was probably made so that the document could be presented to the sultan through his son-in-law, Rustem Pasha. In recent years, some have doubted its authenticity, though strong arguments based on language and historical details have been made in favour of its historical reliability.

The *Report* starts with a brief account of the land of 'Lehistan', referring to its location and its Christian and Jewish population. The term 'Lehistan' means 'Poland', and it is curious that the author does not say that he was from Lithuania, because the Commonwealth of the two Nations (*Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów*) – 'Poland' – only formally came into being in 1569, and the main Tatar settlements were in Lithuania. The author describes the history of Tatar settlement in Lithuania, and then explains why he is on such a long journey through Istanbul on his way to Mecca.

The main body of the *Report* deals mainly with aspects of the religious life of Muslims living in a Christian state. It presents mosque construction in great detail, stating that in the mosques in Lithuania there are separate prayer spaces for men and women, and describes how the

imams do their job of teaching religion and preparing future generations of imams. The author bemoans the lack of continuing religious contacts with the Muslim world, especially with the Crimean Khanate, owing wars, and affirms that the Tatar settlers are attached to their religion: 'We will never cease to boast that we are Muslims.'

The *Report* refers to the problem of mixed Christian-Muslim marriages, and stresses that in Lithuania only monogamy is practised. When they arrived there, the Muslims were given land in return for providing military service. Those of them who settled in towns were artisans, cart drivers, or cultivators of vegetable gardens, though there is great poverty among the majority of Muslims.

The *Report* ends with praise of the sultan, his army and the state. In the conclusion the author affirms: 'It would be the greatest happiness for our co-religionists if we could pass under the mighty protection of the Ottoman padishahs, the most powerful, inspiring the greatest fear in all lands.'

SIGNIFICANCE

The work appears to be the first description of the Muslim community living in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was not created as a carefully planned text, but was composed ad hoc in Istanbul for Ottoman officials who wanted an account of Muslims living among infidels, their customs and way of life. As such, it gives a vivid picture of Muslims in northern Europe in the 16th century.

MANUSCRIPTS

The original is lost, and the whereabouts of the Turkish translation are unknown.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- A. Muchliński, 'Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich przez jednego z tych Tatarów złożone sułtanowi Sulejmanowi w r. 1558', *Teka Wileńska* 4 (1858) 5-29 (edition and Polish trans. with facsimile of the Turkish translation); *Teka Wileńska* 5-6 (1858) (translator's commentary)

Offprints bound together as separate publications held in the Polish National Library in Warsaw (Biblioteka Narodowa), see, e.g., sygn. II 2027792

STUDIES

- A. Konopacki, *Życie religijne Tatarów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XIX wieku*, Warsaw, 2010 (quotations)

- Z. Kanapacka, 'Risale-i-Tatar-i-Lech – kashtoŭnaia krynitsa pa gistoryi litoŭskikh tatarau XVI st.', *Belaruski gistarychny chasopis* 7 (2004) 33-40
- Z. Kanapacka, 'Risale-i-Tatar-i-Lech – tsennyi istochnik po istorii i kul'ture litovskich tatar XVI veka', in *Tiurskie narody v istorii Belarusi. Materialy IX mezhdunarodno-prakticheskoi konferentsii*, Minsk, 2003, 95-106
- K. Grygajtis, 'Osadnictwo Tatarów gospodarskich w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim XIV-XVIII w.', *Rocznik Tatarów Polskich* 8 (2003) 7-280
- J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce. Studia z dziejów XIII-XVIII wieku*, Warsaw, 1989
- J. Sobczak, *Położenie prawne ludności tatarskiej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, Warsaw, 1984
- M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, 'Lehistan Tatarları Hakkında Bir Risale, Risale-i Tatar-ı Leh', *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1 (1971) 121-30
- S. Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej*, Warsaw, 1938 (includes quotations and references)
- A. Muchliński, *Izsledowanije o proischozhdienii i sostojanii Litovskich tatar*, St Petersburg, 1857 (earliest quotations and reference)

Artur Konopacki

Antonius Verantius

Antonius Vrantius, Antun Vrančić, Verancsics Antal,
Antonio Veranzio

DATE OF BIRTH 29 May 1504
PLACE OF BIRTH Sebenico, Dalmatia (Šibenik, Croatia)
DATE OF DEATH 15 June 1573
PLACE OF DEATH Eperjes, Hungarian Kingdom (Prešov,
Slovakia)

BIOGRAPHY

Antonius Verantius was a diplomat, prelate, historiographer, neo-Latin poet and a leading figure of the Renaissance in Hungary. He was born in Sebenico (now Šibenik, Croatia) into a noble Dalmatian family from Bosnia. After earning his master's degree at the University of Padua in 1526, Verantius found his way to the court of John of Szapolya, King of Hungary, and there he served mainly as a diplomat for almost two decades. In the 1530s, he went three times as the king's envoy to Bosnia, which was annexed by the Ottoman Empire, for negotiations with local leaders, and in this way he became familiar with the negotiating style and customs of the Turks.

In 1549, when the Hungarian throne was being contested, Verantius went over to Ferdinand I of Habsburg. There, he continued his career in both state administration and the church. He was made bishop of Fünfkirchen/Pécs in 1553, bishop of Erlau/Eger in 1558, and in 1569 archbishop of Gran/Esztergom and primate of Hungary. He was also made a cardinal by the pope.

The most important part of Verantius's political career was his work as a diplomat – his knowledge of languages and education, together with his good looks and rhetorical skills made him an obvious candidate for diplomatic missions. As a representative of King Ferdinand I, he visited several European monarchs and participated in important negotiations and peace treaties, though it was his missions to the Ottomans, especially his first mission, to Sultan Süleyman I in 1553-7, that really brought him fame.

During an extended stay in Turkey, Verantius collected inscriptions and manuscripts. He brought home the manuscript known as *Codex*

Verantius, which became one of the sources of Joannes Leonclavius's *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*, printed in 1591. Although he could not secure a peace treaty in Istanbul, after his return to Hungary the king put him in charge of the prestigious bishopric of Eger.

In 1567-8, as archbishop of Esztergom, he led a second delegation on behalf of the Emperor Maximilian II to negotiate with Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-74), and successfully secured peace for eight years.

During these two missions, Verantius sent a steady stream of letters back home. They leave no doubt that he held the Turks and their political methods in very low esteem. On his first mission, when he was accompanied by Francis Zay, he remarks that the Turks have extensive networks of spies, and attempt to intimidate neighbouring powers by spreading rumours of aggressive movements against them. By January 1557, he had been waiting for three years to sign a peace treaty with the sultan and was feeling he could not expect anything positive. He expressed the opinion that King Ferdinand could only trust in weapons to achieve his objectives, because any other method was futile (*solis sane armis . . . omnem fiduciam collocasse tutissimum fore*).

On his second mission, when he was accompanied by Christoph Teuffenbach, Verantius learnt new things about the Turks, but he did not change his opinion of them. He continued to think that perfidy was their basic characteristic (*perfidiae Turcicae*), and that they planned everything deceitfully (*omnia dolis agunt*).

Among a small number of printed works, Verantius's political career is represented by his speeches. As a historiographer, his ambition was to continue Antonio Bonfini's history of Hungary, and in 1549 he even found five manuscript books of Bonfini's unpublished work. Throughout his life, he continued to collect information and sources for his great history, which he started in 1531, but he never finished it, being preoccupied with his church and state responsibilities.

As a typical Renaissance personality, Verantius conducted extensive correspondence with several humanist scholars of his age. He was also a renowned neo-Latin poet. In his poem entitled *Ad Hungaros* ('To the Hungarians'), he expressed his political credo and warned the nobility of the kingdom that if they continued to fight among themselves, the country, a large part of which was already ruled by the Turks, would share the fate of Greece, which had ceased to be an independent state.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- A. Stoeckelius (Anselm Stöckl), *Verancius – Epos panegyricum Antonii Verancii Valenensis Archiepiscopi encomia complectens*, Munich, 1579
- M. Bel, *Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica, divisa in partes quatuor, quarum prima Hungariam Cis-Danubianam; Altera Transdanubianam; Tertia Cis-Tibiscanam; Quarta Trans-Tibiscanam universim XLVIII comitatibus designatam expromit*, Tomus primus, Vienna, 1735, pp. 485-93
- N. Schmitth, 'Antonius Verantius Episcopus Agriensis XLV', in N. Schmitth, *Episcopi Agrienses fide diplomatum concinnati*, Tyrnavia (Nagyszombat), 1768, vol. 3, pp. 22-103
- A. Fortis, *Travels into Dalmatia*, London, 1778, pp. 120-30 (repr. New York, 1971)
- F. Verantius, 'Vita Antonii Werantii Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis et Cardinalis ac per Hungarium Locumtenentis', in M.G. Kovachich, *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum minores hactenus inediti (SRHM)*, Buda, 1798, vol. 1, 194-201
- J.C. von Engel, 'Antonius Verantius', in J.C. von Engel, *Staatskunde und Geschichte von Dalmatien, Croatien, und Slavonien nebst einigen ungedruckten Denkmälern ungrischer Geschichte*, Halle, 1798, 158-62
- 'Summa successus ultimae actionis legatorum Antonii Verancii, Francisci Zay et Augerii a Busbechi apud Principem Turcatum Zoleimanum habita 1557 mense Augusto', in M.G. Kovachich, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum minores hactenus inediti*, Buda, 1798, vol. 2, 180-223
- S. Katona, *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis Austriacae*, Buda, 1798, *Tomulus III. Ordine XXII. Ab anno 1551 ad annum 1557*, pp. 457-93, 544-627, 732-87, 943-88; *Tomulus V-VI. Ordine XXIV-XXV. Ab anno 1564 ad annum 1576*, Buda, 1798, vol. 5, pp. 404-97; vol. 6, pp. 1-92
- J.F. Miller (ed.), *Epistolae imperatorum et regum Hungariae Ferdinandi Primi et Maximiliani Secundi ad suos in porta Ottomanica oratores Antonium Verantium, Franciscum Zay, Augerium Busbek, Albertum Wyss, et Christophorum Teuffenpach. quas ex autographis edidit*, Pest, 1808

Secondary

- É. Gyulai, 'Verancsics Antal', in P. Kőszeghy (ed.), *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon. Középkor és kora újkor (MAMŰL)*, Budapest, 2011, vol. 12, 395-9
- É. Gyulai, 'Egy közép-európai tudós portréjához. Verancsics-ikonográfia', in G. Czoch, G. Horváth and P. Pozsgai (eds), *Parasztkor és polgárok. Tanulmányok Tóth Zoltán 65. születésnapjára*, Budapest, 2008, 182-6
- Z. Gál-Mlakár, 'Adatok Verancsics Antal udvarának történetéhez', *Fons* 14 (2007) 279-337
- B. Lučin, 'Antun Vrančić i Erazmo Rotterdamski. Aporije jednoga dodiramore', *Mogućnosti* (Književni krug Split) 4-6 (2007) 168-75
- V. Lakić and M. Zenić (eds), *Zbornik o Antunu Vrančiću. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa o Antunu Vrančiću, Šibenik 11.-12. lipnja 2004*, Šibenik, 2005

M.D. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a shattered world. Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the sixteenth century*, Bloomington IN, 1986

P. Sörös, *Verancsics Antal élete*, Esztergom, 1898

J. Podhradzky, *Néhai Werancsics Antal esztergomi érseknek példás élete*, Pest, 1857

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Iter Buda Hadrianopolim anno 1553, 'Journey from Buda to Hadrianopolis in 1553'

DATE 1553

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This account of Verantius's journey to Istanbul is incomplete, only going as far as Hadrianopolis (Adrianople, now Edirne). It was published in 1774 by the Venetian writer and cartographer Alberto Fortis as the supplement to his book describing Dalmatia.

Verantius and his escort set off along the Danube on 23 July 1553. The pasha of Buda provided them with four cargo ships and six corvettes. Prejudiced as he was against the Turks, Verantius was pleasantly surprised by the pasha, who 'talked with him in a civilised, friendly and cordial way in contrast to every custom of his people' (*a passa budensi auditi, nobis se humanissimum exhibuit, et non solum nobiscum familiariter, sed et civiliter praeter omnem suae gentis morem colloquutus est*). When they were nearing Niš, the delegation came to the old Roman road, which was still called Trajan's road, and Verantius was surprised that the memory of the emperor had been preserved among such savage barbarians as the Turks (*miratus sum tanti imperatoris memoriam adhuc apud tam rudes barbaros superesse*).

Verantius hardly ever speaks about the Ottoman conquest, though he notes its impact. Sailing along the Danube through the territory of the Ottomans, he saw decayed, abandoned and ruined castles and settlements. On the site of the market town of Kamoncz in Syrmia/Serm (now Novi Sad–Sremska Kamenica, Serbia), which had 150 stone houses before the Turkish conquest, he saw only 15 huts covered with straw. At Zemlinum (Semlin, today Zemin-Beograd, Serbia), he remarks that the market town and its castle 'were built in old times by our Hungarian compatriots' for the protection of Beograd, but the castle has been completely destroyed and the town degraded to a village. He does not mention

that Beograd was an administrative and military centre in the Ottoman Empire from 1521.

On 3 August 1553, the delegation left the Danube in the region of Smederovo, and continued on land along the right bank of the River Morava (Velika-Morava, Serbia). Here, they came across a strange procession, which gave Verantius his first 'culture shock'. It consisted of horses and donkeys carrying huge baskets with people in them, the faces of some covered with linen cloth. In answer to Verantius's question about who these people were, the leaders of the group told him that they were prisoners, and those with their faces covered were young people or noblemen whom they protected in this way from the wind and sun or from being recognised by their relatives. These human traffickers had come from Thrace or even from inner Asia to the Balkan border castles to buy their goods there cheaply 'in bulk' (*in copia*), and they would then sell them in the Ottoman Empire for a much higher price. Verantius comments: 'It was horrible and deplorable to see humans bought, sold and driven like beasts, and what is more, as cheaply too.'

He had a similarly shocking experience when he was about to cross the River Morava at the village of Drevent. Here, too, the delegation met Turks whose leader was conspicuous for the richness of his garments. The Turks were leading five Egyptians or Zigans (*Aegyptii, quos nunc Ciganos sive Cinganos appellamus*), who were wailing and bound together with a huge chain. The Turks identified themselves as tax collectors who were collecting taxes in the form of both money and children (*impuerum tributum*). Verantius says that the Turks used to collect children as tax every five years, but now they demanded them every two or three years. 'I was horrified by this wicked tithe and ignominy (*Exhorru nefarias decumas et contumeliam*)', he writes, and he adds that it would be good if this were taken into consideration by those who longed to live under Turkish rule and thought that Turkish people were compassionate towards Christians. In all probability, this remark was addressed to those who opposed Ferdinand I of Habsburg and sought an alliance with the Turks.

The first city that Verantius describes as typically Turkish is Sofia in Bulgaria. He admires the mosques with their minarets and prayer niches not on the east but on the south side, and he counts as many as 13 minarets. He notes that only public buildings had any architectural merit, and that churches had often been converted for other uses.

In Philippopolis (Plovdiv), the travellers met a Serb whom Verantius asked about the Christian religion and relics. It turned out that, in

earlier times, there had been two huge monasteries in the surrounding mountains and, when the Turks occupied the city, one of them, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, simply disappeared together with its monks, leaving behind only a huge crater, while the other was demolished by the Turks, although 70 of those who had destroyed it with blasphemous hands died suddenly within a few days. Christianity had not survived in Plovdiv, because the old Christians had gradually died, and the youngsters, whose task it is to spread and maintain the Christian faith, prefer to convert to Islam in order to have better prospects.

Verantius's account tails off before he arrives in Hadrianopolis.

SIGNIFICANCE

Since its first edition of 1774, the description of the journey as far as Edirne has been popular reading, and is also an important source about the Balkans under Turkish occupation.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattára [National Széchényi Library] – OSZK Kt. Fol. Lat. 2380/III; Fol. Lat. 422/II fols 76-98 (16th century; autograph)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Utazási napló, 1553', in L. Szalay and G. Wenzel (eds), *Verancsics Antal m. kir. helytartó, esztergomi érsek összes munkái*, Pest, 1857-75, vol. 1 (MHHS 2), 288-334

'Antonii Verantii Sebenicensis iter Buda Hadrianopolim', in Fortis, *Travels into Dalmatia*, 549-80

'Iter Buda Hadrianopolim Anno MDLIII exaratum ab Antonio Verantio . . . Nun primum e Verantiano Carthophylacio in lucem editum', in A. Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, Venice, 1774, vol. 1, Supplementum, i-xlvi

The text is available at: <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/navigate.pl?croala.265>

STUDIES

A. Wunder, 'Western travellers, Eastern antiquities, and the image of the Turk in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Early Modern History* 7 (2003) 89-119

M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York, 1997

H. Derschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*, ed. F. Babinger, Munich, 1923

C.T. Forster and F.H.B. Daniel (eds), *The life and letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, 2 vols, London, 1881

De Turcarum tyranno emblema, 1558, 'Emblem on the tyrant of the Turks, 1558'

DATE 1558

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Verantius wrote and published this one-page emblem poem accompanied by a woodcut in Vienna in spring 1558, immediately after his first mission to Constantinople (1553-7). In the poem, which is addressed to Archduke and King of Bohemia, Maximilian of Habsburg, the son of King Ferdinand I, he summarises his experiences, and gives his opinion of Sultan Süleyman I.

The vocabulary used in connection with Süleyman – *tumefactus, furens, fraude, perfidia, violat, tyrannum, impius, saevit, insidiis, fallax, pessundat, devorat, ferus, calcat, odit, atrox, frustra* – depicts a cruel tyrant. His success in fighting has made him conceited, every political and military act of his is laden with violence, and scheming is his fundamental method. He violates agreements and peace treaties, and directs raving violence not only towards his enemies but also towards his own people. Surprisingly, he cannot be 'bought' or persuaded to abandon his intentions with either flattery or wealth, because in the popular mind Turks (or people of the East) can be enticed to do anything for presents. The main message of the poem is in the last line: we need the sword now (*ense opus est*) and not peace negotiations, as Süleyman, who only understands the language of weapons, only likes those he fears (*quos timet hos et amat*).

The woodcut that accompanies the poem underlines this message. The central figure is Fortuna, goddess of unpredictability. She balances with one foot on a ball, and is holding a Turkish turban with an ostrich plume, into which a straight sword is thrust by an iron-clad hand protruding from a cloud. The message is clear: the turban, the Ottoman sultan, can only be defeated with weapons.

SIGNIFICANCE

Verantius meant the poem and print to be a warning that the kingdom's authorities should not trust the sultan or the Turks because they were unreliable and only understood the language of weapons. It seems that Archduke Maximilian, who came to the throne in July 1564 as King Maximilian I of Hungary, heeded this advice, and in February 1565 launched a war against the Turks in Hungary.

This verse and the woodcut were incorporated into the second edition of Johannes Sambucus's (János Zsámboky) *Emblemata* in 1566. The woodcut was later copied for other German prints, and Verantius's poem was translated into German in a booklet on Turkish leaders in 1597.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Zadar, Croatia, Znanstvena knjižnica Zadar – Codex Lucianus 25290, 617, fol. 10 (1558; *Antonius Verantius, Ad inelytum Bohemiae regem Maximilianum de Turcarum tyranno – Varia Dalmatica*)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Croatiae auctores Latini (CroALa) Collectio electronica, <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.199:1:o.croala>, <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.201:1:o.croala>

S. Dilbaum, *Ein schön warhafftig und frewdenreich new Lied, Von eroberung der herrlichen Vestung Raab in Ungern: wie die von dem Wolgebornen Herrn Herrn Adolph von Schwarzenberg Freyherrn den 29. Tag des Monats Martii im Jar 1598 Ritterlich erobert und eingenommen*, Augsburg: Michael Manger, 1598

Prosapia vel genealogia imperatorum Turcicorum. Das ist: Ein kurtzer summarischer Ausszug, aller türckischen Kayser, wie lang die geregiert, gelebt... mit sampt jhren wahren Contrafacturen oder Bildnussen, von Kayser Ottoman an, biß auffjetzt regierenden Mahometen... Item: Von Art und Eygenschafft dess Türckens, Straubing: Andre Sommer, 1597

Joannes Sambucus, *Emblemata, cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis*, Antverpiae, 1566 (altera editio)

De Turcarum tyranno emblema, Viennae: Raphael Hofhalter, 1558 (single-leaf woodcut), RMK III. 5272 (Exemplar: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Régi Nyomtatványok Tára [National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Rare Prints] OSZK RNYT App. H. 1783)

STUDIES

É. Gyulai, 'Ense opus est – Verancsics Antal emblémaverse I. Szulejmán szultánról, 1558', *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis, Sectio Philosophica XVI, Fasciculus 2* (2011) 129-67, http://epa.oszk.hu/02100/02137/00023/pdf/EPA02137_publ_uni_miskolciensis_2011_2_129.pdf (with a reproduction of the original woodcut)

Dialogus cum fratre suo Michaelae de itinere et legatione sua Constantinopolitana, 1558, 'Dialogue with his brother Michael about his journey and mission to Constantinople'

DATE 1558

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Like his brother, Michael Verantius (Mihovil Vrančić, 1507-71) first served in the court of King John of Szapolya (Zápolya), then in that of his widow, and spent a lot of time in Cracow. When Antonius set off for Istanbul in 1553, Michael undertook to manage his estates.

This dialogue between Antonius and Michael, preserved in fragment, was written by Antonius in 1557-8 after his return to Hungary, in order to explain why he went on the mission. As Michael puts it, visiting the Turks is as dangerous as jumping into fire or water because ambassadors have either returned from Turkey with diseases or died there.

King Ferdinand asked several people to go, but Antonius undertook the mission in order to support him in his attempts to restore the medieval kingdom to its former status. Michael is curious about the long voyage down the Danube through Balkan regions under Ottoman rule, and also about how the various places described by ancient authors have changed. Antonius summarises his experiences in two words: barbarism and perplexity (*barbaries et perplexitas*). Everything he sees is decayed and desolate, and places have lost their former names and have new Turkish ones. The local people are afraid to say anything about the Turks, while the Turkish inhabitants give such unclear answers that the embassy hardly understands anything.

Antonius says that the Turks regard all ambassadors as enemies, so they provide them with escorts right up to the border. They accompany them day and night, ostensibly to protect them from the dangers of the journey, but in fact to prevent them from looking around and sending or receiving letters.

In the rest of the dialogue, Antonius outlines the circumstances of his journey and speaks about conditions in Transylvania. The dialogue tails off before getting to the main events of the mission.

SIGNIFICANCE

The dialogue gives some first-hand details about life in Eastern Europe under Turkish rule.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattára [National Széchényi Library] – Kt. Fol. Lat. 159/I fols 82-88 (late 18th, early 19th centuries)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Dialogus cum fratre suo Michaele (De itinere et legatione sua Constantinopolitana dialogus), 1558', in L. Szalay and G. Wenzel (eds), *Verancsics Antal m. kir. helytartó, esztergomi érsek összes munkái*, Pest, 1857-75, vol. 1 (MHHS 2), 268-88; vol. 3 (MHHS 4), 1-7

'De itinere et legatione sua Constantinopolitana Antonii Verantii cum fratre suo Michaele Dialogus, Fragmentum', in M.G. Kovachich, *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum minores hactenus inediti*, Buda, 1798, vol. 2, 157-77

STUDIES

D. Sorići and M. Lončar, 'Pismom protiv nepoželjnih čitatelja. Kodirane poruke Mihovila i Antuna Vrančića', *Colloquia Maruliana* 22 (2013) 49-73

J. Bessenyei, 'Verancsics Mihály', in P. Kőszeghy (ed.), *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon. Középkor és kora újkor (MAMŰL)*, Balassi, 2011, vol. 12, 401-2

K. Čvrljak, 'Antun Vrančić i njegovi hrvatski korespondenti, europski renesansni epistolografi', in Lakić and Zenić, *Zbornik o Antunu Vrančiću*, 51-88

D. Novaković, 'Neobjavljena ostavština Antuna, Mihovila i Fausta Vrančića: R-5717 u rukopisnoj zbirci NSK u Zagrebu / Hitherto unknown texts by Antonius, Michael and Faustus Verantius (Vrančić): ms. R- 5717 in National and University Library Zagreb', in Lakić and Zenić, *Zbornik o Antunu Vrančiću*, 155-81

Éva Gyulai

Nifont Kormilitsin

Nifont Kormilitsyn

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Approximately 1561
PLACE OF DEATH Volokolamsk Monastery

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about Nifont's birth or early years. He was made a monk in the Iosifo-Volokolamsk Monastery at the beginning of the 16th century and soon became one of the more active members of the literary circle of those influenced by the monastery founder, Iosif of Volokolamsk. From 1522 to 1543, he was abbot of the monastery. In his time at Volokolamsk, Nifont strove to enlarge the monastery library and to educate the monks through new compilations.

In 1533, Nifont accompanied Grand Prince Vasiliï III from the Volokolamsk monastery to Moscow, when the prince was taken ill during a hunting trip in the area. In Moscow, he was present when Vasiliï was made a monk on his deathbed.

Between 1543 and 1554, he was an archemandrite at the Novo-Spasskii Monastery and took part in the church council of 1549 and the Kazan campaign of 1550. In 1554, he was made bishop of Krutitsk and Sarai, and served as the intermediary between Rus' and the Golden Horde. In 1555, he participated in the investiture of bishop Guria of Kazan.

According to the '1545 Description of the Iosif Volokolamsk Monastery', Nifont was still alive in 1561 and had retired to Volokolamsk monastery. He died there in 1561 and left his books to the monastery.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

'Opis' Iosifova Volokolamskogo monastyrya 1545 (7053) goda', in V.T. Georgievskii, *Freski Ferapontova monastyria*, St Petersburg, 1911, p. 20 (on Nifont's death)

Secondary

R.P. Dmitrieva, art. 'Nifont Kormilitsyn, episkop Krutitskii i Sarskii', in D.S. Likhachev (ed.), *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi (vtoraia polovina XIV-XVI v.)*, Leningrad, 1989, vol. 2/2, pp. 141-4

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

O sviatom muchenike, izhe za Khrista muchen vo grade Kazani, 'About a holy martyr Ivan, who was tortured for Christ in the city of Kazan'
Zhitie Ioanna Kazanskogo, 'The life of Ioann of Kazan'

Skazanie velikago i slavnago chiudesi, ezhe byst' vo grade Kazani, 'An account of the great and glorious wonders that happened in the town of Kazan'

DATE Not later than the 1550s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Many monks at Volokolamsk Monastery in the 1550-60s were veterans of the Kazan campaigns, so Nifont may not be the author of this work. The attribution is given by Kuntsevich, 'Maloizvestnye zapisi', who believes that Nifont was the author of everything in MS Rossiikaia natsional'naia biblioteka – Q.XVII.64. Some details suggest that the author had been in Kazan. The exact date of writing is not known, though it is likely to be close to the date of the earliest known manuscript, which was written in the 1550s.

The account is very short, one page long, and belongs to the genre of saints' lives. It tells of the murder by the Tatars of a captive called Ivan after he refused to renounce his Orthodox faith. The event is dated 24 January 1529, and the account is found under this year in three Menaion Readers, Sinodal'nii, Chudovskii and Tulupov.

In the account, Ivan was born in Nizhnii Novgorod. He was made a slave of Ali-Shukuria in Kazan, and he refused to renounce Christianity and become a Muslim. Even torture could not change his mind, and he was finally executed. After his death, miracles occurred around his body, and he even rose from the dead, told his story to a priest and then died again. The account ends with his burial in the 'old Russian cemetery'.

Tatars appear in this account as anti-Christian aggressors, a role that in the stories of the early martyrs was assigned to the pagan Romans. These Tatars thus conform to the dictates of the martyrdom genre, rather than acting according to their own ways as people who adopted Islam late and retained their former shamanistic tolerance of other religions.

The *Life* appears in the same manuscript as Nifont Kormilitsyn's description of the Kazan campaign, and also in the later 1590 recensions of the *Kazanskaia istoriia*. The text is the same as in *Velikie minei chetii* of 1552. But Nifont's authorship is not certain. He may have brought the story back from the Kazan campaign, or he may have written it during his time there.

Generally speaking, the *Life* bears the traces of a standard martyr's life, and there are no features to distinguish it from many other examples. It is possible that there may not have been a historical martyr called Ivan.

SIGNIFICANCE

This account is significant in the same way as all accounts of martyrs; it served as an encouragement to the faithful who read and heard it. Its setting in a Muslim region and the link to recent history gave it currency and vividness to remind its audience of their own duties.

From the middle of the 16th century, the legends of martyrs in the West were rewritten, and accounts of Christian martyrs at the hands of the Ottomans in the Balkans were inserted. This account presumably served the same purpose at a time when Muslims presented a common threat.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS St Petersburg, Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka – Q.XVII.64, pp. 254-254v (before 1561; described in Zimin and Lur'e, *Poslaniia Iosifa Volotskogo*, pp. 101-7)

MS Moscow, Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka – Volokolamsk Sobranie, Martin Rykov, no. 520 (16th century; copies exist in other Volokolamsk volumes, dates unknown)

MS St Petersburg, Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka – Tolstoi Collection, Otd II, no. 68 (16th century)

MS Radonezh, Sergieva Lavra – No. 173, Tulupovskie minei (1629; a *menaion*, or lectionary, in which the account of the martyrdom is read on 24 January)

MS Moscow, Moskovskaia sinodal'naia biblioteka – Carskie minei, no. 396 (after 1642; a *menaion*, in which the account of the martyrdom is read on 24 January)

- MS St Petersburg, Biblioteka dukhovnoi akademii – Novgorodskie, Sofiiskie minei, no. 1463 (17th century; a *menaion*)
- MS Moscow, Rossiiskii gosudarstvennii arkhiv drevnikh aktov (RGADA) – Obolenskie minei, no. 91 (17th century; a *menaion*)
- MS Radonezh, Sergieva Lavra – No. 626 (17th century)
- MS St Petersburg, Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka – Tolstoi Collection, Otd II, no. 226 (17th century)
- MS St Petersburg, Sankt Peterburgskii institut istorii Rossiiskoi akademii nauk (former LOII) – Sobranie Likhacheva, no. 294, *Skazanie velikago i slavnago chiudesi, ezhe byst' vo grade Kazani*, "Tale about the great and glorious wonders that happened in the town of Kazan" (date unknown)
- MS Moscow, Otdel' rukopisej Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo monastyrja Muzeia – Chudovskie minei (date unknown; a *menaion*)
- MS Moscow, Moskovskaia sinodal'naia biblioteka – Minei Chetii Sinodal'nyi spisok (date unknown; a *menaion*)
- MS Moscow, Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka – Undolskie minei, no. 1420 (date unknown; a *menaion*)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan'. Conquest and imperial ideology (1438-1560s)*, The Hague, 1974, p. 278, n. 3 (transliteration into Roman characters of MS St Petersburg Q.XVII.64)

STUDIES

- Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan'*, p. 278 (attempts to identify an historical Ivan in 1529, but without success)
- G.Z. Kuntsevich, 'Maloizvestnye zapisi o kazanskikh pokhodakh 1550 i 1552 goda', *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* 318 (1898) 135-45

Dva rasskaza o pokhodakh Ivana Groznogo na Kazan', 'Two accounts of Ivan the Terrible's Kazan campaigns'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

The first account, only four pages long, tells how, when the 19-year-old Ivan IV was preparing a campaign against Kazan, he went to Vladimir, where he was blessed by Metropolitan Makarii with the icon of St Peter the Metropolitan and a fragment of the true cross from Simonov Monastery, Moscow. Ivan took with him Nifont and Sergii, the abbot of Vozdvizhenskii Monastery. When Ivan reached Kazan and saw the superior strength of the Kazan army, he decided to end the campaign and his army was able to withdraw without loss.

The second account is seven pages long and tells of a well-planned summer campaign against Kazan. Although Ivan was not at first able to take Kazan, he harassed the surrounding towns for ten days and took the town of Arsk (Arça). Then he laid siege to Kazan, and after about six weeks he took it by undermining the wall. In the second part of the account, entitled 'About the capture of Kazan: how Kazan was seized by the God-believing Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evich of all Rus', the sovereign and autocrat', the campaign is described in more detail. Nifont describes stationing the armies around Kazan and the tsar's address to his army after many prayers to various saints and icons. In his address, Ivan tells his soldiers to follow his command and be ready to die for the Christian faith, as he himself is. Before he rides off, a monk from the Sergiev Monastery gives him icons, blessed bread and water from the monastery. The battle begins with an attack against the Tatar commander Bulak, then against the Arsk gate of the town. No Tatar army can withstand the Muscovites, and they are all driven towards the town where they are met by the right wing of the army. When Ivan is told of the seizure of the town and the capture of the Tatar Khan Edigei, he erects a cross and prays.

This account is a combination of a letter from the battlefield containing detailed reports about the positions of the armies and their leaders, and a Christian interpretation of the outcome of the war. The erection of the cross is a significant act, because it likens Ivan to Constantine the Great and his victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312. Like Constantine, Ivan brings Christianity into the realm of the heathens.

The first of these two accounts has similarities to the account in the *Tsarstvennaia kniga*, an official chronicle of the 16th century. It attributes the suspension of the campaign to the tsar and his counsellors having concern for the young fighting-men who might die in battle, emphasising that Ivan personally looked after them and fed them from his own provisions, and that they were all in good health when they got home. Tatars

are not mentioned very often and, when they are, they are discredited as bloodthirsty heathens.

The second account is similar in parts to the account of the campaign in the *Sofiiskaia chronicle* (*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, St Petersburg, 1853, vol. 6, pp. 303-15). It is less accurate in its chronology and details (*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, vol. 6, pp. 306-14), though Kuntsevich in his foreword to 'Dva rasskaza', (p. 24), regards it as a source of this work.

SIGNIFICANCE

The accounts show how ecclesiastical authors interpreted the victory over Kazan in a religious rather than political way. This is especially significant in the first account, which changes the meaning of a shamefully lost or barely begun campaign into the moral victory of a Christian leader who takes pity on the youth of his fighting men and does not want to risk their lives.

Both accounts show the significance of Tatar Muslims in the minds of Orthodox Christians. They were a means to strengthen the faith of the Russians, either through martyrdom in battle or through God-given victories. The battles are won or lost not by the skill of humans but by their piety, and their victories come from God. So, the Tatars are stereotypical heathens who press Christians to give up their faith, rather than individual believers in Islam. The clear prototypes of these anti-Tatar stereotypical accounts are ancient saints' Lives depicting Roman persecutions in the pre-Constantinian Empire. The descriptions of Roman cruelty and the martyrs' perseverance serve as examples to the Russians to hold onto their Christian faith. In this way, the Tatars serve the priests' exhortation to their flock to stay firm in faith.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS St Petersburg, Otdel rukopisei Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki – Q.XVII.64, fols 99r-102 (first account), 102-105v (second account) (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

G.Z. Kuntsevich, 'Dva rasskaza o pokhodakh tsaria Ivana Vasil'evicha Groznogo na Kazan' v 1550 i 1552 gg.', in *Otchety o zasedaniakh Otdela Liubiteli Drevnei Pis'mennosti v 1897-1898 gg. s prilozheniiami* (*Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti i iskusstva* 130), St Petersburg, 1898, pp. 26-35

STUDIES

R.P. Dmitrieva, 'Volokolamskie chet'i sborniki XVI v.', *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 28 (1974) 202-30, pp. 209, 217-22

A.A. Zimin and I.S. Lur'e (eds), *Poslaniia Iosifa Volotskogo*, Moscow, 1959, pp. 101-7, 133-4

I.K. Begunov, 'Kormchaia Ivana Volka Kuricyna', *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 12 (1956) 141-59, p. 144

G.Z. Kuntsevich, 'Maloizvestnyia zapiski o Kazanskikh pokhodakh 1550 i 1552 goda', *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* 318 (1898) 135-45

Cornelia Soldat

Vasily Poznyakov

Vassily Poznyakov, Vasilii Pozniakov

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; before 1550
PLACE OF BIRTH Smolensk, Russia
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Vasily (Vassily) Poznyakov's life apart from his 1558-61 journey to the East, which was recorded in *Khozhdenie na vostok gostia Vasilia Poznākova*. Originally a merchant from Smolensk who traded in Moscow, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Holy Land by Tsar Ivan IV, after the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Archbishop of Sinai asked the tsar for financial assistance to repair the damage done to the monastery at Mount Sinai by the Turks. The envoys – Gennady, Archdeacon of the Church of St Sofia in Novgorod, Poznyakov and his son, a certain Cosma Sviatoslav from Pskov, a certain Dorofei from Smolensk, and possibly several others – were entrusted with distributing the tsar's offerings and gifts to several Orthodox patriarchates in the East and with recording local religious customs.

The embassy left Moscow in October 1558, and travelled through Smolensk, Lithuania and Wallachia en route to Constantinople. During the journey, the envoys met with difficulties: 240 sable furs and 300 roubles were taken from them in Lithuania, and their leader Archdeacon Gennady died suddenly in Constantinople. Poznyakov then assumed leadership of the group. It went on to Alexandria, where they stayed until October 1559, then on to Cairo and Sinai, back to Alexandria, and then to Jerusalem by sea and land. The envoys spent three months in Jerusalem, returned to Constantinople in November 1560, and finally reached Moscow in April 1561. On 11 April 1561, Poznyakov submitted his official report of the embassy (this is not extant). There is no further information on his later life and career.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Primary sources on Poznyakov include the earliest manuscripts of the account of his journey (see below).

K.M. Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova po Sviatym mestam Vostoka, 1558-1561', *Pravoslavnyi palestinskii sbornik* 18 (1887) i-vii (the editor's foreword, which brings together references to Poznyakov scattered in various state records, diplomatic reports and chronicles)

Secondary

O.A. Belobrova, 'Pozniakov Vasiliï', in D.S. Likhachev (ed.), *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi*, vol. 2. *Vtoraia polovina XIV–XVI vv.*, Leningrad, 1989, 296–97, <http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4483>

J. Glad, *Russia abroad. Writers, history, politics*, Tenafly NJ, 1999, pp. 48–9

T.G. Stavrou and P.R. Weisensel, *Russian travelers to the Christian East from the twelfth to the twentieth century*, Columbus OH, 1986, pp. 37–8

V. R-v., art. 'Pozniakov Vasiliï', in *Entsyklopedicheskii slovar' F.A. Brokgauza i I.A. Efrona*, ed. I.E. Andreievskii, K.K. Arseniev and F.F. Petrushevskii, vol. 47/xxiv, 1898, p. 234, <http://www.vehi.net/brokgauz/index.html>; also <http://www.runivers.ru/lib/book3182/>

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Khozhdenie na vostok gostiã Vasiliã Pozniãkova,
'A journey to the Orient by Vasiliï Pozniakov'

DATE About 1561

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

It is not certain which member of the Poznyakov embassy took notes on the journey. In 1820, the historian Karamzin and others ascribed the account to Archdeacon Gennady (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasilia Pozniakova', p. vii; *Entsyklopedicheskii*, vol. 47/xxiv, p. 234).

While Poznyakov's journey is referenced in Novgorod Chronicle II (late 16th century), his name remained largely unknown until the late 19th century. In 1845, P.M. Stroyev mentions him in his catalogue of the manuscripts held by the Imperial (Moscow) Society of Russian History and Antiquities (Obshchestvo Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh, OI DR), and also in his catalogue of the Tsars' Archives in 1848. Several other 19th-century scholars who conducted research in Russian and European libraries also referred to it (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia

Pozniakova', pp. vii-ix). However, Poznyakov's account was first published only in 1884, by Ivan Y. Zabelin, who also established that it was almost entirely incorporated into Trifon Korobeinikov's *Khozhdenie* of 1583-4 (Zabelin, 'Poslaniie tsaria Ivana Vasil'evicha', pp. ii-x). Khrisanf Loparev republished it in the Collections of the Orthodox Palestinian Society (*Pravoslavnyi palestinskii sbornik*) in 1887.

The original manuscript has not been preserved. The Zabelin 1884 edition was based on the so-called 'Moscow' manuscript held at the OADR library, which was described by Stroyev in 1845 (MS 214, 4^o, fols 31-62). The manuscript had been copied by Prince V.V. Kropotkin in 1657, and remained in the Kropotkin family for some time before it appeared in OADR (Zabelin, 'Poslaniie tsaria Ivana Vasil'evicha', pp. i-ii; Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova', pp. xi-xiv).

In addition to the 'Moscow' manuscript that he used for his 1887 publication, Loparev lists six other 17th-century manuscript copies ('Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova', p. xix). The most notable of these are the 'Archival' manuscript, which originally belonged to V.N. Sobakin, then to A. Volkov and later to the Main Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow (it is presently in the Russian State Archive of Early Acts (RGADA), MS 145, 4^o, fols 84-154); and the 'Copenhagen' manuscript, which was originally owned by the brothers T.V. and M.G. Dokhturov, and was later acquired by the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Bibliotecae Regia Hafniensis, MS no. 553, 4^o, fols 559-605) (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova', pp. xiv-xvi). In 1962, Pushkin House acquired several 18th-century Russian manuscripts which contained two different, albeit defective, copies of Poznyakov's work (Belobrova, 'Khozhdeniie na Vostok', Foreword). In 1976, K.-D. Seemann listed 9 copies of Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie* (see *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, p. 451). Currently, of the 13 extant *spiski* of Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie*, seven are held in Moscow libraries (RGB, GIM, RGADA) and five in St Petersburg libraries (BAN, IRLI, RGIA) (see A. Reshetova, *Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaja literatura XVI-XVII vekov*, pp. 462-8).

None of the existing manuscripts of Poznyakov's account is complete. The 'Copenhagen' manuscript does not have the tsar's epistle and the ending, but it does contain the diplomatic report and most of the pilgrim account. The 'Moscow' and 'Archival' copies lack the opening paragraphs, but have the endings. Loparev believed that the 'Moscow' manuscript was the fullest, best preserved, and least affected by Trifon Korobeinikov's later redactions ('Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova', pp. xi, xvii), and that it was possibly made from a secondary copy, while the 'Archival'

spisok was probably made from a copy three times removed from the original manuscript ('Khozhdeniie Trifona Korobeinikova', p. xxxii). Other historians, however, disagreed with Loparev's characterisation of the 'Moscow' manuscript as the 'best' among these three, arguing that the 'Archive' and 'Copenhagen' variants are much closer to the proto-manuscript (Golubtsova, 'K voprosu', p. 40; Fedorova, "'Khozhdeniia" russkikh', p. 740). The 2000 edition of Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie*, part of the Library of Ancient Rus Literature project [Biblioteka literatury drevnei Rusi], is based on the 'Copenhagen' manuscript (MS no. 553-c) – from a microfilm copy at the National Library of Russia [RNB] in St Petersburg – with an added ending from the 'Moscow' manuscript in the Russian State Library (Belobrova, 'Khozhdeniie na Vostok', foreword). The majority of other extant *spiski* of Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie* are defective fragments included in miscellaneous 17th- and 18th-century manuscript collections (for more on the manuscript and printing history of Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie*, see A. Reshetova, *Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaia literatura XVI-XVII vekov*).

Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie* combines the genres of Early Modern diplomatic account and pilgrimage narrative. It opens with Ivan IV's epistle (*poslanie, gramota*) to the Patriarch of Alexandria, Joachim, in which Ivan greets Joachim, lists his charitable gifts, and asks the patriarch to pray for his health and that of his family (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova', pp. 3-4; all further page references are to this edition). It then moves to the standard diplomatic report (*stateinyi spisok*) detailing the official reception of the Russian envoys by the patriarch, the questions he asked them and their answers (pp. 4-8).

As a travel narrative, Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie* follows the stylistic conventions of the medieval pilgrim narrative genre. It has even been suggested that Poznyakov did not himself describe the holy sites, but rather adapted *Pokloneniie sv. gradu Ierusalimu*, a Russian translation of an anonymous Greek *proskynitarion*, embellishing it with legends and personal impressions (Golubtsova, 'K voprosu', pp. 38-50; Stavrou and Weisensel, *Russian travelers*, p. xxxiii). In the travelogue, Poznyakov describes major biblical sites of Egypt, Sinai and Palestine (Jerusalem and its environs, including Bethany, Bethlehem, the Mount of Olives, Gethsemane and the River Jordan). As in earlier medieval pilgrim narratives of the Holy Land, the central shrine is the Holy Sepulchre, described at its most significant moment – the descent of the holy fire on Holy Saturday night and the Easter celebration that follows (pp. 37-44). Poznyakov adds to his descriptions of the holy places biblical and apocryphal

legends in order to enhance their spiritual or mystical significance. One such is the fantastic story of how, during the Israelites' flight from Egypt, the pharaoh's soldiers were drowned in the Red Sea and turned into fish with human heads, teeth and noses, but without torsos; and their horses also turned into fish, with thick horse fur in place of scales (pp. 19-20). Poznyakov is believed to be the first Russian traveller to Egypt to introduce this legend into a pilgrimage narrative (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova', pp. 83-5).

He also makes observations about the local geography, natural features, economy and the customs of the people: e.g. the Egyptians feed their camels with dry beans and give them water only once every three to four days (p. 18); the Arabs make soles from the skins of the fish caught in the Red Sea (presumably, these fish are the Pharaoh's unfortunate soldiers and horses), which last for a year in dry weather (p. 20); the ships that come to Raifa from India are not built with iron nails but are 'sewn' with 'Phoenician ropes', to avoid being attracted by the magnets at the bottom of the Red Sea (p. 30); the Arabs bring water from the pool of Siloam to Jerusalem on camels and sell it there, since the city has no water source of its own (p. 57). The cultural comments are more frequent in the part describing Egypt than in the more awe-inspired description of the holy sites of Jerusalem and Palestine. It is as though Poznyakov the pilgrim becomes more relaxed and turns his attention to everyday life in the areas where there are fewer holy shrines. At such moments, his purpose is strictly informative, and his attitude to local people – often Arab farmers or Bedouins – is usually matter-of-fact and neutral. When describing a certain location, he often briefly states the predominant ethnicity of the people living there and their religious affiliation: 'There are no Greeks in Raifa; Syrians, of the Orthodox faith, live there. [...] no Turks, either, live here, all are Christians; there is only one *sanjak* [-*bey*] and 10 Janissaries' (p. 29).

SIGNIFICANCE

In addition to describing Christian sacred sites and providing useful geographical and cultural information about the East, Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie* strongly reflects the state ideology of mid-16th-century Muscovy, which adopted the 'Third Rome' doctrine after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks and assumed the role of protector of the Orthodox East against the infidel Turks. The 'Third Rome' doctrine originated from the prophecy of Methodius of Patara (4th century), which incorporated some ancient prophecies attributed to Leo the Sage and inscriptions on

the tomb of the Emperor Constantine that predicted the fall of Constantinople and its subsequent liberation by a 'fair-skinned people' (Gr. *xanthon genos*) (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova', pp. 79-83; see also Yermolenko, 'Early modern Russian pilgrims', pp. 60-3). As formulated in 16th-century Muscovy, the doctrine began to identify the 'fair-skinned people' with the Russians, by conflating the words 'fair-skinned' or 'fair-haired' (Russ. *rusyi*) with the name for those living in Rus (Russ. *rusichi*, *ruskie*, *Rusy*) (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova', p. 82).

Poznyakov's *Khozhdenie* is full of the prophetic rhetoric of this 'Third Rome' doctrine, particularly in the tsar's epistle and the description of the embassy's reception by Patriarch Joachim. The tsar's epistle to Joachim clearly points to the political significance of his embassy: 'We beseech your Holiness that [...] through your prayers [...] Christendom be delivered from the persecution of infidel Hagarenes, and Orthodoxy be raised and spread' (p. 3; translations are supplied). Regarding the Russian Orthodox faith and other faiths in Russia, the envoys proudly state 'how many infidel lands had submitted themselves to our sovereign and how the tsar ordered the building of the holy Orthodox churches in those lands' (p. 6). In response, the patriarch praises the Russian tsar, citing a prediction from some ancient Greek books that the East will be delivered from 'godless Turks' by a tsar from an 'Eastern Orthodox' country, who will take the throne in 'Tsargrad' (i.e. 'Tsar-City', the traditional Russian name for Constantinople), and all nations will submit to him, just as they did to Alexander the Great in ancient times (p. 6). The patriarch further praises Ivan IV for not tolerating infidels and 'cursed heretics' such as the Copts, Armenians and Jews in his realm, and he sheds tears when telling the envoys how badly Orthodox believers in the East are suffering from the Turks and the Jews (pp. 7-8).

The envoys' pride in their land and their tsar acting as protector of the Christian East manifests itself during their visit to the Mount Sinai monastery. The abbot and elders meet the guests with tears, kisses and embraces, saying: 'Glory be to God for allowing us to see the Orthodox tsar's ambassadors!' (pp. 21-2). The guests proudly present the Sinai elders with the tsar's gifts: a rich cover, made of velvet and embroidered with gold, for the relics of Catherine of Alexandria, and 500 roubles for the construction of the church of St Catherine on the spot where her relics are laid (p. 22).

The belief in Russia's unique role in upholding and defending the Orthodox faith also shows in the pilgrims' awareness of their difference

from both non-Orthodox Christians (Catholics in the West and various other 'heretics') and non-Christians (Turks, Arabs and Jews). This sentiment sometimes finds expression in extremely intolerant language, particularly in relation to 'godless' and 'cursed' Turks, deemed enemies of Christianity because they destroy and close Christian holy sites and churches (pp. 51, 59), or convert them into dwellings, mosques or baths (pp. 15, 48, 49-50), or restrict Christians' access to churches by imposing heavy taxes and limited visitation hours (pp. 37-8, 47, 52, 58). The author occasionally cites Arab and Turkish hostility and violence towards Orthodox Christian pilgrims (p. 55), as well as towards Orthodox churches and clergy. Thus, on Mount Sinai, 200 Arabs would come to the monastery every day to demand as tax from the monks wheat flour, salt, oil, and onions. If the elders refused to pay, the Arabs would throw stones at them (p. 24). With regard to the Jews, Pozniakov's *Khozhdenie* clearly distinguishes between the 'law-abiding Israelites' of the Old Testament, whose legends are often incorporated into the descriptions of the holy sites of Palestine, and the 'lawless Judeans' of the New Testament, who tortured and crucified Christ and who oppress and persecute Orthodox Christians in the East (pp. 48, 54).

Intolerance of Turks, Arabs and Jews is directly linked to the conviction that Orthodoxy is the only true faith, superior to Islam, Judaism and even non-Orthodox Christianity, as well as to the constant threat of forced conversion of Orthodox Christians to 'infidel' faiths. The 'debate' between the faiths is featured in the description of a miracle associated with Patriarch Joachim (pp. 8-14). Although this story was known from earlier Western and Eastern Christian sources (Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova', pp. 67-77; Stavrou and Weisensel, *Russian travelers*, p. xxxv), Poznyakov presents it as an account heard from the patriarch himself during the Russian embassy's reception. According to this legend, Joachim was urged by a Jewish doctor to prove his Orthodox faith by drinking a cup of poison before a Mamluk sultan, who himself had 'turned Turk'. The Jew's intent was clearly 'to exterminate' the Orthodox Christians in the area, or at least to persuade the sultan to convert them to Islam or Judaism. By killing the saintly Patriarch Joachim with poison, the Jew had hoped to force the Orthodox into apostasy, or to kill them all if they resisted. The patriarch prepared for the ordeal by praying and fasting for a week, while the Christians from his flock vowed to follow in his steps and become martyrs in Christ. On the Sunday of the 'faith debate', after celebrating the liturgy and pledging to his parishioners that he would 'drink from the cup of death and spill his blood for

Christ' (p. 11), he appeared before the sultan and a multitude of people of all faiths – Turks, Arabs, 'Latins', Copts, Maronites, Arians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Tetradites and others (p. 12) – who had come to witness the patriarch's martyrdom. But when he drank the lethal poison, he miraculously remained alive, and his face even shone (although his teeth fell out 'without pain' later that day). The Jew, on the other hand, died from drinking plain water from the same cup. In recognition of the miraculous power of the Orthodox faith, the sultan allowed Patriarch Joachim to take charge of all the Orthodox in Egypt. The triumph of Orthodoxy was sealed with thanksgiving to the Lord and a meal offered to the poor. The 'universal' power of Orthodoxy is also demonstrated through other miracles, and through the miraculous and healing effects of Orthodox icons and relics on non-Orthodox Christians and non-Christians (pp. 14-15).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Moscow, Russian State Library (Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka, RGB) – 214, 4^o, fols 31-62 (1657; the 'Moscow' manuscript)

MS Moscow, Russian State Archive of Early Acts (Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov, RGADA) – 145, 4^o, fols 84-154 (one of the six 17th-century copies listed by Loparev; the 'Archival' manuscript)

MS Copenhagen, Royal Library (Bibliotecae Regia Hafniensis) – 553-c, 4^o, fols 559-605 (another of the six 17th-century copies listed by Loparev; the 'Copenhagen' manuscript)

For a recent list of available MSS of Pozniakov's account, see Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, p. 451, and Reshetova, *Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaja literatura XVI-XVII vekov*, pp. 462-8.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

O.A. Belobrova (ed.), 'Khozhdeniie na Vostok gostia Vasiliia Pozniakova s tovarishchi', in *Biblioteka literatury drevnei Rusi*, vol. 10: XVI v., St Petersburg, 2000, 48-93, <http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=5142>

Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova', pp. 1-63

I.Y. Zabelin (ed.), 'Poslaniie tsaria Ivana Vasil'evicha k aleksandriiskomu patriarkhu Ioakimu s kuptsom Vasil'iem Pozniakovym i Khozhdeniie kuptsa Pozniakova v Ierusalim i po inym Sviatym mestam 1558 goda', *Chteniia v imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* 1 (1884) 1-32

STUDIES

- G. Yermolenko, 'Early modern Russian pilgrims in the Holy Land', in J.A. Hayden and N.I. Matar (eds), *Through the eyes of the beholder. The Holy Land 1517-1714*, Leiden, 2013, 53-74
- I.V. Fedorova, '“Khozhdeniia” russkikh palomnikov XVII-XVIII vekov v Pravoslavnom Palestinskom Sbornike', *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 58 (2007) 375-82
- A.A. Reshetova, *Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaia literatura XVI-XVII vekov. Istorii i poetika*, Riazan, 2006
- A.A. Reshetova, 'Drevnerusskaia palomnicheskaia literatura XVI-XVII vv. (istoriia razvitiia i zhanrovoe svoieobraziie)', Moscow, 2006 (Diss. Moscow Pedagogical State University) (see abstract <http://cheloveknauka.com/drevnerusskaya-palomnicheskaya-literatura-xvi-xvii-vv>)
- O.A. Belobrova, foreword to 'Khozhdeniie na Vostok gostia Vasiliia Pozniakova s tovarishchi', in O.A. Belobrova (ed.), *Biblioteka literatury drevnei Rusi*, <http://lib.pushkinskiydom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=5142>
- Stavrou and Weisensel, *Russian travelers* pp. 37-8
- K.-D. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur. Theorie und Geschichte eines literarischen Genres*, Munich, 1976, pp. 281-8, 436, 451
- V.P. Adrianova-Peretts, 'Puteshestviia XVI veka', in *Istoriiia russkoi literatury*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1946, vol. 2, pt. 1, 511-15, pp. 512-14
- M.A. Golubtsova, 'K voprosu ob istochnikakh drevnerusskikh khozhdenii v Sv. Zemliu', *Chteniia v imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* 4 (1911) 1-78
- V. R-v., art. 'Pozniakov Vasiliu', in *Entsyklopedicheskii slovar'*, vol. 47/xxiv, p. 234
- K.M. Loparev, foreword to 'Khozhdeniie Trifona Korobeinikova', *Pravoslavnyi palestinskii sbornik* 27 (1889) xxxii-xxxv
- Loparev, 'Khozhdeniie kuptsa Vasiliia Pozniakova', pp. i-xx and 65-86
- Zabelin, 'Poslaniie tsaria Ivana Vasil'evicha', pp. i-xii

Galina Yermolenko

Oldřich Přefát z Vlkanova

DATE OF BIRTH 11 May 1523
PLACE OF BIRTH Prague
DATE OF DEATH 26 July 1565
PLACE OF DEATH Prague

BIOGRAPHY

Oldřich Přefát z Vlkanova was born in 1523. His father made his fortune as a cloth merchant, enabling the young Přefát to study at various places of learning throughout Europe, including Wittenberg, Prague, Ingolstadt, Nuremberg and Leipzig. He later worked in a pharmacy and a mechanical workshop in Rome, and in 1546 he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (Tobolka et al., *Knihopis*, vol. 7, p. 308). In 1550, he travelled to Santiago de Compostela, and remained in Spain until August 1552. Back in Prague, he settled into a life of producing mathematical and scientific instruments and died there in 1565.

As might be expected of a man with such a learned and international background, Přefát spoke Italian, Latin and German, as well as Czech. He was also a man of humanist principles, with keen interests in astronomy, mathematics and natural sciences. However, his confessional position is not clear. He may have been a 'tolerant Catholic' (Tobolka et al., *Knihopis*, vol. 7, p. 308) or 'a conservative Utraquist', favouring communion in both kinds (Lisy-Wagner, *Islam*, p. 40), though there is no firm evidence for either; F.M. Bartoš has argued that he was an evangelical ('Evangelický poutník'). What is definite is that he studied at Leipzig and Rome, which suggests an inclination towards Catholicism, and his sons attended Prague's Jesuit Academy.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- K. Hrdina (ed.), *Cesta z Prahy do Benátek a odtud potom po moři do Palestyny, to jest do krajiny někdy Židovské, země Svaté, do města Jeruzaléma k Božímu hrobu, kteraužto cestu s pomocí Pána Boha všemohúcího šťastně vykonal Voldřich Přefát z Vlkanova léta Páně MDXXXVI*, Prague, 1947
- H. Bocková (ed.), *Cesta z Prahy do Benátek a odtud potom po moři do Palestyny*, Prague, 2007

Secondary

- L. Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity and the making of Czech identity, 1453-1683*, Farnham UK, 2013, pp. 24, 39-44, 48, 84, 145, 153-4, 172
- H. Bocková, 'Komentář', in Bocková, *Cesta z Prahy*, 431-75
- T. Rataj, *České země ve stínu pŕlměsíce. Obraz Turka v raně novověké literatuře v českých zemí*, Prague, 2002, pp. 109, 112, 113, 116, 118, 120, 211, 258, 303, 309
- Z. Tobolka et al. (eds), *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisku od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. Století*, Prague, 1961, vol. 7, pp. 308-10
- D. Trávníček, 'Oldřich Prefát z Vlkanova', *Sborník Československé Společnosti Zeměpisné* 60 (1955) 198-201
- K. Hrdina, 'Prefátův život a dílo', in Hrdina, *Cesta z Prahy*, 353-60
- F.M. Bartoš, 'Evangelický poutník k Božímu', *Kostnické Jiskry* 7 (1944)
- C.A. Straka, 'Zapisky Oldřicha Prefáta z Vlkanova', *Listy Filologický* 46 (1919) 345-51
- J.V. Prásek, 'Oldřicha Prefáta z Vlkanova cesta na východ r. 1546 a význam její', *Časopis Českého Muzea* 68 (1894) 353-78, 518-34
- J. Jungmann, *Historie Literatury České*, Prague, 1849, p. 163

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Cesta z Prahy, 'A journey from Prague'

DATE 1563

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Czech

DESCRIPTION

Prefát's *Cesta z Prahy* (in full *Cesta z Prahy do Benátek a odtud potom po moři do Palestyny, to jest do krajiny někdy Židovské, zeme Svaté, do města Jeruzaléma k Božímu hrobu, kteraužto cestu s pomocí Pána Boha všemohúciho šťastně vykonal Voldřich Prefát z Vlkanova léta Páně MDXXXVI*, 'A Journey from Prague to Venice and then across the sea to Palestine, that is to the sometime region of the Jews, the Holy Land, to the city of Jerusalem, to the Holy Sepulchre, a journey with the help of the Lord God Almighty happily made by Voldřich Prefát z Vlkanova in the year of Our Lord MDXXXVI') is a travelogue concerned with a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, rather than a treatise on Islam. Prefát started his journey from Habsburg Bohemia in 1546, and made his way to the Holy Land along the well-worn route via Venice to Jaffa. The travelogue was not published until 1563, when Jan Kozel, of Prague's Old Town, printed the text.

In Hrdina's modern, but distinctly uncritical edition, the text comprises 339 pages and is split into an *epistola* to Václav Zajíc z Hazenburka (Hrdina, *Cesta z Prahy*, pp. 5-8), a preface (pp. 9-11), and the journey itself (pp. 15-344). The text relating the pilgrimage is divided into 84 chapters, most of which run to no more than a few pages.

The sense that the *Cesta* is a piece of travel literature before anything else is heightened by the inclusion of information of a purely practical nature. For instance, the first and last chapters are entirely itineraries, while the second specifies the terms and conditions of an agreement between a pilgrim and his guide.

Recent scholarship has noted that Prefát uses his preface 'to immediately establish his antagonistic model' (Lisy-Wagner, *Islam*, p. 40), though this is unsurprising, since the Ottoman threat to Central Europe was very real in this period. The Ottoman victory over the Hungarians at Mohács in 1526 had allowed the Turks to lay siege to Vienna in 1529 and to take Buda in 1541. It is therefore not difficult to see why Prefát expressed the view that Christians living in the Holy Land were in a dangerous position, analogous to that of Daniel in the lions' den (Hrdina, *Cesta z Prahy*, p. 11). The Turks are repeatedly identified as pagans, though there are also more subtle examples of hostility in the narrative. Laura Lisy-Wagner has highlighted episodes that emphasise the contempt with which Prefát views the Ottomans. Making references to Josephus's *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum* (Book 15, chapter 12) and the Acts of the Apostles, when he sees the town of Caesarea, he laments its sad condition in contrast to the 'brilliant port' of the past (Hrdina, *Cesta z Prahy*, p. 76). Elsewhere, he recounts a skirmish at sea with a group of unidentified ships during his return journey. He explains that in a dream he had seen his ship attacked by the devil, and now he is convinced that the attackers are Turks, making an obvious equation.

It has also been suggested that, while the overall tone of the *Cesta* towards the Ottomans is negative, Prefát's text may show hints of connectedness between Christians and Muslims. For instance, in comparing the tomb of Jesus in Jerusalem with that of Charles IV in Prague, it is possible that Prefát 'is not only mapping Czech space onto Ottoman-controlled space, making them linked and equivalent, but is also marking that connection as something related to the central stories of Czech history' (Lisy-Wagner, *Islam*, p. 44). If this interpretation is correct, it may be taken a step further. Islam is being linked with Czech history which, in turn, can be viewed as an episode in the history of Western Christendom. Moreover, all of this is being brought together through the

conduit of perhaps the most famous, and most famously pious, Czech king, Charles IV.

SIGNIFICANCE

In Czech historiography, one author has gone so far as to say that 'The book by Prefat is as a whole a beautiful document of Czech cultural endeavor during the renaissance period' (Dostal, 'Doslov', p. 247). Certainly, Prefát was a man steeped in Renaissance learning and principles. With respect to relations between Christians and Muslims in the 16th century, the background must always be taken into account. Hungary had been split and Buda taken by the Ottomans, and Vienna had been under siege. The Ottomans had struck, to borrow a relentlessly popular cliché, at the heart of Europe. It was also conceivable that Bohemia could be a future subject of Ottoman aggression. It is therefore arguable that the views held by Prefát regarding the Ottomans were symptomatic of the upheavals of the period. His text might be read as a representation of a certain form of anti-Ottoman sentiment present in central Europe during the 16th century.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

In addition to the editions listed below, Tobolka et al., *Knihopis*, vol. 7, pp. 308-10, report a number of complete and incomplete original printed texts, mostly in the Czech Republic. Among them are the following:

- National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague – 54 B 42
- Strahov Library, Prague – AS XII 16
- Library of the National Museum, Prague – 29 C 1 (incomplete)
- Bocková, *Cesta z Prahy*
- Hrdina, *Cesta z Prahy*
- J. Dostal (ed.), *Cesty do svaté země. Ze starých českých cestopisů*, Prague, 1948, pp. 25-81 (selected chapters)
- Cesta z Prahy*, Prague Old Town: Jan Kozel, 1563

STUDIES

- Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity and the making of Czech identity*
- Bocková, 'Komentář'
- Rataj, *České země ve stínu půlměsíce*
- Tobolka et al., *Knihopis českých*
- Trávníček, 'Oldřich Prefát z Vlkanova'
- J. Dostal, 'Doslov', in *Cesty do svaté země. Ze starých českých cestopisů*, ed. J. Dostal, Prague, 1948, 246-7
- Hrdina, 'Prefátův život a dílo'

Bartoš, 'Evangelický poutník k Božímu'
Straka, 'Zapisky Oldřicha Prefáta z Vlkanova'
Prásek, 'Oldřicha Prefáta z Vlkanova'
Jungmann, *Historie literatury České*

Chris Nicholson

Marcin Bielski

Marcin Wolski

DATE OF BIRTH 1495
PLACE OF BIRTH Biała near Pajęczno (present-day central Poland)
DATE OF DEATH 18 December 1575
PLACE OF DEATH Biała

BIOGRAPHY

Marcin was born into a noble family that used the name Wolski, but took the name Bielski after the village where he eventually settled. Some of his early works and the second edition of his chronicle were signed with the name 'Wolski'. He spent his youth at the court of Janusz, Prince of Mazovia, and later at the court of Piotr Kmita, a powerful and influential courtier of King Sigismund I the Old and his wife Bona Sforza. Kmita held a number of high positions in the kingdom. Bielski was probably self-educated during his court service, taking advantage of the court libraries. There is no record of him acquiring a formal education.

As a courtier, he lived in Kraków for many years until about 1540, when he moved back to his family's country residence and married. He focused his interests more on intellectual matters than on the upkeep of his estate – in the last years of his life he was still busy, together with his son Joachim, working on the fourth edition of his chronicle.

During his years as a courtier, he did military service, taking part in battles against the Turks and Tatars in 1524 and 1534, and the Wallachians at Obertyn in 1531.

While in Kraków, he became acquainted with the ideas of the Reformation, and found them sympathetic. Though he never formally left the Roman Catholic Church, there are many visible clues to his religious sympathies in his literary works. Despite later efforts of his son Joachim to convince readers that his father remained Catholic, many writers and public opinion held him to be a 'heretic' (in 1604 his chronicle and other works were put on the index of forbidden books: Śnieżko, 'Kronika wszytkiego świata', p. 109; Chrzanowski, *Marcin Bielski. Studyum*, p. 271; Sobieszkański, 'O życiu i pracach piśmiennych', p. xlvii).

His literary output included history (*Kronika wszytkiego świata* – three editions constantly expanded and re-worked; *Kronika polska*), political poetry and drama (*Komedia Justyna i Konstanczej*, Kraków 1557; *Sen majowy pod gajem zielonym jednego pustelnika*, *Sejm niewieści*, *Rozmowa nowych proroków dwu baranów w jednej głowie*, all three printed in Kraków 1566-7; *Sprawa rycerska*, Kraków, 1569), and a translation of works on philosophy (M. Konáć, *Żywoty filozofów, to jest nauk mędrców przyrodzonych*, Kraków, 1535), and biblical material (he was apparently involved in editing the first full Polish translation of the New Testament on the basis of an anonymous earlier, possibly medieval, translation; printed by Scharffenberg in Kraków in 1556).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- J.M. Ossoliński, *Wiadomości historyczno-krytyczne do dziejów literatury polskiej* [Historical and critical news on the history of Polish literature], Kraków, 1819, vol. 1, pp. 394-436
- J.J. Załuski, *Biblioteka historyków, prawników, polityków i innych autorów polskich lub o Polsce piszących* [‘Library of historians, lawyers, politicians and other Polish authors or those writing about Poland’], Kraków, 1832
- F.M. Sobieszczański, ‘O życiu i pracach piśmiennych Marcina i Joachima Bielskich’ [On the life and literary works of Marcin and Joachim Bielski], in F.M. Sobieszczański (ed.), *Joachima Bielskiego dalszy ciąg kroniki polskiej, zawierającej dzieje od 1586 do 1598 r.* [Joachim Bielski’s continuation of the Polish Chronicle containing the history from 1586 to 1598], Warsaw, 1851, i-lx
- F.M. S[obieszczański], art. ‘Bielski (Marcin)’, in *Encyklopedia Powszechna*, Warsaw, 1859-68, vol. 3, pp. 524-6

Secondary

- D. Śnieżko, ‘Kronika wszytkiego świata’ *Marcina Bielskiego. Pogranicze dyskursów* [‘Chronicle of the entire world’ by Marcin Bielski. Border zone of discourses], Szczecin, 2004, pp. 92-8
- I. Teresińska, art. ‘Bielski Marcin’, in *Dawni pisarze polscy od początków piśmiennictwa do Młodej Polski. Przewodnik biograficzny i bibliograficzny*, Warsaw, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 66-8
- ‘Marcin Bielski (ok. 1495-1575)’, in R. Pollak, K. Budzyk and G. Korbut (eds), *Bibliografia literatury polskiej – Nowy Korbut* [Bibliography of Polish literature – New Korbut], vol. 2: *Piśmiennictwo staropolskie* [Old Polish literary works], Warsaw, 1964, 27-31
- I. Chrzanowski, art. ‘Bielski Marcin’, in *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary], Kraków, 1936, vol. 2, pp. 64-6 (repr. Kraków, 1989)

- I. Chrzanowski, *Marcin Bielski. Studium historyczno-literackie* [Marcin Bielski. Historical and literary study], Lwów, 1926 (earlier edition, *Marcin Bielski. Studium literackie*, Warsaw, 1906)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kronika świata wszytkiego, 'Chronicle of the entire world'

DATE 1551, 1554, 1564

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish

DESCRIPTION

The *Chronicle* (in full, *Kronika. tho iesth, Historia Swiata na sześć wiekow, a cztery Monarchie, rozdzielona z rozmaitych Historykow, tak w świętym piśmie Krześcijańskim Zydowskim, iako y Pogańskim, wybierana y na Polski ięzyk wypisana dosthatheczniey niż pierwey, s przydanim wiele rzeczy nowych: Od początku Swiata, aż do tego roku, który sie pisze 1564. s Figurami ochędożnymi y własnymi*, 'The Chronicle. That is the history of the world divided into six periods and four monarchies from various historians, drawn from Christian Holy Scripture, Jewish and also pagan, and rendered into the Polish language better than before, with the addition of many new items: From the beginning of the World to the year 1564') appeared in three different editions, rearranged and expanded by the author himself, all printed in Kraków. The first edition in quarto contained 336 pages (numbered only on *recto* with the text on both sides – likewise in later editions), and was printed in 1551 at the printing house of Helena Unglerowa. The second folio edition was printed at Hieronim Scharffenberg's printing house in 1554 and was 346 pages long (twice as long as the first edition). The third folio edition was printed at Mattheus Siebeneicher's printing house in 1564 and contained 483 pages, of which 467 were filled with the text (the rest for addenda including an index).

The *Chronicle* was written in Polish, and dedicated to King Sigismund August. All the editions were illustrated with increasingly elaborate woodcuts. Copies of the editions are held by a number of leading libraries, while a facsimile of the 1564 edition was produced in 1976. The following description of the contents of the editions gives a general overview, and is not concerned with a close sequencing of various addenda (the dedication, poems of recommendation, woodcuts and index – for details, see Śnieżko, 'Kronika', pp. 35-44).

The first edition of the *Chronicle* begins with a cosmography, giving a concise description of the geography of Asia, Africa and Europe, preceded by an imprint of a less detailed version of the 1520 map by Peter Apianus. There is then a brief comparison of different chronologies followed by a universal history of the world arranged into six periods and four kingdoms. The biblical material with Christ's birth as the central event is accompanied by Sybiline prophecies. The Christian era is presented in the framework of a list of emperors and popes (with some other rulers), but the narration is very dry at times and in some places passages on other matters appear, e.g. on Muḥammad, the crusades, the discovery of America. This part ends with Pope Julius III (1550). Then, there are several chapters describing the Italian and German lands, Spain, the Tatars, the Turkish rulers and the Wallachians. Hungarian, Czech and finally Polish chronicles follow, the last taking up over a half of the whole book, ending with a description of the funeral of King Sigismund I the Old in 1548.

The second edition, in which the author introduces himself as Marcin Wolski, was expanded and rearranged into four chapters (called *księgi*, 'books'). Retaining the comparative chronology of the world, the work starts with the period from the creation to the birth of Jesus in the first chapter, while the Christian era (the history of the empire and papacy to 1550) fills the second. The cosmography, together with the Hungarian, Czech and Polish chronicles, fills the third chapter, to which the editor has added an augmented 1550 version of Peter Apianus's map. The fourth chapter contains the most recent information on the New World.

The third edition begins with a comparative chronology of the world divided into ten chapters: 1. pre-Christian history; 2. the Christian era (the list of popes is shown as subordinate to the imperial list by dates being given only by the names of the emperors); 3. a summarised translation of the history of the Protestant movement by Johannes Sleidanus (*De statu religionis et rei publicae Carolo V caesare commentarii*, Argentorati, 1555); 4. an account of the Ottoman sultans with a description of Ottoman lands, customs, beliefs and religious practices (most of this is a translated summary of the story of Skanderbeg by Marinus Barletius, *De vita et laudibus Scanderbergii* [...], 1552); 5. the cosmography from the earlier editions (here separating 'universal' history from 'local'); 6. the expanded Hungarian chronicle; 7. the expanded Czech chronicle; 8. the Polish chronicle (with hardly any additions); 9. an adaptation of the material translated from Siegmund von Herberstein's *Memoirs* about Muscovy, supplemented with a list of Muscovite rulers up to Ivan the

Terrible, together with information on Lithuania and Livland (present-day Latvia) and the Tatars; 10. on the New World, with additional chapters on Prester John, 'Jewish oddities/madness and their gossip', on paradise, hell, the Resurrection and the Last Day.

Concerning material on Islam, the first edition contains only a biography of Muḥammad on three-and-a-half pages in quarto (70r-72r), accompanied by a woodcut depicting a bust of a turbaned man. The same text (without the woodcut) with some linguistic improvements covers two pages in folio (165r-165v) in the third edition. Descriptions of Turkish customs, beliefs and religious practices in Chapter 4 of the third edition cover about five pages (259v-261v). There are also a few lines in Chapter 5 on Muḥammad's grave in Medina and on Mecca (263v-264r). Thus, material relevant to Christian-Muslim relations fills only about 10 folio pages in the third edition (excluding the story of George Skanderbeg and the account of the Ottoman rulers).

The list of the popes and emperors that Bielski used to present the history of Christianity is interrupted (between popes Deusdedit/Adeodatus and Boniface) with a part entitled: 'The life of Machmet' (*Machmetow żywot*). The author gives the dating for the events in the first two lines below the title: 'Years from the birth of the Lord Christ 630 there was Mahumet in the world. In the 15th year of the reign of Heraclius.' The name of Muḥammad appears in the text of the first edition in slightly different spellings (Machmet, Mahumet, Machumet), which may be the result of typesetting mistakes and/or lack of rules for spelling foreign names. The spelling in the third edition consistently retains the form 'Machumet'.

In the biography, Bielski gives Muḥammad's family background, highlighting his pagan Arab (paternal line) and Jewish (maternal line) connections, and adding a Christian connection through his acquaintance with Sergius, an 'Arian-Nestorian' monk expelled from Constantinople who 'came to' Muḥammad and taught him some Christian beliefs and practices. Significant space is given to an account of Muḥammad's mother's plotting with a Jew to persuade her husband to circumcise the boy and 'make him a Jew' (a hired Jewish wet-nurse narrates a fictitious story about the boy having his heart 'purified' by an angel). Muḥammad later comes to prominence by marrying the widow of his wealthy patron, which gives him material resources, and by his preaching (which he started after turning 18) to 'the Arabs, Hagarenes, Persians and others'. He was successful in this because of the great confusion and dissent among the Christians.

Bielski enumerates Islamic religious borrowings from the Jews, among them circumcision, the holiness of Saturday, the ban on pork, and fasting for a month without eating till sunset; from the Christians, including baptism with water for cleansing of sins (because Sergius had baptised Muḥammad with clean water, the Turks wash themselves with water after committing a sin), and the belief that Christ was born of a chaste virgin, was sent to the Jews by God and had been foretold by the prophets (the Turks believe that the Christians, in their stupidity, made Christ equal to God, and the Jews wanted to kill him but they could not because Christ 'put his person on' Judas, concealed himself in a mist and disappeared while the Jews killed Judas); and from the pagans Muḥammad took the practice of prostration at sunrise.

Muḥammad started raiding the neighbouring regions and successfully incited the Arabs against the Byzantines. Bielski does not seem to hold Muḥammad's followers in high esteem as he calls them 'brigands' (*totrostwo*). He notes that after Muḥammad's death (he was 34 and ruled for six years) his followers waited for his (predicted) resurrection, but when the corpse began to stink they took it to the church [!] that had been constructed for Abraham's descendants in Arabia in the town called Mecha. He left laws for his followers, including rules about marriage, diet and religious matters ('they should not argue about their faith but act'). Bielski says that he will refrain from describing many strange things written in the Qur'an, and talks about tricks used by Muḥammad to persuade people to join him – a trick with honey and milk, and another with a trained dove that perched on his shoulder and pecked from his ear.

Bielski repeats the rules about marriage and diet, and the reason for Turkish belligerence in Chapter 4. He also notes the respect for justice among the Turks, and the emperor's privilege of being the sole owner of all and everything, with the position of individuals in society depending on his will (strikingly different from what Bielski knew in his own country).

Bielski writes that the Turks believe in one God, pray five times a day, wash before praying, and end their month of fasting with a feast. He devotes a lot of attention to highlighting the two issues of the differences between Turkish 'priests' and Christian clergy, and the role of God's grace in saving a believer. Concerning the first, he notes that Turkish 'priests' are married, they accept whatever is offered to them for their services, and if they have a big family they have to work as craftsmen or farmers to earn their living. They are exempted from military service unless they choose to enlist, and they are hardly distinguishable

from simple peasants because they do not need much learning. However, those who know Arabic are more respected because the Qur'an was written in heaven in Arabic (and is known only in this language). Bielski also stresses that Christian clergy face a hard time if they fall into captivity, like all those who cannot earn their living by manual work.

He notes a variety of religious practices (*rozmaite nabożeństwo*) among the Turks – some live in the desert away from people, others live in guest-houses offering hospitality to poor pilgrims, still others walk the streets offering water to the thirsty. There are also those who consider themselves to be prophets and act as if they were mad. They live in what he calls 'churches', wear few clothes and pray and fast in order to obtain power to foresee future events. They are consulted by the emperor when he is about to go to war. Bielski expresses surprise that, even though the Turks excel in military matters to the point that hardly anyone can withstand them, and they act rationally and govern their affairs well, in matters of religion they show such lack of discernment that these mad beggars are able to fool them.

On the issue of God's grace, according to the law of Muḥammad no soul goes to heaven, but instead lives a blessed bodily life in the paradise of pleasure. Those who reject Islamic law condemn themselves to hell, though the Turks believe that if anyone dies in grave sin but believes in that law, he will be saved. However, many of them secretly think that the law does not count as much as God's grace, since people are saved by God's grace alone. There are also those who believe they will be saved by doing good deeds and fulfilling the law without God's grace, and also others who believe that anyone who does good will be saved, regardless of his religion. To this Bielski adds another comment, that, when there is no Christ, human thought veers one way or another in confusion, though this also happens among Christians if they seek salvation somewhere else and not from the Saviour.

Bielski is very interested in the fate of the Turks' captives, even to the point of giving hints on possible means of escape. Conversion does not always immediately improve a captive's fate, though becoming a Muslim is a point of no return. Bielski describes the taxes Christians had to pay under Turkish rule, and the general hardships of life.

Bielski often treats the terms 'Turks' and 'Saracens' (and also 'Turkey' and 'Saracenia') as synonymous, though sometimes he seems to distinguish between them, and the link between the two is not clear apart from the fact that the Turks accepted the faith of the Saracens.

The material in Chapter 4 of the 1564 edition bears a strong resemblance to the contents of Chapter 4 of S. Münster's *Cosmographiae universalis*, which is in turn heavily indebted to B. Georgijevic's (Georgius) *De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum* and *De Turcorum ritu et caerimoniis* (Danti, 'L'aspetto', pp. 551-2; Śnieżko, 'Kronika', pp. 62-3). Georgijevic's works were printed in Antwerp in 1544 and also in Kraków in 1548 (one of them was translated into Polish). Chrzanowski (*Marcin Bielski. Studyum*, pp. 111-12) has shown that Bielski used Georgijevic directly, because there are items in the *Chronicle* that feature in Georgijevic but were not used by Münster.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although there is not much in the *Chronicle* on relations between Christians and Muslims, this was one of the very first texts on Muslim beliefs and practices to appear in print in Polish (the earlier *Memoirs of a Janissary* by Konstantin Michailović circulated only in manuscript).

Though the *Chronicle* was initially well received, and the publication of three constantly revised editions within 13 years may signify that the book was in demand, it soon fell into oblivion, though old editions continued to be kept in house libraries and, judging by the marginalia, were often intently studied (Śnieżko, 'Kronika', pp. 303-11). The reasons for its fading popularity were manifold. Socio-political conditions at the end of the 16th century focused interest on domestic affairs, so that the part of the *Chronicle* dealing with Poland was developed and published separately by Marcin's son Joachim in 1597, and attracted most later public and scholarly attention. Polish translations of well-known foreign works also started appearing, among them Botero's *Relationi universali* in 1609, 1613 and 1659, and Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici* in 1607. In addition, similar works by other Polish authors appeared. These were not stigmatised as 'heretics', which mattered at a time when the wave of the Counter-Reformation was rising. Bielski was constantly branded a 'Protestant', and warnings about the ideas he had inserted into his work were repeated many times by various commentators (Śnieżko, 'Kronika', pp. 17, 275, 310-11). When the *Chronicle* was put onto the index of prohibited books, it was kept in libraries without the title page, contributing to later difficulties in establishing the number of editions. In the mid-19th century, Sobieszczański ('O życiu i pracach', pp. xxxi-ii) remarked that, of four copies of what he identified as the second edition he had seen in Warsaw, none had its title page.

The *Chronicle*, or more often fragments of it, had a wider reception further east. According to S. Ptaszycki, who worked on the material in the early 1930s, there were five eastern translations of Bielski's work. The third edition was translated into Belarussian before 1568 (Russian literary manuscript tradition holds that there was a translation by a Lithuanian nobleman, later named as Ambroży Breżowski (or Brzeżewski or Breżewski), from which a Muscovite translation was made probably between about 1565 and 1568, though on the basis of the earliest preserved copy Russian scholars date his translation to 1584. The second edition was translated into 'southern Russian' at the beginning of the 17th century. Two 'great Russian' (Muscovite) translations were also known to Ptaszycki, the cosmography from the third edition, apparently translated from Polish, and the first edition, probably translated via Belarussian. Ptaszycki also describes a so-called Chełm manuscript (in Belarussian), apparently complete, well translated and the earliest (most probably a translation of the first edition). This work became untraceable after the Second World War (Śnieżko, 'Kronika', p. 287). A 'western Russian', i.e. Belarussian, translation of some parts from the third edition is held in the Czartoryskis Library in Kraków (this includes the history and customs of the Turks).

The story of George Skanderbeg enjoyed particular interest: apparently 10 separate manuscript translations from various parts of Russia are extant, including one from the Solovetsky Islands (Sielicki, 'Kronikarze polscy', p. 160). The fragment containing the biography of Muḥammad was translated and included in the so-called *Sbornik Supraślski*, a polemical collection compiled in the Orthodox monastery of Supraśl (present-day north-eastern Poland) in the 1570-80s (Mironowicz, 'Związki literackie', pp. 541-2; Sielicki, 'Kronikarze polscy', p. 160; 'Marcin Bielski', in *Nowy Korbut*, p. 28).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Kraków, Czartoryskis Library – 1273 (17th century copy; west Russian [Byelorussian] trans. of fragments of the third edition)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'S kojniku polskiego o Machmietie, koko on i jako, i jakim obyczjem k czomu przszoł, zakon biesurmańskij turkom założył', in *Sbornik Supraślski 1578-80* (Russian trans. of the life of Muḥammad, according to *Nowy Korbut*, p. 28, dated to 1564)

- M. Bielski, *Kronika, tho iesth Historyja Świata na sześć wieków a cztery Monarchie rozdzielona z rozmaitych Historyków tak w świętym piśmie Krześcijańskim, Żydowskim, jako i Pogańskim wybierana i na Polski język wypisana dostateczniej niż pierwej, zprzydanim wiele rzeczy nowych. Od początku Świata aż do tego roku, który się pisze 1564, z Figurami ochędożnymi i własnymi*, Kraków, 1564 (facsimile, Warsaw, 1976)
- M. Bielski, *Kronika wszytkiego świata na sześć wieków a na czwóry księgi także Monarchie rozdzielona, rozmaitych historii, tak w Świętym Piśmie jako w prostym, z Kosmografią nową i z rozmaitemi królestwy, tak pogańskimi, żydowskimi, jako Krześcijańskimi, w której też żywoty Papieskie, Cesarskie i Królów innych także Książąt, od początku świata aż do tego roku, który się pisze 1554. Między któremi też nasza Polska jest z osobna położona i świata nowego wypisanie*, Kraków, 1554
- M. Bielski, *Kronika wszytkiego świata, na sześć wieków, Monarchie cztery rozdzielona, z Kosmografią nową i z rozmaitemi Królestwy, tak pogańskimi, Żydowskimi, jako i krześcijańskimi, z Sybillami i prorocctwy ich, po polsku pisana, z figurami. W której też żywoty Cesar-skie, Papieskie i tych królów z ich Królestwy: Asyryjskich. Egipskich, Żydowskich, Greckich, Perskich, Tureckich, Węgierskich, Czeskich i inych rozmaitych, tak Królów, Książąt, jako inych przelożonych od początku świata aż do tego roku, który się pisze 1551 są napisane. Między któremi też nasza Polska na ostatku z osobna jest wypisana*, Kraków, 1551

Copies of the work are held in the following libraries: the Polish National Library, the Jagiellonian Library, the Czartoryskis Library, the House Library of the Dominican Order in Kraków, Library of *Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich* in Wrocław, Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kórnik, Library of the Poznań Society of Friends of the Sciences, the Raczyńskis Library, Library of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Library of the University of Zielona Góra.

STUDIES

- D. Śnieżko, *'Kronika wszytkiego świata' Marcina Bielskiego. Pogranicze dyskursów*, Szczecin, 2004
- P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, 'Marcin Bielski o odkrywaniu nowych światów', in J.K. Goliński (ed.), *Wyobraźnia epok dawnych: obrazy – tematy – idee* ['Imagination of former eras: images – themes – ideas'], Bydgoszcz, 2001, 153-65

- A. Mironowicz, 'Związki literackie Kijowa z monasterem supraskim', *Slavia Orientalis* 38 (1989) 537-42
- E. Małek, *Narracje staropolskie w Rosji XVII i XVIII wieku* ['Old Polish narrations in Russia of the 17th and 18th centuries'], Łódź, 1988
- A. Danti, 'L'aspetto "utopico" della letteratura antiturca in Italia e in Polonia alia metà del XVI secolo', in V. Branca and S. Graciotti (eds), *Italia, Venezia e Polonia tra Medio Evo e eta moderna*, Florence, 1980, 551-70 (Polish trans., "Utopijny" aspekt literatury antyturskiej we Włoszech i w Polsce w połowie XVI wieku', in G. Brogi Bercoff and T. Michałowska (eds), *Od Lamentu świętokrzyskiego do Adona. Włoskie studia o literaturze staropolskiej*, Warsaw, 1995, 119-38
- S. Starowolski, *Setnik Pisarzy Polskich albo pochwały i żywoty stu najznakomitszych pisarzy polskich* ['Centurion of the Polish writers, or commendations and lives of the hundred most prominent Polish writers'], Kraków, 1970 (on the expanded version published in Venice, 1627; the original Frankfurt, 1625)
- F. Sielicki, 'Kronikarze polscy w latopisarstwie i dawnej historiografii ruskiej' ['Polish chroniclers in the "latopis" tradition and old Russian historiography'], *Slavia Orientalis* 14 (1965) 143-78, pp. 157-62
- H. Barycz, *Dzieje nauki w Polsce w epoce Odrodzenia* ['History of learning in Poland in the Renaissance era'], Warsaw, 1957
- S. Ptaszycki, 'Ruskie przekłady kronik Bielskiego i Strykowskiego' ['Russian translations of the chronicles of Bielski and Strykowski'], *Pamiętnik Literacki* 30 (1933) 168-84
- W. Lew, *Ukrajins'kyj pereklad chroniky Martyna Biels'koho* ['The Ukrainian translation of the chronicle of Martin Bielski'], Warsaw, 1933
- A. Sobolewski, *Pierwodnaja literatura Moskowskoj Rusi XIV-XVI wieka* ['Translated literature of Muscovy in the 14th-16th centuries'], St Petersburg, 1903
- Załoski, *Biblioteka historyków, prawników*
- Ł. Gołębiowski, *O dziejopisach polskich, ich duchu, zaletach i wadach* ['On the Polish chroniclers, their spirit, virtues and flaws'], Warsaw, 1826

Stanisław Grodz

Istoriia o Kazanskom tsarstve

Kazan chronicle

BIOGRAPHY

According to what the author says in the colophon, he was a Russian captive who was held in Kazan for 20 years and converted to Islam. Then, at the beginning of the Kazan campaign he fled and entered the service of Ivan IV.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only source for the author is the *Kazan chronicle* itself.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kazanskaia istoriia, 'Kazan chronicle'

Istoriia o Kazanskom tsarstve; Istoriia o Kazanskom tsarstve, 'History of the Empire of Kazan'

DATE 1564-5

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

The *Kazan chronicle* is written in Old Russian with parts in vernacular Russian and Church Slavonic. It comes from the time before the formation of a unified Russian literary language, which makes it of interest to linguists. The longest manuscript of the chronicle consists of 153 pages and is dated to the 1660s. In G.Z. Kuntsevich's edition, it is 496 pages long.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Kuntsevich identified three stages in the development of the *Chronicle*. The first was the author's original text, probably datable to 1564-5, and a redaction of this from before 1573 (redactions 1-2). The second, written after 1592, is a radically reworked version: a part of the *Stepennaia kniga* ('Book of degrees'), which describes the 1552 campaign, and parts of other chronicles, were

inserted after ch. 50 (redactions 3-8). The third, at the beginning of the 18th century, resulted in the *Kratkii kazanskii letopisets* ('Short Kazan chronicle') or the ninth redaction. Kuntsevich's findings were revised in the 1950s by G.N. Moiseeva, who identified two stages, the first from before 1592, and the second afterwards.

The *Chronicle* is a history of relations between Russia and the Golden Horde from the time of the invasion of Batu in 1237 and the formation of the Golden Horde in the 13th century to Ivan IV's Kazan campaign in 1552. When he captured Kazan, Ivan conquered one of the successors of the Golden Horde and therefore symbolically showed the pre-eminence of Russia over the Tatars, a reversal of the 13th-century period when the Russians had been overrun and made tributaries of the Horde.

The first part of the *Chronicle* relates the history of the Khanate up to the 16th century. Although the Tatars are described as oath-breaking, aggressive, and constantly invading Russian lands and enslaving Russians, there are also passages that refer to their good behaviour towards Russians. Thus, when Vasilii II was captured by the Kazan khan, he was treated well and even fed with food 'worthy of a Christian'.

Following the structure of Kuntsevich's edition, chs 1-15 tell of Tatar-Russian relations before the 16th century, while chs 16-42 are about Ivan IV's reign and the decline of the Khanate because of disputes about the succession. At the end, the khan's widow, Süyün-Beke, who is already in Muscovite hands, foretells the fall of the city.

The second part of the *Chronicle* describes Ivan IV's campaign and the fall of Kazan. Chs 43-71 relate the siege of 1552. The Muscovites hold a great council of war and the siege is launched. It does not succeed and the commanders of the army decide to retreat to Moscow, but two monks from the Sergiev monastery prophesy victory (a clear allusion to the Battle at the Don in 1380, the last time the Russians had defeated the Mongols). Help comes in the shape of foreign fighting-men. Chs 72-102 then describe the breaching of the city wall and the battle around it. They end with a prediction of the city's prosperity now that it has become part of the Christian world. The culmination is Ivan's entry into the city, and the khan begging for baptism.

Chs 103-4 give a summary of the history of Kazan, while ch. 105, which is found in only one manuscript dated after 1584, contains an obituary of Ivan IV, who died in 1584.

SIGNIFICANCE

The large number of manuscripts and redactions of the *Kazan chronicle* are a reflection of the importance of Ivan's victory. The Khanate of Kazan was a major threat to the security of Russia and an obstacle to expansion to the east. It conducted raids into Russian lands, and in the 16th century blocked the trading route along the River Volga. This victory was thus a major triumph for the young tsar and for the country as a whole.

The *Chronicle* reflects the Orthodox Church's conviction that the inevitable fate of Kazan and Islam was to fall to an Orthodox ruler. This theme recurs frequently in church texts from the 16th century.

MANUSCRIPTS

The *Kazan chronicle* is preserved in over 200 MSS, the earliest of which are dated to the early 17th century. Descriptions can be found in the following publications:

L.A. Dubrovina, *Kazanskii letopisets*, Yoshkar-Ola, Russia, 1981

L.A. Dubrovina and A. Liubov, *Istoriia o Kazanskom tsarstve (Kazanskii letopisets). Spiski i klassifikatsiia tekstov*, Kiev, 1989

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

http://www.pushkinskiydom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=5148#_edn1

'Kazanskaiia istoriia', in T.F. Volkovoi (ed.), *Pamiatniki literatury drevnei Rusi. Seredina XVI v.*, Moscow, 1985, pp. 360-565 (text), pp. 601-24 (notes)

F. Kämpfer (trans.), *Historie vom Zartum Kasan (Kasaner Chronist)*, Graz, 1969 (German trans.)

V.P. Shestakov (ed.), *Istoriia estetiki. Pamiatniki mirovoi esteticheskoi mysli v piati tomach*, vol. 1. *Antichnost' – Srednie veka – Vozrozhdenie*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 428-42 (selections)

N.V. Vodovozova (ed.), *Skazanie o tsarstve kazanskom*, Moscow, 1959

G.N. Moiseevoi (ed.), *Kazanskaiia istoriia*, Moscow, 1954

G.Z. Kuntsevich (ed.), *Istoriia o kazanskom tsarstve (Kazanskii letopisets)*, St Petersburg, 1903 (repr. Moscow, 2000, http://psrl.csu.ru/toms/Tom_19.shtml)

F.T. Vasil'eva (ed.), *Skazanie o zachatii tsarstva Kazanskogo*, Kazan, 1902

Podrobnaiia letopis' ot nachala Rossii do Poltavskoi vatalii, St Petersburg, 1798

Istoriia o kazanskom tsarstve neizvestnago sochinitelia 16 stoletia po dvum starinnyim spiskam, St Petersburg, 1791

STUDIES

The *Kazan chronicle* has been the subject of many studies since the middle of the 19th century. More recent studies tend to refer to these older works, so only those published since the 1950s are listed here.

- T.F. Volkova, 'Slovesnyi portret v "Kazanskoi istorii"', in L.A. Dmitriev (ed.), *Issledovaniia po drevnei i novoi literature. Sbornik trudov*, Leningrad, 1987, 41-7
- T.F. Volkova, 'Kommentarii k odnomu fragmentu "Kazanskoi istorii". Siuzhet "Sergieva videniia" v sochineniiakh XVI v. o vziatii Kazani', *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 38 (1985) 179-84
- T.F. Volkova, 'Rabota avtora "Kazanskoi istorii" nad siuzhetnom povestvovanii ob osade i vziatii Kazani', *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 39 (1985) 308-22
- T.F. Volkova, 'Osobennosti siuzheta Povesti o kazanskom pokhode i "Istorii" A.M. Kurbskogo. K voprosu o belletrizatsii istoriko-publitsicheskogo povestvovaniia v XVI v.', *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 40 (1985) 248-59
- T.F. Volkova, "'Letopisets' nachala tsarstva tsaria i velikogo kniazia Ivana Vasil'evicha" i Troitskoe sochinenie o vziatii Kazani kak istochniki teksta "Kazanskoi istorii"', in D.S. Likhachev (ed.), *Drevnerusskaia literatura. Istochnikovedenie*, Leningrad, 1984, 172-87
- T.F. Volkova, 'Osobennosti povestvovaniia v "Letopistse nachala tsarstva tsaria i velikogo kniazia Ivana Vasil'evicha" i kul'tura epokhi "vtorogo monumentalizma"', in *Stil' pisatel'ia i kul'tura epokhi*, Syktyvkar, Russia, 1984, 15-26
- N.V. Trofimova, 'Ob osobennostiakh i roli peizazha v "Istorii o tsarstve Kazanskom"', in N.I. Prokof'ev (ed.), *Literatura drevnei Rusi. Sbornik trudov*, Moscow, 1983, vol. 4, 65-75
- T.F. Volkova, "'Kazanskaia istoriia" i troitskie literaturnye pamiatniki o vziatii Kazani. K voprosu ob istoriko-literaturnykh osobennostiakh "Kazanskoi istorii"', *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 37 (1983) 104-17
- T.F. Volkova, 'Problema avtorskoi pozitsii v istoriko-publitsicheskome povestvovanii XVI v. Na materiale sochinenii sovremennikov o vziatii Kazani', in *Stil' i ideologiia (Aktivnost' avtorskogo povestvovaniia)*, Syktyvkar, Russia, 1983, 4-17

- T.F. Volkova, 'Dva tipa siuzheta v istoriko-publitsicheskome povestvovanii vtoroi poloviny XVI v. Rasskaz o vziatii Kazani v "Kazanskoi istorii" i "Istorii o velikom kniaze Moskovskom"', in F.Z. Kanunova, N.N. Kiselev and N.B. Remorova (eds), *Problemy literaturnykh zhanrov. Materialy chetvertoi nauchnoi mezhvuzovskoi konferentsii*, Tomsk, Russia, 1983, 17-18
- T.F. Volkova, 'Maloizvestnyi istochnik "Kazanskoi istorii"', *Russkaia literatura* 3 (1982) 135-8
- T.F. Volkova, '"Kazanskaia istoriia" i istoriko-publitsicheskoe povestvovanie Moskovskoi Rusi vtoroi poloviny XVI v.', Leningrad, 1982 (Diss. University of Leningrad)
- T.F. Volkova, 'K voprosu o literaturnykh istochnikakh "Kazanskoi istorii". "Kazanskaia istoriia" i zhanr chozhdenii', *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 36 (1981) 242-50
- L.A. Dubrovina, 'Kazanskii letopisets, istoriko-tekstologicheskoe issledovanie', Moscow, 1981 (Diss. University of Moscow)
- N.V. Trofimova, 'O sravneniiakh v "Istorii o tsarstve Kazanskom"', in N.I. Prokof'ev (ed.), *Literatura drevnei Rusi. Sbornik trudov*, Moscow, 1981, vol. 3, 68-74
- L.A. Dubrovina, 'Nekotorye voprosy teksta Kazanskogo letopistsa', in *Materialy konferentsii molodykh uchenykh*, Yoshkar-Ola, Russia, 1980, 12-21
- G.N. Moiseeva, '"Kazanskaia istoriia" iz biblioteki M.V. Lomonosova', *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 9 (1953) 266-88
- G.N. Moiseeva, '"Kazanskaia istoriia" – novyi etap v razvitii istoricheskogo povestvovaniia drevnei Rusi', Leningrad, 1951 (Avtoreferat kand. Diss., University of Leningrad)

Cornelia Soldat

Georgius Huszthius

Hustius; Hust; Husz; Huszti de Raszinya; Hwz Rascinyanus;
Juraj Hus Rasinjanin; György Husz Raszinyai

DATE OF BIRTH Beginning of the 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Rasinja, Croatia
DATE OF DEATH After 1566
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

In 1532, Georgius Huszthius, a young student in Pécs, was captured by the Ottomans in his native Slavonia during the Turkish army's retreat from the battle of Kőszeg. He was taken to Constantinople, and served as a slave to the *defterdar* Iskender Çelebi, and later, when he learned to play the trumpet, to the imperial trumpeter in Galata. He attempted to escape by secretly joining the delegation from John Zápolya to the sultan on their way back to Hungary in 1533, but he was captured in Smederevo and taken back to Constantinople. After four years as a slave, he was granted his freedom by the sultan and entered the service of an Arab captain in Egypt. In 1538, he took part in the Turkish siege of the Portuguese city of Diu in India as a hired military trumpeter on a Turkish battleship. When the Turkish-Portuguese conflict ended, he dedicated himself to pilgrimage, visiting Mount Sinai, Gaza, Jerusalem and other places in the Holy Land. Trying to find a way to escape from Turkish territory, he sailed on a Turkish ship from Tripoli to Antalya, walked across Anatolia with a group of Turks and Greeks, and later managed to sail from Chios to Messina. Once in Christian territory, he went on to Naples, Rome, Ancona, Rijeka, Metlika and Zagreb, and finally settled in Pressburg.

Huszthius wrote a description of his captivity and travels. In 1548, he offered a version to Ferdinand I in Vienna, and dedicated a copy of it to Michael de Rawen, prothonotary of Slavonia. He was still alive in 1566, when he dedicated the longer version to the Privy Counsellor Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- M. Istvánffy, *Nicolai Istvanffy Pannonii historiarum de rebus Hungaricis libri XXXVI*, Köln, 1622 (*Regni Hungarici historia, post obitum gloriosissimi Matthiae Corvini regis... libris XXXIV*, Köln, 1724², p. 115)
- P. Matković (ed.), 'Descriptio peregrinationis Georgii Huszthii. Codex bibliothecae vaticanae Romae; Reg. num. 931', *Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 13 (1881) 1-38

Secondary

- V. Humski, art. 'Hus, Juraj', in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, Zagreb, 2002, vol. 5, 769 (contains an exhaustive list of studies in Croatian)
- G. Stepanić, art. 'Hus, Juraj', in *Leksikon hrvatskih pisaca*, Zagreb, 2000, 286
- M.D. Birnbaum, 'Humanists in Ottoman captivity', in M.D. Birnbaum, *Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the sixteenth century*, Zagreb, 1993, 230-69 (also published under the same title in M.D. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a shattered world. Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the sixteenth century*, Columbus OH, 1986, 182-212)
- E. Margalits, *Horvát történelmi repertorium*, Budapest, 1900, vol. 1, pp. 557-61
- P. Matković, 'Gjuro Hus, Hrvat iz Rasinje, glasovit putnik XVI vieka', *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 55 (1881) 116-84
- F. Rački, 'Crtice iz putopisa Jurja Hustoga. (Po vatikanskom rukopisu bibl. Regine N. 931)', *Neven* 7 (1858) 485-9, 501-4
- I. Nagy, 'Római magyar regesták', *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 4 (1857) 242 (an identification and a brief description of the Vatican manuscript)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Descriptio peregrinationis Georgii Huszthii; Georgii Hwz peregrinatio Hierosolimitana, 'Description of the pilgrimage of Georgius Huszthius'

DATE 1548-66

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Descriptio peregrinationis Georgii Huszthii is Huszthius's memoir, written after he returned from his ten-year captivity and travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, India and the Holy Land. It consists of 38 pages in Matković's 1881 edition, which combines the 1548 version (10 folios) and Huszthius's expanded 1566 autograph (30 folios). It is a narrative of Huszthius's Ottoman captivity, his life as a trumpeter in the Ottoman

military, and his period as a pilgrim, with descriptions of holy places and reflections on moral themes, which often compare Muslim and Christian points of view. A significant part of the text consists of quotations from the Bible, classical (predominantly Latin) authors, humanists such as Erasmus, and proverbs of various origins, sometimes in their original languages (Turkish, Hungarian).

Numerous references to the Muslim world appear throughout the text and, as might be expected, they are predominantly negative. They range from passing mentions of Muslim customs, such as the celebration of Ramadan, to open invective and strong disdain of the non-Christian 'others'. The Ottomans are often portrayed as morally inferior to Christians, self-seeking, cruel and disloyal. Huszthius calls his captivity the 'yoke of barbarian and idolatrous tyranny' (Matković, 'Descriptio', p. 4), and he expresses his open refusal to visit 'the temple which Muhammad dedicated to their god' in Mecca, or the tomb of the Prophet in Medina 'in which they say Muhammad, that impostor, was buried' ('Descriptio', p. 21). Negative attitudes are also shown towards other, non-scriptural religions (the Indians are called *idolatrae*), though open sympathy is expressed for Eastern Christian churches (the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Greek Orthodox Church).

Although Huszthius never explicitly declares his affiliation to any of the Christian churches, he seems to have been a Roman Catholic, since he calls the pope 'the Roman pontiff of our religion' (Matković, 'Descriptio', p. 18). However, it has also been suggested that he was a fundamentalist Protestant (Birnbaum, 'Renaissance orientalism', p. 385) or 'leaning toward fundamentalist Protestantism' (Birnbaum, *Humanists in a shattered world*, p. 207), because of his stern disapproval of both Muslim and Christian festivities as immoral. Another suggestion is that he converted to Islam (Birnbaum, 'Renaissance orientalism', p. 385), but although it is true that for years he lived dressed as a Turk and even acted as one in order to visit places forbidden to Christians ('Descriptio', p. 34), the text only refers to his reluctance to accept Islam. There is no doubt that his attitude towards Islam is heightened in this anti-Turkish humanist narrative, where he tries to present himself as a faithful and learned Christian opposed to Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

Descriptio peregrinationis is Huszthius's only known work. It is one of the key captivity reports from the mid-16th century in Croatia and Hungary, alongside the report by the Croatian Bartholomaeus Georgius. Its

significance lies in the broad thematic spectrum it presents, and it served as a historical source for other works, especially for accounts of the siege of Diu. It definitely circulated among Huszthius's contemporaries, and a copy – no longer extant – of the shorter (Viennese) version that was offered to King Ferdinand I Habsburg. After it was published it was studied and interpreted both as an Ottoman captivity report and – especially in Croatia – as an adventure narrative, an early exotic travelogue to the East.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Cod. 9528 (10 November 1548; written in Pressburg)

MS Vat – Reg. lat. 931 (17 October 1566; written in Scharndorf; expanded autograph version of the Vienna MS)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

L. Tardy, *Rabok, követek, kalmárok az oszmán birodalomról*, Budapest, 1977 (Hungarian trans.)

P. Grgec, *Od Hrvatske do Indije. Lutanja i putovanja Jurja Rasinjanina*, Zagreb, 1933 (Croatian trans. of selected sections)

Matković, 'Descriptio'

Rački, 'Crstice iz putopisa Jurja Hustoga' (Croatian trans. and paraphrase of selected sections)

STUDIES

G. Stepanić, 'Creating a value-added text. *Descriptio Peregrinationis Georgii Huszthii*', *Systasis* 18 (2013), <http://systasis.org/index.php/en/component/content/article/88-so18/papers/101-creating-a-value-added-text-descriptio-peregrinationis-georgii-huszthii>

M.D. Birnbaum, 'Renaissance orientalism', *Behind the image, another text. Six essays on art and literature*, Budapest, 2008, 102-23 (a shorter version of the same article appeared in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 28 [2006] 379-89)

Birnbaum, 'Humanists in Ottoman captivity'

Tardy, *Rabok, követek, kalmárok az oszmán birodalomról*

P. Grgec, *Od Hrvatske do Indije*

Matković, 'Gjuro Hus, Hrvat iz Rasinje'

Gorana Stepanić

János Zsámboky

János Zsámboki, Sámbocki; Johannes Sambucus

DATE OF BIRTH 1 June 1531
PLACE OF BIRTH Trnava
DATE OF DEATH 13 June 1584
PLACE OF DEATH Vienna

BIOGRAPHY

János Zsámboky was a Hungarian physician, philologist, poet, polymath, collector and editor of important manuscripts on Hungarian history, and also an author of historical works. Between 1542 and 1552, he studied classical philology, jurisprudence, history and philosophy at the universities of Vienna, Wittenberg, Strasbourg and Paris, where he received a Master's degree in philosophy. With the support of Nicolaus Olahus (Miklós Oláh), Archbishop of Esztergom, from 1553 to 1557 he studied medicine at the University of Padua, and from 1557 to 1559 he lived at the court of Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio. In 1560, he moved to Vienna, where he was employed as physician, historian and councillor in the court of the emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II.

In Vienna, Zsámboky edited a number of works on the history of the Hungarian Kingdom, which are indispensable for the historiography of the Hungarian-Ottoman wars in the 16th century. As a poet, Zsámboky's chief literary achievement was the *Emblemata* (1564), an emblem book containing images with explanatory poems of a philosophical and didactic nature. He also published fully annotated maps of Hungary, Transylvania and Illyria. He died in Vienna on 13 June 1584.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Orationes duae funebres... Cum doctissimorum aetatis nostrae virorum Epistolis eiusdem argumenti, atque epigrammatis Graecis & Latinis, Parisiis, 1561

Emblemata, cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis, Antwerpiae, 1564, 1566, 1567, 1569, 1576, 1584, 1599 (modern reprints: Johannes Sambucus, *Emblemata Antverpine 1584*, ed. B. Varjas and A. Bock, Budapest, 1982 and Hildesheim, 2002)

- Oratio cum epigrammatis aliquot epithaphiis in obitum Imp. Ferdinandi Primi... tertio nonas Sextil. MDLXIII*, Vienna, 1565
- Epistola et epitaphia de obitu magnific. herois ac Baronis Sigismundi ab Herbersein*, Augustae Vindelicorum, 1566; Vienna, 1566
- Reges Vngariae, ab an: Christi CDI. usqu. ad M.D.XLVII. item Iani Pannonii... Erane-mus nunc repertus*, Vienna, 1567
- Epistolae duae duum VV. D. Johannis Sambuci et D. Johannis Cratonis... De Lugubri Et. Reip. Damnosa ex hac vita migratione magn. viri D. Johannis Vdalrici Zassii Proconcell. Imperii Augusti. vna cum Epitaphijs*, Lipsiae, 1570
- De corona Seren. Rodolphi Regis Vngariae, &c. Archiducis Austriae, &c. 25. Sep-temb. 1572. ad Status Regni, & alios Joan. Samb. oratiuncula*, Vienna, 1572
- Hungariae loca precipva recens emendata, atqve edita*, (s.l.), 1592
- Ad invictissimvm Caesarem Rvdolphvm II. Romanorvm Imperatorem... Sive de tribvs summis Imperatoris virtutibvs Gnomae generales*, Jenae, 1598
- Aus dem Tagebuch des kaiserlichen Hofhistoriographen Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584)*, ed. H. Gerstinger, Vienna, 1965 (Zsámboky's diary covering many of the years 1531-84)
- I. Kovács, 'Zsámboky magyar nyelvű levelei', *Zbornik Filozofickej Fakulty Univerzity Komenského, Philologica* 25 (1974) 225-35 (Zsámboky's letters written in Hungarian)
- Die Briefe des Johannes Sambucus 1554-1584*, ed. A. Vantuch and H. Gerstinger. Vienna, 1968 (Zsámboky's correspondence with some of the most important European humanists of his time, and with valuable information about his life and his connections with 16th-century European scholars; these letters fill the gaps in the timeline of Zsámboky's life, especially his journeys)

Secondary

- K. Kapronczay, 'Ein ungarischer humanistischer Polyhistor, János Zsámboky (1531-1584) = Egy magyar humanista polihisztor, Zsámboky János (1531-1584)', *Orvostörténeti közlemények = Communicationes de historia artis medicinae* 56 (2010) 27-42
- Z. Erdős, 'Farkas vagy kutya? Hatalmi jelképek és politikai program Zsámboky János emblémáján' [Wolf or dog? The symbols of power and the political programme on the emblem of Johannes Sambucus], *Fons* 17 (2010) 231-48
- B. Szlavikovszky, *Magyarországi diákok itáliai egyetemeken 1526–1918* [Hungarian students at Italian universities], Budapest, 2007, vol. 1, pp. 44, 184, 203, 452, 647
- G. Almási, 'Két magyarországi humanista a császári udvar szolgálatában a 16. században. Dudith András (1533-1589) és Zsámboky János (1531-1584)' [The Hungarian humanists in the service of the 16th-century imperial court. András Dudith (1533-1589) and János Zsámboky (1531-1584)], *Századok* 139 (2005) 889-922; 139 (2005) 1131-67

- A.S.Q. Visser, *Joannes Sambucus and the learned image. The use of the emblem in late-Renaissance humanism*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 1-48
- K. Bognár, *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi tanintézetekben 1526–1789* [Hungarian students at the schools of Vienna], Budapest, 2004, pp. 59, 164
- P. Gunst, *A magyar történetírás története* [A history of Hungarian historiography], Debrecen, 2000, pp. 105-8
- I. Téglásy, 'János Zsámboky (Sambucus) and his theory of language', *Hungarian-Studies* 10 (1995) 235-52
- S. Bakewell, 'A bibliography of Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584)', London, 1994 (MA diss. University College London)
- E. Schultheisz et al., 'In memoriam Johannes Sambucus', *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 31 (1985) 163-223
- I. Téglásy, 'Zsámboky János (Sambucus) nyelv- és történelemszemléletéhez' [On Sambucus' theory of language and history], *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 84 (1980) 245-65
- E. Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi történetírás történetéből* [Chapters from the history of the Hungarian historiography of the 16th and 17th centuries], Budapest, 1975, pp. 94-100
- A. Vantuch, *Ján Sambucus. Život a dielo renesančného učenca* [Johannes Sambucus. The life and work of a Renaissance scholar], Bratislava, 1975
- G. Borsa and J.E. Walsh, 'Eine gedruckte Selbstbibliographie von Johannes Sambucus', *Magyar Könyvszemle* 81 (1965) 128-33
- I. Várady, *Relazioni di Giovanni Zsámboky (Sambucus) coll'umanesimo italiano*, Budapest, 1936
- J. Orbán, *Sámboky Jánosról* [On Johannes Sambucus], Szeged, 1916

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Appendix to Ransanus's *Epitome rerum Ungaricarum*

DATE 1558

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Epitome rerum Ungaricarum* was written by the Sicilian Pietro Ransano (Petrus Ransanus) (1428-91), a Dominican friar and Bishop of Lucera, in about 1490. Zsámboky intended his *Appendix* as a continuation for the years 1485-1552. The events following the death of King Matthias Corvinus were compiled partly from written sources and reports of witnesses, and partly from Zsámboky's own recollections. Compared with the more concise *Appendix* to Antonio Bonfini's *Chronicle*, this work is

more comprehensive and gives a more detailed account of the political and military events of the early stage of the Ottoman-Hungarian conflicts, from the battle of Mohács in 1526. The Ottoman failure to capture the fortress of Eger in 1552 is briefly described in an additional chapter, based on the poem by Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos, and is only loosely connected to the rest of the *Appendix*.

In the main, Zsámboky is interested in internal Hungarian political and military events, and he sees the history of the Ottoman Empire from the perspective of Hungarian history. In contrast to his *Appendix* to Bonfini's *Chronicle*, here Zsámboky reconstructs his narrative in chronological order. He describes the Ottoman capture of Belgrade in 1521, and of Szalánkemén (present-day Stari Slankamen, Serbia) and Pétervárad (present-day Petrovaradin, Serbia) in 1526, as well the Hungarian defeat at the Battle of Mohács and the death of King Louis II of Hungary in the same year. He also traces the aftermath of the Ottoman victory as they captured and plundered Buda, and the double coronation of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and János Szapolyai (John Zápolya) as King of Hungary, which eventually led to internal conflict and civil war. In a separate chapter, he deals with the military events of the year 1552, when several major fortifications, including Lippa (Lipova, Romania) and Temesvár (Timișoara, Romania), were conquered by the Ottomans, although the two united Ottoman armies were halted and forced to withdraw by the defenders of the fortress of Eger.

SIGNIFICANCE

This *Appendix* is one of the chief sources of political and military history, and of Ottoman-Hungarian conflict, in the 16th century. Here Zsámboky expresses his political views and ideas, together with his historiographical agenda, more explicitly than in his edition and supplement of Bonfini's *Chronicle*. As he sees it, awareness of the past and present may inspire resistance against the Ottomans, and help to maintain discipline and fortitude even in time of war. Zsámboky also expresses his revulsion and antipathy towards King János Szapolyai of Hungary, because of the alliance he made with the Ottoman Empire.

The *Appendix* was used by both Ferenc Forgách and Miklós Istvánffy in their historical works.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Epitome rerum Ungaricarum velut per indices descripta autore Petro Ransano, apud Mathiam regem olim triennium legato. Nunc primum edita, una cum appendice quadam, opera Ioannis Sambuci, Tirnaviensis. Adiecta est rerum ad Agriam gestarum anno 1552. brevis eiusdem Sambuci narratio, Vienna, 1558, pp. 139-62 (Zsámboky's Appendix is on pp. 155-62)

Rerum Ungaricum decades quatuor, cum dimidia. Quarum tres priores, ante annos XX, Martini Brenneri Bistriciensis industria editae, iamque diuersorum aliquot codicum manuscriptorum collatione multis in locis emendatiores: quarta uero decas, cum quinta dimidias, numquam antea excusae, Ioanni Sambuci Tirnaviensis, caes. maiest. historici, etc. opera ac studio nunc demum in lucem proferuntur, Basel, 1568, pp. 797-808

STUDIES

Gunst, *A magyar történetírás története*, pp. 105-6

Bartonek, *Fejezetek*, pp. 95-9

Obsidio Zigethiensis, 'The siege of Szigetvár'

DATE 1558

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

In this short work Zsámboky briefly describes the first siege of Szigetvár in 1556, when the Ottomans attempted to seize this important stronghold of the southern trans-Danube region but were successfully resisted by the garrison there.

Zsámboky's text is based on the Hungarian poem *Historia obsidionis Insulae Antemi...rytmos per Hungaricos* by the Protestant preacher Ferenc Tőke, and on the personal account of the Croatian-Hungarian captain of Szigetvár, Márk Horváth Stancsics. This explains the differences in Tőke's and Zsámboky's versions (e.g. the number of the Hungarian defenders). Zsámboky describes the geographical position of the castle, its commanders, and the composition of the garrison and, while his narrative is brief, he recounts each day of the siege and the actions of individual defenders during the battle.

SIGNIFICANCE

Zsámboky makes Tóke's poem accessible to an international audience, supplementing it with additional details. The essential message remains the same in both Tóke's Hungarian and Zsámboky's Latin accounts: with courage, ingenuity and military expertise, the Christians will resist the Ottomans and overcome them, even though they face superior numbers.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Obsidio Zigethiensis an. M.D.LVI. descripta per Ioan. Sambucum Tirnauien. Pannonium, Vienna, 1558

Rerum Ungaricum Decades Quatuor, cum dimidia. Quarum tres priores, ante annos XX, Martini Brenneri Bistriciensis industria editae, iamque diuersorum aliquot codicum manuscriptorum collatione multis in locis emendatiores: quarta uero Decas, cum quinta dimidias, numquam antea excusae, Ioanni Sambuci Tirnauiensis, caes. maiest. historici, etc. opera ac studio nunc demum in lucem proferuntur, Basel, 1568, pp. 809-12

Zsámboky János, 'Sziget ostromának igen rövidre fogott és hű előadása, amint azt a király számára a napról napra történtek alapján följegyezték, 1558' [The very brief and truthful description of the siege of Sziget, as recorded day by day for the king, 1558], trans. G. Tihanyi, in P. Kulcsár (ed.), *Humanista történetírók*, Budapest, 1977, 402-10

STUDIES

S.I. Kovács, *Az író Zrínyi Miklós* [The author Miklós Zrínyi], Budapest, 2006, pp. 92-5, 266

S.I. Kovács, 'Szigetvár "veszedelmei" a magyar irodalomban' [The 'perils' of Szigetvár in Hungarian literature], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 117 (2004) 613-35, pp. 614-18

Gunst, *A magyar történetírás története*, p. 106

Bartonek, *Fejezetek*, pp. 98-9

M. Waczulik, 'Szigetvár 1566 évi ostroma az egykorú történetírásban' [The siege of Szigetvár, 1566, in contemporary historiography], in L. Rúzsás (ed.), *Szigetvári emlékkönyv. Szigetvár 1566. évi ostromának 400. évfordulójára* [Festschrift for the 400th anniversary of the siege of Szigetvár in 1566], Budapest, 1966, 287-306, pp. 292-4

Appendix de Ladislao et Ludouico regibus Ungarie,
 'Appendix on Ladislaus and Louis, kings of
 Hungary'

DATE 1568

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This work is a short history of Hungary written as a supplement to the Hungarian chronicle of Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, covering the years 1490-1526. In addition to political events in Hungary, including Ottoman incursions in the early 16th century, Zsámboky closely follows the history of the Ottoman Empire and its expansion in the Middle East during the reign of Sultan Selim I. The work contains only a few chronological data, but the accounts of military events, particularly the siege of Belgrade and Szabács (1521), and the Battle of Mohács (1526), are very valuable.

SIGNIFICANCE

This *Appendix* is important because the period 1490-1526 is poor in narrative sources on Hungarian history. It is based partly on written materials, such as letters and charters, and partly on oral tradition. Zsámboky constantly strives for objectivity, and he does not fail to acknowledge that the miserable condition of the state of Hungary under the Jagiellonian dynasty was caused not only by the Ottomans, but also by the greedy and incompetent nobles and bishops who failed to protect Hungary and the Christian world against the Ottoman threat.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Rerum Ungaricum decades quatuor, cum dimidia. Quarum tres priores, ante annos XX, Martini Brenneri Bistriciensis industria editae, iamque diuersorum aliquot codicum manuscriptorum collatione multis in locis emendatiores: quarta uero Decas, cum quinta dimidias, numquam antea excusae, Ioanni Sambuci Tirnauiensis, caes. maiest. historici, etc. opera ac studio nunc demum in lucem proferuntur, Basel, 1568, pp. 751-7

STUDIES

Gunst, *A magyar történetírás története*, pp. 105-6
 Bartoniek, *Fejezetek*, pp. 95-9

Gábor Bradács

Adam Neuser

DATE OF BIRTH About 1530
PLACE OF BIRTH Gunzenhausen, Bavaria
DATE OF DEATH 12 October 1576
PLACE OF DEATH Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Adam Neuser's early life. In 1560, he became Protestant pastor at the Peterskirche in Heidelberg. When the Elector Frederick III introduced strict church discipline into the Palatinate according to the example of Geneva, Neuser protested and in 1569 he was removed from his post. Along with Johannes Sylvanus and several others, he adopted more radical beliefs and became an anti-Trinitarian. In March 1570, Neuser wrote a letter to the Ottoman Sultan Selim II, in which he announced that he considered Christianity in its current form to be false, and wished to resettle within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. He planned to go to Transylvania, as he believed there he would be able to practise openly his anti-Trinitarian form of Christianity. He never sent this letter but in the summer of 1570 he tried to establish contact with the Transylvanian ambassador, Kaspar Bekes, who was in Speyer at the time. However, this attempt was betrayed and, although Neuser managed to flee, Johannes Sylvanus was arrested and Neuser's letter was confiscated. Neuser was later imprisoned after a failed attempt to make his way to Transylvania. He managed to escape and this time reached the border of the Ottoman Empire, where he was captured. In 1572, he finally did reach Istanbul as a convert to Islam.

In Istanbul, Neuser was involved in compiling a new translation of the Qur'an into Latin, though this does not appear to have survived. We know that in Heidelberg he had already heavily annotated his edition of Theodore Bibliander's translation, which he found to be unsatisfactory. In Istanbul, he obtained another edition of Bibliander, which again he filled with accompanying notes. This can be inferred from the following words, which he wrote in cipher on the pages preserved in the Gotha research library: 'Compare my Qur'an, where I have written with my own hand into the book *De doctrina Mahometis* [the translation of the work *Masā'il 'Abdallāh ibn Salām* that is included in Bibliander].' This is written as a

marginal note to a passage in his reconstructed letter to the sultan, at the end of which he concludes that 'Christianity and the Qur'an do not disagree': *Ex quibus historiis videtur apparire Christianismum et Alcuranum non dissentire* (MS Gotha, FB Gotha – Chart. A 407, fol. 352r).

In the final period of his life, according to the account given by Stefan Gerlach, Neuser was occupied with attempts to change the metal content of coins and to construct a type of vehicle. In order to add copper, tin and lead to silver Neuser would have required some knowledge of chemistry or alchemy, while his efforts to find a means of propelling a vehicle must have involved chemical experimentation. In 1560, experiments were being conducted in Paracelsian circles in Heidelberg to develop self-propelling mechanisms, and there were self-propelling machines at the festival held in 1582 by Sultan Murad III in Istanbul. It is not improbable that these were follow-on products of the 'automobiles' that Neuser was working on until 1576. Neuser could have been part of a small group commissioned by the Ottoman court to develop certain technical innovations for the advancement of the Empire.

In early spring 1576, Neuser fell ill with dysentery, and he died on 12 October. He first came to historical and critical attention through Gottfried Ephraim Lessing, who came across material on him in a bundle of Gerlach's letters in Wolfenbüttel. However, the Gotha material is more substantial and offers, for the first time, a Latin version of the letter to the sultan. This has made it possible to reconstruct the case in a completely new light.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha – Chart. A 407, fols 340r-353v (340r-343v, two letters from Neuser's son Adam to his father; 345r-346v, letter by Caspar Baumann to Neuser; 347r, theological arguments against the Trinity; 347v, fragments of the minutes of Neuser's interrogation in prison; 348r-348v, theological arguments against the Trinity; 349r, autobiographical fragments; 350r, fragments of the minutes of Neuser's interrogation in prison; 350v, notes and autobiographical fragments; 351r-351v, letter to Sultan Selim II, with marginalia in encoded script, version B; 352r-352v, letter to Sultan Selim II, version A (shorter), with additional notes on fol. 352v; 353r-353v, fragments of the minutes of Neuser's interrogation in prison)

- S. Gerlach, *Dess Aeltern Tage-Buch, der von [...] Maximiliano und Rudolpho, Beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens [...] An die Ottomannische Pforte zu Constantinopel Abgefertigten, Und durch [...] Her. David Ungnad [...] Glücklichst-vollbrachter Gesandtschaft: [...] Herfür gegeben durch [...] Samuelem [...]*, Frankfurt, 1674
- B.G. Struve, *Ausführlicher Bericht von der Pfälzischen Kirchen-Historie*, Frankfurt, 1721, pp. 229-34 (German trans. of Neuser's letter to Selim II)
- G. Veesenmeyer, 'Noch etwas von Adam Neuser', *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 2 (1829) 553-9
- G.E. Lessing, 'Von Adam Neusern, einige authentische Nachrichten', in *Lessing. Werke und Briefe*, vol. 8, ed. A. Schilson, Frankfurt, 1989, pp. 57-114 (text); pp. 789-841 (commentary) (Neuser's letter to Caspar Baumann, dated April 1574)

Secondary

- M. Mulsow, 'Fluchträume und Exilräume zwischen Heidelberg und Konstantinopel. Der Fall Adam Neuser', in M. Mulsow and M. Multhammer (eds), *Kriminelle – Freidenker – Alchemisten. Räume des Untergrunds in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Vienna, 2014, 33-60
- R.C. Müller, *Franken im Osten. Art, Umfang, Struktur und Dynamik der Migration aus dem lateinischen Westen in das Osmanische Reich des 15./16. Jahrhunderts auf der Grundlage von Reiseberichten*, Leipzig, 2005, pp. 217-31
- R. Motika, 'Adam Neuser. Ein Heidelberger Theologe im Osmanischen Reich', in S. Prätor and C.K. Neumann (eds), *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte. Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich. Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*, Istanbul, 2002, vol. 2, 523-38
- C.J. Burchill, *The Heidelberg Antitrinitarians. Johann Sylvan, Adam Neuser, Matthias Vehe, Jacob Suter, Johann Hasler*, Baden-Baden, 1989
- R. Dán, *Matthias Vehe-Glirius. Life and work of a radical Antitrinitarian*, Leiden, 1982

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Letter to the Ottoman Sultan Selim II

DATE March 1570

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Adam Neuser drafted his letter to the Ottoman Sultan Selim II in March 1570, expressing his view that Christianity in its current form was false. The original of this letter – which was never sent – and a record of Neuser's interrogation by the Palatine prince-electors are presumed lost,

but a German translation of the letter exists. Recently, new historical material has been found in the Gotha research library which sheds light on the case of Neuser. This material includes two Latin versions of the letter to Selim II, as well as anti-Trinitarian notes and fragments of the minutes from Neuser's interrogation. The bundle of papers is part of a collection of letters to Stefan Gerlach, a Tübingen theologian, who was in Istanbul as a legation preacher in 1573-8 and was in contact with Neuser. It appears that Gerlach kept Neuser's records after his death. These two Latin versions of Neuser's letter to Selim II cannot be the original text, which was presumably confiscated in Heidelberg, but there is good reason to believe that Neuser reconstructed in his notes the letter and the interrogation from memory (hence the differences between the two Latin versions and the only known German translation of the letter) in an attempt to defend himself with an *Apologia* against accusations of vilification. He hoped to print them in Transylvania, Ottoman territory, in 1572. In Istanbul, Neuser appears to have continued working on his *Apologia*. He added addenda and marginalia in cipher (using the Caesar Code), in which he reflects on how the texts could be used for his *Apologia*.

SIGNIFICANCE

Neuser's letter to Selim II, when discovered by the authorities, had an extraordinary impact. His fellow anti-Trinitarian Johannes Sylvanus, who had already been arrested when Neuser's attempts to contact the Transylvanian ambassador, Kaspar Bekes, were betrayed, was executed. Neuser was charged as a traitor.

How did Neuser's anti-Trinitarian stance lead him to Islam? His study of patristic writings, especially Irenaeus and Tertullian who thought along subordinationist lines (that the Son was subordinate to the Father), played an important role. At some point, Neuser must have come across the edition of the Qur'an published by Bibliander in 1543. He began, with great fascination, to find similarities between Judaism, Christianity and Islam, when approached from this subordinationist and purely monotheistic perspective. Writings such as the *Cribratio Alcorani* by Nicholas of Cusa also tended to emphasise the similarities between the religions rather than their differences.

However, these factors would not alone have sufficed to persuade Neuser to call on the sultan to conquer all of Europe. He would also have had to be sure that he was historically on the right side. The letter to the sultan refers to Daniel 2 and 7, i.e. to the prophecy of the Four

Kingdoms, which was politically extremely influential in Early Modern Europe. Neuser interprets the fourth, the ultimately promised kingdom, as referring not to the Holy Roman Empire, but rather to the Ottomans: 'And when the Christians understand that the eternal Majesty's [i.e. the sultan's] Empire is precisely that (as it is in truth) which Daniel talks of in the second and seventh chapters, which will take over the entire world, and should rule over all emperors and kings, they will no longer show themselves defiant, but benevolently acquiesce' (Struve, *Ausführlicher Bericht*, p. 233). The visions of the Book of Daniel were, after all, the definitive basis for all theological thinking about world history. The conviction that the Holy Roman Empire was the fourth and definitive monarchy drew its legitimacy from this passage. Luther's 'discovery' in 1529, in association with Philipp Melanchthon and in view of the siege of Vienna, that the Antichrist was the Ottoman Empire, was likewise based on exegesis of Daniel. From that point on, a fiery debate would rage for more than a century about how these prophecies could be applied to past, present and future history. Shortly before Neuser's letter, in 1566, there had been a decisive turning point in the debate about the prophecy of Daniel. Jean Bodin, in his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* ('Method for the easy understanding of history') had launched an attack on the German Empire ideology and expressed grave doubts as to whether the fourth kingdom really referred to the current Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. After all, there were also other large empires, notably the current Turkish one. Similar thoughts seem to have preoccupied Neuser, but the conclusions he drew were unprecedented.

Clearly Neuser's post-Bodin interpretation of Daniel would have been associated with a radical-reformationist anti-papist stance, which was sceptically sensitised to the historical falsifications of the medieval period, and which could consider as false such patristic testimonies as the *Symbolum Athanasii*. In Neuser, dissatisfaction had triggered a radicalisation process that did not shy away from extreme theses, but was attracted by them: the Ottoman Empire as the fourth kingdom; the Trinity as a fundamental error; authority as tyranny. 'The bishops and the authorities', Neuser goes on to write in his letter to the sultan, suppress 'and beat down the poor man so heavily, that he publically calls for the future of the eternal majesty [i.e. the sultan], so that the eternal majesty can defeat the German Empire, and take care of the poor; at present all you hear from them are complaints that everything that their clerics say is uncertainties and lies' (Struve, *Ausführlicher Bericht*, p. 233). These are

sceptical, anti-clerical and socially revolutionary tones that are in complete contrast to the views of contemporary theologians.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha – Chart. A 407, fols 351r-351v (late 16th century; with marginalia in encoded script, Latin version B)

MS Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha – Chart. A 407, fols 352r-352v (late 16th century; Latin version A – shorter than version B, with additional notes on fol. 352v)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Struve, *Ausführlicher Bericht von der Pfälzischen Kirchen-Historie* (German trans.; translator unknown)

STUDIES

M. Mulsow, 'Adam Neusers Brief an Sultan Selim II. und seine geplante Rechtfertigungsschrift. Eine Rekonstruktion anhand neuer Manuskriptfunde', in F. Vollhardt (ed.), *Religiöser Nonkonformismus und frühneuzeitliche Gelehrtenkultur*, Berlin, 2014, 293-318

P. Philippi, 'Sylvanus und Transsylvanien. Ein Stück Toleranzgeschichte zwischen Heidelberg und Siebenbürgen', in *Semper Apertus. Sechshundert Jahre Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg 1386-1986. Festschrift in sechs Bänden*, Heidelberg, 1985, vol. 1, 213-30

A. Pirnát, 'Die Heidelberger Flüchtlinge (Neuser und Glirius)', in A. Pirnát, *Die Ideologie der Siebenbürger Antitrinitarier in den 1570er Jahren*, Budapest, 1961, 117-34

C. Horn, *Der Kampf zwischen Calvinismus und Zwinglianismus in Heidelberg und der Prozess gegen den Antitrinitarier Johann Sylvan*, Heidelberg, 1913 (this also appears in *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 17 (1913) 219-310, as 'Johann Sylvan und die Anfänge des Heidelberger Antitrinitarismus')

H. Rott, 'Neue Quellen für eine Aktenrevision des Prozesses gegen Sylvan und seine Genossen', *Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der rheinischen Pfalz* 8 (1910) 184-259; 9 (1911) 1-70

Martin Mulsow

Ivan Petrovich Novosiltsev

DATE OF BIRTH 1519
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Second half of the 16th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; probably Moscow

BIOGRAPHY

Ivan Petrovich Novosiltsev served as an envoy and ambassador of Tsar Ivan IV of Muscovy (r. 1547-84) in the second half of the 16th century. His first ambassadorial assignment to a Muslim ruler was in the North Caucasus in June 1564 and later, in June 1565, he negotiated with Prince Temriuk of Kabarda, who had been a vassal and ally of Ivan IV since 1557.

His next and most important assignment was his embassy to Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-74) in January-September 1570. The Muscovite involvement in the North Caucasus region had provoked a military reaction from the Ottoman Empire in 1569, when an expedition was sent to try to take Astrakhan. Novosiltsev led an embassy to Istanbul to find out about the Ottomans' intentions in the region, and on his return he submitted his ambassadorial report.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei, Vol. 13, *Lietopisnii sbornik, imenuemyi Patriarshei ili Nikonovskoi letopis*, St Petersburg, 1904 (repr. Moscow, 1965), pp. 383, 397

D.S. Likhachev (ed.), *Puteshestviia russkikh poslov XVI-XVII vv.: Stateinye spiski*, Moscow, 1954, pp. 63-99

Secondary

M. Yaşar, 'The North Caucasus in the second half of the sixteenth century. Imperial entanglements and shifting loyalties', Toronto, 2011 (PhD Diss. University of Toronto)

I. Kamalov, *Rus Elçi Raportlarında Astrahan Seferi*, Ankara, 2011, pp. 29-70

P.A. Sadikov, 'Pokhod tatar i turok na Astrakhan' v 1569', *Istoricheskie Zapiski* 22 (1947) 153-64

N.A. Smirnov, *Rossia i Turtsiia v XVI-XVII vv*, vol 1, *Uchenye zapiski*, vyp. 94, Moscow, 1946

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Novosiltsev's ambassadorial report
Stateĭnyĭ spisok

DATE 1570

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old Russian

DESCRIPTION

Stateĭnyĭ spisok is Novosiltsev's official report of his embassy to Sultan Selim II, submitted on his return from Istanbul in 1570. It is written in typical 16th-century ambassadorial style, recording minute details of every interaction and conversation held with Ottoman officials both during the journey and in Istanbul, where the Muscovites met the Grand Vizier, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and were received by the sultan. The main objective of the embassy was to understand the intentions of Sultan Selim II in the North Caucasus and to negotiate ways of keeping the Ottomans out of Muscovy's ever expanding southern frontier, though they also negotiated the treatment of Muslims in Muscovy and the opening of the Astrakhan route for Muslim pilgrims travelling from the Central Asian khanates to Mecca and Medina.

Novosiltsev's report reveals that Mehmed Pasha questioned Novosiltsev about rumours that the Muscovites were destroying Muslim places of worship and building Orthodox churches in their place, and about obstructions placed in the way of pilgrims from Central Asia travelling to the Islamic holy places. Novosiltsev tried to convince the pasha that such accusations were not true, and that Muslims in Muscovy practised their religion freely in their own places of worship.

Although most of Novosiltsev's report deals with the matter of Ottoman ambitions regarding Astrakhan and North Caucasus, it also shows that he knew a great deal about Ottoman history, bureaucracy, palace hierarchy, diplomatic protocols and behaviour. For example, when he witnesses salaries being distributed to the palace officials and soldiers at the exact moment when he has been asked to wait outside the pasha's room, he surmises that the pasha arranged this to impress the Muscovites with the Ottomans' wealth. In addition, his historical notes on Selim II's struggle with his brothers and eventual accession to the throne, as well as those on Süleyman I's beloved wife Hurrem Sultan and her Ukrainian origins, indicate his firm grasp of Ottoman history. Finally, his analysis of the Ottoman Empire's relations with the

Polish-Lithuanians and the Safavids is sound, attesting his skills as a diplomat and the wide-ranging sources of information he amassed during his travels in the Ottoman Empire.

SIGNIFICANCE

Novosiltsev's report sheds light on the manner in which the Ottomans, as leaders of the Islamic world, dealt with the rising Orthodox Christian power in Eurasia, which had already annexed the khanates of Kazan in 1552 and Astrakhan in 1556, and appeared to be threatening Muslims living there. In addition, the report offers Novosiltsev's own interpretations and analyses of Ottoman history, traditions and policies, showing how an educated Muscovite of the 16th century perceived the Ottomans and Muslims.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Moscow, Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov [Russian State Archives of Ancient Acts] – fond 89, *Turetskie dela*, kniga 2 (1570)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- I. Kamalov, *Rus Elçi Raporlarında Astrahan Seferi*, Ankara, 2011, pp. 29-70 (Turkish trans.)
 T.K. Kумыков and E.N. Kusheva (eds), *Kabardino-russkie otnosheniia v 16-18 vv.*, vol. 1, Moscow, 1957 (excerpts in Russian)
 Likhachev (ed.), *Puteshestviia russkikh poslov XVI-XVII vv. Stateinye spiski*, pp. 63-99 (Russian edition)
 Sadikov, 'Pokhod tatar i turok na Astrakhan' v 1569' (excerpts in Russian)

STUDIES

- I. Kamalov, *Rus Elçi Raporlarında Astrahan Seferi*, Ankara, 2011, pp. 29-70
 Sadikov, 'Pokhod tatar i turok na Astrakhan' v 1569'
 Smirnov, *Rossia i Turtsiia v XVI-XVII vv*

Murat Yaşar

Brne Karnarutić

Charnarutich

DATE OF BIRTH Possibly 1515
PLACE OF BIRTH Zadar
DATE OF DEATH 1573
PLACE OF DEATH Zadar

BIOGRAPHY

Brne Karnarutić was a Croatian Renaissance poet, born into an ancient aristocratic family. After school in Zadar, he studied law, probably in Padua, and then served as a captain in the army of the Republic of Venice. He led a Croatian cavalry squad in the Ottoman-Venetian war (1537-40). Later, he became a lawyer in Zadar.

He wrote the epic poem *Vazetje Sigeta grada* (Venice, 1584), and also *Izvarsita ljubav i napokom nemila i nesrićna smart Pirama i Tizbe*, an adaptation of the fourth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Venice, 1586).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- F. Švelec, 'Brne Karnarutić', in *Djela. Stoljeća hrvatske književnosti*, Zagreb, 2002, 197-223
D. Berić, *Iz književne prošlosti Dalmacije*, Split, 1956, pp. 27-33
Š. Urlić, 'Prilozi za biografiju Brne Karnarutića', *Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 8 (1916) 341-64

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vazetje Sigeta grada, 'The capture of the town of Sziget'

DATE 1568-72
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Chakavian [Croatian dialect]

DESCRIPTION

Vazetje Sigeta grada is the first Croatian historical epic, and the first poem in Croatian literature about the Battle of Sziget. It was written soon after the battle, between 1568 and 1572, and was printed in Venice in 1584. It consists of 1056 12-syllable verses in rhyming couplets, in four cantos.

It is about the Ottoman siege and capture of Sziget, and the heroic death of Nikola Šubić Zrinski (it is dedicated to Nikola's son, Juraj Zrinski). Karnarutić wrote it on the basis of a prose report ascribed to Ferenac Črnko, valet to Nikola Zrinski, who had written the only first-hand report of the siege. His detailed account, which was published in Croatian, German and Latin, includes a poignant description of Zrinski's last hours before the final sortie (*Posjedanje i osvajanje Sigeta*, Zagreb, 1971).

The battle between the two sides is represented fairly objectively, and equal space is given to the virtues of the two commanders, Zrinski and Sultan Süleyman, who is portrayed as 'an honourable pagan'. As in some other works written in Croatia in the 16th century, the Ottoman advance is interpreted as a punishment for the sins of the Christians against God. But while the Ottomans are portrayed as fierce enemies, there is no extensive demonisation of them in the poem.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work was popular in Croatia, and significantly influenced the formation of the myth around Nikola Zrinski. It also strengthened the image of Ottomans as a religious 'other' in Croatian culture, reproducing stereotypes of them as powerful warriors and also as dangerous religious enemies who threatened Christendom. An important purpose of the poem was to encourage and mobilise Croats against the Ottomans.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Vazetje Sigeta grada', in *Petar Zoranić, Planine. Barne Karnarutić, Djela. Šime Budnić, Izabrana djela. Stoljeća hrvatske književnosti*, Zagreb, 2002, 225-57

Zrinyi énekek és feljegyzések. Horvát, szerb, bosnyák és szlovák népi énekek, Pécs, 2002, 52-101

'Vazetje Sigeta grada', in *Kompjutorske obrade hrvatskih književnih tekstova*, Zagreb, 1981, vol. 3

'Vazetje Sigeta grada', in *Opsada Sigeta*, Zagreb, 1971

'Vazetje Sigeta grada', in *Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske*, Zagreb, 1968, 9-39

Vazetje Sigeta grada, složeno po Barni Karnarutiću Zadraninu, Zagreb, 1866

Vazetye Sigetta grada sloxeno po Barni Charnarutichiu Zadraninu, Venice, 1584, 1639², s.l., 1661³

STUDIES

D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca. Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar, 2004, pp. 76-9

P. Pavličić, *Barokni pakao*, Zagreb, 2003

D. Fališevac, *Kaliopin vrt II*, Split, 2003, p. 13

Švelec, 'Barne Karnarutić'

S.P. Novak, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, Zagreb, 1997, vol. 2, pp. 431-43

F. Švelec, *Iz naše književne prošlosti*, Split, 1990, pp. 141-6

T. Raukar, I. Petricioli, F. Švelec and Š. Peričić, *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom 1409-1797*, Zadar, 1987, pp. 337-52

I. Frangeš, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, Zagreb, 1987, pp. 69-70

J. Vončina, 'Nejasna mjesta u Karnarutićevu Vazetju Sigeta grada', *Umjetnost riječi* 30 (1986) 63-88

N. Kolumbić et al., *Sigetska epopeja od Karnarutića do Vitezovića (1584-1684)*, zbornik, Zadar, 1986, pp. 1-29, 67-83, 85-111, 113-16

M. Franičević, *Povijest hrvatske renesansne književnosti*, Zagreb, 1983, pp. 520-37

N. Kolumbić, *Hrvatska književnost od humanizma do manirizma*, Zagreb, 1980, pp. 255-9

M. Ratković, 'Brne Karnarutić i "Vazetje Sigeta grada"', in F. Črnko (ed.), *Podsjedanje i osvojenje Sigeta i popratni tekstovi*, Zagreb, 1971, 37-42

T. Matić, 'Karnarutićevo Vazetje Sigeta grada', *Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 29 (1968) 5-8

R. Bogišić, 'Brne Karnarutić', in *Zbornik stihova XV. i XVI. stoljeća. Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti*, Zagreb, 1968, vol. 5, pp. 251-6

M. Franičević, 'Pjesnik Vazeća i zaboravljene ljubavi Pirama i Tizbe', *Forum* 5 (1966) 358-66

D. Berić, *Iz književne prošlosti Dalmacije*, Split, 1956, pp. 27-33

M. Kombol, *Poviest hrvatske književnosti do narodnog preporoda*, Zagreb, 1945, pp. 156-61

M. Kombol, 'Zadar u hrvatskoj književnosti', *Alma Mater Croatica* 7 (1944) 144-6

S. Ježić, *Hrvatska književnost od početka do danas 1100-1941*, Zagreb, 1944, pp. 104-5

- V. Lozovina, *Dalmacija u hrvatskoj književnosti*, Zagreb, 1936, pp. 98-100
- M. Evetović, 'Najstariji ep o sigetskoj pogibiji', *Književni sever* (Subotica) 1 (1925) 106-9
- S. Ivšić, *Podsjedanje i osvojenje Sigeta u glagoljskom prijepisu hrvatskoga opisa iz g. 1566. ili 1567.*, Starine, 1918, pp. 36, 390-429
- Urlič, 'Prilozi za biografiju Brna Krnarutića'
- B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, Zagreb, 1913, vol. 1, pp. 187-90
- F. Kidrič, 'Oblega Sigeta v sodobnem hrvaškem opisu', *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* (Maribor) 9 (1912) 42-97
- M. Šrepel, 'Sigetski junak u povjesti hrvatskoga pjesništva', *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti (JAZU)* 148 (1902) 81-173
- M. Medini, *Povjest hrvatske književnosti u Dalmaciji i Dubrovniku*, Zagreb, 1902, vol. 1, pp. 266-74
- Š. Ljubić, *Ogledalo književne poviesti jugoslavjanske*, Rieka, 1869, vol. 2, p. 392
- I. Crnčić, 'Vazetje Sigeta grada složeno po Barni Karnarutiću', *Novi pozor* (Vienna) 3 (1869) 1599-1600, 1603-4, 1607, 1611-12
- V. Gaj, 'Vazetje Sigeta grada', *Danica ilirska* 20 (1866) 297-304, 306-12
- P.J. Šafařík, *Geschichte der illirischen und kroatischen Literatur*, Prague, 1865, pp. 18, 167
- I. Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Bibliografija hrvatska*, Zagreb, 1860, vol. 2, p. 65
- T. Mikloušić, *Izbor dugovanyh vszakoverztneh za haszen, y razveszele-nye szlusechek*, Zagreb, 1821, p. 89

Lahorka Plejić Poje

Centuriae Magdeburgenses

Centuriators of Magdeburg

BIOGRAPHY

‘Centuriators of Magdeburg’ (Latin *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*) is the common name for a team of Lutheran scholars gathered together to produce the *Magdeburg centuries* (first published 1559-74), the first universal Protestant church history. The project (research, compilation and composition of the work) was led by Johann Wigand (1523-87), superintendent of the Magdeburg City Ministerium, and his main assistant was Matthaeus Judex (1528-76), a deacon in Wigand’s parish of St Ulrich. Other significant members of the team were Basil Faber (1525-76), Martin Copus (n.d.) and Gottschalk Praetorius (1524-73). Caspar von Nidbruck (1525-57), imperial counsellor and head of the Imperial Library of Vienna, takes a special place among the huge network of contributors to the project (from as far apart as Scotland and Constantinople). His assistance in collecting and borrowing important books and manuscripts, as well as shaping the very idea of the project, was immense.

Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520-75), a leading historian and Lutheran theologian (the head of the Flacian party in the period after Luther’s death, in opposition to Melanchthon and his party), to whom the *Centuries* has traditionally been ascribed, was perhaps the most controversial figure involved in the project. Recent studies (from Diener’s dissertation in 1978 onwards), however, have demonstrated that, although he was the originator of the idea and *spiritus rector* of the project, he was neither an author of the *Centuries* nor a member of the editorial board (Hartmann, ‘Matthias Flacius Illyricus’, p. 3).

The original idea of the project was a desire to uncover the corruption of the Roman Church through the centuries, as well as to legitimise the Lutheran Reformation as a recovery of Early Church doctrine and practice by furnishing historical evidence and pointing to the witnesses of ‘truth’ throughout Christian history. After many discussions, members of the team agreed upon a division of material into centuries. The decision to divide the work in this way, as well as the fact that the whole project started in Magdeburg, resulted in the popular name of the work and the team. Following Nidbruck’s proposal – a ‘rhetorical-loci-method’ –

the historical material was organised around 16 *loci*, which made it not primarily a history but ‘a kind of cornucopia’ meant for easy use in polemics (Olson, *Matthias Flacius*, p. 262).

After Flacius proposed his idea in 1552 about writing a universal church history ‘from the time of Christ to the present time’ (he first made it to Nidbruck), it took four years of preparations and discussions until finally, in February 1556 in Magdeburg, a group of five scholars (Flacius, Wigand, Judex, Praetorius and Copus) agreed upon the methodology of writing what became the *Magdeburg centuries*. This can be taken as marking the official beginning of the project. The first five volumes (*Centuries*) were written in Magdeburg, and most of the others were written in Wismar. The plan was to cover the first sixteen hundred years, but the work remained unfinished. The first 13 *Centuries* were published separately in folio volumes in Basel, as follows: i-iii in 1559 (reprinted with supplements to second *Centuria* in 1560), iv in 1560 (reprinted in 1562), v and vi in 1562, vii and viii in 1564, ix in 1565, x and xi in 1567, xii in 1569, and xiii in 1574.

The three remaining *Centuries* were partially prepared in manuscript, but never printed and published due to the hostilities that members of team encountered owing to their radical Lutheranism. This was especially the case with regard to one leading figure, Johann Wigand, who was deeply involved in the theological controversies of his time. All this, as well as the gradual disintegration of the team, complicates the dating of the end of the project. Therefore, it seems safest to assume ‘after 1574’ as the approximate time of the (beginning of the) end of the project. For the same reason, more symbolically, we can assume the city of Basel, where the last *Centuria* was published, as the location of the end of the project.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

J. Wigand, *De ecclesiastica historia: quae Magdeburgi contextitur, vera narratio, contra quorundam diffamationes, a gubernatoribus et operariis eius historiae aedita*, Magdeburg, 1558

De ecclesiastica historia: quae Magdeburgi contextitur, narratio, contra Menium, et Scholasticorum Wittenbergensium epistolas, a gubernatoribus et operariis eius historiae edita Magdeburgi [...], Wittenberg, 1558

M. Flacius, *Refutatio invectivae Bruni contra Centurias Historiae Ecclesiasticae: in qua simul recitantur amplius 100 Historica, maximi que momenti Papistarum mendacia* [...], Basileae, 1566

- C. Schlüsselburg, *Oratio funebris, de vita et obitu reverendissimi viri, pietate, doctrina, humanitate et constantia praestantis D. Ioannis Wigandi [...] con-scripta et habita in schola Vuismariensi, Francoforti ad Moenum, 1591*
- J. Wigand, 'Leben D. Joh. Wigandi, von ihm selbst, mit eigner Hand geschrieben aus dem Original der Königsbergischen Stadtbibliothek', in *Fortgesetzte Sammlung von Alten und Neuen theologischen Sachen, Büchern, Urkunden, Controversien, Veränderungen, Anmerckungen, Vorschlägen, u.s.w. 1738, Leipzig, 1738, 601-20*
- V. Bibl, 'Der Briefwechsel zwischen Flacius und Niedbrück. Aus den Handschriften 9737b, i und k der k.u.k. Hofbibliothek in Wien', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* 17 (1896) 1-24; 18 (1897) 201-38; 19 (1898) 96-110; 20 (1899) 83-116
- H. Bollbuck (ed., with C. Nahrendorf and I.H. Ralle), *Historische Methode und Arbeitstechnik der Magdeburger Zenturien. Edition ausgewählter Dokumente*, Wolfenbüttel, 2012, <http://digilib.hab.de/edoc/edoooo86/start.htm> (the best and most important collection of primary sources, with commentaries)

Secondary

- H. Bollbuck, 'Die Magdeburger Zenturien. Entstehung und Arbeitstechnik eines kirchenhistorischen Unternehmens', in M. Miladinov (ed.), *Proceedings of the third international conference on Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, Labin, 2010, 248-78
- R. Kolb, 'The first Protestant "biblical theology". The syntagma of Johannes Wigand and Matthaëus Judex', in T. Johansson, R. Kolb and J.A. Steiger (eds), *Hermeneutica sacra. Studien zur Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift im 16.- und 17. Jahrhundert / Studies of the interpretation of Holy Scripture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Berlin, 2010, 189-206
- M. Hartmann, 'Matthias Flacius Illyricus, die Magdeburger Centuriatoren und die Anfänge der quellenbezogenen Geschichtsforschung', in A. Mentzel-Reuters and M. Hartmann (eds), *Catalogus und Centurien. Interdisziplinäre Studien zu Matthias Flacius und den Magdeburger Centurien*, Tübingen, 2008, 1-17
- A. Mentzel-Reuters, 'Quellenarbeit in den Magdeburger Centurien. Handschrift und Druck', in A. Mentzel-Reuters and M. Hartmann (eds), *Catalogus und Centurien. Interdisziplinäre Studien zu Matthias Flacius und den Magdeburger Centurien*, Tübingen, 2008, 175-209
- M. Pohlig, 'War Flacius Humanist?', in A. Mentzel-Reuters and M. Hartmann (eds), *Catalogus und Centurien. Interdisziplinäre Studien zu Matthias Flacius und den Magdeburger Centurien*, Tübingen, 2008, 19-52
- A. Waschbüsch, *Alter Melancthon. Muster theologischer Autoritätsstiftung bei Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, Göttingen, 2008

- M. Banners, 'Johann Wigand (1523-1587), lutherischer Geistlicher und Gelehrter in Wismar von 1562-1568 – ein Homo Universalis – Hauptautor der Centurien', in E.W. Peters (ed.), *Die Magdeburger Centurien*, 1. *Die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des Flacius Illyricus*, Dössel, 2007, 91-108
- M. Hartmann, 'Die Magdeburger Centurien und ihre Bedeutung', in E.W. Peters (ed.), *Die Magdeburger Centurien*, 1. *Die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des Flacius Illyricus*, Dössel, 2007, 55-80
- C. Heintzmann, 'Matthias Flacius Illyricus in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel', in E.W. Peters (ed.), *Die Magdeburger Centurien*, 1. *Die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des Flacius Illyricus*, Dössel, 2007, 81-90
- H.-J. Krenzke, 'Die Autoren der Magdeburger Centurien und ihre Verknüpfung mit dem Zeitgeschehen', in E.W. Peters (ed.), *Die Magdeburger Centurien*, 1. *Die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des Flacius Illyricus*, Dössel, 2007, 23-54
- H. Seehase, 'Das geschichtliche Gepräge der Altstadt Magdeburgs und das Wirken der Centuriatoren in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts', in E.W. Peters (ed.), *Die Magdeburger Centurien*, 1. *Die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des Flacius Illyricus*, Dössel, 2007, 109-122
- I. Backus, *Historical method and confessional identity in the era of the Reformation (1378-1615)*, Leiden, 2003, esp. pp. 358-64
- C.L. Hohl Jr., art. 'Centuriators of Magdeburg', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Detroit, 2003², 347-8
- G. Lyon, 'B. Baudouin, Flacius, and the plan for the Magdeburg centuries', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003) 253-72
- M. Hartmann, 'Spätmittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Kritik an den pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen. Nikolaus von Kues und Heinrich Kalteisen als "Wahrheitszeugen" bei Matthias Flacius Illyricus und den Magdeburger Centuriatoren', in W. Hartmann and G. Schmitz (eds), *Fortschritt durch Fälschungen? Ursprung, Gestalt und Wirkungen der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, Hannover, 2002, 191-210
- O.K. Olson, *Matthias Flacius and the survival of Luther's reform*, Wolfenbüttel, 2002
- M. Hartmann, *Humanismus und Kirchenkritik. Matthias Flacius Illyricus als Erforscher des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, 2001
- E. Norelli, 'The authority attributed to the Early Church in the Centuries of Magdeburg and the Ecclesiastical Annals of Caesar Baronius', in I. Backus (ed.), *The reception of the Church Fathers in the West. From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, Leiden, 1997, vol. 2, 745-74
- E.M. Camilli, 'Six dialogues, 1566. Initial responses to the Magdeburg centuries', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 86 (1995) 141-52
- E.R. Diener, 'Johann Wigand, 1523-1587', in J. Raitt (ed.), *Shapers of religious traditions in Germany, Switzerland, and Poland, 1560-1600*, New Haven CT, 1981, 19-39

- E.R. Diener, 'The Magdeburg centuries. A bibliothecal and historiographical analysis', Cambridge MA, 1978 (Diss. Harvard University)
- J.L. Orella Unzué, *Respuestas católicas a las centurias de Magdeburgo (1559-1588)*, Madrid, 1976
- H. Scheible, *Die Entstehung der Magdeburger Zenturien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der historiographischen Methode*, Gütersloh, 1966
- H. Scheible, *Die Anfänge der reformatorischen Geschichtsschreibung. Melancthon, Sleidan, Flacius und die Magdeburger Zenturien*, Gütersloh, 1966
- H. Scheible, 'Der Plan der Magdeburger Zenturien und ihre ungedruckte Reformationsgeschichte', Heidelberg, 1960 (Diss. University of Heidelberg)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ecclesiastica historia, 'Ecclesiastical history' *Centuriae Magdeburgenses; Magdeburger Zenturien*, 'Magdeburg centuries'

DATE 1559-after 1574

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The abbreviated title, *Magdeburg centuries* (Lat. *Centuriae Magdeburgenses*), which is derived from the division into centuries (one *Centuria* for each 100 years) and the name of the city where the project was begun, became popular from the third edition of the work, 1757-65 (the fuller title is *Ecclesiastica historia, integram Ecclesiae Christi ideam, quantum ad locum, propagationem, persecutionem, tranquillitatem, doctrinam, haereses, ceremonias, gubernationem, schismata, synodos, personas, miracula, martyria, religiones extra Ecclesiam, & statum imperij politicum attinet, secundum singulas centurias, perspicuo ordine complectens: singulari diligentia & fide ex vetustissimis & optimis historicis, patribus, & alijs scriptoribus congesta: per aliquot studiosos & pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica*, 'An ecclesiastical history embracing the complete idea of the Church of Christ, including the location, propagation, persecution, tranquillity, doctrine, heresies, ceremonies, government, schisms, synods, persons, miracles, martyrdoms, religions outside the Church and the political state of the empire, century by century, in chronological order: with extreme diligence and faith compiled from the oldest and best historians, fathers and other authors: by some studious and pious men in the city of Magdeburg'). Intended to be a polemical tool for Protestant theologians and churchmen, the *Magdeburg centuries* is a huge multi-volume work

(13 volumes, 12,741 folio columns in total, excluding dedicatory letters and indexes), covering a period from the very beginning of Christianity to the year 1298. (This data is based on the most comprehensive 'first expanded' edition, which is actually a reprint of the first edition of 1559-74 with additions and corrections to the second *Centuria* [amounting to about 53 columns], which were added to the end of the third *Centuria*, published in 1560, a year after the first edition. These changes are irrelevant for our study because they deal with the second century.) Material in each *Centuria* is divided into 16 sections (*loci communes* or 'common-places'): 1. general characteristics of the period; 2. state and propagation of the church; 3. persecution and tranquillity of the church; 4. doctrines, 5. heresies; 6. rites and ceremonies; 7. governance of the church; 8. schisms; 9. councils; 10. leading bishops and doctors of the Church; 11. leading heretics and false teachers; 12. martyrs; 13. miracles; 14. political history of the Jews; 15. other non-Christian religions; and 16. (general) political history.

The fifteenth section, the one devoted to non-Christian religions, in all the volumes together has approximately 330 folio columns in total, out of which approximately 71 are dedicated to Islam (from the seventh *Centuria* onwards). In comparison with other non-Christian religions, Islam attracts most attention in the *Centuries* – there are about 54 columns on Judaism and 205 columns on all kinds of 'gentile religions' (from the 1st to the 13th century). However, material on Islam is not divided proportionally. The seventh *Centuria* understandably contains the most, with about 58 columns, while others contain rather fewer: viii 5 cols, ix 2 cols, x 1 col., xi 1 col., xii 2 cols and xiii 2 cols.

In the seventh *Centuria*, Islam is treated quite systematically. More than 100 subtitles reveal a very broad scope of themes: Qur'an, Muḥammad, prophets, Holy Scripture (Bible), God, Divine Persons, Son of God, Christ, Ascension of Christ, Holy Spirit, creation, stars, sun and moon, good angels, devils, men, man's fall, sin, law, Gospel, salvation and justification, faith, good deeds, church, prayer, the cross, miracles, marriage, Antichrist, Jerusalem, Mecca, the Virgin Mary, purgatory, paradise, hell, resurrection, feasts, circumcision – to name just some of them (the texts vary greatly in length). It is possible to discern the framework the Centuriators followed: first a general introduction to Islam, the Qur'an and Muḥammad, then through divisions characteristic of Christian systematic theology (the doctrine of God and Trinity, Christology, pneumatology, creation and cosmology, angelology, the doctrine of man and human sin, soteriology, ecclesiology, etc.) to a miscellany (pilgrimages,

feasts, circumcision, etc.) and finally a short biography of Muḥammad. Basically, what the Centuriators did is present the teaching of Islam and customs of Muslims through the Christian theological categories that would be familiar to their intended audience.

The fifteenth section in each of the remainder of the *Centuries* (viii-xiii) covers themes such as the spread of Islam (in Asia, Africa, Europe, in the islands), and the ‘delusions’ of Islam, as well as brief overviews of the authors and authorities who fought for or against Islam, in the light of accessible contemporary sources.

In addition to the Bible (unknown edition), Bibliander’s 1543 Basel edition of the Qur’an and eight short but important texts published as supplements to it (Luther’s foreword or *Praemonitio*, Bibliander’s *Apologia*, Peter the Venerable’s letter to Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable’s *Summ(ul)a* against Islam and Saracens, Robert of Ketton’s foreword to his translation of the Qur’an, and *Doctrina Mahumet* (‘The teaching of Muḥammad’), *De generatione Mahumet* (‘The book of the generation of Muḥammad and his upbringing’), and *Chronica mendosa et ridicula Saracenorūm* (‘Lying and ridiculous fables of the Saracens’), all made for Peter the Venerable), the Centuriators explicitly referred to 41 other sources, both medieval and early modern (some of them hard to identify). Among medieval authors (or works, if the author is unknown), it is possible to identify the following 18: *Chronicum Saxonicum*, John of Damascus, Germanus I of Constantinople, Michael Glycas, Leo of Ostia, Liutprand of Cremona, Nicetas Choniates, Otto of Freising, Matteo Palmieri, Paul the Deacon, Bartholomew of Lucca, Ranulf Higden, Sigebert of Gembloux, Turpinus Remensis, Guillermus Tyrius, Vincent of Beauvais and John Zonaras. Among early modern authors, it is possible to identify the following 14: Antoninus of Florence, Giacomo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo, Flavio Biondo, Johannes Cuspinian, Achilles Gasser, Caspar Hedio, Jacob Curio, Albert Krantz, Johannes Lucidus, Johannes Nauclerus, Polydore Vergil, Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, Valentinus Müntzer and Raphael of Volterra.

It is impossible to go through all the material on Islam in the *Centuries*, because it is in a sense all about Christian-Muslim relations, so a brief summarisation must suffice. Generally, the Centuriators saw huge incompatibility between the Bible and the Qur’an, and also between Christianity and Islam, in both religious and historical matters. They could not reconcile their belief in salvation by faith in Christ alone with belief in salvation on the basis of good deeds and by faith in Muḥammad. Saving faith in Christ as God incarnate who was alone able to accomplish

the eternal salvation of humankind – for them, the crucial message of the Bible and Christianity – was not even mentioned in the Qur'an, while for Muslims it was the greatest sin to believe that Christ is God. In consequence, they understood and presented Islam as a false religion, a 'monstrous mixture of pagan, Christian and Jewish religion', and they portrayed the prophet Muḥammad as the 'second Antichrist' (the first being the pope), 'placing himself in place of Christ', and using the Qur'an, a 'book full of lies and blasphemies', to preach a new legalistic religion.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Magdeburg centuries* was very significant for Protestant theology and ecclesiastical historiography. It 'proved to be a landmark in the study of the history of doctrine and set the pattern for Protestant (Lutheran and Calvinist) historiography up until the 18th century' (Backus, *Historical method*, p. 394).

In their study and presentation of Islam, it is clear that the Centuriators referred to numerous relevant sources. It is strange, however, that they did not refer to other important authors, such as Isidore of Seville (*Chronica maiora*), Thomas Aquinas (*Summa contra Gentiles*), Rodrigo Ximénez (*Historia Arabum*), Godfrey of Viterbo (*Chronique universelle*) and Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (*Itinerarius, Confutatio Alcorani, Contra Sarracenos et Alcoranum*, etc.), from among the medieval corpus of sources. The same applies to many early modern authors and works. But, generally, they were well informed on Islam and they exhausted the majority of accessible sources. Their methodology of documenting sources was revolutionary: 'They were the first writers in modern times to cite scores of ancient texts and authors' (Diener, 'The Magdeburg centuries', p. 360).

In comparison to other previous and contemporary authors and works, the Centuriators' division of their material on Islam into more than 100 subtitles, as well as their exhaustive documentation of sources, makes their presentation of Islam and Muslims probably the clearest to comprehend, highly accessible for polemical usage and very convincing for their cause, though very fragmented as well.

Furthermore, the Centuriators' understanding of Islam stands in accordance with Luther's view. Although often one-sided in presentation and selective in its use of sources – a classic characteristic of polemical literature – the *Magdeburg centuries* is probably the most representative example of how Lutheran Protestant Christians of the third quarter of the 16th century understood and presented Islam, thus affecting the image of Islam in Protestant parts of Europe in particular, as well as Christian-Muslim relations in general. Although the influence of the

Centuries in creating a common understanding of Islam and Muslims in European thought is not yet quite clear (research still needs to be done), it can be assumed that the impact of the work must have been significant from the very fact that it was much opposed by Catholics (Canisius, Baronius et al.; cf. Diener, 'The Magdeburg centuries', pp. 307-16), and widely read by Protestants (it is still to be found in many libraries throughout Germany and Europe), even though it was not frequently quoted among Protestants because of its relation to the controversial theologians Flacius and Wigand.

It is important to note that, apart from references to the concept of the 'dual Antichrist' in the *Magdeburg centuries* (the pope and Muḥammad/Islam) by Heinz Scheible (*Die Anfänge der reformatorischen Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 76-7) and Harm Cordes (*Hilaria evangelica academica*, p. 147), there has been almost no research on the understanding of Islam in the work prior to this entry. The author of this entry has recently written the very first article on the matter, and much research remains to be done.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Centuriae Magdeburgenses seu historiae ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti cum variorum theologorum continuationibus ad haec nostra tempora..., ed. Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten and Johann Salomo Semler, 4 vols, Nuremberg, 1757-65³ (the first four volumes alone, known as the Baumgarten-Semler, or Semler edition)

Historia ecclesiastica, integram Ecclesiae Christianae conditionem, indè à Christo ex Virgine nato, juxta Saeculorum feriem, exponens: jam olim per studiosos ac pios aliquot Viros, in urbe Magdeburgicâ, & alibi, ex vetustissimis & optimis Historicis, Patribus, & alijs Scriptoribus, diligenter congesta; Nunc denuo per M. Ludovicum Lucium, Basileensis Academiae Professore[m] fideliter recensita, Basileae, Typis & expensis Ludovic Regis, excusa. Anno MDCXXIV, Basel, 1624² (Louis Lucius issued a complete edition of the *Centuries* in six folio volumes, introducing various Calvinist modifications to the original text and omitting the authors' names and dedications.)

Ecclesiastica historia, integram Ecclesiae Christi ideam, quantum ad locum, propagationem, persecutionem, tranquillitatem, doctrinam, haereses, ceremonias, gubernationem, schismata, synodos, personas, miracula, martyria, religionis extra Ecclesiam, et statum imperij politicum attinet, secundum singulas centurias, perspicuo ordine complectens: singulari diligentia et fide ex vetustissimis et optimis historicis, patribus, et alijs scriptoribus congesta: Per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica, Basel, 1559-74 (first edition)

STUDIES

- T. Vidaković, 'Understanding of Islam according to *Magdeburg centuries*', in Z. Blažević, N. Štefanec and S. Jambrek (eds), *The Reformation in the Croatian historical lands. Research results, challenges, perspectives*, Zagreb, 2015
- Bollbuck, 'Die Magdeburger Zenturien'
- Hartmann, 'Matthias Flacius Illyricus'
- Mentzel-Reuters, 'Quellenarbeit in den Magdeburger Centurien'
- Pohlig, 'War Flacius Humanist?'
- Hartmann, 'Die Magdeburger Centurien und ihre Bedeutung'
- Heitzmann, 'Matthias Flacius Illyricus in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel'
- Krenzke, 'Die Autoren der Magdeburger Centurien'
- H. Cordes, *Hilaria evangelica academica. Das Reformationsjubiläum von 1717 an den deutschen lutherischen Universitäten*, Göttingen, 2006 (esp. p. 147)
- Backus, *Historical method*
- Hohl, 'Centuriators of Magdeburg'
- Lyon, 'B. Baudouin, Flacius, and the plan for the *Magdeburg centuries*'
- Hartmann, 'Spätmittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Kritik'
- Olson, *Matthias Flacius*
- Hartmann, *Humanismus und Kirchenkritik*
- Norelli, 'The authority attributed to the Early Church'
- Camilli, 'Six dialogues, 1566'
- Diener, 'The Magdeburg centuries'
- Orella Unzué, *Respuestas católicas a las centurias de Magdeburgo*
- Scheible, *Die Entstehung der Magdeburger Zenturien*
- Scheible, *Die Anfänge der reformatorischen Geschichtsschreibung*
- Scheible, 'Der Plan der Magdeburger Zenturien'

Tomislav Vidaković

Sixteenth-century anti-Turkish literature in Poland and Lithuania

DATE About 1550-75

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The first contacts between the Kingdom of Poland (joined with Lithuania by the personal joint rule of the king, then after 1569 as the Commonwealth of both Nations) and the expanding Ottoman Empire began in 1414 and were diplomatic in character. However, the Ottoman expansion into central, south-eastern and eastern Europe brought it into a collision course with Polish interests. The first military encounters, in the form of the failed quasi crusade led by King Ladislaus, which was defeated at the battle of Varna (1444), the loss of access to the Black Sea ports of Kilia and Belgorod in 1484, and the failed Moldavian campaign of King Jan Olbracht (1497), served as an effective warning to exercise restraint when considering a military engagement with the Ottomans. Efforts were made to maintain peaceful relations for several decades. Nevertheless, the Crimean Tatars, who were politically dependent on the Porte after 1475, launched frequent campaigns against the south-eastern provinces of the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom, sometimes with the support of Ottoman military units, looting and taking captives, who were then sold on the Crimean and Ottoman slave markets. The growing power of the Ottoman Empire was witnessed with increasing concern. This led to a considerable body of 'anti-Turkish' works, known as *turcyki*.

The intuitive assumption that these works were also anti-Islamic is proved only in the fact that 'the political' and 'the religious' were constantly conflated in the general attitudes of the times, for in fact the *turcyki* contain very little 'religious' material. Their authors were more concerned either with bemoaning the discord among Christians, or with depicting the Turks in a derogatory manner and persuading the audience to take military action against them before it was too late. Nevertheless, the *turcyki* contain scattered hints about their authors' knowledge of the Turks and attitude towards them as Muslims. As in other European regions, 'Muslims' were increasingly perceived through the Turkish perspective, to the point when 'the Turk' became a synonym for 'the Muslim'

(e.g. in Mikołaj Radziwiłł's account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and trip to Egypt in 1582-4). This pattern reflected mainly political relations with the Ottoman Empire, which was considered a more serious rival than the Crimean Tatar Horde, though in Polish literature the distinction between the Turks (only rarely referred to as the 'Ottomans') and the Tatars was often not clear cut. Both were referred to interchangeably as *bisurmanie* (sing. *bisurman*), an early Polish adaptation of the word *musulman* (if not explicitly derogatory, then rather condescending). This term seemed to be more often applied to the Tatars, though it was also used in a verbal form: *zbisurmanić* / *pobisurmanić się* synonymous with *poturczyć się* ('to become a Turk' = 'to convert to Islam').

Efforts to learn more about the Turks, especially their military power, had already been made in the 15th century. Works written on this topic are usually classified as 'anti-Turkish', since that knowledge was gained with the purpose of using it against the Ottomans. Mikołaj Lasocki (1380-1450), the envoy at the papal court speaking for Poland and Hungary, is considered to be the author of the first Polish anti-Turkish speech advocating war against the Turks. It was delivered to Pope Nicholas V in 1448 (ed. 1876).

Philip Callimachus Buonacorsi (1437-96), an Italian fugitive implicated in a plot against Pope Pius II, allegedly spent some time in Istanbul before joining the service of the royal court in Kraków. He authored at least three tracts dealing with the growing Turkish threat: *Historia de rege Vladislao, seu clade Varnensi* (probably in 1487, printed in Augsburg 1518; later published a few times under slightly different titles) is a description of King Ladislaus's campaign of 1444; *Historia de his quae a Venetis contra Turcos tentata sunt Persis ac Tartaris contra Turcos movendis* (after 1483, printed in Haganoae, 1533) recounted Venetian efforts to win Tatar and Persian support against the Ottomans between 1473 and 1487; *Ad Innocentium VIII pontificem maximum de bello inferendo Turcis oratio* (printed in Kraków, 1524) was a speech delivered in Rome in 1490 pointing out the mistakes in anti-Turkish activities on the part of the popes and advocating a more serious reliance of the Holy See on the Kingdom of Poland in future anti-Turkish actions. Though Callimachus posed as an expert on 'Turkish affairs', his knowledge of the Turkish world was rather scanty, and religious matters were not his concern. He advocated the notion that it would be easy to defeat the Turks because their military power was deficient. This theme can be found in a number of other 15th- and 16th-century tracts and speeches.

Anti-Turkish motifs, conflating the Tatars-Mongols-Turks with Muslims, had already appeared in 15th-century poetry written in Latin (and earlier in some liturgical texts). They became more noticeable in political speeches and pamphlets (some in Latin later translated into Polish, others in Polish) in the mid-16th century, and they intensified from the late 16th century onwards, when contacts between the Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire deteriorated and turned into a series of wars in the 17th century. The late-16th-century works can be more appropriately treated with the anti-Turkish literature of the 17th century, and will be omitted here, as will works written by authors who died after 1600.

Early 16th-century works

Early locally written works either bemoaned the destruction caused by the Tatar and Ottoman raids, or gave information about the Ottoman advance into Central Europe, e.g. Mikołaj Hussowski's (1475/85-after 1533) *Nova et miranda de Turcis victoria* (1524), or else – as e.g. in Andrzej Krzycki's (1482-1537) *Religionis et reipublicae quaerimonia* (1522) – they used the Turkish threat to attack either the social and moral vices of the ruling class (egoism, greed, living beyond their means) or political adversaries, as the struggle between the pro- and anti-Habsburg factions intensified. Because the Habsburgs tried to involve the kingdom ruled by the last Jagiellonians in war with the Ottomans, anti-Turkish works were suspected of being commissioned by the Habsburgs rather than arising from deep conviction. Krzycki also wrote an epigram about the Germans who had expelled the divine cult and the images of the saints from their churches and boasted that they would crush the Ottomans if they dared to invade German lands. Meanwhile, he mockingly observed, the dragon (i.e. the Ottomans) ravaged German possessions with impunity because these same Germans had expelled St George the dragon-slayer from their churches (Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna*, p. 122).

In other cases the Ottoman issue, with an obvious religious undertone (the Ottomans were the religious 'other'), served as an element in a diplomatic game between Christian rulers. Traces of dealings with 'guilt' for not siding with the Christians against the Muslims can be detected in Jan Dantyszek's (1485-1548) *De nostrorum temporum calamitatibus* (1530). He was the envoy of King Sigismund I the Old in the negotiations between Pope Clement VII and the Emperor Charles V at Bologna, and he struggled to gain recognition for Jagiellonian diplomatic attempts to secure a

long-lasting peace treaty with the Ottomans in the wider context of negotiations to build an anti-Ottoman coalition. Dantyszek tried to exculpate his royal patron, and in his poem he described the history of the Ottoman conquests in Europe up to the 1529-30 siege of Vienna, and appealed to Christian leaders for unity in defence against a common enemy. While encouraging the pope to sign a treaty with the emperor that could give him command over the armies of the Christians, Dantyszek rebuked the emperor for being a part of the problem (the quarrelsomeness, pride, greed and avarice of European Christian rulers) that allowed the Ottomans to launch effective attacks on the Hungarian kingdom. Dantyszek tried to convince his readers that, had the Christians really united, the Jagiellonian forces would have joined their side against the Ottomans (however, he was also known for issuing the recommendation that the Jagiellonian-Ottoman peace treaty should be respected).

Later 16th-century works

Among the works containing wishful thinking, unrealistic war plans or diplomatic juggling of arguments, there were also works (or parts of them) apparently containing more serious information and deeper analysis of the situation. *Descriptio potentiae Turciae. Ordinatio belli contra illam 1514*, a tract included in the speech of Wawrzyniec Miedzieleski (or Międzyleski, d. 1529), the Polish royal envoy to Pope Leo X, though presenting unrealistic plans for defeating the Ottomans, contained a more accurate assessment of Ottoman military power, as apparently did the tract *Consilium rationis bellicae* (1558) by Hetman (General) Jan Tarnowski (1488-1561).

C. Göllner in his *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Bucharest, 1961, 1968, 1978) lists a number of Polish authors who wrote anti-Turkish tracts and speeches before the last decades of the 16th century: Sebastyan Marszewski (or Marzewski, Marschevius), *Ad equites Polonos de bello Turcis inferendo* (1543); Jakub Przyłuski (c. 1512-54), *Ad equites Polonos pro sacerdotibus Turcicum bellum una cum illis suscipientibus et pro Petro Gamrato . . . elegia* (1545); Stanisław Orzechowski (1513-66), *De bello adversus Turcas suscipiendo . . . ad equites Polonos oratio* (1543, translated into Polish and published in the same year), and *Ad Sigismundum Poloniae Regem turcica secunda* (1544, translated into Polish in 1590); Andrzej Lubelczyk (c. 1500-c. 1557), *Bellum theologicum*

ex armamentario omnipotentis adversus Turcas instructum ac ordinatum (1545, 1597²).

Some scholars, such as Bohdan Baranowski, have dismissed *turcyki* as of little value (not providing reliable information) as they were propagandist in intent.

Stanisław Orzechowski

Stanisław Orzechowski, who was a prominent orator at gatherings of local nobility and during parliamentary sessions, made acclaimed anti-Turkish speeches. However, both his *De bello adversus Turcas suscipiendo* and *Ad Sigismundum Poloniae Regem turcica secunda* only touch on religious issues in passing. He briefly presents Muḥammad as a Christian renegade who gathered some fugitives and, taking advantage of quarrels between Christian rulers, started his own conquests. Orzechowski bemoans the religious quarrels and wars between Christian rulers (especially in German lands) while they neglect efforts to form a unified front against 'the Turk', who does not waste time on debates but takes military action. He also presents the 'Turks' as threatening the social order and the Christian faith, looting churches, destroying altars, uprooting the graves of ancestors, and raping daughters and wives in the presence of their captured relatives. On several occasions, Orzechowski mentions that in the lands they have captured the Turks dedicate Christian churches to Muḥammad. They are treacherous and faithless because they do not respect treaties or promises (he cites the massacre of the defenders of Kolozsvár).

Andrzej Lubelczyk

Andrzej Lubelczyk's *Bellum theologicum* seems to be the only work that contains substantial references to the religious dimension of contacts with Muslims, though even there they appear to be only of secondary importance.

Lubelczyk was a Roman Catholic priest more known for his anti-Reformation polemics (particularly against Philipp Melanchthon's views) and concern for bringing the Armenians into union with Rome (he spent part of his life in Lvov, a city with a vibrant Armenian minority) than for anti-Turkish publications. Defence of the true (Catholic) faith against all threats was his main concern. His *Bellum theologicum*, written in Latin in a very ornate style that at times obscures the message, does not deal exclusively with the Turkish threat but uses it to

issue a call for improvement of moral life in what he saw as an overall atmosphere of decay. He bemoans lapses in morals among Christians, protests especially against Ottoman influences on dress and food, and accuses his compatriots of adopting a luxurious and easy lifestyle from the Ottomans, habits that diminish the physical and spiritual strength of the nobility. He accuses those who remain in the territories conquered by the Ottomans of developing non-Christian manners, and laments the sad fate of the Christian youth who have been taken into Tatar and Ottoman captivity.

He indicates that the fight against the rising threat of the Ottomans cannot be conducted solely by force but has equally to be waged on the spiritual level (by prayer, Christian virtues, preaching the Gospel). Lubelczyk calls on the king and other Christian rulers to add spiritual armour to their weaponry (he points out that it is not to be disregarded, as for example the Corpus Christi procession has power to disperse the 'Saracen army'). He sees the Saracens (= the Ottomans) as the contemporary symbolic 'demon of evil', the epitome of 'God's wrath' against Christians for their moral laxity.

Lubelczyk endorsed a view that political tyranny resulted in immorality linked to heresy. Reminding his readers of the example of the Roman Empire and its practice of imposing the imperial cult, he uses the Ottomans as the contemporary example of the danger that can result from linking faith and religious practices (religion) with political power (state rulers) and making the first dependent on the second. He spoke against what may be called 'a theocratic state' and underlined the importance of religious freedom. People needed to be honest in professing their faith and could not be coerced by any political authority. If religion was not chosen and practised out of free will, there was a risk of insincerity and opportunism. He believed that the Ottoman authorities had imposed their religion on people. The opposition of 'freedom-tyranny/slavery' was increasingly used and elaborated by authors in the Commonwealth, as the nobility took a progressively more active part in running the state and began building up a system of guaranteed civil liberties (the so-called 'golden liberty'). The early admiration for some aspects of the organisation of the Ottoman state system (e.g. in Mikołaj Rej's poem *Turczyn* or in Erazm Otwinowski's observations during a diplomatic trip to Istanbul in 1557), such as the possibility of social advancement, respect for and serious implementation of justice in contrast to the situation at home, gradually gave way to concerns and worries about a possible loss of freedom and civil liberties.

Klemens Janicki

Klemens Janicki (1516-43) touched on issues of contacts with the Ottomans in some of his elegies written in Latin (VI, written in 1540; VIII, in 1541; and IX in 1542). However, religious matters were not his main concern. He described the stages of the Ottoman conquest of Hungary (VI), directed accusations against the Emperor Ferdinand for causing the Hungarian calamity (VIII), and gave a pessimistic prognosis for Europe, strengthening it with a vision of Poland conquered by the Ottomans (IX). In another work, *In Polonici vestitus varietatem et inconstantiam dialogus* ['A dialogue against the diversity and changeability of Polish dress'] (printed in Antwerp, 1563), Janicki bemoaned the indolence of the nobility in the face of the Ottoman threat. Göllner lists Janicki's *De bello adversus Turcas suscipiendo* (Cracow, 1543) which is an epigram in honour of Orzechowski bearing the same title as Orzechowski's first *turcyka* and comparing its author to Cicero.

Maciej Strykowski

The growing concerns were strengthened by Maciej Strykowski (1547-93) who, after returning from Istanbul as a member of a diplomatic mission, wrote a poem *O wolności Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* ['On freedom of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania'] (1575) in which he vividly described the consequences of a possible conquest by the Ottomans – reduction of the nobility to the position of serfs and new fiscal burdens – and called on his countrymen to defend the homeland.

An attempt at refocusing the perspective

Early anti-Turkish motifs appeared in lament poetry focusing on particular heroes and, drawing on earlier pious religious texts, used the ecclesial interpretation of the conflict with the Tatars/Turks as a religious one and an expression of God's justice on sinful Christians who should repent (the latter motif used also by Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski in *De republica emendanda*, 1551).

Literary critics point out that Jan Kochanowski in his *Canto V (Pieśń o spustoszeniu Podola* ['Lament on war-ravaged Podolia'], 1575, printed in Kraków, 1586) introduced important changes in approaching the subject of Polish-Tatar/Ottoman relations. It should be stressed, though, that he rarely treated this subject in his poetry. In *Canto V*, the lyrical subject

ceased to be solely a 'pious Christian', but became a guard and defender of his home country. He was reminded of his duty to defend the fatherland and his responsibility for the country's future honour in the face of the nomadic barbarians' and pagans' attacks. In the new approach adopted by Kochanowski, the nobleman could not only repent and supplicate God while submitting to God's rulings, but he could also try to repel the threatening danger by giving towards the war effort, and making use of his courage and readiness to defend the fatherland. In applying such an approach, the poet seems to be less inclined to see the Tatar and Ottoman (=Muslim) attacks as Muslim-Christian (religious) war than to perceive them as a result of the moral failings of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth (inclination to luxurious lifestyle, effeminacy, indifference towards the state and fate of the country). The poet's focus shifts from Christianity (Christendom) to that of the Commonwealth (i.e. homeland) and, while his interpretation of the conflict is not devoid of religious dimension, the focus has shifted more towards the 'moral' aspect of human behaviour (Krzewińska, *Pieśń ziemiańska*, pp. 31-8). This new approach did not replace the earlier one, which underwent a certain revival during the difficult times of bitter wars with the Ottomans in the 17th century.

Works by foreign authors

Apart from the texts written locally, some works of foreign origin were also (re)printed in the country, e.g. *Epistolarium Turci Magni* by Laudivio Vezzanense, a collection of documents aiming to show the treachery, faithlessness and unreliability of the Ottomans (Kraków, 1513, 1618²); Stephanus [Istvan] Brodaricus's *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Turcis ad Mohacz verissima historia* (1527); Mathias Franconius's *Oratio protrepitica ad Chrystiani orbis principes* (Kraków, 1542); Michael Hillebrant's, *Die rechte Christiche Weisze wider den turcken zustreyten* (Kraków, 1542). Others were published after the victory of Lepanto: *De victoria Christianorum* by G. Rasario (1571), *De insigni et memorabili Christianorum ex Turcis victoria* by A. Santutus (1571), and *Prawdziwe y osoblwe kazdey sprawy wypisanie*, a Polish translation of the work by F. Membre (1572).

The works of Bartholomaeus Georgius (Georgiewicz), a southern Slavonic writer, were quite popular in Poland. They were published and republished in parts either in Latin or in Polish translation (Jocher, *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury*, 1840-57, vol. 3, p. 605; Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamiczna*, vol. 1, pp. 48-66, 369-70; vol. 2, pp. 16-20). *Pamiętniki janczara* ('Memoirs of a Janissary') by another

southern Slavonic author Konstantin Mihailović, though circulating in manuscript form, must also have been quite popular, judging from the number of extant copies.

SIGNIFICANCE

The anti-Turkish literature of the 16th century deals more with military-related matters than with social-cultural-religious issues. It concentrates either on assessing Ottoman military power (with various degrees of accuracy), or on encouraging the ruling class (the nobility) to undertake actions against the Ottomans before they invade the country. The latter attitude is increasingly linked with the conviction that the Ottomans pose a grave danger to the cherished liberty of the nobility, including loss of freedom in religious matters, as the public were told that the Ottomans would impose Islam on the conquered peoples. Striking the chord of a possible loss of the freedom enjoyed by the Commonwealth nobility was particularly sensitive, as that was the sphere that the nobility guarded with great jealousy. The authors do not appear to be very interested in the 'religious other', apart from using him as a sort of mirror or contrasting background on which problems troubling the country and their compatriots were presented, abuses criticised, and solutions indicated. This moralising attitude did not, however, prevent the authors from being hypocritical. For example, Lubelczyk protests against coercion by the political authority in religious matters, especially the Ottoman sultan, while at the same time taking steps to promote what he sees as the sole acceptable form of religion, i.e. Roman Catholicism. Re-editions and translations of various works over the years signify that this type of literature was much in demand.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

As this entry deals with several different authors, the editions are listed in alphabetical order of author:

- I. Brodaricus, *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Turcis ad Mohacz verissima historia*, Kraków, 1527
- P. Callimachus Buonacorsi, *Historia de his quae a Venetis contra Turcos tentata sunt Persis ac Tartaris contra Turcos movendis*, Haganoae, 1533; (also as *De his quae a Venetis contra Turcos tentata sunt Persis ac Tartaris contra Turcos movendis*, in P. Bizzari (Bizaro), *Rerum Persicarum historia*, Frankfurt, 1601, pp. 402-31; and *De his quae a Venetis tentata sunt Persis ac Tartaris contra Turcos movendis*, ed. A. Kempfi and T. Kowalewski, Warsaw 1962)

- P. Callimachus Buonacorsi, *Ad Innocentium VIII pontificem maximum de bello Turcis inferendo oratio*, Kraków, 1524 (repr. Haganoae, 1533; Solebii, 1603; Warsaw, 1960)
- P. Callimachus Buonacorsi, *Historia de rege Vladislao, seu clade Varnensi*, Augsburg 1518 (republished several times under slightly different titles)
- J. Dantyszek, *De nostrorum temporum calamitatibus silva*, Bononia, 1530 (also Kraków, Cologne and Antwerp in the same year)
- M. Franconius, *Oratio protreptica ad chrystiani orbis principes*, Kraków, 1542
- A. Frycz Modrzewski, *De republica emendanda*, Kraków, 1551
- B. Georgius (Georgiewicz), *Pro fide Christiana cum Turca disputationis habitae et mysterio Sanctae Trinitatis in Alchorano invento, nunc primum in latinum sermonem verso, brevis descriptio. Authore Peregrino Bartholomaeo Georgieuits*, Cracoviae, 1548 (Polish trans. 1548: *Rozmowa z Turczynem o wierze Krzesciyanskiej i o tajności Troyce świętej, która w Alkoranie stoi napisana. Przez Bartłomieja Georgewits, który czternaście lat był więźniem Tureckim*).
- M. Hillebrant, *Die rechte Christiche Weisze wider den turcken zustreyten*, Kraków, 1542
- M. Hussowski, *Nova et miranda de Turcis victoria*, Kraków, 1524
- K. Janicki, *In Polonici vestitus varietatem et inconstantiam dialogus*, Antwerp, 1563
- K. Janicki, *Tristium liber I. Variarum elegiarum liber I. Epigrammatum liber I*, Kraków, 1542
- A. Krzycki, *Religionis et Reipublicae quaerimonia*, Kraków, 1522; Poznań, 1606
- M. Lasocki, *Oratio ad Dominum Apostolicum per Lasoczki facta Anno Domini 1448*, in J. Szujski (ed.), *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, Kraków, 1876, vol. 2/2, pp. 51-4 (earlier published with mistakes and incorrect date of 1442 by M. Wiszniewski, *Historia literatury polskiej*, Kraków, 1841, vol. 3, pp. 390-6)
- Laudivio (Vezzanense), *Epistole Turci Magni*, Vienna, 1512, Kraków, 1513, 1618²
- A. Lubelczyk, *Bellum theologicum ex armamentario omnipotentis adversus Turcas instructum ac ordinatum*, Kraków, 1545, 1597²
- S. Marszewski (Marzewski, Marchevius), *Ad equites Polonos de bello Turcis inferendo*, Kraków, 1543

- W. Miedzieleski, *Descriptio potentiae Turciae et ordinatio belli contra Turcam 1514*, in S. Gorski (ed.), *Acta Tomiciana*, Posnaniae, 1853, vol. 3, pp. 168-81
- S. Orzechowski, *De bello adversus Turcas suscipiendo... ad equites Polonos oratio*, Kraków, 1543 (Polish trans.: *Książki o ruszeniu ziemie polskiej przeciw Turkowi*, Kraków, 1543)
- S. Orzechowski, *Ad Sigismundum Poloniae Regem turcica secunda*, Kraków, 1544 (Polish trans. by J. Januszkowski: *Oksza Stanisława Orzechowskiego*, Kraków, 1590; both anti-Turkish speeches published together in Basel, 1551; Romae, 1594)
- J. Przyłuski, *Ad equites Polonos pro sacerdotibus Turcicum bellum una cum illis suscipientibus et pro Petro Gamrato... elegia*, Kraków, 1545
- M. Strykowski, *O wolności Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* ['On freedom of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania'] Kraków, 1575
- J. Tarnowski, *Consilium rationis bellicae*, Tarnów, 1558
- Detailed bibliographical data can be found in R. Pollak et al. (eds), *Bibliografia literatury polskiej. Nowy Korbut. Piśmiennictwo staropolskie*, 3 vols, Warsaw, 1964-5, and in *Elektroniczna Baza Bibliografii Estreicher*, <http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/staropolska/baza/szukaj.html>
- Information on the authors and a selection of texts can also be found at: Virtual Library of Polish Literature, <http://literat.ug.edu.pl/~literat/books.htm>

STUDIES

- S. Grzeszczuk, *Pisarze staropolscy. Tom 1: Sylwetki* ['Writers of Old Poland, vol. 1: Profiles'], Warsaw, 1991
- H.B. Segel, *Renaissance culture in Poland. The rise of humanism, 1470-1543*, Ithaca NY, 1989
- J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce. Studia z dziejów XIII-XVIII w.* ['The Tatars in Lithuania and Poland. Studies in history 13th-18th centuries'], Warsaw, 1989
- J. Tazbir, *Polskie przedmurze chrześcijańskiej Europy. Mity a rzeczywistość* ['Polish bulwark of Christian Europe. Myths and reality'], Warsaw, 1987
- H. Olszewski, 'Ideologia Rzeczypospolitej – przedmurza chrześcijaństwa' [Ideology of Commonwealth – the bulwark of Christianity], *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 35 (1983) 1-19

- M. Bogucka, 'Szlachta polska wobec Wschodu turecko-tatarskiego. Między fascynacją a przerażeniem (XVI-XVIII w.)' [Polish nobility with regard to the Turco-Tatar East. Between fascination and terror (16th-18th centuries)], *Śląski kwartalnik historyczny Sobótka* 37 (1982) 185-93
- B. Kopański, 'Znajomość państwa tureckiego i jego mieszkańców w renesansowej Polsce' [Knowledge about the Ottoman state and its inhabitants in Renaissance Poland], *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 103 (1977) 221-9
- L. Bazyłow, 'Polsko-tureckie powiązania dyplomatyczne w XVI wieku' [Polish-Turkish diplomatic links in the 16th century], *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 20 (1976) 1-13
- J. Tazbir, 'Problem nietolerancji religijnej w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku' [The problem of religious intolerance in Poland in the 16th and 17th centuries], *Przegląd humanistyczny* 19 (1975) 1-19
- J. Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamiczna. XVI, XVII i XVIII w. Wybór tekstów i komentarze* ['Polish polemical and anti-Islamic literature. 16th, 17th and 18th century. Selected texts and commentaries'], 2 vols, Warsaw, 1974
- J. Tazbir, *A state without stakes. Polish religious toleration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, New York, 1973
- A. Krzewińska, *Pieśń ziemiańska, antyturska i refleksyjna. Studia nad wybranymi gatunkami staropolskiej liryki XVI i XVII wieku*, [Manorial, anti-Turkish and reflective poetry. Studies on selected genres of old Polish lyrical poetry of the 16th-17th century'], Toruń, 1968, pp. 80-105
- J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Czasy Zygmunta* ['Occasional political poetry in Poland. The times of the Sigismunds'], Warsaw, 1966, pp. 93-122
- A. Zajączkowski, *Orientalistyka polska a Bliski Wschód* ['Polish Oriental studies and the Middle East'], 2 vols, Warsaw, 1966
- C. Göllner, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols, Bucharest, 1961, 1968, 1978
- B. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku* ['Knowledge of the East in former Poland to the 18th century'], Łódź, 1950
- S. Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej* ['Lithuanian Tatars. An attempt at a historical and ethnographic monograph'], Warsaw, 1937, Gdańsk, 2000²

- J. Bartoszewicz, *Pogląd na stosunki Polski z Turcją i Tatarami. Na dzieje Tatarów w Polsce osiadłych, na przywileje tu im nadane, jako też wspomnienia o znakomitych Tatarach polskich* ['A view on the relationship between Poland and Turkey and the Tatars. On the historiography of the Tatars settled in Poland, on the privileges given to them there, and also memoirs about the prominent Polish Tatars'], Warsaw, 1859
- A.B. Jocher, *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce od wprowadzenia do niej druku po rok 1830* ['Bibliographical and historical image of the literature and knowledge in Poland from the introduction of printing to 1830'], 3 vols, Wilno, 1840-57

Stanisław Grodź

Mavro Vetranović

Mavro Vetranović Čavčić, Maurus Vetrani

DATE OF BIRTH 1482
PLACE OF BIRTH Dubrovnik
DATE OF DEATH 1576
PLACE OF DEATH Dubrovnik

BIOGRAPHY

Mavro Vetranović, born as Nikola, was a Benedictine friar and one of the most prominent Ragusan poets of the 16th century. He entered the Benedictine order in 1507 on the island of Lokrum near Dubrovnik and took the name Mavro. He completed his higher education in Monte Cassino, Italy. After he returned to Dubrovnik, he lived on the island of Mljet, where he was appointed abbot of the monastery several times. He became the first president of the newly-founded Mljet congregation, under which all of the Benedictine monasteries in the area of the Republic of Dubrovnik were gathered. Owing to some difficulties with the church, he was banished from the Republic of Dubrovnik in 1517 and fled to Italy. He was granted an amnesty in 1522.

As an older man, he went to the small deserted island of Sveti Andrija (St Andrew) and lived as a hermit. He died in the monastery of Sveti Jakov (St Jacob) on Višnjica near Dubrovnik.

Vetranović wrote prolifically throughout his life, leaving three pastoral and mythological dramas and three dramas with themes from the Old Testament, two dramas with themes from the New Testament (*Sacra rappresentazione*), as well as one allegorical epic, religious, political and satirical poetry, and a few carnival poems. His oeuvre is huge, but it was not published until the 19th century.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- I. Đurđević, 'Vitae et carmina nonnulorum illustrium civium Rhacusinorum', in P. Kolendić, *Biografska dela Ignjata Đurđevića*, Belgrade, 1935, 9-120, pp. 101-3 (Kolendić gives a transcription of Đurđević's work, written between 1707 and 1716)

- S. Kراسић, *Bibliotheca Ragusina in qua Ragusini scriptores eorumque gesta et scripta recensentur*, vols 2-3, Zagreb, 1977, pp. 449-54 (transcription of the biographical details given by S.M. Crijević, 1726-44)
- S. Dolci, *Fasti litterario-ragusini*, Venice, 1767, pp. 44-5
- F.M. Appendini, *Notizie storico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de' Ragusei*, Dubrovnik, 1802-3, pp. 218-20

Secondary

- F. Švelec, 'Mavro Vetranović, II. Književni rad', *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 6-7 (1960) 319-92
- F. Švelec, 'Mavro Vetranović', *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 4-5 (1959) 175-214

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Pjesanca slavi carevoj, 'Poem to the glory
of the "tsar"'

DATE Unknown; possibly between 1521 and 1537

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

Pjesanca slavi carevoj ('Poem to the glory of the "tsar"') is 400 verses long. It is a political poem, possibly written after the fall of Belgrade (1521) and the battle of Mohács (1526), which are both mentioned in the text, and before the fall of the fortress Klis near Split (1537), which is foreseen.

The 'tsar' in the poem refers to a Turkish sultan, who is a metonym for the Ottoman Empire. In spite of the title, 'the glory of the "tsar" ' is not the only motif. Christendom also appears, represented by the metonym 'Rome's lady'. The lyrical 'I' voice laments over the areas lost to the Ottoman Empire and explains the reasons for the Ottomans' power: Christians are sinners and the Turkish conquests are God's punishment.

A number of animal attributes are used to represent the Turks (lions and wolves, and the empire as a dragon), though there are also positive images of the 'tsar' as a mighty and brave ruler. In a word, the image of the Turks is ambivalent. They are presented as being both mighty and brave, but also as pagans who are violently conquering southern and eastern Europe, though their religious character is not overstated.

The lyrical 'I' glorifies the sultan, but at the same time it accuses Christian nations of bad politics, so that the Turkish 'other' is defined through the Christian crisis. Such ambivalence, which is often seen in Vetranović's poems, reflects the delicate position of the Republic of Dubrovnik as a tributary of the Ottoman Empire.

In the background of such ambivalence obviously lies frustration concerning the superiority of the Turks in the European theatre of war.

SIGNIFICANCE

The poem was written in Dubrovnik, where few literary works were published, so it was influential only in Dubrovnik. It strengthened the image of the Turks as God's punishment for Christian sins, and as dangerous religious enemies who threatened Christendom.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Dubrovnik, Monastery of the Friars Minor – MS 77 (Čulić) (17th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Mavro Vetranović, *Pjesme Mavra Vetranovića Čavčića*, Zagreb, 1871, pp. 41-52

STUDIES

- L. Plejić Poje, *Zaman će svaki trud. Ranonovovjekovna satira na hrvatskom jeziku u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb, 2012
- D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca. Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar, 2004, pp. 61-6
- Z. Bojović, 'Predgovor. Mavro Vetranović', in Z. Bojović, *Vetranović, Mavro. Poezija i drame*, Belgrade, 1994, 5-60
- F. Švelec, 'Satiričko u djelu Mavra Vetranovića', in F. Švelec, *Iz naše književne prošlosti*, Split, 1990, 107-15
- D. Fališevac, 'Poezija Mavra Vetranovića prema hrvatskoj srednjovjekovnoj tradiciji', in D. Fališevac, *Stari pisci hrvatski i njihove poetike*, Zagreb, 1989, 87-95
- V. Foretić, 'Politički pogledi Mavra Vetranovića', *Filologija* 10 (1980-1) 291-301
- Z. Kravar, 'Emblematika Vetranovićeve *Pelegrina*', *Filologija* 10 (1980-1) 315-24
- M. Franičević, 'Razliki versi i prikazanja dum Mavra Vetranovića', *Forum* 12/7-8 (1973) 5-72
- Švelec, 'Mavro Vetranović, II. Književni rad'
- Švelec, 'Mavro Vetranović'
- M. Stojković, 'Mavro Vetranović, savremeni satirični pjesnik', *Nastavni Vjesnik* 25/3 (1916) 136-48; 25/4 (1916) 204-12

Pjesanica gospodi krstjanskoj, 'Poem to the
Christian lords'

DATE Unknown; early to mid-16th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

This poem is 142 verses long (in old Ragusan dodecasyllabic couplets), and deals with the current political situation in Europe in the 16th century. The lyrical 'I' voice laments over the vain rulers of France, Austria and other regions, who are in conflict with each other and ignore the threats from the Ottomans. The central message of the poem is that, since worldly glory is transient and all people are mortal, all wars must be pointless.

The lyrical 'I' speaks to both European rulers and the 'eastern tsar', i.e. the sultan. In verse 45, this 'tsar' is described as being 'the glory of all the pagans'. Just one explicitly negative attribute of the Turks is mentioned: they are mighty heathens and they let blood pour out (verses 55-8). However, Christian rulers are also given this attribute owing to their vain policy.

One might expect more negative images of the Turks in a Christian poem from this historical period, though their absence is understandable given that Dubrovnik was a Turkish tributary. Vetranović was one of only a few poets from Dubrovnik in the 16th century who wrote about the Turks. Anti-Turkish themes became more popular the 17th century, when the political situation changed as the Ottoman Empire grew weaker.

SIGNIFICANCE

The theme of Christian discord facilitating the Turkish conquest appeared frequently in Latin anti-Turkish oratory and epistles to popes from the mid-15th century to the early 16th century. Orations and epistles, including some of Vetranović's and Marulić's poems, insist that the Turks were conquering territories quickly as a result of Christian discord, and this became a common theme in Christian literary works. Unlike Marko Marulić from Split and his poem *Molitva suprotiva Turkom* ('Prayer against the Turks'), in Vetranović's poem there are no descriptions of atrocities committed by the conquerors. In Dubrovnik, which enjoyed a special status even as a tributary of the Ottoman Empire, poets rarely wrote about Christians and Muslims in the 16th century, or, if they did, they were cautious.

In Dubrovnik, where Vetranović's poem was written, many literary works remained unprinted, and as a result the poem did not have much influence further afield.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Dubrovnik, The Monastery of the Friars Minor – MS 77 (Čulić)
(17th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Mavro Vetranović, *Pjesme Mavra Vetranovića Čavčića*, pp. 37-41

STUDIES

Plejić Poje, *Zaman će svaki trud*

D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca. Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar, 2004, pp. 61-6

Bojović, 'Predgovor. Mavro Vetranović'

Švelec, 'Satiričko u djelu Mavra Vetranovića', 107-15

Foretić, 'Politički pogledi Mavra Vetranovića'

Franičević, 'Razliki versi i prikazanja dum Mavra Vetranovića Čavčića'

Stojković, 'Mavro Vetranović, savremeni satirični pjesnik'

Tužba grada Budima, 'Lament for the city of Buda'

DATE Unknown; between 1541 and 1576

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

Buda was conquered by the Turks in 1541, and Vetranović wrote his poem sometime after this. The poem, 429 verses long, takes the form of a lament in which the conquered city itself is the speaker. It laments both the past, when Hungarian soldiers fought near the Rivers Sava, Drava and Danube, and when the city was the brave defender of the whole region, and the present, when it is abandoned by the traitorous Habsburgs.

The dominant tone is struck by the contrast of Buda as a slave and the 'tsar' (the sultan) as a mighty pagan lord, with the Turks presented mostly as 'fiery dragons' and sometimes as 'ferocious dragons'. But there are not as many negative stereotypes of the Turks as might be expected, given that the poem was written from a Christian point of view in the 16th century. Accusations and animosity over discord between Christian rulers is emphasised more than animosity against the Ottoman invaders.

SIGNIFICANCE

The poem was written in Dubrovnik, where many literary works remained unpublished. This is the reason why it had negligible influence outside. However, remarks about the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Christian states reinforced and strengthened the images of the Turks in the city. The Ottomans are represented as the religious other, enemies who threaten Christendom. At the same time, the Ottoman Empire is represented as a mighty and important entity.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Dubrovnik, The Monastery of the Friars Minor – MS 77 (Čulić)
(17th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Mavro Vetranović, *Pjesme Mavra Vetranića Čavčića*, pp. 52-65, Zagreb,
1871

STUDIES

Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*, 61-6

Švelec, 'Satiričko u djelu Mavra Vetranovića'

Foretić, 'Politički pogledi Mavra Vetranovića'

Franičević, 'Razliki versi i prikazanja dum Mavra Vetrani Čavčića'

R. Bogišić, 'Marin Držić i Mavro Vetranović. Još jednom o aferi oko
Držićeve *Tirene*', *Croatica* 1 (1970) 71-87

Švelec, 'Mavro Vetranović, II. Književni rad'

Švelec, 'Mavro Vetranović'

Stojković, 'Mavro Vetranić, savremeni satirični pjesnik'

M. Medini, 'Pjesme Mavra Vetranića i Marina Držića. Prilozi za poznavanje starije dubrovačke književnosti', *Rad JAZU* 176 (1909) 135-61

P. Kolendić, 'Vetranovićev *Orfeo*', *Nastavni Vjesnik* 17/10 (1909) 81-4

P. Kolendić, *Tri doslije nepoznate pjesme Dum Mavra Vetranića Čavčića*,
Dubrovnik, 1905

Lahorka Plejić Poje

Ferenc Forgách

Forgách Ferenc

DATE OF BIRTH Probably between 1530 and 1535
PLACE OF BIRTH Buda
DATE OF DEATH 19 January 1577
PLACE OF DEATH Padua

BIOGRAPHY

Ferenc Forgách de Ghymes et Gács (Hungarian: ghymesí és gácsi Forgách Ferenc) was the most important historian among the second generation of Hungarian humanists in the 16th century. Born into an aristocratic family, he studied in Padua with the support of the humanist Archbishop of Esztergom, Nicolaus Olahus (Miklós Oláh). He completed his studies as lecturer in philosophy. On his return home, he became canon in the cathedral chapter of Eger. In 1556, King Ferdinand I of Hungary appointed him bishop of Várad (present-day Oradea, Romania), although the cathedral chapter of Várad did not support this appointment and he never took up office.

From 1558, Forgách was appointed by the king to undertake diplomatic missions in Europe. He took part in the Imperial Diet of Regensburg in 1558, and succeeded in persuading the Diet to support Hungary against the Ottoman advance. After the death of King Ferdinand I in 1564 and the fall of Szigetvár in 1566, he became estranged from the new king of Hungary and Bohemia, Maximilian II, and went over to John II Sigismund Szapolyai (Zápolya), King of Hungary and Prince of Transylvania (1568). However, as a Catholic, Forgách did not approve of the king's leanings towards anti-Trinitarianism and several times labelled him 'Arianist'.

From 1571, Forgách served as chancellor and ambassador of Stephan Báthory de Somlyó (somlyai Báthory István), voivode of Transylvania from 1571 to 1576, and king of Poland from 1576 to 1586. He conducted diplomatic missions in Poland, where as representative of the voivode he attended the coronation of Henry of Valois in 1574. Owing to an illness, which was probably lung-disease, Forgách was sent to Padua, where he died on 19 January 1577 and was buried.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- I. Forgách and P. Weiss (eds), *De Sigetho Hungariae propugnaculo*, Wittenberg, 1587
- F. Forgách, *Rerum Hungaricarum sui temporis commentarii*, ed. E. Horányi, Possonii, 1788
- F. Forgách, *Magyar históriája*, ed. F. Majer, Pest, 1866
- F. Forgách, 'Emlékirat Magyarország állapotáról', trans. I. Borzsák, in P. Kulcsár (ed.), *Humanista történetírók*, Budapest, 1977, 567-1040

Secondary

- G. Almási, 'Variációk az értelmiségi útkeresés témájára a 16. Században. Forgách Ferenc és társai' [Variations on the theme of intellectual careers in the sixteenth century. Franciscus Forgách and his associates], *Századok* 140 (2006) 1405-40
- G. Almási, art. 'Forgách Ferenc', in P. Kőszeghy (ed.), *Magyar művelődéstörténeti lexikon*, Budapest, 2005, vol. 3, 160
- P. Kulcsár, art. 'Forgách Ferenc', in L. Péter (ed.), *Új magyar irodalmi lexikon*, Budapest, 2000, vol. 1, 656-7
- A. Szabó, 'Kortörténet és nyilvánosság a 16. Században. Forgách Ferenc esete' [Contemporary history and publicity in the 16th century. The case of Forgách Ferenc], in A. Szabó (ed.), *Respublica litteraria. Irodalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a késő humanizmus korából*, Budapest, 1999, 9-16
- I. Borzsák, 'Forgách Ferenc és Tacitus', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 81 (1977) 51-60
- E. Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a 16-17. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből* [Chapters from the history of the Hungarian historiography of the 16th and 17th centuries], Budapest, 1975, pp. 222-49
- E. Obermayer, 'Ismeretlen Forgách Ferenc-dokumentum a velencei levéltárban', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 79 (1975) 681-5
- T. Wittmann, 'Un chroniqueur hongrois contemporain de la Révolution des Pays-Bas du 16^e siècle', *Revue du Nord* 45 (1963) 177-5
- A. Pirnát, 'Forgách Ferenc', *Irodalomtörténet* 43 (1955) 17-32
- E. Veress, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai 1221-1864*, Budapest, 1940, pp. 41, 190
- F. Bíró, *Forgách Ferenc mint történetíró* [Forgách Ferenc as historian], Kolozsvár, 1908
- L. Bártfai Szabó, *Ghymeszi Forgách Ferenc évkönyvei, különös tekintettel művelődéstörténeti adataira* [The annals of Forgách Ferenc of Ghymes, with special regard to his data about cultural history], Budapest, 1904
- P. Sörös, 'Forgách Ferenc élete', *Századok* 130 (1896) 519-41, 634-48

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De statu rei publicae Hungaricae,
'On the Hungarian state'

DATE 1572-6

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Ferenc Forgách wrote his monumental historical work (its full title is *De statu rei publicae Hungaricae Ferdinando, Iohanne, Maximiliano regibus ac Iohanne Secundo principe Transsylvaniae commentarii*, 'Commentaries on the Hungarian state under the rulers Ferdinand, John and Maximilian and John II, Prince of Transylvania') between 1572 and 1576, after research carried out in Transylvanian and Hungarian archives. The chronicle is concerned with Hungarian history between 1552 and 1571. The first book looks back to the 1540s and describes the years 1550 and 1551 in detail. The second book deals with 1552, and then each book gives a detailed account of the years from 1553 to 1571. Forgách focuses on the political and military history of Hungary in the reigns of King Ferdinand I of Hungary (as Emperor Ferdinand I), King Maximilian I (as Emperor Maximilian II) and Prince János Zsigmond Szapolyai (John Sigismund Zápolya) of Transylvania (1556-71, as King of Hungary 1540-51, 1556-70), and he also recognises the importance of the economy and finance in war and military matters. International relations and the history of foreign nations do not play an important role in the narrative except for the affairs of the Ottoman Empire, which Forgách describes in detail.

According to Forgách, Ottoman rule in Hungary was the dominance of a non-Christian culture over a Christian country. However, he has high regard for Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent as a great, just and noble ruler, comparable to the king of the 'golden age' of medieval Hungary, Matthias Corvinus. The decline of Hungary has been caused not only by the Ottoman invasion, but also by the selfishness and indolence of the aristocracy and ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the weakness and unfitness of its kings.

De statu rei publicae, apart from classical models (including Julius Caesar and Tacitus), is based on archival sources, letters, diaries, memoirs and historical poems (mostly by Tinódi), as well as on the oral accounts of Forgách's contemporaries, particularly his brother Simon Forgách.

SIGNIFICANCE

Forgách tries to describe the participants in the events and explain their motivation. He follows chronological order, avoids long speeches and other rhetorical elements in the text, and uses eloquent humanist Latin. The chronicle was frequently used by later authors, including Miklós Istvánffy and Johannes Michael Brutus, as the most important source for the history of the first period of Ottoman rule in Hungary.

MANUSCRIPTS

See F. Majer and F. Toldy (eds), *Forgách Ferenc, Magyar históriája 1540-1572* [The Hungarian history of Forgách Ferenc, 1540-1572], Pest, 1866, pp. li-lv, for a list of the 17 known codices.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Forgách Ferenc, 'Magyar históriája 1540-1572', in P. Kulcsár (ed), *Humanista történétírók* [Humanist historians], trans. I. Borzsák, Budapest, 1977, 567-1039

Majer and Toldy, *Forgách Ferenc, Magyar históriája 1540-1572*

Forgáchii, *Rerum Hungaricarum sui temporis Commentarii*, ed. A. Horányi, Possonii, 1788

STUDIES

Almási, 'Variációk az értelmiségi útkeresés témájára a 16', pp. 1406-23

P. Gunst, *A magyar történetírás története* [The history of Hungarian historiography], Debrecen, 2000, pp. 108-11

Szabó, 'Kortörténet és nyilvánosság a 16', 9-16

A. Pirnát, 'Gattungen der humanistischen Geschichtsschreibung: Historia et commentarii', in A. Buck, T. Klaniczay and K. Németh (eds), *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Geschichtsschreibung in der Renaissance*, Leiden, 1989, 57-64, pp. 61-2

J. Hóvári, 'Forgách Ferenc és a szultánfiak' [Forgách Ferenc and the sons of Süleyman I the Magnificent], in I. Zombori (ed.), *Az értelmiség Magyarországon a 16-17. században*, Szeged, 1988, 77-85

I. Borzsák, 'Forgách Ferenc és Tacitus' [Forgách Ferenc and Tacitus], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 81 (1977) 51-60

Bartoniek, *Fejezetek*, pp. 225-38

I. Botár, 'Forgách Ferenc Emlékiratainak kritikája' [Critique of the Memoirs of Forgách Ferenc], *Századok* 67 (1933) 529-45

Bíró, *Forgách Ferencz mint történetíró*

Bártfai Szabó, *Ghymeszi Forgách Ferenc évkönyvei*

- I. Madzsar, *Adatok Forgách Ferenc kortörténelmének kritikájához* [On the evaluation of the contemporary history of Forgách Ferenc], Nagybánya, 1901
- P. Sörös, 'Forgách Ferenc kortörténelme' [The contemporary history of Forgách Ferenc], *Századok* 31 (1897) 97-106, 201-9

Gábor Bradács

Azarie the monk

Călugărul Azarie

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably the first half of the
16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; probably after 1577
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about Azarie's life apart from the information that he provides himself in his *Chronicle*. He claims he was a monk in Golia monastery, near Iași, Moldavia. Some modern authors even think he was the abbot of this monastery, which was indeed founded by his patron, the Great Chamberlain Ioan Golăe.

At a date that remains unknown, but after 1572 and before 1577, Azarie was commissioned by Prince Peter the lame (Petru Șchiopul, r. 1574-91, with interruptions), Metropolitan Anastasie and the influential noble Ioan Golăe to compose the official chronicle of Moldavia, which continued the work of his spiritual master, Bishop Macarie of Roman. He is also known as the copyist of the so-called *Sbornik of Archbishop Danilo* (14th century), containing the *Vitae* of the Serbian kings and archbishops, written in 1567.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

P.P. Panaitescu, 'Cronica lui Azarie', in *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan*, Bucharest, 1959, p. 129

Secondary

- E. Turdeanu, 'Autori, copiiști, cărți, zugrăvi și legători de manuscrise în Moldova (1552-1607)', in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'A. D. Xenopol' (Iași)* 30 (1993) 49-90, pp. 74-6
- R. Șuiu, art. 'Azarie', in *Dicționarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900*, Bucharest, 1979, pp. 525-6
- G. Mihăilă, 'Istoriografia românească veche (sec. al XV-lea-începutul sec. al XVII-lea) în raport cu istoriografia bizantină și slavă', in G. Mihăilă, *Contribuții la istoria culturii și literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 1972, 104-64, pp. 118-19

- G. Mihăilă, 'Cronica călugărului Azarie', in G. Mihăilă and D. Zamfirescu (eds), *Literatura română veche: 1402-1647*, Bucharest, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 204-5
- I.-R. Mircea, 'Les vies des rois et archevêques serbes et leur circulation en Moldavie. Une copie inconnue de 1567', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 4 (1966) 394-412, pp. 399-410
- I. Crăciun and A. Ilieș, *Repertoriul manuscriselor de cronici interne sec. XV-XVIII privind istoria României*, Bucharest, 1963, pp. 50-1
- P.P. Panaitescu, 'Cronica lui Azarie', in Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-române*, pp. 125-9
- D. Dan, *Mănăstirea Sucevița*, Bucharest, 1923, pp. 84-5
- I. Bogdan, 'Letopisețul lui Azarie', in *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, ser. 2, 31 (1908-9) 5-214, pp. 84-98 (repr. in I. Bogdan, *Scrieri alese*, ed. G. Mihăilă, Bucharest, 1968)
- I.A. Țațsimirskii, 'Slaviano-moldavskaia letopis' monaha Azariia', *Izvestiia otdeleniia russkogo tazyka i slovenosti imperatorskoï Akademii nauk* (St Petersburg) 13/4 (1908), 23-80

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Chronicle of Moldavia from 1551 to 1574

DATE Between 1574 and 1577

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Slavonic

DESCRIPTION

Azarie wrote his *Chronicle* at the request of Prince Peter the lame and Metropolitan Anastasie. He continued the work (the long version) of his spiritual master Macarie of Roman, and it seems he did not know of Abbot Eftimie's chronicle, although the two men lived in about the same period.

Azarie's *Chronicle* is contained in a manuscript that includes some other miscellaneous historical works. This compilation had a significant circulation and was employed by 17th- and 18th-century Moldavian chroniclers. The *Chronicle* is 32 leaves in length in the St Petersburg manuscript, and 12 pages in Panaitescu's edition.

We do not know much about Azarie's historical sources. He claims to have relied only on memory, but it is likely that he also used some documents to which he had access in his position as official chronicler. With regard to style, he followed his master Macarie and took many extracts from the 14th-century Middle Bulgarian translation of Konstantinos Manasses' chronicle. He was also influenced by the *Vitae* of the Serbian kings and archbishops, which he transcribed himself.

Azarie's work attempts to justify the position of his princely patron, Peter the lame. Indeed, Peter's position was weak enough to need such a defence: he was a foreigner (he belonged to the Wallachian dynasty) and was put on the Moldavian throne by the Ottomans to replace Prince Ioan the Terrible (Ioan cel Cumplit, r. 1572-4), who rebelled against the sultan, was defeated and executed. It is thus understandable why Azarie depicts Ioan as the perfect embodiment of the evil ruler. In doing so, he mobilises all the clichés that other chroniclers employed when depicting the Ottomans and the 'Turcified' princes Iliăş and Ştefan Rareş. Ioan is accused of treachery (he misled and bribed the sultan's counsellors), cupidity (he persecuted and killed nobles and high clergymen in order to steal their fortunes), brutality and impiety (he is compared to the Byzantine iconoclast emperor Constantine Copronymus).

In contrast with the other Moldavian chroniclers of the time, Azarie makes no comments about the religion and customs of the Ottomans, although he does not hesitate to do so when writing about the Lutherans, who are 'detested by the Lord'. His approach is purely 'political', and he endeavours to make clear that the sultan is 'the great emperor' and the legitimate master and protector of Moldavia. The sultan acts like a father towards his loyal vassals by teaching them the virtues of governing (here Azarie uses some lines taken from the coronation prayers), though he could show himself merciless towards those who challenged his authority. It is thus unsurprising that revolts are not seen as legitimate attempts to free the country, but as acts of betrayal and disorder. For the same reason, the Ottoman reaction is fully justified, because the sultan acts for the country's good.

SIGNIFICANCE

Written in the immediate aftermath of the first Moldavian revolt against the Porte after the vassalisation of the country in 1538, Azarie's *Chronicle* marked a turning point in the Moldavian perception of the Ottomans. In contrast with his predecessors, he was dealing with a context in which military resistance to Ottoman power had been almost completely abandoned. Thus, for Azarie the enemy is not the prince who bows before the Ottomans, as appeared in older chronicles, but rather the ruler who dares to fight the Porte, because his action puts the entire country in danger. It is significant that the person who warned Prince Ioan that it was impossible to confront the Ottomans militarily was Azarie's patron, Ioan Golăe. Even if this incident did not actually take place, Azarie's words are telling, for they express the attitude of a part of the Moldavian elite towards the Ottoman power.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS St Petersburg, M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library – O. XVII. 13, fols 277v-309v (end of the 16th to the beginning of the 17th century; Moldavia)
- MS Bucharest, Library of the Romanian Academy – Rom. 5212, fols 107r-128r (19th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- F.A. Grekul and V.I. Bugarov (trans.), *Slavîano-moldavskie letopisi XV-XVI vv.*, Moscow, 1976, pp. 125-38 (Russian trans.)
- Mihăilă and Zamfirescu, *Literatura română veche*, vol. 1, pp. 206-19 (Romanian trans.)
- Panaiteescu, *Cronicile slavo-române*, pp. 126-39 (edition), pp. 139-51 (Romanian trans.)
- Bogdan, 'Letopisețul lui Azarie', pp. 84-98 (edition), pp. 146-58 (Romanian trans.)
- Îațsimirskii, 'Slavîano-moldavskaia letopis' monaha Azariia', pp. 23-80 (edition and Russian trans.)

STUDIES

- The Oxford history of historical writing*, vol. 2, ed. S. Foot and C.F. Robinson, Oxford, 2012, pp. 342-3
- Turdeanu, 'Autori, copiiști, cărți', pp. 74-6
- D.H. Mazilu, *Literatura română în epoca Renașterii*, Bucharest, 1984, pp. 321-48, 413-17
- Șuiu, art. 'Azarie', pp. 525-6
- M. Berza, 'Turcs, Empire ottoman et relations roumano-turques dans l'historiographie moldave des XV^e-XVIII^e siècles', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 10 (1972) 595-627, pp. 609-12 (repr. in *Pentru o istorie a vechii culturi românești*, ed. A. Pippidi, Bucharest, 1985)
- Mihăilă, 'Istoriografia românească veche', pp. 118-19
- Mihăilă, 'Cronica călugărului Azarie', pp. 204-5
- Academia RPR, *Istoria literaturii române*, Bucharest, 1964, 1970², vol. 1, pp. 261-4
- Crăciun and Ilieș, *Repertoriul manuscriselor de cronici interne*, pp. 50-1
- Panaiteescu, 'Cronica lui Azarie', pp. 125-9
- Șt. Ciobanu, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 1947, pp. 109-13
- N. Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 1940, 1980², vol. 1, pp. 40-2
- I. Minea, 'Letopisețele moldovenești scrise în slavonește', *Cercetări istorice* 1 (1925) 98-140

N. Iorga, *Istoria literaturii românești*, Bucharest, 1925², vol. 1, pp. 154-5
Bogdan, 'Letopisețul lui Azarie', pp. 84-98
Îațsimirskii, 'Slaviano-moldavskaia letopis' monaha Azariia'

Radu G. Păun

János Zermegh

Johannes Zermegh

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Probably 6 September 1584
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

We know little about the life of János Zermegh. Although we know the names of his parents and brothers, we have no certain date or place for his birth. At the beginning of the first edition of his only surviving work there is a short biography, but it lacks details. (In the 18th century it was claimed that the author of this biography might be Miklós Isthvánffi, the historiographer, but this can only be regarded as speculation.) Zermegh was probably born in the early 1500s (according to a hypothesis from the end of the 19th century, in 1504), into a family of Slavonian landowners. About his life until 1540, we know for certain only what he himself discloses in his work. In 1524, he was in or around the chancellery of John, voivode of Transylvania (who later became king of Hungary), a fact that points to his having received an education. He was affected in various ways by the civil wars that followed the defeat at Mohács in 1526. For a while he stayed in the war-zone in Slavonia, among the supporters of King John I and in 1530 he probably played his part in King John's defence of Buda against the besieging army of King Ferdinand I.

After the conclusion of the secret anti-Ottoman agreement at Várad on 24 February 1538, he entered the service of Elek Thurzó, royal *locumtenens* and King Ferdinand's confidante. On the order of the dying Thurzó, in the spring of 1554 he went to Augsburg, to Anton Fugger. From 1 September 1553, Zermegh worked as a secretary of the Hungarian Chamber (*Camera Hungarica*). One of his daughters married in 1563, and to this wedding a present was sent from Archduke Charles II in the name of King Ferdinand. Johannes Sambucus (imperial physician and court historiographer) dedicated one of his *Emblemata* to Zermegh in 1564. During the spring of 1576, he retired as the counsellor of the Hungarian Chamber, and was granted the title *aulae familiaris*. At the beginning of 1580, Archduke Charles II suspended his pension until he could clear himself of the accusation that he had published a defamatory piece against

István Radéczy, bishop of Eger and royal *locumtenens*. There is no written evidence dated after the beginning of 1582 that attests he was still alive.

Our only source for the date of his death is an anonymous note (*memoriale*) found in the Draskovics family archive, probably written after 1635 and before the autumn of 1646. This note informs us that the historiographer Johannes Zermegh died on 6 September 1584. (It should be mentioned that Miklós Isthvánffi, who was in possession of Zermegh's works in manuscript, left them when he died in the care of his daughter, Éva Isthvánffi, who was Johannes Draskovics' widow.)

Zermegh perhaps married in 1527; it is certain that later he had Dorotyá Báby as his wife. Four of their children, two sons and two daughters, reached adulthood.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Vita auctoris per N I, in *Historia rerum gestarum inter Ferdinandum et Ioannem Ungariae reges usque ad ipsius Ioannis obitum auctore Ioanne Zermegh*, Amsterdam, 1662, A2 rv

Secondary

- G. Nagy, 'Megjegyzések a Zermegh-életrajzhoz', *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis, Sectio Philosophica* 17/1 (2012) 153-69
- P. Kasza, 'Néhány gondolat Zermegh János Commentariusáról', in Z. Font and P. Ötvös (eds), *Balázs Mihály köszöntése* [Balázs Mihály Festschrift], Szeged, Hungary, 2011, 242-8
- P. Sörös, 'Zermegh János és munkája. I., II. Közlemény', *Századok* 41 (1907) 97-118, 219-35
- D. Szulpicz Molnár, *Zermegh János és emlékirata. Történelmi forrástanulmány*, Kőszeg, Hungary, 1896

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia rerum gestarum inter Ferdinandum et Ioannem Ungariae reges usque ad ipsius Ioannis obitum, 'The history of the events that took place between Ferdinand and John of Hungary up to the death of John'

DATE Not later than 1584

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

It is difficult to determine when this work was written. Pongrác Sörös dates it to after 1566, because it mentions the fall of Szigetvár in that year. However, the few words referring to this event could have been added to the manuscript later, maybe by Miklós Isthvánffi, who had a manuscript copy of Zermegh's work. In the first edition, the text comes to 100 pages.

The work recounts the main political and military events in the history of Hungary between 1526 and 1540 in chronological order, in two Books. Book 1 is about events between 1526 and 1530, such as the double royal election after the defeat at Mohács, the contest between King John and King Ferdinand to rule the country, the civil war between their supporters, and John's plea for help to Süleyman, irrespective of religious differences. Book 2 contains, *inter alia*, accounts of how, in the civil war between the supporters of the two kings, the Hungarians treated one another even more cruelly than the Turks treated them. Süleyman's 1532 campaign in Hungary, the fall of Lodovico Gritti, the agreement – directed against the Ottomans – between the two kings in Várad in 1538, and Süleyman's 1538 campaign in Moldova are also mentioned. The book ends with the death of King John in the summer of 1540.

Zermegh was a contemporary of the events he presents, and participated in some of them. According to his own account, he sometimes even played a significant role, e.g. supplying food to King John, who was besieged in Buda in the autumn of 1530.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Ottoman Sultan Süleyman conducted three of his seven campaigns in Hungary during the years covered by the *Historia* (1526, 1529, 1532). In the work, the Ottomans are portrayed either as marauding soldiers, irrespective of whether they are in the country as enemies or allies, or at a political, diplomatic level in accounts of the legation of Hieronymus Łaski in 1528 to Constantinople, the speeches of Sultan Süleyman to the envoys of King Ferdinand in 1528 and to King John in 1529, Pasha Ibrahim, and Lodovico Gritti. Zermegh also records the momentum of popular resistance against the Ottoman army, which Hungarian historians later repeated, drawing upon his work (pp. 7-8 in the 1662 edition).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

P. Kulcsár, *Krónikáink magyarul III/1*, Budapest, 2006 (Hungarian trans.)

Joannis Zermegh, Rerum gestarum inter Ferdinandum et Joannem Hungariae reges Commentarius ad editionem Amstelaedamensem Anni MDCLXII recognitus. Observationes addidit Carolus Andreas Bel, in J.G. Schwandtner, Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuine, Vindobonae, 1746-8, vol. 2, pp. 401-15

Historia rerum gestarum inter Ferdinandum et Ioannem Ungariae reges usque ad ipsius Ioannis obitum auctore Ioanne Zermegh, Amstelae-dami, 1662, pp. 1-100

STUDIES

Nagy, 'Megjegyzések a Zermegh-életrajzhoz'

Kasza, 'Néhány gondolat Zermegh János Commentariusáról'

E. Bartoniek, 'Zermegh János', in *eadem, Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből. Kézirat gyanánt*, MTA ITI, MTAK, Budapest, 1975, 87-91

Sörös, 'Zermegh János és munkája. I., II. Közlemény'

Szulpicz Molnár, *Zermegh János és emlékirata*, 1896

Gábor Nagy

Johannes Michael Brutus

Giovanni Michele Bruto

DATE OF BIRTH 1517
PLACE OF BIRTH Venice
DATE OF DEATH 16 May 1592
PLACE OF DEATH Gyulafehérvár (or Weissenburg, present-day
Alba Iulia, Romania)

BIOGRAPHY

Johannes Michael Brutus (in Italian: Giovanni Michele Bruto; in Hungarian: Brutus János Mihály; in Polish: Jan Michał Brutus) was an Italian humanist, and a historian at royal courts in Transylvania, Poland and Vienna.

He was born in Venice in 1517, and after his studies in Padua he became an Augustinian canon, but abandoned his ecclesiastical life. In 1555, he was forced to leave his hometown after an accusation of heresy and travelled through almost the whole of Europe (Genoa, Naples, Florence, Madrid, Lyon, Basel, Vienna, Prague). He is known for his Latin editions of classical and humanist authors (Horace, Cicero, Caesar, Buonaccorsi, Fazius) and for his history of Florence (*Florentinae historiae libri octo priores*, Lugduni, 1562).

In 1574, Brutus accepted the invitation of the Prince of Transylvania, István Báthory, to write a history of Hungary. When Báthory was elected King of Poland in 1576, Brutus followed him and became established in Kraków. He maintained contact with several humanists living in Central Europe (András Dudith, Crato von Craffheim, Prospero Provana). After the death of the king, in 1586, he went to Pozsony (today, Bratislava in Slovakia), capital of Habsburg Hungary, and continued to work on his history under the patronage of Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary and Bohemia. At the end of 1591, he travelled to Transylvania, but became ill, and died in Gyulafehérvár (today, Alba Iulia, Romania) on 16 May 1592.

The life of Brutus is mostly known through his correspondence, part of which was published in his own lifetime, and the rest in the late 17th century.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- A. Petricovius (ed.), *Selectarum epistolarum libri V*, Cracoviae, 1583
 J.M. Rüdiger (ed.), *Opera varia selecta*, Berolini, 1698

Secondary

- P. Kulcsár, art. 'Brutus, Johannes Michael', in *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon*, Budapest, 2003, vol. 1, 453-4
 D. Caccamo, art. 'Bruto, Gian Michele', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, 1972, vol. 14
 D. Caccamo, *Eretici italiani in Moravia, Polonia, Transilvania (1558-1611)*, Florence, 1970, pp. 145-52, 238-40
 M. Battistini, 'Jean Michel Bruto, humaniste, historiographe, pédagogue au XVI^e siècle', *De Gulden Passer* 32 (1954) 29-156
 A. Knot, art. 'Brutus, Jan Michał', in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, Kraków, vol. 3, 1937, p. 26
 A. Knot, 'Jan Michał Brutus, nadworny historjograf Stefana Batorego', *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie* 16 (1936) 125-8
 V. Fraknoi, 'Brutus Mihály, Báthory István udvari történetírója' [Brutus Mihály, courtly historian of István Báthory], *Századok* 21 (1887) 793-7

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Rerum Hungaricarum libri XX, 'History of Hungary in 20 volumes'

DATE Before 1591

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Brutus's *Rerum Hungaricarum libri XX* ('History of Hungary') has not come down in full; of the original 20 volumes only the first 14 are known today, with serious lacunae. The work was intended to be the continuation of *Rerum Hungaricarum decades* by the Italian Antonio Bonfini, historian of Matthias Corvinus, which finished in the year 1492. Following the wishes of Prince István Báthory, Brutus tried in his work to legitimise the independence of the Principality of Transylvania as heir of the former Kingdom of Hungary against the claims of the Habsburgs. In its current state, his history concentrates on the 1492-1552 period of the history of Hungary, including its struggles against the Ottomans, such as the Battle of Mohács (1526), the Turkish occupation of Buda (1541) and the grand campaign of Süleyman in 1552.

The 14 known volumes are found in published manuscripts from Vienna and Budapest (ed. Toldy and Nagy). The Vienna manuscript contains the first nine volumes of the work, whilst the Budapest manuscript has all 14 known volumes. The other parts of the *Historia* are lost. In its modern edition, the work contains 1430 pages.

Among Brutus's sources are Italian humanists (Paolo Giovio, Ascanio Centorio degli Hortensia), documents from Transylvania and Poland, and notes from Ferenc Forgách (c. 1530-77), chancellor of Transylvania, as well as oral reports. His information from critical sources is generally adapted by later historians, who emphasise that his analyses were largely influenced by the pro-Transylvania and anti-Habsburg position. His history was later used by other Transylvanian Hungarian historians such as István Szamosközy, Miklós Istvanffy and Farkas Bethlen. His solemn and diffuse style was nevertheless widely criticised, even by his contemporaries. In defence of his method, he wrote *De historiae laudibus* (Cracoviae, 1578).

SIGNIFICANCE

Johannes Michael Brutus is one of the first historians to provide a comprehensive and complex picture of the events of 16th-century Hungary. Even though other partial works come directly from the time of the Turkish invasion, his is the first historical analysis of the tripartite division of Hungary from 1541 between Turks, Habsburgs and Transylvania and its consequences.

The design of the *Historia* is twofold. Regarding the events before the Battle of Mohács (1526), Brutus emphasises the weakness of the Kingdom of Hungary, and condemns the political divisions among the Hungarian nobility and the impotence of the king as the basic causes of the disaster of Mohács. Then, demonstrating the situation in the country after 1526 when Hungary was divided between Ferdinand of Habsburg (r. 1526-64) and John Szapolyai (r. 1526-41), Brutus takes a clearly anti-Austrian position. In his view, the birth of the Principality of Transylvania, a vassal of the Ottomans, was the result of the political ambitions of Ferdinand. He presents the pro-Turkish position of John Szapolyai and his son, John Sigismund (d. 1571), the first prince of Transylvania, as a necessary compromise to allow them to retain at least a portion (Transylvania) of the former Kingdom of Hungary against the Habsburg suppression. At the same time, he is unceasing in his blame of the Ottomans, calling them 'cruel', 'pagan', 'barbaric' and the 'plague' of his time.

In *Rerum Hungaricarum*, Brutus preserves much information about Turkish-Hungarian relations in the period 1492-1552. He shows in detail from one year to the next the advance of the Ottomans in Central Europe from the capture of Belgrade (1521) through the Battle of Mohács and the occupation of Buda (1541) to the campaigns of the 1540s. The *Historia* ends with a description of the Muslim expedition of 1552, and in particular the Hungarian defence of the fortress of Eger.

Brutus's work has received relatively little attention by modern historians. Its importance lies in the fact that it was used by his contemporaries (Szamosközy, Istvanffy), who have already received more attention in modern scholarship, and determine current historical thinking.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Budapest, Budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár [Library of Budapest University] – *Collectio Prayana, tomus 35: Joannis Michaelis Bruti Historiarum libros I. usque VII-um*; *Collectio Prayana, tomus 36: Joannis Michaelis Bruti Historiarum libros VIII. usque XIV-um*

MS Vienna, National Library of Austria [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek] – *Rerum Hungaricarum libri IX, codex 8662, 259 fols* (16th century); *Rerum Hungaricarum libri IX, codex 8642, 210 fols* (18th century); *Rerum Hungaricarum libri IX, codex 8643, 212 fols* (18th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Brutus János Mihály magyar királyi történetíró Magyar Historiája 1490-1552 [The Hungarian History of Brutus János Mihály, Hungarian royal historian, 1490-1552], 3 vols, ed. F. Toldy and I. Nagy, Budapest, 1863-7 (Latin edition)

STUDIES

- I. Szabadi, 'Johannes Michael Brutus és Marcello Squarzialupi' [Johannes Michael Brutus and Marcello Squarzialupi], in *Eruditio, virtus et constantia. Tanulmányok a 70 éves Bitskey István tiszteletére*, Debrecen, 2011, vol. 2, 634-40
- M. Balázs, I. Monok and I. Tar (eds and trans), 'Az első magyar *ars historica*. Szamosközy István Giovanni Michael Bruto történetírói módszeréről (1594-1598)' [The first Hungarian *ars historica*. István Szamosközy on the historiographical methods of Giovanni Michael Bruto (1594-1598)], in *Lymbus. Művelődéstörténeti Tár IV*, Szeged, 1992, 49-86
- E. Bartoniek, *Fejezetek a XVI-XVII. századi magyarországi történetírás történetéből* [Chapters from the Hungarian historiography of the 16th-17th centuries], Budapest, 1975, pp. 252-6

- E. Steiner, *Művelődéstörténeti korszak az 1492-től 1552-ig terjedő időkről Brutus János Mihály Magyar históriája alapján* [Historical panorama from the years between 1492-1552 based on the Hungarian History of Brutus János Mihály], Debrecen, 1933
- A. Veress, 'Il veneziano Giovanni Michele Bruto e la sua storia d'Ungheria', *Archivio Veneto* s. 5, 6 (1929) 148-78
- J. Vietórisz, *De Ioannis Michaelis Bruti Historiae Hungariae latinitate*, Budapest, 1890

Attila Györkös

Hans Löwenklau

Johannes Löwenklau, Joannes Leunclavius

DATE OF BIRTH 1541
PLACE OF BIRTH Coesfeld, Westphalia
DATE OF DEATH 1594
PLACE OF DEATH Near Eztergom, Hungary

BIOGRAPHY

Hans Löwenklau's upbringing was guided by his uncle, who was Domvikar in Münster. He studied *artes liberales* and law in Wittenberg in 1555 with Philipp Melanchthon, and in Heidelberg in 1562. In 1566, he was appointed dean of the faculty of *artes* in Basel. He was meant to succeed his teacher, Wilhelm Xylander, as professor of Greek in Heidelberg after Xylander's death in 1576, but with the death at the same time of the Calvinist Prince Frederick III, religious politics in the Electoral Palatinate changed in favour of Lutheranism. Since Löwenklau was known as a crypto-Calvinist, his academic career was ended, and he became dependent for his survival on sponsors, who also financed his various travels.

At the Savoy court in Turin, Löwenklau began a translation of Xenophon's works into Latin. In 1584-5, he participated in the Habsburg embassy of Heinrich von Liechtenstein to Constantinople, and this aroused his interest in Ottoman history. In 1588, he joined a mission led by the Moravian noble Charles the Elder of Žerotin from Prague to Germany in order to strengthen Calvinist networks, and six years later he travelled with Žerotin to Hungary and took part in the siege of Eztergom. In 1595, his editors in Frankfurt reported his death during this campaign (Löwenklau, *Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori*, 1595; Verweyen, 'Leunclavius'; Müller, *Prosopographie*, vol. 5, pp. 207-20).

Löwenklau made translations and editions of ancient Greek and Byzantine works (Dio Cassius, major editions of Greek and Roman law, the Cappadocian Fathers Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus, and Zosimus). His works on Ottoman history are even more pioneering, since they provided European readers with translations of Ottoman chronicles for the first time. Richard Knolles's famous *Generall historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603) was largely based on Löwenklau's *Historiae Musulmanae* (Ménage, *Neshri's history*, p. xiii).

Löwenklau mainly used three different Ottoman sources named after the persons who provided him with the respective manuscripts, all of which were lost soon after his death (Ausserer, 'Zur Frühgeschichte'; Mordtmann, 'Mitteilungen'; Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, nos 25, 72, 91; Pál, *Pro Turcis*; cf. also the summary in Löwenklau, *Historiae Musulmanae*, 1591, pp. 828-9). The first of these was the 'Annales Beccani', which the Habsburg ambassador Hieronymus Beck obtained in Constantinople thanks to the French ambassador's dragoman, and brought back to Vienna, where it was translated from Ottoman Turkish into German by Johannes Gaudier and first published in Frankfurt in 1567 (Gaudier, *Chronica*). Long thought to be based on the *Tāj al-tawārikh* of the Ottoman Shaykh al-Islām Molla Çelebi Khōdja Sa'd al-Dīn Efendi (1536-99), the 'Annales Beccani' is now known to be a translation of the *Ta'rikh-i Āl-i 'Othmān* of the theologian and historian Muḥyī l-Dīn Meḥmed, known as Mollā Čelebi (1550) (see Ausserer, 'Zur Frühgeschichte', p. 226). Muḥyī l-Dīn Meḥmed merged a number of anonymous Ottoman chronicles (commonly referred to as *Tewārikh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*) and continued them down to 1549, authoring a shorter and a longer version of his chronicle (conserved in various Ottoman manuscripts but not yet edited), the shorter being the original for Gaudier's German translation (Menzel, 'Muḥyī l-Dīn Meḥmed').

Löwenklau's second source was the 'Codex Verantius', named after the Habsburg ambassador Antonius Verantius, given to Löwenklau by the latter's nephew Faustus Verantius. It consisted of the long version of Muḥyī l-Dīn Meḥmed's *Tārikh-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, translated by an anonymous Greek scholar from Ottoman into Italian.

The third source was the 'Codex Hanivaldus', a work commissioned by the secretary to the Habsburg ambassador in Constantinople, Philip Hanivald von Eckersdorf, who asked the Hungarian dragoman Murad Bey to compose an Ottoman history in Latin. Murad Bey's text was to a large extent based on the *Jihān-nūmā* ('Cosmorama') of the Ottoman historian Neshrī (d. before 1520), which is a compilation of a number of Ottoman historiographical traditions. In its last two chapters, 'Codex Hanivaldus' also included an anonymous Ottoman chronicle on the reign of Bayezid II and Selim I that has only survived in Löwenklau's printed editions (partly translated by Kreutel, *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid*). It is difficult to judge whether Murad Bey used an existing Ottoman compilation, or composed this codex himself. Löwenklau's reference to Hanivald's request that Murad Bey 'should copy and communicate selected things from the histories of the Turcs' is not clear in this point (Löwenklau, *Historiae Musulmanae*, p. 32).

Whereas the shape of the ‘Annales Beccani’ can be reconstructed by means of Gaudier’s text, this cannot be done fully for the other codices, since Löwenklau often merged them (though see Giese, ‘Einleitung’; Wittek, ‘Quellenproblem’; Ménage, *Neshrī’s history*, pp. 58-69). With these three sources translated into three different languages (German, Italian and Latin), Löwenklau had access to important contemporary Ottoman chronicles, which testified to the increased historical interest of the Ottoman court since the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512) (Çıpa and Fetvacı, *Writing history*). Based on this and further (European and Ottoman) material, Löwenklau published two works: *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum*, first edition 1588, and *Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori*, first edition 1590, in both Latin and German versions, with variations in each of the seven prints. For these publications, Löwenklau also collected and had painted pictures of high Ottoman officials and everyday scenes in the Ottoman Empire (held in the Austrian National Library, Vienna, Codex 8615; cf. Stichel, ‘Nachtrag’). However, for financial reasons these illustrations were not included in the printed publications.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- J. Gaudier (Caudier), called Spiegel, *Chronica Oder Acta von der Türckischen Tyrannen herkommen, vnd gefürten Kriegen, aus Türckischer Sprachen vordeutsch. Vorhin nie in Druck asgangen*, Frankfurt, 1567
- H. Löwenklau, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum, a Turcis sua lingua scripti (...) a Ioanne Gaudier dicto Spiegel, interprete Turcica Germanice translate*, Frankfurt am Main, 1588, 1596²
- H. Löwenklau, *Neuwe Chronica Türckischer nation, von Türcken selv beschriben: volgentdts gemehrt, vnd in vier Bücher abgetheilt (...)*, Frankfurt am Main, 1590, 1595²
- H. Löwenklau, *Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori, Türckischer Nation, von jhrem Herkommen, Geschichte, vnd Thaten, Drey Bücher die ersten vnter dreysigen (...)*. Frankfurt am Main, 1590, 1595²
- H. Löwenklau, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum, de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae, libri XVIII*, Frankfurt am Main, 1591
- R. Kreutel, *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid. Die Geschichte seiner Herrschaft (1481-1512) nach den altosmanischen Chroniken des Oruç und des Anonymus Hanıvaldanus*, Graz, 1978

Secondary

- H. Çıpa and E. Fetvacı (eds), *Writing history at the Ottoman court. Editing the past, fashioning the future*, Bloomington IN, 2013

- T. Verweyen, art. 'Johannes Leunclavius', in *Literatur Lexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache*, Berlin, 2012², vol. 7, 375-8 (with further references)
- A. Pál, 'Pro Turcis and contra Turcos. Curiosity, scholarship and spiritualism in Turkish histories by Johannes Löwenklaus (1541-1594)', *Acta Comeniana* 25 (2011) 1-22
- R. Müller, *Prosopographie der Reisenden und Migranten ins Osmanische Reich (1396-1611). Berichterstatte aus dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, ausser burgundische Gebiete und Reichsromania*, 10 vols, Leipzig, 2006
- R. Stichel, 'Ein Nachtrag zum Porträtbuch des Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf. Bildnisse orientalischer Herrscher und Würdenträger in Cod. Vindob. 8615', *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 1 (1999) 189-207
- D. Terzioğlu, 'The imperial circumcision festival of 1582: An interpretation', *Muğarnas* 12 (1995) 84-100
- M. Fögen, 'Johannes Löwenklaus', *Rechtshistorisches Journal* 13 (1994) 197-201
- T. Menzel, art. 'Muhyi 'l-Din Mehmed', *El2*
- D. Metzler, art. 'Löwenklaus, Johannes', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* vol. 15, Berlin, 1987, 95-6
- V. Ménage, *Neshri's history of the Ottomans* (London Oriental Series 16), London, 1964
- F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1927
- J. Mordtmann, 'Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte', *Der Islam* 13 (1923) 152-69
- C. Ausserer, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der osmanischen Studien', *Der Islam* 12 (1922) 226-31
- F. Giese, 'Einleitung zu meiner Textausgabe der altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken *Tewāriḥ-i-Āl-i 'osmān*', *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 1 (1922) 49-75
- P. Wittek, 'Zum Quellenproblem der ältesten osmanischen Chroniken (mit Auszügen aus Nešri)', *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 1 (1922) 77-150

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum, a Turcis sua lingua scripti, 'Annals of the Ottoman sultans, written by the Turks in their own language'

DATE 1588

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum* (519 pages; German editions: *Neuwe Chronica Türckischer Nation* with 535 pages in the second edition) are divided into four parts. The 'Gitabi Teuarichi' contains Gaudier's translation of the 'Annales Beccani' that reported on the Ottoman sultans up to the year 1550, while in the second part Löwenklau continues the chronicle to the year 1588/90.

The third part, the so-called 'Pandects', is a large and impressive compilation of background information about the Ottoman empire. In 254 sections, Löwenklau writes about cities, peoples and dynasties, Turkish customs, coins, and shows great interest in etymology, and various descriptions of battles. He stresses the amount of preparatory work involved, for which he had consulted 'all hitherto published Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, Hungarian and other histories', but this was necessary because 'the Musulman history cannot be understood without the help of the explanations contained in the *Pandectis*' (preface to *Neuwe Chronica*, 1595). The Latin and German prints occasionally differ in each section as, for instance, in respect to the sections dealing with the *Monumentum Ancyrianum*, the famous inscription of the *Res gestae Divi Augusti* in Ankara (a record of the deeds of the Roman Emperor Augustus) which was first revealed to a European audience by Oghier Ghislain de Busbecq. Löwenklau printed the Latin inscription in a version he had obtained through Faustus Verantius only in the *Annales Sultanorum* (1588, Pandects no. 10, pp. 204-6), and not in the *Neuwe Chronica*. The German version of Pandects no. 155 is extended by an account of the Muslim *hajj* including a description of Mecca and Medina, the ceremonies of the *hajj* and a Muslim sermon. This remarkable report was based on an Italian text which Löwenklau got from Philipp Hanivald (*Neuwe Chronica*, 1595, pp. 304-20). Philipp Hanivald also provided the Italian description of Cairo, printed in Pandects no. 213 of the German version (*Neuwe Chronica*, 1595, pp. 374-6). The German version of Pandects no. 254 includes a detailed battle report about the Ottoman campaign against the Safavids in 1547, based on an Ottoman source which Löwenklau obtained via Faustus Verantius in a French translation (*Neuwe Chronica*, 1595, pp. 418-31; cf. *Historia Musulmana*, 1591, p. 837, ll. 8-15).

The fourth part of the *Annales Sultanorum* incorporates a report of the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1529 written by Paul Pesel (in both the Latin and the German versions). The Latin version adds a life of Emperor Ferdinand II. Furthermore, the German edition contains Niclas Haunolth's report about the circumcision feast of Sultan Murad III's son

and successor Mehmed III in 1582 (this event was also reported and illustrated in an Ottoman imperial festival book, cf. Terzioğlu, *The imperial circumcision festival*), a travel report about the Habsburg embassy of Heinrich von Liechtenstein and a description of the wedding feast of the Ottoman vizier Ibrahim Pasha and the Sultan's daughter Ayshe in 1586, again written by Niclas Haunolth.

SIGNIFICANCE

Löwenklau's proud self-congratulation to be the first in presenting Turkish history to a European audience in a particularly elaborate synthesis on the basis of Ottoman sources is not exaggerated. His work was ground-breaking indeed. Although Ottomanists of the 20th century have integrated Löwenklau's books into their editorial works on early Ottoman chronicles, Löwenklau's *Pandectes* are still worth consulting as a potential source for Ottoman history in themselves, though until the present this considerable compilation has hardly gained any scholarly attention. Furthermore, Löwenklau's narrative strategies still await a thorough analysis, which would require language skills in Ottoman, Latin, German and preferably Greek.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Neuwe Chronica Türckischer nation, von Türcken selb beschrieben: volgentdts gemehrt, vnnd in vier Bücher abgetheilt (...), Frankfurt, 1590 (German trans.)

Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum, a Turcis sua lingua scripti, Frankfurt, 1588, 1596²

STUDIES

Pál, 'Pro Turcis and contra Turcos'

Terzioğlu, 'The imperial circumcision festival'

Mordtmann, 'Mitteilungen'

Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum, de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae, libri XVIII, 'Islamic history of the Turks in 18 books, written on the basis of their own sources'

DATE 1591

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Löwenklau's second major work on the Ottomans is the *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum* (...) *Libri XVIII* (only one Latin edition, Frankfurt, 1591). Unlike the *Annales Sultanorum*, which contains a huge variety of information about the Ottoman Empire, the *Historia Musulmana* (also known as *Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori Tuerckischer Nation*) is a purely historical work, divided into 18 books. After an account of early Islamic history and a report on the origins of the Ottomans (books 1-2), the majority of the following books are dedicated to individual sultans. Löwenklau used the Codex Verantius and Codex Hanivaldus as his main sources, but also referred to non-Ottoman works. The first German edition (*Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori*, 1590) appeared a year before the Latin version, but contains only books 1-3. Löwenklau died while translating book 12 for the second German edition. His editors in Frankfurt asked an unnamed colleague of his to translate the remaining books 13-18, whereas book 12 was published as Löwenklau had left it (*Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori*, 1595). The title of the first German edition also states that the three books presented were the first of 'thirty books' (instead of 18). This indicates that Löwenklau might have intended to continue his work on the *Historia Musulmana* with a second volume. Before book 1, numerous genealogical tables on Middle Eastern dynasties are included.

In the various books, Löwenklau constantly compares Codices Verantius and Hanivaldus, either in writing an account that follows both or by noting different points of view and presenting both versions consecutively. In the margins, he often refers to corresponding sections of his *Pandectes*, the third part of his *Annales Sultanorum*. In the preface to the *Historia*, he first praises the Turks for their united faith ruled by one monarch, their uniform and equitable law, their religious tolerance without apparent need for an inquisition, their efficient administrative system and their military virtues. However, he then declares that most of these positive characteristics belong to the past and gives a contrasting picture of the present, in which the Turks, always cruel and treacherous, have been weakened by internal conflicts, selfish viziers, heavy taxes, and also by the fearful, stupid and sick Sultan Murad III. Since the Turks are particularly interested in conquering Germany and are still to be feared, the princes of the German-Roman empire should defend 'the beloved German fatherland' and take an interest in Löwenklau's *Historia* in order to know the enemy of themselves and God.

SIGNIFICANCE

Together with the *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum*, the *Historia Musulmanae Turcorum* was the first European history of the Ottoman Empire based mainly on Ottoman sources. Ottomanists have used it to reconstruct Ottoman chronicles that are now lost. Together with the *Annales Sultanorum*, the *Historia* still awaits a study that will analyse Löwenklau as a historian.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

R. Kreutel, *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid. Die Geschichte seiner Herrschaft (1481-1512) nach den altosmanischen Chroniken des Oruç und des Anonymus Hanivaldanus*, Graz, 1978

Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum, De Monumentis Ipsorum Exscriptae, Libri XVIII: Opus Jo. Leunclavii Amelburni . . . quod gentis originem, progressus, familias & principatus diversos, res Osmaneas a Suleimane Schacho, ad Suleimanem II. memoriae nostrae, cum aliis maxime raris, & hactenus ignotis, continet. Accessere commentarii duo, Libitinarius Index Osmanidarum, quo fides historiae gentiliis e thecis, ac titulis eorum funebribus, adstruitur; & Apologiticus alter. Cum Onomastico gemino, & Indice copioso, Frankfurt, 1591

Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori, Türckischer Nation, von jhrem Herkommen, Geschichte, vnd Thaten, Drey Bücher die ersten vnter dreyssigen (...), Frankfurt, 1590, 1595²

STUDIES

Pál, 'Pro Turcis and contra Turcos'

Menzel, 'Muhyi 'l-Dīn Mehmed'

Ménage, *Neshrī's history*

Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*

Ausserer, 'Frühgeschichte'

Giese, 'Einleitung'

Wittek, 'Quellenproblem'

Almut Höfert

Antun Bratosaljić Sasin

DATE OF BIRTH About 1518
PLACE OF BIRTH Dubrovnik
DATE OF DEATH About 1595
PLACE OF DEATH Ston, Republic of Dubrovnik (today Croatia)

BIOGRAPHY

Antun Sasin was a late Renaissance poet from Dubrovnik. As a young man he went to Italy to engage in trade but he returned to the Republic of Dubrovnik after a couple of years. He lived in Ston, on the border of the republic, where he worked as a clerk for the saltworks and also for the Chancellor of Ston. He was married and had three sons.

His literary work consists of carnival songs (*Mužika od crevljara, Vrtari* and others), two pastoral dramas (*Flora* and *Filide*), one short comedy (*Malahna komedija od pira*), a poem to the glory of Dubrovnik's navy (*Mrnarica*), a few poems written on various occasions (one of the most notable is an encomium of the poets of Dubrovnik) and one epic chronicle in verse (*Razboji od Turaka*). His literary work was forgotten, and remained unpublished until the 19th century.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- I. Arsić, *Antun Sasin. Dubrovački pesnik XVI veka*, Banja Luka, 2002
P. Popović, 'Antun Sasin dubrovački pesnik XVI. veka', *Glas Srpske kraljevske akademije* 90 (1912) 1-67

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Razboji od Turaka, 'Struggles against the Turks'

DATE About 1593-5
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

Sasin's chronicle in verse is about the first two years of the Austro-Turkish 'Long war' (1593-1606). The time of writing can be narrowed down to 1593-5 because the death of Sultan Murat III in January 1595 is the last event mentioned. The poem extends to 1820 verses.

The work deals with the battle of Sisak in 1593 and other struggles in the 'Long war', in which Christian armies fought with the Turks. Up to that time, poets of the Republic of Dubrovnik had rarely written about Christian-Turkish battles, and Sasin's *Razboji* was the first literary work in Dubrovnik to give descriptions of battles in which a narrator openly supports Christian forces.

In *Razboji od Turaka*, as in many other works about the Christian-Turkish wars written in Croatian, Muslims are represented as conquering infidels from the East, who are rapidly taking over southern and eastern Europe.

SIGNIFICANCE

While most works written in the first half of the 16th century include such common themes as lamentations, descriptions of typical Turkish crimes, and expressions of fear and helplessness, in Sasin's work there is hope for Christian victory.

But the reception of this work was negligible. Sasin lived on the periphery of the Republic of Dubrovnik and was not a very notable poet. However, he did exert some minor influence on Ivan Gundulić and his epic poem *Osman*.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Dubrovnik, Monastery of the Friars Minor – 122, fols 316-401v
(17th or 18th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Djela Petra Zoranića, Antuna Sasina, Savka Gučetića Bendeviševića,
Zagreb, 1888, pp. 173-97

STUDIES

Arsić, *Antun Sasin*

P. Pavličić, 'Čitanje Sasinovih Razboja od Turaka', *Forum* 43 (2004)
1-3

D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca. Predožbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranoga novovjekovlja*, Zadar, 2004

D. Mrdeža Antonina, 'Portret dubrovačko-stonskog pisca Antuna Sasina', *Dubrovnik* 6 (1995) 2-3

M. Franičević, *Pjesnici i stoljeća*, Zagreb, 1974, 82-97

M. Purković, 'Istorijska tačnost u Sasinovom epu "Razboji od Turaka"',
Glasnik Jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva (1931-32) 1-12

Popović, 'Antun Sasin'

Croatian anti-Turkish writings during the Renaissance

This corpus of Croatian anti-Turkish writings comprises some 70 works of prose and poetry written between 1448 and 1600 by at least 39 authors, urging Christian action against the Turks in defence of Dalmatia, Croatia, Hungary, and Europe as a whole. The authors call to arms either by direct appeals or by a more indirect strategy of reporting, celebrating and lamenting events in the Christian-Turkish struggle. The direct appeals include Latin letters and speeches, for the most part printed as small books (in Rome, Venice, Kraków and several German cities), addressed to European rulers (the pope, the Holy Roman Emperor, the King of France, Venetian doges and the Signoria) and nations (Germans, Poles). The indirectly anti-Turkish group consists of historiographical narratives and poems: among them are 15 texts, all in Croatian, which are predominantly in verse (except for entries in two early chronicles); six poems in Croatian are anonymous. Among the authors of the corpus, there are eight prelates of Dalmatian and Hungarian dioceses, five magnates and diplomats, 17 clerics, and nine laymen of letters. Four of the authors are foreigners (all Italians); eight Croatians built their careers in Hungary.

Eight writers and their works are covered elsewhere in this volume: Juraj Šižgorić, Marko Marulić, Šimun Kožičić Benja, Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, Bernardin Frankopan, Stjepan Brodarić, Feliks Petančić and Antun Vrančić. Information is given here on the anti-Turkish works by: Ivan Vitez of Sredna (Ioannes Vitez de Zredna, c. 1405-72, Archbishop of Esztergom from 1465, Chancellor of Matthias Corvinus), Tideo Acciarini (humanist from Sant'Elpidio and teacher in Dalmatia, c. 1430/40-after 1490), Koriolan Cipiko (Coriolanus Cepio or Cippicus, patrician from Trogir, 1425-93), Antonio Fabregues (papal envoy to the Hungarian Kingdom c. 1493), Martinac the priest (fl. 1484-94 in Grobnik near Rijeka), Juraj Divnić (Georgius Diphnicus from Šibenik, c. 1450-1530, bishop of Nin from 1479), Toma Niger (Thomas Niger, Negro, or Mrčić, from Split, c. 1450-60-c. 1531, Bishop of Skradin from 1519, of Trogir from 1524), Francesco Marcello (Venice, 1446-1524, Bishop of Trogir from 1488), Šimun Klimantović (Franciscan friar from Lukoran or Ugljan, c. 1460-c. 1544), Bernardo Zanne (or Zane, from Venice, d. 1524, Archbishop of Split from 1503), Bonaventura of Korčula (Curcureus or Corculanus Dalmata, fl. 1517-38, Franciscan

friar and titular Bishop of Krujë in Albania), Stjepan Posedarski (Posedarje near Zadar, fl. 1519, chaplain of Ivan Torkvat Karlović, Count of Krbava and Ban of Croatia), Petar Beriszló (or Berislavus, from Trogir, 1475-1520, Bishop of Veszprém from 1512, Ban of Croatia from 1513), Fran Trankvil Andreis (Franciscus Tranquillus Andronicus, from Trogir, 1490-1571), Ilija Crijević (Aelius Lampridius Cervinus, from Dubrovnik, 1463-1520, one of the most distinguished Croatian humanist poets), Ivan Statilić (Statileo or Statileus, from Trogir, c. 1472-1542, Bishop of Transylvania from 1528), Hanibal Lucić (from Hvar, c. 1485-1553), Krsto (I) Frankopan Brinjski (c. 1482-1527, Ban of Croatia from 1526), Mavro Vetranović (Benedictine friar from Dubrovnik, 1482-1576), Vuk (I) Frankopan Brinjski (d. 1546), Ludovik Paskalić (from Kotor, d. 1551), Damjan Beneša (Dubrovnik, 1477-1539), Frano Božičević Natalis (Split, 1469-1542), Franjo (Ivan X) Frankopan (de Frangepanibus, d. 1543, Franciscan friar, Archbishop of Kalocsa from 1535, Bishop of Eger from 1538), Ivan Tomašić (Franciscan friar, fl. 1561), Franjo Črnko (scribe and chamberlain of Nikola Šubić Zrinski in 1566), Juraj Würfel (canon of Zagreb, fl. 1567-73), Antun Rožanović (Antonio Rosaneo, from Korčula, archdeacon there in 1571), Brne Karnarutić (or Krnarutić, Zadar, 1515/20-c. 1573, soldier and lawyer), Nikola Stepanić Selnički (from Selnica near Konjščina, c. 1553-1602, Bishop of Zagreb from 1598), Petar Cedulini (probably from Zadar, d. 1634, Bishop of Nin from 1577, Bishop of Hvar from 1581), and Antun Bratosaljić Sasin (from Dubrovnik, c. 1525-c. 1595).

The most complete survey of writers and texts is in Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*, pp. 7-94; the canonical (though not exhaustive) collection of Croatian Latin anti-Turkish letters and speeches is compiled in Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Silius Italicus, *Silii Italici opus de secundo bello Punico*, ed. D. Benessa, Lugduni, 1514

Vita beati Ioannis episcopi et confessoris Traguriensis, et eius miracula, ed. I. Statilić (Ioannes Statilius), Vienna, 1516

Andronicus Tranquillus Parthenius, *Dialogus. Sylla*, (s.l.), 1527

Andronicus Tranquillus Parthenius, *Dialogus philosophandumne sit*, Kraków, 1545

L. Paskalić, *Ludouici Pascalis Iulii Camilli, Molsae, et aliorum illustrium poetarum carmina, ad illustriss. et doctiss. marchionem Auriae Bernardinum Bonifatium per Ludouicum Dulcium nunc primum in lucem aedita*, Venice, 1551

- H. Lucić, *Scladanya izvarsnich pisan razlicich poctovanoga gospodina Hanibala Lucia vlastelina hvarschoga, choye cini stampati v Bnecich, sin gnegov Antoni . . .*, Venice, 1556
- B. Karnarutić, *Vazetje Sigeta grada, složeno po Barni Karnarutiću Zadraninu*, Venice, 1584
- B. Karnarutić, *Izvarsita ljubav i napokom nemila i nesrična smart Pirama i Tižbe, složena po Barni Karnarutiću Zadraninu*, Venice, 1586
- I. Crijević, *Operum pars secunda* (MS Vat. – lat. 2939)
MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – Italiani cl. 9, no. 291 (L. Paskalić)
MS Hvar, Kaptolski arhiv – volume *Cedulinus* (archive volume dedicated to the episcopacy of Petar Cedulini)
- MS Zagreb, [Franciscan] Provincial Archive in the Monastery of St Francis Xavier [Provincijski arhiv u samostanu sv. Franje Ksaverskog] – Klimantović miscellany I [*Klimantovičev zbornik I*] (first third of the 16th century)
- H. Lucić, *Robinja gospodina Anibala Lucia hvarskoga vlastelina*, Venice, 1638
- V. Jagić and I.A. Kaznačić (eds), *Pjesme Mavra Vetranica Čavčica, Dio 1. Pjesni razlike (Stari pisci hrvatski 3)*, Zagreb, 1871
- V. Jagić, I.A. Kaznačić and Đ. Daničić (eds), *Pjesme Mavra Vetranica Čavčica, Dio 2. Pjesni razlike. Pelegrin. Drame (Stari pisci hrvatski 4)*, Zagreb, 1872
- S. Žepić (ed.), *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića (Stari pisci hrvatski 6)*, Zagreb, 1874
- P. Budmani (ed.), *Djela Antuna Sasina (Stari pisci hrvatski 16)*, Zagreb, 1888
'Ein Sendschreiben Vetranic's an Hektorović', ed. M. Rešetar, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 23 (1901) 206-15
- F. Trankvil Andreis, 'De rebus in Hungaria gestis ab illustrissimo et magnifico Ludovico Gritti deque eius obitu epistola', ed. H. Kretschmayr, *Történelmi Tar*, 1903, 202-25 (MS Budapest, National Library – Cod. 3760 Fol. Lat., fols 1-27)
- P. Kolendić, 'Tri doslije nepoznate pjesme Dum Mavra Vetranovića Čavčica', *Srd* 4 (1905) 52-62, 199-216
- I. Crijević, *Orationes, epistolae, carmina*, in *Analecta recentiora ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*, ed. I. Hegedüs, Budapest, 1906, 42-119
- P. Kolendić, 'Dvadeset pjesama Mavra Vetranica', *Građa za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 7 (1912) 157-99
- F. Lo Parco, 'Tideo Acciarini umanista marchigiano del sec. XV con sei "Carmina" e un "Libellus" inediti', *Annali di Istituto Tecnico Giovan Battista Della Porta in Napoli* 34-5 (1917-20) 1-134
- M. Marković (ed.), *Pesme Franja Božičevića Natalisa*, Belgrade, 1958
- A. Jutronić, 'Vizitacije u Arhivu Biskupske kurije u Hvaru', *Starine* 51 (1962) 113-221, pp. 116, 120-9, 154
- M. Moguš, 'Karnarutićevi stihovi o Piramu i Tižbi', *Čakavska rič* 6 (1976) 100-35

- M. Pantelić and A. Nazor (eds), *II. Novljanski brevijar. Hrvatskoglagoljski rukopis iz 1495*, Zagreb, 1977
- I. Vitez de Zredna, *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. I. Boronkai, Budapest, 1980
- F. da Rimini, F. Contarini and C. Cippico, *Per la memorialistica veneziana in latino del Quattrocento. Filippo da Rimini, Francesco Contarini, Coriolano Cippico*, ed. R. Fabbri, Padua, 1988
- J. Bessenyei (ed.), *Lettere di principi = Litterae principum ad papam = Fejedelmi levelek a pápának (1518-1578)*, trans. P. Kulcsár and G. Nagy, Rome-Budapest, 2002
- I. Crijević, *Autografi Ilije Crijevića I: Vat. lat. 1678*, ed. D. Novaković (*Hrvatska književna baština* 3), Zagreb, 2004, pp. 9-251
- D. Beneša, *De morte Christi*, ed. V. Rezar, Zagreb, 2006
- F. Božičević, *Život Marka Marulića Splitsanina*, ed. B. Lučin, Split, 2007
- D. Novaković, 'Kako se Silvija obračunala sa suparnicama: zagonetka neobjavljenog latinskog autografa Ludovika Paskalića', in T. Bogdan and C. Pavlović (eds), *Poslanje filologa. Zbornik radova povodom 70. rođendana Mirka Tomasovića*, Zagreb, 2008, 501-19
- D. Grabovac, *Poetika i retorika Ilije Crijevića*, ed. G. Pokrajac, Novi Sad, 2013
- Secondary*
- D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca, Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar-Zagreb, 2004
- V. Gligo (ed.), *Govori protiv Turaka*, Split, 1983

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Croatian anti-Turkish writings during the Renaissance

DATE 1448-1600

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various

DESCRIPTION

Croatian literary reactions to the series of Ottoman attacks, invasions and conquests during 1450-1600 were twofold. On the one hand, authors rallied to influence European (primarily Italian and German) decision-making and public opinion by penning descriptions of Dalmatian, Croatian, and Hungarian struggles for survival, the sufferings of their people, and the immediacy and gravity of the Turkish menace, issuing warnings that this was the last line of defence before Italy and Germany. The other group of texts by Croatian authors recorded events in the struggle for survival and expressed the fear, desperation and heroism that loomed large in the collective consciousness of the people.

Texts in the first group were written in Latin (only L. Paskalić and P. Cedulini wrote in Italian), in the form of speeches and letters, and were often published. Most often the pope (often on the accession of a new pontiff) and the Germans were the addressees, less frequently the Venetians and the French. Such direct appeals were especially frequent in 1512-38, when prelates, magnates, diplomats and laymen seem to have coordinated their actions (with Toma Nigler and Frankopans playing important roles). After the 1540s, such texts appear less frequently. Speeches by F. Trankvil Andreis stand out for their ethnographic and humanist interests, as well as for a certain attitude of respect towards the Ottomans, while the speech of Archbishop Franjo Frankopan at the Diet of Regensburg (often reprinted) is unusual for its outspoken criticism of German inaction. In the appeals, the Turks are presented as a scourge of God, a cruel enemy, infidel antagonists of all Christians. The threat of conversion to Islam is mentioned often but the military urgency is such that religious differences are not extensively dwelt upon. Moreover, denigration of the enemy is more pronounced in poetic calls for anti-Turkish action.

The second group of texts consists, first, of prose historiography. As a rule it is in Latin (two short Croatian notes by Martinac and Š. Klimantović, and a longer chronicle on Siget by F. Črnko are the exception). Then, there are poetic reports of victories and defeats, in Croatian (apart from an epigram by F. Trankvil Andreis and an elegy by J. Würfel). Historiographical narratives are either chronicles or reports of a single event. On the whole, their tone is calmer and more neutral than in speeches and letters. The Turks are enemies, of course, and they are routinely referred to as infidels, but accusations of cruelty and dishonesty seem to be aimed mainly at their leaders and generals. The poetry expresses collective fears in laments. At other times, verse is used as a medium for exchange of information, a Croatian equivalent to the *avvisi* and *Newe Zeytungen*. The poems often show popular traits and similarities to Croatian (and other South Slavic) heroic folk poetry. Karnarutić's epic on Siget, with its classicizing models, is a special case.

The earliest anti-Turkish texts from the corpus are letters and speeches by Ivan Vitez of Sredna, as Bishop of Oradea (Nagyvárad) and Chancellor of John Hunyadi and Matthias Corvinus; the most important letters were written to Pope Nicholas V and his envoy in 1448, after Hunyadi's defeat at the second Battle of Kosovo (Boronkai, I.37 [= part I, letter 37]) on 17 September 1448, 3 pages; I.41, 30 December 1448, 2 pages), and, in the name of Ladislaus the Posthumous, an appeal for help for Constantinople

(II.5, 16 January 1453, 2 pages). On 22 September 1464, Vitez proudly informed Pope Pius II of Matthias Corvinus's successes in Bosnia, asking for further support (II.39, 4 pages). During the siege of Constantinople and after its fall, Vitez, as a member of a Hungarian embassy, delivered a series of speeches in Prague, Frankfurt, Wienerneustadt and Vienna (*orationes* 5-11, Boronkai, 1454-5); the finest of these is speech 7 (incipit: *Pulsatis merore publico animis*, 15 pages), given on 23 March 1455 in Wienerneustadt, before Frederick III.

In September 1471, Tideo Acciarini, a humanist from the Marche who spent 20 years (1461-80) as a teacher in Dalmatian cities, was inspired by the recent accession of the new pope to present him with a poem of 404 hexameters, *Ad beatissimum Christianae religionis parentem maximumque fidei Romanae antistitem Sistum pontificem IIII. seraphici Francisci pientissimus hortatus in Turcas, per Tydeum Acciarinum Picentem* ('To the blessed parent of Christian religion and the greatest defender of the Roman faith, Pope Sixtus the IV: a most pious exhortation against the Turks by the seraphic father St Francis'), mentioning attacks on Salona, Split, Klis, Skradin and Zadar, as well as the Ottoman territorial gains in the area around Euboea and the fall of Negropont on 12 July 1470; in the grand finale, St Francis himself addresses Sixtus, encouraging him to go to war and listing the Italian and European rulers to be invited to an alliance. Twenty years later, the total defeat of the Croatian army by the Ottomans at the Battle of Krbava Field (9 September 1493) prompted two brief dispatches by the papal envoy Antonio Fabregues (Šišić, 'Rukovet spomenika', documents 142 and 144), sent to Alexander VI from Senj immediately before and after the battle (8 and 13 September), and a longer, more literarily stylized, highly emotional letter to the pope by the bishop of Nin Juraj Divnić (27 September, 5 pages). All these works remained in manuscript, as well as two poems by the Dubrovnik virtuoso poet Ilija Crijević: an *Ad Carolum Francorum regem concordia* ('Harmony, to Charles King of France', c. 280 hexameters), on the occasion of Charles VIII's triumphal entry into Naples (22 February 1495), where the poet, after a cosmological introduction and a review of Charles' Italian campaign, expresses hopes for an expedition under the protection of Christ, against the savage Turk, against the 'stain of Maomethus' and the 'pollution of their sacrilegious rites', going on to list all the regions of the Christian Republic that required such a crusade. In 1499, Crijević composed an epigram for Antonio Grimani as the recently elected Venetian *capitano generale da Mar* (c. 3.13 Novaković, *Quam bene sumpserunt*

Venetae noua signa triremes – ‘It is appropriate that the Venetian galleys fly new banners’, 18 verses), in which the enemy over whom the captain general should triumph is, cautiously, not named at all, though the ‘new banners’ mentioned bear the cross. In 1501, Toma Niger, vicar general of the Archbishop of Split Bernardo Zane, printed in Venice a panegyric *Divina electio ac tempestiva creatio serenissimi principis Veneti Leonardi Lauretani cum pronostico sui invictissimi principatus* (‘A divine choice and timely appointment of the most serene Venetian doge Leonardo Loredan with an augury of his invincible rule’, 432 elegiacs), containing a striking description of Turkish atrocities and expressing hope of military action against them. In the next two years, the bishop of Trogir (near Split, where Niger resided) sent two letters, one styled as a speech, to the same doge (10 December 1502: *Francesci Marcelli episcopi Tragurini oratio ad Leonardum Loredanum principem Venetiarum* – ‘A speech of Francesco Marcello, Bishop of Trogir, to Leonardo Loredan, Venetian Doge’; 21 July 1503: *Franciscus Marcellus, episcopus Tragurinus, Leonardo Loredano, de excursionem Turcarum* – ‘Francesco Marcello, Bishop of Trogir, to Leonardo Loredan, on the Turkish attack’), with a request for help to his bishopric. In May 1512, Niger’s prelate, Bernardo Zane, gave an *Oratio reverendissimi D. archiepiscopi Spalatensis habita in prima sessione Lateranensis concilii* (‘A speech by the most reverend archbishop of Split in the first session of the Lateran Council’, printed in Rome in November 1512, 16 pages, with an introductory letter from Toma Niger to Marko Marulić, 11 May 1512; Šimun Kožičić Benja spoke before Leo X at the sixth session of this Council). The first part of Zane’s speech is theological and deals with heresies and papal authority; in the second, briefer part, Zane presents the Turks as depraved people who honour Muḥammad by persecuting Christians; the archbishop of Split speaks as an eyewitness of the Turkish menace and calls for the defence of the Christian faith. In 1517, a year after Kožičić Benja’s second speech, two more anti-Turkish speeches were delivered before Leo X: one by Fr Bonaventura of Korčula (Curcureus Dalmata) on February 17 (the speech is not preserved, but a contemporary note says that Bonaventura ‘gave a beautiful speech urging the pope to take up arms as a lion of the Tribe of Judah’, Sella, *Leone X*, p. 16), and the other was *Oratio Stephani Possedarski habita apud Leonem decimum pontificem maximum pro domino Ioanne Torquato comite Corbaue defensore Crouacie* (‘Speech of Stjepan Posedarski before Pope Leo X in the name of his lord Ivan Torquatus [Karlović], Count of Krbava, defender of Croatia’, 4 pages), printed in Rome (perhaps as early as 1516);

Posedarski warns that his lord, at the time the *ban* (viceroys, governor) of Croatia, long at the forefront of the battle, has had to become a tribute-payer to the Ottomans, and that Christians in his region are already entering into marriage with the Turks; as minimal support, the *ban* asks for a cleric to stop fugitives and to strengthen the faith. Similar worries and dangers are referred to the following year, in a letter to Leo X by the Croatian *ban* Petar Berisló (10 April 1518; 2 pages); Berislavić ends by saying that the enemies' subjects have already embraced not only the dress but also the manners of their rulers, and have become barely recognizable as Christians. In 1518, Fran Trankvil Andreis, a wandering humanist from Trogir, makes his entrance as an anti-Turkish author, publishing first an *Ad Deum contra Turcas oratio carmine heroico* ('A supplication to God against the Turks in hexameter', Nürnberg; 16 pages, 326 verses, with laudatory epigrams by Dietrich Speth, Veit Werler and David Rotmund; the dedicatory letter to Hieronymus von Croaria, dated Ingoldstadt, 7 March 1518) – his poetry presents the Turks as insatiable conquerors, ready to oust God himself from heaven; the poem ends with a call for general repentance – and in Augsburg Andreis publishes a prose *Oratio contra Thurcas ad Germanos habita* ('Speech to the Germans against the Turks', 20 pages), which he gave as an envoy of Petar Berislavić before the Emperor Maximilian I. After an ample historical and ethnographic introduction – where he states that the Turks hate the Christians mainly because of the stubborn resistance of the Hungarians and 'Illyrians' (Slavic peoples), or because they strive for world domination – Andreis proclaims the Turks a scourge of God and again calls for repentance. In the second, more political part, he relates that the Grand Turk, going to war with 'Soldanus, king of Syria', and instructed by a 'priest of the Turks called in their language *Deruise*' to make a vow to build a temple to Muḥammad, offered to build two temples: one in Hungary and the other in Rome. After describing the latest Ottoman attacks, Andreis calls on the Germans to take up arms, and on Maximilian to free Jerusalem.

From the diary of Sanudo we know that in January 1520, in Rome, Toma Niger, now an emissary of Petar Berislavić and the bishop of Skradin, spoke before Leo X about the suffering of the Croatian people, requesting support for further resistance (the speech is not preserved). On 20 September (or perhaps August) 1521, Ivan Statilić from Trogir, provost of Felsőörs near Veszprém, addressed the Venetian Signoria and the newly elected doge Antonio Grimani in the name of Louis II, king of Hungary and Croatia, asking for financial aid. The speech, which was soon followed by news of the fall of Belgrade, 'stirred emotions mightily' (Morosini,

Historia Veneta, p. 30). The election of Pope Adrian VI prompted the aging Marko Marulić to publish his *Epistola domini Marci Maruli Spalatensis ad Adrianum VI. Pont. Max. de calamitatibus occurrentibus et exhortatio ad communem omnium Christianorum unionem et pacem*, in Rome, on 30 April 1522; in September of the same year, in Nürnberg, the elderly Bernardin Frankopan (Frankapan) Ozaljski (who in March had had an audience with the Venetian Council of Ten) published his speech *Oratio pro Croatia Nürenbergae in senatu principum Germaniae habita*, with an introductory letter to Adrian VI; in the same month, Stephanus Brodericus (Stjepan Brodarić) spoke before Adrian VI in the name of Louis II; the speech, *Stephani Broderici iuris pontificii doctoris, praepositi Quinque ecclesiensis, secretarii et oratoris serenissimi Domini Ludovici Hungariae et Bohemiae etc. Regis ad Sanctissimum Dominum Adrianum VI. Pontificem Maximum oratio*, was published in Rome in January 1523. In June of that year, also in Rome, Krsto (I) Frankopan Brinjski, speaking in the name of his father Bernardin, published the *Oratio ad Adrianum Sextum* ('Speech before Adrian VI', 8 pages), accompanied by seven points of a *Memoriale* and a charter of the Hungarian King Bela IV, which in 1260 had granted the Frankopans possession of the city of Senj. After justifying the Frankopans' recent capture of that Adriatic city, Brinjski warned that 'Croatia is the wall of defence or the gate to Christendom'; should it be conquered, 'greater danger is threatened than through the late losses suffered by Christendom of Zemun, Belgrade, and Rhodes'; Frankopan asked for aid for the 'two thousand [Croatian] horsemen and one thousand foot soldiers' defending the country.

Four years after the Battle of Mohács, and a year after the siege of Vienna, another Frankopan – Vuk, of the Brinjski line – appeared on 24 August 1530 as a speaker at the German Imperial Diet in Augsburg, publishing his *Oratio ad Serenissimum Carolum V Sacri Romani Imperij Caesarem inclytum ac ad illustrissimos et potentissimos Principes Romani Imperii facta ex parte Regnicolarum Croaciae per Vuolffgangum de Frangepanibus Comitem etc, Oratorem ipsius Croaciae* ('Speech before the most serene Charles V, glorious Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and before the most illustrious and powerful leaders of the Roman Empire, in the name of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Croatia, by count Vuk Frankopan, emissary of Croatia', Augsburg 1530, 8 pages, including a preface by Caspar Kurrer and a response by Joachim I Nestor, Prince-elector of Brandenburg). Once again, Vuk Frankopan requested help from the Holy Roman Empire, reminding the assembly of Croatia's 80 years of struggle and of the fact that Greece and Hungary were defeated, but

Croatia was still resisting – though the people will ‘this winter’ be forced either to relocate or to submit to the ‘very same insatiable dragon’. Charles’ assembling of an army against Süleyman in the summer of 1532, as well as related naval operations in Morea, were the theme of a laudatory elegy by Ludovik Paskalić from Kotor, *In Caroli Caesaris Pannonicam expeditionem* (‘On the Pannonian expedition of Charles the emperor’, 7 pages, 198 verses). On 16 June 1534, a humanist from Dubrovnik, Damjan Beneša, wrote (in Latin) missives to King Ferdinand I of Germany, King Francis I of France, and Charles V, using carefully chosen biblical imagery and calling for Christian unity; copies of all three letters were sent to all the rulers (*editio princeps* in Rezar, ‘Pisma Damjana Beneše’, 7 pages). In the letter to Francis I, Beneša lists the conquests of the *Mau-metani* (his term), which are also mentioned in the letter to Charles V. During the prolonged siege of Klis (a strategically important fortress near Split), Frano Božićević Natalis, a poet from Split and friend of the late Marko Marulić, composed most probably in 1535 an *Ad sanctissimum dominum d. Paulum tertium, totius Christianae rei publicae diuino nutu pontificem maximum, quod oppidum Chlissae conseruando plurimae sacrosanctae fidei nationes saluabuntur elegia* (‘Elegy to the most holy lord Paul III, by God’s will pope of the whole Christian estate: by supporting the town of Klis, many nations of the holy faith will be saved’, 212 verses; c. 79 Marković): here, a dramatic sketch of Dalmatian hardships caused by the Turks, enemies of the faith of the true God, is followed by a prayer to Christ and the instruments of his passion; then the poet describes Klis, the defence of which was strongly aided by Paul III, as a stronghold from which the Ottomans could easily reach Ancona, Quarnero and Istria, as well as Croatia. An anti-Turkish initiative of the Holy League prompted in 1537-8 six poems by Ludovik Paskalić, already mentioned, probably because one theatre of naval operations was near Kotor; when the Latin poems were published in Venice in 1551, after the author’s death, mentions of the name ‘Othomanus’ were replaced by dots. The first poem, *Sylua prima eiusdem Ludouici Paschalis Catharensis ad Regem Gallorum, reliquosque Christianos Principes contra Turcas exortatio* (‘The first silva of Ludovik Paskalić from Kotor, to the king of France and other Christian rulers, an exhortation against the Turks’, from 1537; IV.1 in the 1551 edition, 178 hexameters), pleads for Francis I to join the alliance as well. The poem *In foedus ictum inter principes Christianos* (‘On the alliance of the Christian rulers’; 8 pages, number of verses differs in the MSS and the 1551 edition; there is no critical edition as yet) is a warrior’s cry to ‘stamp out the wild people of Muḥammad and spread the faith of Christ’. Paskalić

dedicated two further Latin elegies to Venetian commanders of the allied fleet of the League: *Ad Marcum Grimannum classis pontificiae praefectum* ('To Marco Grimani, leader of the papal fleet', II.5, 102 verses), and *Ad Venetae classis praefectum Vincentium Capellum* ('To the leader of the Venetian fleet Vincenzo Capello', II.6, 66 verses). The successes prophesied by the poet did not materialise, and two of his sonnets in Italian to Charles V (*A Cesare – Mirando Apollo da 'l Leucadio colle*, 'To the emperor – While Apollo wondered from the hill of Leucadia'; *Felice Spirto che da 'l sommo choro*, 'Happy is the Spirit who from the highest heaven', p. 81 of the Venice 1549 edition) claim that the naval Battle of Preveza, on 28 September 1538, was lost because Charles was not there in person. During Süleyman's third invasion of Hungary and the siege of Buda, Franciscan friar Franjo (Ivan X) Frankopan, Archbishop of Kalocsa and Bishop of Eger, delivered a scathing speech at the Diet of Regensburg, on 9 June 1541 (*Oratio reverendissimi in Christo patris domini Francisci comitis de Frangepanibus, archiepiscopi Colocensis et episcopi Agriensis, oratoris regni Hungariae ad Caesarem, electores et principes Germaniae* – 'Speech by the most reverend father lord Franjo, Count of Frankopan, Archbishop of Kalocsa and Bishop of Eger, representative of the Kingdom of Hungary, before the emperor, the electors, and the lords of Germany', 14 pages, Augsburg 1541; reprinted Wittemberg 1541; German trans. Ingolstadt 1541, Nürnberg 1541). Harshly criticizing German inaction, and presenting a grim picture of Turkish conquests in Hungary, Frankopan warns that 'the barbarian fierceness strives to destroy the Catholic faith and to murder the souls belonging to Christ through the gifts and honours that are offered to renegades who embrace their ungodliness – and many of ours are doing this right now'; Frankopan also states that the 'abominable greed [of the Turks] forbids them to live in peace even with the people of their own faith; their lawmaker ordered them to defend their faith with arms and subject the defeated to their ungodliness.' Six months later, after the fall of Buda, in Vienna on 5 December 1541, Fran Trankvil Andreis, in the service of Ferdinand I, published an *Oratio ad Germanos de bello suscipiendo contra Thurcos* ('Speech to the Germans on waging war against the Turks', with an introductory letter to Cristoforo Madruzzo, Bishop of Brixen; 50 pages), an appeal for Hungary similar to Frankopan's, but somewhat milder in tone, with longer ethnographic excursuses and examples from Classical Antiquity. Andreis points out that 'for the barbarians one's origin does not matter, their aristocracy and nobility consist in prudence and greatness of soul'; he even thinks that 'the Turks borrowed a lot from the ancient [military]

skills of the Romans'. And yet, they are 'enemies and destroyers of civil propriety, of culture, of classical antiquity, as well as attackers against the Catholic faith; [...] they will not stop, unless they are defeated and annihilated, because their lawmaker (whom they honour as the second Pythagoras) orders them to defend their religion, that is their barbarian godlessness, not by polemic, but with arms'; Andreis proposes Ferdinand and Charles V as leaders of the Christian resistance. In Krakow, on 2 May 1545, Andreis published an *Ad optimates Polonos admonitio* ('A reminder to Polish magnates', 38 pages, with an introductory letter to Andrzej Górká, castellan of Poznań and starost-general of Greater Poland), deploring the loss of Hungary, and repeating his warning about the Turks, who value virtue above ancestry (this notion can also be found in Trankvil's dialogue *Philosophandumne sit?*, 'Should there be philosophising?', also printed in Krakow in 1545); the Turks 'consider themselves one race, gathered from different peoples, but embracing the same impious rites and vain superstitions'. Andreis calls for unity among the magnates as the main defence against the enemy. Twenty years later, in 1565-6, Andreis directed three anti-Turkish epigrams to three rulers (*Ad caesarem Maximilianum* – 'To the Emperor Maximilian [II]', *In filium Ioannis regis* – 'To the son of King John [Zápolya, i.e. John Sigismund Zápolya, Maximilian's enemy in 1565]', *Ad summum pontificem Pium V*), and probably in the winter of 1570-1 he composed a long letter to the pope (*Summo pontifici Pio V* – 'To the Supreme Pontiff Pius V', 34 pages, unpublished; cf. Cavazza, 'Tranquillo Andronico e la guerra'), a proposal to use the pending war of the Holy League against the Turks as an occasion for a thorough reform of Christian spiritual life; the tragic destiny of Hungary is an exemplary proof of the necessity for such reform, the Christians have become worse than the Turks (who care for the law and the education of their young, and select the best as their leaders); Andreis compares the rebels against the Christian faith to the Turks. This letter, 'a singular example of ancient ideals of the crusade mixed with humanistic religious aspirations' (Cavazza, 'Tranquillo Andronico e la guerra', p. 36), led to the posthumous trial of its author before the Venetian Inquisition (1576-78).

Petar Cedulini from Zadar, Bishop of Hvar, addressed two letters to Pope Clement VIII. The first was a greeting for Clement's election (15 May 1592, 2 pages), with a proclamation of the greatness of 'thirteen regions of the Illyrian [i.e. Slavic] language', and a plea to save these regions from the Turks and from heretics. The second document, *Relatione de Mons. Pietro Cedolini Vescouo di Lesina del presente stato dell' Imperio Turchesco*

[...] *fatta al [...] Papa Clemente VIIIo 28 Jan. 1594* ('Report by Monsignor Petar Cedulini, Bishop of Hvar, on the present state of the Ottoman Empire, presented to Pope Clement VIII on 28 January 1594', in Italian, 32 pages), is a survey of later Ottoman policy and conquests (the author was in Constantinople and on Ottoman territory as an apostolic visitor), a warning that an Ottoman invasion is pending, with Italy as its most probable target, and a recommendation for an alliance between Russia, Poland and the Holy Roman Empire; Cedulini was obviously aware of Clement's plans for a crusade.

In northern Croatia, the fall of the fortress of Sisak to the Turks on 28 August 1593 prompted two almost identical letters by Nikola Stepanić Selnički (Zagreb, 6 and 9 September, incipit *Salvus quidem atque incolumis* – 'True, safe and sound', 2 pages): one to Faust Vrančić from Šibenik, secretary of Rudolph II (as the King of Hungary and Croatia), and the other to David Ungnad, Freiherr von Weissenwolf, president of the Hofkriegsrat. After describing the taking of the fortress, Stepanić Selnički cries out for help: 'the little that was left of this kingdom will perish', 'the poor common people do not know where to turn', 'we are slower than a turtle, and the sweetest homeland will perish any minute'.

The first history by a Croatian author to treat of war with the Turks was the *Petri Mocenigi imperatoris gestorum libri III* ('The deeds of commander in chief Pietro Mocenigo, in three books', Venice 1477, 104 pages, with an introductory epistle to Marco Antonio Morosini) by Koriolan Cipiko from Trogir, a narrative of the Venetian naval expedition to the Levant in 1470-3; Cipiko himself commanded a Trogir galley. Anti-Turkish sentiments are found in Cipiko's descriptions of the Ottoman leaders' cruelty, and in a speech by a certain Antonio (Book 2), who was caught in an act of sabotage of the Ottoman ammunition depot in Gallipoli and brought before the sultan.

Zapis popa Martinca ('A note by the priest Martinac'), a brief record of the Battle of Krbava Field (9 September 1499), was entered shortly after the battle in the breviary that Martinac was copying at the time. The record gives evidence of the trauma caused by the Croatian defeat; the calamity was 'worse than the one in the times of the unclean Tatars, Goths, and Attila'. Brief notices of Turkish history and invasions are also found in the chronicle of Šimun Klimantović (from the creation of the world until 1508), repeating a standard formula of the Turks 'doing great evils'. News of the siege of Rhodes (1522; the author does not know about its fall in December) makes up the third part of a poetic epistle in Croatian sent by Hanibal Lucić, from Hvar, to Jeronim Martinčić in Split

(incipit: *Knjižica od tvoje pameti sabrana*– ‘A small book, composed by your wisdom’, some 120 12-syllable verses). Lucić claims that ‘the unfaithful say that heaven awaits anyone who puts even a shovelful in the moat [of Rhodes]’. An anonymous Croatian poem, *Razboj i tužba kralja ugarskoga* (‘The battle and the lament of the king of Hungary’, 336 12-syllable verses), probably composed by a poet from Split or Hvar, is an echo of the Battle of Mohács in 1526; Louis II himself describes the battle and, then, addressing his horse, prays to God for Christian unity; the struggle with the Turks is clearly presented as a religious war (Louis ‘dies for the holy faith’). The second half of the poem *Pjesanca slavi carevoj* (‘Song of the emperor’s glory’, 400 12-syllable verses) by Mavro Vetranović from Dubrovnik, probably written after the battle of Mohács, reveals the Turkish conquests as the main cause of the lament, interpreted as God’s punishment for Christian sins and general discord (especially critical words are reserved for Venice). In a similar vein, after the fall of Buda (1541), Vetranović wrote *Tužba grada Budima* (‘Lament of the city of Buda’, 492 verses), in which the conquered city relates its grief.

A Latin epigram by Fran Trankvil Andreis, *Millos Pariseuich pugnāt ex prouocatione cum Bachota Turco* (‘Miloš Parišević, accepting a challenge, fights with Bakota the Turk’, hexameters, 21 verses), narrates a duel that took place during the siege of Klis in 1537; Parišević is ‘of the Elysian fields’, and the Turk ‘of the Orcus’. The *Chronicon breue regni Croatiae* (‘Short chronicle of the Kingdom of Croatia’, Latin prose, 30 pages) by the Franciscan friar Ivan Tomašić, covering the events from the death of Attila the Hun in 453 to the year 1561, records the Battle of Krbava and its ‘beginning of disintegration of the country of Croatia’ in especially dramatic tones, with key statements given in Croatian. The *Pisam od Malte* (‘Song of Malta’, in Croatian, 526 8-syllable verses, published in Venice in 1655, 1699, 1724) must have been written soon after the lifting of the Ottoman siege of Malta in September 1565; it is ‘a popular expression of belligerent Christian propaganda’ (D. Dukić, *Sultanova djeca*, p. 76). A chronicle by Franjo (Ferenc) Črnko, written after 1566 and before 1568, *Die Geschichte zw Siged im 1566 Jahr beschehen in chrabatisch Sprach beschriben* (‘A history of Siget in the year 1566, written in Croatian’; in Croatian scholarship usually *Podsjeđanje i osvojenje Sigeta*, ‘The siege and capture of Siget’, in Croatian, 40 pages, translated into Latin in 1568), tells the story of the famous, heroic, and ultimately tragic defence of Siget (Szigetvár) by Nikola Šubić Zrinski. This is also the theme of the anonymous *Pjesma o Sigetu* (‘Song of Siget’, fragmentary, 4 cantos,

377 surviving lines, mostly 11- and 12-syllable verses), with frequent mentions of the 'damned Turks', and of the epic *Vazetje Sigeta grada* ('The capture of the town of Siget', 1584, four cantos, 1056 12-syllable verses) by Brne Karnarutić, the first epic in Croatian with a theme from recent history in which the dominant role of the Turks is as unbelievers rather than as military foes (the siege of Siget is an episode in a war of religion). Juraj Würfel, canon of Zagreb, wrote a still unpublished *Elegia in victoriam quam Georgius Drascouith habuit de Turcis apud Glynam fluvium* ('Elegy on the victory over the Turks by Juraj Drašković, at the river Glina', 1567 or 1573); the original poem was apparently composed in Greek. Antun Rozanović from Korčula left a stirring first-hand testimony of a local success – the brave defence of Korčula by citizens of the town against the galleys of Uluj Ali and Caracosa in August 1571, during Ottoman raids of the Dalmatian islands before the Battle of Lepanto: *Ulluzalis sive Occhialinus Algerii Prorex, Corcyram Melenam, terra, marique oppugnat, nec expugnat. Relatio historica Antonii Rosenei ex illustrioribus, et antiquioribus familiis eiusdem urbis, Archidiaconi, et Juris Utriusque Doctoris, qui presens omnibus interfuit* ('Uluj Ali or Occhiali, viceroy of Algeria, besieges Korčula on land and sea, but cannot take it. A historical report by Antun Rozanović, archdeacon and doctor of both laws, from one of the more distinguished and ancient families of the city, who himself witnessed all the events'; 42 pages; at the end it includes two poems, *In Turcas oratio*, 'A prayer against the Turks', 84 verses, elegiac distiches, and *In magna navali victoria* – 'On the great naval victory', 136 verses, Sapphic strophes; a later version of the work, with a dedicatory epistle to the Doge of Venice, Nicolò da Ponte, must have been written sometime in 1578-85). The defence is seen as almost miraculous. Anti-Turkish religious overtones are much more prominent in the two poems than in the narrative itself. The epic poem *Razboji od Turaka* ('Battles with the Turks', not before 1595, nine cantos, 1820 verses, 12-syllabic at the beginning, later 8-syllable quatrains; a dedicatory epilogue to Marko Baseljić) by Antun Bratosaljić Sasin from Dubrovnik chronicles battles, often using the same compositional pattern (the poet meets a fairy, who tells him about the events) for precise reports of military operations during the first two years of the Long War between the Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, from the battle of Sisak (1593) to the fall of Győr (in Hungary, 1594). Near the end of Bratosaljić Sasin's epic, the fairy hopes for a Christian anti-Turkish alliance led by the pope. Two events covered by Bratosaljić Sasin are also themes of the anonymous *Od Siska grada počinja verši od*

boja ('On the town of Sisak, here start the verses on the battle', 66 irregular verses) and *Počinja govorenje od vojske od Janoka* ('Here starts the telling of the campaign of Győr', 261 irregular verses). In the poem on Sisak, only the final lines present the struggle as a war of religion, while the poem on Győr emphasises Turkish cruelties and stresses God's assistance to the Christian side. Another episode from the same war is described in the anonymous *Boj ili vazetje od Klisa* ('The battle or the capture of Klis', in Croatian, 178 12-syllable verses), recounting the way in which the Christians, exhausted, insufficiently aided, and riddled with internal dissent, were defeated by the well-organized Turkish forces. A defeat of the Turks before Petrinja, on 11-20 September 1596, is the theme of the Latin *Historia obsidionis Petriniae et cladis Szerdarianae a reuerendo domino Nicolao Zelnicey, electo episcopo Quinque ecclesiensi conscripta* ('History of a siege of Petrinja and defeat of the *serdar* [Hafiz Ahmad Pasha], written by Nikola [Stepanić] Selnički, appointed bishop of Pécs'; 14 pages, with a short note by Stjepan Medak reporting the same event). The work begins with a vicious portrait of the Turkish *serdar*, who at one point claims that 'it is proper to the Muḥammadan faith, and to the ancient Turkish tradition, to spare no one, nor hold any promises, while their emperor is at war and in the field'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Most Croatian anti-Turkish texts were written by people from Dalmatia or its hinterland. The ambiguous position of Dubrovnik, which was independent and pronouncedly Christian, but had to pay regular tribute to the Turks, found expression both in the strongly anti-Turkish feelings of its poets (M. Vetranović) and in the fact that their poems remained in manuscript. Texts by authors from continental Croatia started to appear after the siege of Siget (1567). Struggles around Sisak and Petrinja, fortresses commanded by priests from the diocese of Zagreb, were prominent topics in the 1590s.

This corpus of anti-Turkish texts expresses, influences, and reinforces the ideologeme of Croatia as an *antemurale Christianitatis*, 'a bulwark of Christianity' (the phrase is confirmed for the first time, as *pastejen und verpaw der cristenhayt*, in a German letter from the Croatian nobility to Emperor Maximilian I, in April 1494, after the Battle of Krbava; cf. Jurković, 'Osmanska ugroza', p. 54), a borderland defence zone where, over centuries, the people selflessly hold back the much stronger enemy, 'bleeding for the sake of Europe'.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the list of 13 manuscripts of Ivan Vitez (15th-17th century) in I. Boronkai, 'Einleitung', in I. Vitez de Zredna, *Opera quae supersunt*, Budapest, 1980, pp. 12-13.

- MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – F 33 sup. cart. misc. XV, fols 12v-17
(Tideo Acciarini, *Ad beatissimum Christianae religionis parentem*)
- MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – Lat. Cl. X. Cod. 174, 134 (Juraj Divnić, *Epistula ad Alexandrum VI Georgii Difnici Dalmatae episcopi Nonensis*)
- MS Vat – Lat. 2939 (Ilija Crijević, *Operum pars secunda*)
- MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – Cod. 217 membr. saec. XVI, a. 202, I l. 136 (L. XIV, CCXXV) (*Franciscus Marcellus, episcopus Tragurinus, Leonardo Loredano, de excursionem Turcarum*)
- MS Budapest, University Library – H 46 (Fran Trankvil Andreis, *Carmina*)
- MS Zadar, Znanstvena knjižnica [Research Library] – *Varia Dalmatica*, sign. 25290, ms. 617 (Fran Trankvil Andreis, Ludovik Paskalić, *Carmina*)
- MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – Ital. cl. IX, 291 (Ludovik Paskalić, autograph)
- MS Dubrovnik, Knjižnica Male Braće [Library of the Monastery of the Friars Minor] – AMB 1763
- MS Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv – *Hungarica*, a. 1534, no. 19-21 (Damjan Beneša, autograph)
- MS Split, Gradska knjižnica [City library] – M-35 (Frano Božićević Natalis, autograph)
- MS Modena, Bibliotheca Estense – Ital. 710 fol. 251 (Petar Cedolini, *Discorso di Mons. Pietro Cedolini Vescovo di Lesina fatto alla Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Clemente VIIIo per la difesa contro il Turco l'Anno 1594*)
- MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina – Carteggio Beccadelli, 1033 ('Pietro Cedolini vescovo di Lesina, oratione per la difesa contra'l Turco')
- MS Vat – Urb. lat. 836, cc. 407r-v ('*Relation di Mons. Pietro Cedolini Vescovo di Liesena dal present stato dell'Imperio Turchesco et molti particolari degni di consideratione*')
- MS Florence, Bibliotheca Nazionale di Firenze – Manoscritti Gino Capponi, Cod. XXI ('*Orazione di Monsignor Pietro Cedolini, Vescovo di Lusina[!], per la difesa contro il Turco 1593[!]*')

- MS Cambridge, Trinity College – R. 4. 13 (nr. 646, cent. XVII) pp. 169-82 ('Relatione de Mons. Pietro Cedolini Vescouo di Lesina del presente stato dell'Imperio Turchesco [...] fatta al [...] Papa Clemente VIIIo 28 Jan. 1594')
- MS Copenhagen, Royal Library – Gl. kgl. Saml. 533 Fol; 534 Fol ('*Relatione di M. Pietro Cedolini, vescouo di Lesina, del presente stato dell'imperio Turchesco al Papa Clemente VII, 1594*'; another copy)
- MS Zagreb, Arhiv zagrebačkoga kaptola [Archive of the Zagreb cathedral chapter] – sig. Acta capituli antiqua, fasc. 99, nr. 89 (Nikola Stepanić Selnički)
- MS Budapest, National Library – Fol. Lat. 3606.II, fols 31-32r (XVII.) (Juraj Würffel – Vurffel Georgius, *Elegia in victoriam quam Georgius Drascouith habuit de Turcis apud Glynam fluvium*)
- MS Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica [National and University Library] – R 4021 (Antun Rozanović – *Rosaneo, Antonio, Corcyrae Melaenae Opus*)
- MS Dubrovnik, Državni arhiv [State archive] – Fond obitelji Andrijić (*Ulluzalis sive Occhialinus, Algerii prorex, Corciram Meiaenam terra, marique oppugnat nec expugnat. Relatio historica*)
- MS Zadar, Državni arhiv [State archive] – rkp 37, cart. misc. XVIII (*Antonio Rosano, Vauzalis sive Occhialinus Algerii prorex Corcyram Melaenam terra marique oppugnat nec expugnat*)
- MS Dubrovnik, Knjižnica Samostana Male braće [Library of the Monastery of the Friars Minor] – AMB 433, 409-10 (*Antonii Rosanei Corcyre Melaene Opus*)
- MS Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica [National and University Library] – R 3359 (*Od Siska grada počinju verši od boja*)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- V. Rezar, 'Pisma Damjana Beneše europskim vladarima', *Povijesni prilozi* 42 (2012) 191-214
- I. Crijević, *Autografi Ilije Crijevića I: Vat. lat. 1678*, ed. D. Novaković, Zagreb, 2004, 9-251
- P. Berislavić, *Lettere di principi = Litterae principum ad papam = Fejedelmi levelek a pápának (1518-1578)*, ed. J. Bessenyei, trans. P. Kulcsár, G. Nagy, Rome, 2002, pp. 5-8
- P. Sella, *Leone X e la definitiva divisione dell'Ordine dei Minori (OMin.). La bolla 'Ite vos' (29 maggio 1517)*, Grottaferrata (Rome), 2001, p. 16
- V. Rezar, 'Opsada Petrinje u spisu Nikole Stepanića Selničkoga', in *Petrinjski zbornik 1*, Petrinja, 1998, 29-49
- J. Divnić, *Pismo papi Aleksandru VI*, ed. O. Perić, Šibenik, 1995

- F. da Rimini, F. Contarini, and C. Cippico (eds), *Per la memorialistica veneziana in latino del Quattrocento: Filippo da Rimini, Francesco Contarini, Coriolano Cippico*, Padua, 1988
- L. Pasković, *Sveti plamen*, trans. R. Rotković and Š. Šonje, Titograd (Podgorica), Montenegro, 1987
- V. Gligo (ed.), *Govori protiv Turaka*, Split, 1983 (facsimiles and Croatian trans. of texts by F. Marcello, B. Zane, I. Statilić, F. Trankvil Andreis, J. Divnić, S. Posedarski, K. Frankopan, V. Frankopan, F. Frankopan, P. Cedulini)
- Ioannes Vitez de Zredna, *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. I. Boronkai, Budapest, 1980
- F. Črnko, 'Posjedanje i osvojenje Sigeta', in M. Ratković (ed.), *Opsada Sigeta*, Zagreb, 1971, 1-25
- B. Karnarutić, 'Vazetje Sigeta grada', in M. Ratković (ed.), *Opsada Sigeta*, Zagreb, 1971, 43-82
- A. Rozanović, *Obrana Korčule: 1571-1971*, Korčula, [1971] (Croatian trans.)
- P. Martinac, 'Zapis popa Martinca', in V. Štefanić (ed.), *Hrvatska književnost srednjega vijeka*, Zagreb, 1969, 82-4
- T. Matic (ed.), 'Vazetje Sigeta grada', *Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 29 (1968) 9-39
- M. Franičević (ed.), *Lucić, Hektorović*, ed., Zagreb, 1968, 102-9
- M. Marković (ed.), *Pesme Franja Božičevića Natalisa*, Belgrade, 1958
- A.M. Berengo Morte, 'Fra Francisco Marcello vescovo di Traù', *Le Venezie francescane* 15 (1948-9) 47-57, 89-104, 137-47; 16 (1948-9) 14-29
- F. Šišić (ed.), 'Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima (1473-1496)', *Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 37 (1934) 189-344; 38 (1937) 1-180
- F. Fancev, 'Mohačka tragedija od god. 1526. u suvremenoj hrvatskoj pjesmi', *Nastavni vjesnik* 43 (1934-5) 18-28
- G. Praga, 'Tomaso Negri da Spalato, umanista e uomo politico del secolo XVI.', *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 15 (1933) 8, 159-201
- E. Laszowski (ed.), 'Historia obsidionis Petrinae et cladis Szerdarianae', *Vjesniku kr. drž. arhiva u Zagrebu* 3 (1928) 164-72
- Š. Urlić, 'Prvo izdanje Tanzlinger-Zanottijevih pjesama od g. 1699', *Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 9 (1920) 200-3
- S. Ivšić, 'Podsjeđanje i osvojenje Sigeta u glagoljskom prijepisu hrvatskoga opisa iz g. 1566. ili 1567', *Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 36 (1918) 390-429

- F. Fancev, 'Nekoliko priloga za stariju hrvatsku književnost', *Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 8 (1916) 1-62
- Đ. Körbler, 'Talijansko pjesništvo u Dalmaciji 16. vijeka, napose u Kotoru i Dubrovniku', *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 212 (1916) 1-109
- R. Strohal, 'Glagolska kronika fra Šimuna Klimantovića', *Vjesnik zemaljskog arhiva* 13 (1913) 214-19
- F. Kidrič, 'Oblega Sigeta v sodobnem hrvaškem opisu', *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 9 (1912) 42-97
- Š. Urlić, 'Ivan Tanzlinger-Zanotti i njegove pjesme', *Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 5 (1907) 41-76
- K. Horvat (ed.), *Kobenzelovi izvještaji (1592-1594) kardinalu Cintiju Aldobrandiniju, državnom tajniku pape Klementa VIII*, Zagreb, 1907, 131-316, pp. 208-9 no. 48
- L. Jelić, 'Dvanaest isprava za povjest Hrvatske i susjednih zemalja od 1452-1533. g.', *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 6 (1904) 170-5
- V. Klaić, 'Pismo ninskoga biskupa Jurja Divnića papi Aleksandru VI, pisano u Lici 27. rujna 1493, u kojem izvješćuje o boju na Krbavskom polju pod Udbinom (9. rujna 1493)', *Vjestnik kr. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog arkiva* 5 (1903) 248-51
- D. Preradović, 'Oratio Stipana Posedarskog (1519)', *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 22 (1899) 190-2
- M. Sanudo, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, Venice, 1879-1903, vol. 28, p. 169
- A. Bratosaljić Sasin, 'Razboji od Turaka', in P. Budmani (ed.), *Djela Petra Zoranića, Antuna Sasina, Savka Gučetića Bendeviševića*, Zagreb, 1888, 173-97
- S. Žepić (ed.), *Pjesme Petra Hektorovića i Hanibala Lucića*, Zagreb, 1874
- A. Ružić, *Povijest korčulanske pobjede proti Alaz-Aliji algjerskome polukralju održane dne 15. kolovoza 1571. godine*, Dubrovnik, 1871 (trans. into Croatian by an unknown translator)
- M. Vetranović, *Pjesme Mavra Vetranića Čavčića*, ed. V. Jagić and A. Kaznačić, Zagreb, 1871
- I. Tomašić, 'Chronicon breve Regni Croatiae', ed. I.K. Sakcinski, *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* 9 (1868) 3-34
- J.H. Sbaralea, *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo aliisve descriptos; cum adnotationibus ad Syllabum matyrum eorundem ordinum. Opus posthumum fr. Jo. Hyacinthi Sbaraleae*, Rome, 1806, p. 176

- W. Roscoe, *The life and pontificate of Leo X*, vol. 3, Liverpool, 1805, pp. 105-6
- 'Electi episcopi Sirmiensi epistola qua expugnationem Sciscii per Turcas factam describit', *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum minores*, ed. M. Kovacsich, vol. 1, Buda, 1798, pp. 205-8
- Schazovanye od cudnovate ratti chaye bila pod Maltom, a za gnom nasliduye rat od Clissa / dana na svitlo po Givanu Zadraninu, Venice, 1655, 1699², 1724³
- A. Morosini, *A. Mauroceni Historia Veneta, ab anno MDXXI. usque ad annum MDCXV.*, Venice, 1623, pp. 27-30
- P. Cedulini, 'Discorso di monsignor Pietro Cedolini, vescovo di Lesina. Fatto alla santità di nostro sign. Clemente ottavo, per la difesa contra il Turco l'anno 1594', in *Philippi Honorii... Thesaurus politicus, hoc est, selectiores tractatus, monita, acta, relationes et discursus pluriuariam et exquisitam regiae prudentiae, et principum. Rerum-publicarum, gentiumque documenta suppeditantes... Authoribus partim praclaris et prudentissimis summorum monarcharum, et rerumpublicarum oratoribus*, Frankfurt, 1618, pp. 43-51 (with facing Latin trans.)
- P. Cedulini, 'Discorso di monsignor Pietro Cedolini, vescovo di Lesina. Fatto alla santità di nostro sign. Clemente ottavo, per la difesa contra il Turco l'anno 1594', in Tesoro, *Del tesoro politico la parte terza e quarta*, Helenopoli, 1612, pp. 37-40
- P. Justinianus, *Rerum Venetarum ab Urbe Condita ad annum M.D.LXXV. Historia Petri Iustiniani Patricii Veneti... Ab eodem autore denuo revisa & rerum memorabilium additione illustrata, cumque indice locupletissimo ornata*, Strasbourg, 1611
- Fran Trankvil Andreis, *Oratio Tranquilli Parthenii Andronici Dalmatae contra Turcas ad Germanos habita*, Jena, 1518 (VD 16 ZV 602)
- F. Frankopan, *DE CAUSIS MAGNITVDINIS IMPERII TVRCICI, & virtutis ac felicitatis Turcarum in bellis perpetuae: VBERTI FOLIETAE. DE RE MILITARI adversus Turcas instituenda, Consilium AVGERII BVSBEQVII. DOLIVM DIOGENIS, eiusdem argumenti. ORATIO FRANCISCI DE FRANGEPANIBVS, in comitijs Ratisb. 1541. BESSARIONIS Niceni Cardin. TVRCICAE orationes duae. ORATIO SENATORIA DE BELLO TVRCICO Ioach. Camerarij Series IMPP. TVRCICORVM, & Narratio Belli Cyprii*, Leipzig, 1595
- C. Cippicus, *De bello Asiatico, Coriolani Cippici Dalmatae Traguriensis libri tres, opera Ioannis Cippici, nunc iterum impressi*, Venice, 1594

- B. Bessarion, *ORATIONES DVAE ACCVRATISSIMAE D.BESSARIONIS NICAENI CARDINALIS... quarum vna de periculis imminentibus propter Turcicas irruptiones, altera de discordijs sedandis... tractat. QVIBVS EIVSDEM ARGVMENTI NONNVLLA alia... addita sunt... NVNC ITERVM EDITA ET expositionibus breuibns illustrata, à IOACHIMO CAMERARIO inclytae Reip. Norimb. Medico. ORATIO D.FRANCISCI COMITIS de Frangipanib... ad Caesarem Carolum V. Electores et principes Germaniae. DE CAVSSIS MAGNITVDINIS Imperij Turcici, autore Vberto Folieta Ganuensi, Nuremberg, 1593*
- B. Karnarutić, *Vazetye Sigetta grada sloxeno po Barni Charnarutichiu Zadraninu*, Venice, 1584; (s.l.), 1661²; Venice, 1639³; Zagreb, 1866⁴
- ‘Antonii Rosanei in magna navali victoria ode’, in P. Gherardi, D. Guerra and G.B. Guerra, *In foedus et victoriam contra Turcas iuxta sinum Corinthiacum Non. Oct. MDLXXI partam, Poemata varia*, Venice, 1572, pp. 416-20
- C. Cippico, *Delle cose fatte da Pietro Mocenico capitano generale di mare della serenissima signoria di Venezia libri tre di Coriolan Cepione nouamente dal latino tradotti*, Venice, 1570
- H. Lucić, P. Hektorović, and M. Franičević, *Skladanje izvarsnih pisan razlicih počtovanoga gospodina Hanibala Lucia vlastelina hvar-skoga*, Venice, 1556
- L. Paskalić, *Ludouici Pascalis Iulii Camilli, Molsae, et aliorum illustrium poetarum carmina, ad illustriss. et doctiss. marchionem Auriae Bernardinum Bonifatium per Ludouicum Dulcium nunc primum in lucem aedita*, Venice, 1551
- L. Paschale, *Rime volgari*, Rome, 1549
- T.P. Andronicus, *Ad optimates Polonos admonitio*, Krakow, 1545; 1584² (*Cum praefatione Jacobi Gorscii*)
- C. Cippico, *CORIOLANI CEPIONIS DALMATAE DE PETRI Mocenici Imperatoris Gestis Libri tres. ITEM CONRADI VVENGERI Brixien-sis De Bello inter Sigismundum Archistrategum Austriae & Venetos Libellus. PRAETEREA MICHAELIS Coccinij Tubingensis De Bellis Italicis Liber unus*, Basel, 1544
- T.P. Andronicus, *Oratio Tranquilli Andronici Dalmatae ad Germanos de bello suscipiendo contra Thurcos*, Wien, 1541 (VD 16 A 2810)
- F. de Frangepán, *Oratio reverendissimi in Christo patris domini Francisci comitis de Frangepanibus, archiepiscopi Colocensis et episcopi Agriensis, oratoris regni Hungarie ad Caesarem, electores et principes Germaniae*, Wittenberg, 1541; Augsburg, 1541

- F. de Frangepán, *Eyn Oration vnnd Rede des hochwürdigsten in Gott vatters herren Franciscen Grafen von Frangepaen Ertzbischoff von Calitschon vnd bischoff von Agran des Hungerischen Künigreichs Orators an Roe. Kay. Mai. Churfürsten Fürsten etc. lateinisch gestelet hernach zu gemainem nutz verteutschet*, Ingolstadt, 1541
- F. de Frangepán, *Ein Oration des hochwyrdigsten Herrn Franciscen Graffen von Frangepaen Ertzbischoff zu Calitschon vnd Bischoff zu Agran des Hungerischen Koenigreichs Orator an Roe. Key. May. an Churfuersten Fuersten etc. Lateinisch gestellet hernach zu gemeynem nutz verteutschet. Gehalten zu Regensburg am 9. Junij anno 1541*, Nuremberg, 1541
- W. de Frangepán, *Oratio ad Serenissimum Carolum V Sacri Romani Imperij Caesarem inclytum ac ad Illustrissimos et potentissimos Principes Romani Imperii facta ex parte Regnicolarum Croaciae per Vuolffgangum de Frangepanibus Comitem etc, Oratorem ipsius Croaciae*, Augsburg, 1530
- W. de Frangepán, *Ain Oration oder Rede vor Roemischer Kayserlicher vnnd Küniglicher Mayestaeten Churfürsten... auff gegenwertigem Reychßtag allhie zů Augspurg versamblet durch... Wolffgang Grafen von Frangepan... in Latein gehalten an dem... Sanct Bartholomeus tag Anno 1530. Antwort so der Durchleüchtigest... Marggraff Joachim zů Brandenburg... bald zů Latein gegeben hat. Alles... verteuscht*, Augsburg, 1530
- K. Frangepán, *Oratio ad Adrianum sextum pont. max. Christophori de Frangepanibus, ves. seg. Modrusieque comitis etc.*, Rome, 1523
- T.P. Andronicus, *Oratio Tranquilli Parthenii Andronici Dalmatae contra Thurcas ad Germanos habita*, Augsburg, 1518 (VD 16 A 2809)
- S. Posedarski, *Oratio Stephani Possedarski habita apud Leonem decimum pontificem maximum pro domino Ioanne Torquato comite Corbauie defensore Crouacie*, [Rome], [1516?]
- T.P. Andronicus, *Hec continentur in hoc opusculo. Tranquilli Parthenij Dalmate ad Deum contra Thurcas Oratio carmine heroico. Eiusdem Epistola ad Clarissimum ac Nobilem virum Hieronymum de Croaria in Tapphain vtriusque Juris Doctorem. Jtem Epigramma Viti Verleri: David Rotmund buchornensis: et Theoderici Spett Prepositi Stuchar-diensis*, Nürnberg, 1515 (VD 16 A 2804)
- B. Zane, *Oratio reverendissimi D. Archiepiscopi Spalatensis habita in prima Sessione Lateranensis concilii*, Rome, 1512

T. Niger, *Divina electio ac tempestiva creatio serenissimi principis veneti Leonardi Lauretani. cum pronostico sui invictissimi principatus. Panegyris P. Thomae Nigri Delmatae . . . in creati o ne fausta serenissimi principis veneti Leonardi Lauretani*, Venice, 1501

C. Cippico, *Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta*, Venice, 1477

STUDIES

N. Jovanović, 'Antonio Fabregues o Krbavskoj bici', *Povijesni prilozi* 41 (2011) 173-87

G. Čupković, 'Zapis popa Martinca kao spomenik književnoga djelovanja', *Umjetnost riječi* 53 (2009) 1-27

K. Pajorin, 'Antiturcica negli anni quaranta del'400. Le epistole di Francesco Filelfo, di Poggio Bracciolini e di János Vitéz', *Camoenae Hungaricae* 3 (2006) 17-28

I. Jurković, 'Osmanska ugroza, plemeniti raseljenici i hrvatski identitet', *Povijesni prilozi* 31 (2006) 39-69

D. Dukić et al., *Sultanova djeca, Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zadar, 2004

D. Fališevac, *Kaliopin vrt II*, Split, 2003

N. Moačanin, *Turska Hrvatska. Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskog Carstva do 1791*, Zagreb, 1999

N. Moačanin, 'The historical fate of Croatia and Turco-Croatian relations in the past', in *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 16.27 (1994) 243-55

M.D. Birnbaum, *Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the sixteenth century*, Zagreb, 1993

M. Franičević, *Povijest hrvatske renesansne književnosti*, Zagreb, 1983

M.B. Petrovich, 'The Croatian humanists and the Ottoman peril', *Balkan Studies* 20 (1979) 257-73

M.B. Petrovich, 'Croatian humanists and the writing of history in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', *Slavic Review* 37 (1978) 624-39

E. Hercigonja, "'Liber Judith" i Martinčev zapis "suprotiv Turkom" iz Novljanskog II. Brevijara', *Radovi Zavoda za slavensku filologiju* 12 (1971) 69-73

S. Cavazza, 'Tranquillo Andronico e la guerra contro i Turchi: 1569-1571', *Rivista di Studi Ungheresi* 1 (1969) 21-39

E. Albrecht, *Das Türkenbild in der ragusanisch-dalmatinischen Literatur des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1965

M. Popović, 'Nekoliko podataka o pesniku Ludoviku Paskvaliću (Pascalle)', *Zbornik istorije književnosti Odeljenja literature i jezika Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti* 2 (1961) 49-64

- V. Foretić, 'Turska opsada Korčule g. 1571', *Vesnik Vojnog muzeja* 2 (1958) 5, 83-7
- N. Žic, 'Govor splitskog nadbiskupa Bernarda Zane u lat. Koncilu', *Obzor* 55 (1934) 80-94
- V. Lisičar, *Obrana Korčule od Turaka 1571*, Dubrovnik, 1934
- A. Bacotich, 'Delle rime volgari di messer Ludovico Paschale di Catharo dalmatino', *Archivio Storico per la Dalmazia* 2/8 (1926) 1-14; 2/9 (1926) 33-6
- M. Mesić, 'Građa mojih razprava u "Radu"', *Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 5 (1873) 109-288, pp. 165-81, 186, 189, 192, 196, 223
- M. Mesić, 'Banovanje Petra Berislavića za kralja Ljudevita II', *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 3 (1868) 1-64

Neven Jovanović

Turcica

The word *Türkenbüchlein* appears in the title of about 15 German prints in the 16th century. Since it was not a fixed term but could be easily replaced or omitted, it is a slightly misleading, if catchy, category. This entry, therefore, refers to the wider concept of ‘Turcica’. It covers about 800 German Turcica produced in the 16th century, a broad and heterogeneous group of prints that dealt in various ways with the Ottomans, who figured in European representations as ‘Turks’.

Türkenbüchlein; Turcica

DATE 16th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various

DESCRIPTION

The broad concept of ‘Turcica’ was established for a group of historical sources in the bibliography of Carl Göllner (*Turcica*). This entry will give an introduction to the Turcica printed in the German-Roman Empire with reference to both the numbers given by Göllner and the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (‘German national bibliography for the sixteenth century’, accessible online with links to the available digitalised copies). Here, both bibliographies are also used to indicate the extent of distribution of each text. However, it should be stressed that the numbers of several ‘editions’ of a text can only be approximate, and many texts are also unregistered and scattered in 16th-century compendia and omnibus volumes, so the corpus of knowledge is flexible and fluid.

Neue Zeitungen, pamphlets and battle reports

Battlefield news and updated information about the Ottoman military and diplomatic contacts between European powers and the Ottoman Empire were disseminated through the new medium of pamphlets and single-leaf prints called *avvisi* or *Neue Zeitungen*. The information came from private letters and through the information channels of the European powers, especially Venice (see Pertusi, Beck and Manoussacas, *Venezia*; cf. also Meserve, ‘News’; Aulinger, ‘Kundschafterberichte’).

The publication rate not only of the *Neue Zeitungen*, but of all Turcica reflected war events – after significant battles such as the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1529 or the victory of the Holy League in Lepanto in 1571, the numbers of all kinds of Turcica increased notably (Göllner, *Turcica*, vol. 3, p. 19)

An example of a more comprehensive battle report is the official description of the siege of Vienna in 1529 by the imperial secretary, Peter Stern (*Belegerung der Statt Wienn*), which served as a pattern for many other reports (*Wien 1529*; Sturminger, *Bibliographie*). In 1532, as the Ottomans again marched towards Austria and besieged Güns, and Vienna feared a further attack, the *Warhafftige neue Zeitung von dem Türcken* reported the interrogation of a captured Turk about the Ottoman military strategy and troops. In 1571, the *Zeittungen, Von dem Grossen Christen Sieg*, reported on the Christian triumph of Lepanto, supplemented with a list of Christian and Ottoman military commanders who were involved. Such battle reports often stressed the atrocities committed by the Turks, as, for instance, at the Ottoman capture of Pest in 1526: The Turks ‘burn and hew all people (...)’, and decapitate girls and young women after raping them. ‘One cannot put into words how much suffering and misery they spread: they act even more dog-like and tyrannical.’ (*Hernach volgt des Bluthundts (...) Gethaten*, 1526).

Pictorial representations include the famous panorama of the Ottoman siege of Vienna by Nikolaus Meldeman, various woodcarvings portraying members of the Ottoman army by Hans Guldenmundt and five woodcarvings of Charles V's campaign in 1532 by Michael Ostendorfer (*Wien 1529*, pp. 59-71), along with many anonymous drawings with which the pamphlets were often illustrated. (For images about the siege of Vienna, see Sturminger, *Bibliographie*, pp. 337-49; for an analysis of the German Turcica as part of media history, see the forthcoming PhD thesis by Yigit Topkaya, University of Basel.)

Exhortatory writings and calls to war

This group of sources within the Turcica covers a wide range of topics. What they have in common is the theme of the Turkish menace and the call for united action by the Christian community against it.

The *Türcken biechlein. Ain Nutzlich Gespräch* (...) was published anonymously in 1522 in Augsburg, Basel and Strasburg by a Protestant author. After a preface calling Christians to the fight against the diabolical Turks,

the text is structured as a conversation between several characters identified as a Turk, a gypsy, a Hungarian, an old hermit and the hermit's disciple. The debate covers the situation of many European powers and the characteristics of their soldiers, and deplors the lack of Christian unity and of obedience to the emperor and kings, the selfish behaviour of nobles, cities, monopolistic guilds and, above all, clerics, and the pope's intrigues. A sense of the 'common good' (*gemainer Nutz*) is the leitmotif – absent in Christian lands but practised by the Turks, and explaining both Christian misery and Turkish victories – but the author is careful to counterbalance this motif by also representing the Turks as tyrannical, cruel and treacherous, to ensure that Christians would not wish to live under Ottoman rule.

In his *Türcken Büchlein. Wie sich Prediger vnd Leien halten sollen* (...), the Lutheran theologian Johannes Brenz (1499-1570) presents the Turkish menace within the older medieval narrative of Christian salvation history: in accordance with the prophecy of Daniel, the (German-)Roman Empire is interpreted as the last of four world empires before Judgement Day, and obedience to the (German-)Roman emperor is presented as a divinely ordained duty. The Turks have been sent by God as punishment for the Christians' sins of malice, lack of respect for God's Gospel, heresy and vice, against which preachers have a duty to proclaim the true message of the Gospels. At the same time, the Turks are the enemies of God. The ambivalent labelling of 'the Turk' as both the instrument and the enemy of God was widespread, but was particularly debated among Protestants. Unlike Luther, who in his early writings opposed war against the Turks, since God's scourge could be only met with penance, not with the sword (Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam*, pp. 227-9), Brenz takes fighting the Turks as a divine command.

Bernadin Türk (d. 1548), a Bavarian tradesman, refers in his writings to information provided by the Hungarian embassy to the Ottoman Empire that was led by Barnabas of Bélay in the 1510s. In his *Getrew vnd wolmeynende kurzte erjnnung* (1542), Bernadin describes Turkish military training in order to provoke the Diet in Regensburg to wage war against the Turks. In another book, called *Das der Türck ein erbfeind aller Christen weder traw noch glauben halte* (1542), Bernadin cautions Christian princes against treaties with the treacherous Turks and lists six recent examples of the Turks breaking agreements (Babinger, *Zwei baierische Türkenbüchlein*).

The *New Türckenbüchlin* (1558) of the otherwise unknown Simon Wolder also laments Christian sins such as selfishness, greed, wrath, gluttony and fornication, but then turns to presenting a detailed proposal for taxation of the whole empire, including all clerical institutions and secular estates, and an individual tax on everybody's properties and incomes in order to raise an army against the common enemy. Wolder also gives an account of how to use the sum of 821,150,000 thaler that he calculated would be raised (Wolder, *New Türckenbüchlin*, fol. C4v) for troops, supplies and weapons in a joint Christian campaign against the Turks, to be led by the emperor. This calculation, which took into account the economic performance of both the political institutions and the population of the empire for the purpose of the war against the Turks, was not unique but was presented in several pamphlets with variations on the title *Dies ist ein anschlag eines Zugs wider die Türken* ('This is a tax assessment for a campaign against the Turks', e.g. Göllner, *Turcica*, vol. 1, no. 23, pp. 701-93, 762).

Johann Fickler (1533-1610), a Catholic lawyer and counsellor of the Bavarian Duke Maximilian I, also judged in his *Klagschrifft* of 1595 that the Turks were both an instrument of God's wrath and the hereditary enemy of Christianity. Instead of affronting Christians with a detailed list of their own sins, Fickler praises Christians for their noble princes, honourable knights, mighty cities and strong young people, who need further advice and comfort in order to wage an effective war against the Turks. On the following 260 pages of his compendium, Fickler presents some of the classic Turcica that were translated into German, mainly by Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini/Pope Pius II (1405-64) and the Byzantine scholar Basilius Bessarion (1403-72), both famous for their humanist speeches against the Turks (Döring, *Rhetorik*).

Sermons and prayers

Sermons on the Turks (*Türkenpredigten*) started with Luther's *Heerpredigt* in 1529, inspired by the Ottoman siege of Vienna, and printed 17 times before 1601, the model for many Lutheran preachers to follow. For the 16th and 17th centuries, 97 Protestant (all Lutheran) and 35 Catholic sermons on the topic of the Turks are known (Haag, *Erbfeind*).

The Lutheran theologian Esaias Heidenreich (1532-89), pastor and teacher in Silesia, in his *Zwölff Türcken Predigten*, praises prayer and

faith as 'spiritual armour' against the Turks. Every Christian should know about the false religion of the Turks and its history in order to distinguish light from darkness. He warns war profiteers, idlers, insubordinate servants and vain youth of their impending fate under the Turkish yoke if they continue to take the Turkish menace lightly. The rise of the false prophet 'Machomet', cruel, blasphemous and murderous, and the success of his followers in spreading their false religion, show that the devil looks after his heretics, including Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, enlisting clever but seriously misguided people such as lawyers, nobles, educated burghers and artisans in order to do so. Heidenreich draws on George of Hungary and Bartholomäus Georgius to describe the miserable fate of Christians under Turkish rule. He discusses the question of why God tolerates such evil by referring to the early Christian martyrs, whose blood strengthened Christian doctrine and convinced people of the true faith.

Although Lutheran and Catholic sermons from this time have many elements in common, they combine and align them into different theologies and concepts of social order. The balance between what is considered worldly or spiritual also differs – for instance, the Protestant preacher Jacob Andreae (1528-90) focussed only on spiritual matters while Urban Sagstetter (1529-73), Catholic bishop of Gurk in Austria, judged war against the Turks a patriotic duty. Protestant sermons framed the Turkish menace within an apocalyptic scenario more often than Catholics (Haag, *Erbfeind*).

Prayers against the Turks were added to the sermons, and were also published separately. Bishop Moritz von Sandizell (1514-67), author of two Catholic prayers entitled *Wider den laydigen Türcken, vnnd sein grausams fürnemen, gemaine Gebet* (1566), announces that every priest and preacher within the bishopric of Freising should read the first prayer from the pulpit on every festival. Priests should also see that their parishioners pray the second prayer at home every day at noon when a bell (*Türkenglocke*) was rung, thus encouraging Christians to remember the Turkish menace together. The first prayer laments the sinful lives of Christians and their lack of unity in the right faith, provoking the wrath of God. It asks God for forgiveness and help for all who fight against the Turks 'for our Christian faith, for us and our beloved fatherland, the Holy Roman Empire'. The second prayer evokes the 'rose-coloured' blood of Jesus Christ and asks that he might bestow peace and help on Christian sinners against the 'cruel Turks and all infidels'.

Travel reports and pictorial representations

The most widely published travel report about the Ottoman Empire that appeared in the German-Roman Empire is that of George of Hungary, which was printed 17 times (albeit in very different versions) in the 16th century. Hans Schiltberger's *Reisebuch* and the German translations of *De ritu Turcarum* by Bartholomäus Georgius were both printed six times. The more extensive description by Giovanni Antonio Menavino was also popular, being printed five times in German and twice in Latin within the compendium *Chronicorum Turcorum* by Philipp Lonicer. In the same league, being printed twice in Latin and three times in German (all in Basel) is a text by Antoine Geuffroy (probably not based on an actual journey); this was originally published in French and reprinted five times together with an English translation in Antwerp, Paris, Lyons and London (Geuffroy, *Briefue description*). The three German editions of the French *Navigations* by Nicolas de Nicolay complete the group of travel reports, with more than two printings in the German speaking areas. Along with George of Hungary, Schiltberger, Georgius and Menavino, this group is also dominated by the experiences of authors who came to the Ottoman Empire as prisoners of war (Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, pp. 391-403).

In travel reports, statements about the Turkish menace were usually given in the preface or another prominent place, though they often did not dominate the whole text. The *Hoffhaltung des Türckischen Keisers* by (the otherwise unknown) Antoine Geuffroy, however, is a good example of how the framing could change with new editions and translations: the first French edition (as well as the Latin translation of the first part about the court; cf. Geuffroy, *Aula Turcica*) presents a description of the Ottoman court with its many ranks (known especially from Italian travel reports, and mostly based on a report by Benedetto Ramberti; cf. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, p. 210), customs, religion (including a report of Muḥammad's Night Journey through seven heavens, the *mi'rāj*), a history of early Islam, the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman-European battles, with only a few headings (Geuffroy, *Briefue description de la court du Grant Turc*). The German translator Nicolas Höniger (1548-98) incorporated further material and stressed the ethnographical structure of the text by inserting many headings such as 'fourth chapter about the impure and obscene life of Mahometh and other nefarious and impudent vices', thus also emphasising the theme of the Turkish menace (Geuffroy, *Hoffhaltung*, p. 224).

Apart from this group of the most popular travel reports in print, there are at least 50 reports written in the German-Habsburg context, most of them in manuscript form (c. 70%) but some also in print. Half of these were authored by travellers who were either members or companions of Habsburg diplomatic missions to Constantinople, such as Melchior Besolt, Ogier Ghislaine de Busbeck, Benedict Curipeschitz, Hans Dernschwam, Reinhold Lubenau, Salomon Schweiger and Anton Verantius (Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, pp. 151-78, and see also the very extensive bibliography covering archival sources in Müller, *Prosopographie*). Another text corpus is the official diplomatic correspondence, consisting of both letters and, more extensively, final reports written after the ambassadors returned to Vienna (parts are edited in Gévy, *Legatio*; Gévy, *Urkunden*; and Nehring and Bernath, *Austro-Turcica*). It is remarkable that one group of travellers is missing among the authors of travel reports: traders and merchants usually remained silent about their experiences, not only in Germany but also in Italy and France.

Habsburg diplomatic missions also offered an opportunity for the creation of pictorial representations, although these did not match the ethnographical spectrum covered by the 68 beautiful copper engravings printed in the travel report of Nicolas de Nicolay. The painter and engraver Melchior Lorichs (b. 1527) made two trips to Constantinople, where he created portraits of Sultan Süleyman and his predecessors, the Persian ambassador Ismail, and three Habsburg ambassadors. He also painted a detailed view of Constantinople in a large tableau (ed. Mango and Yerasimos). The Flemish painter Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-50) joined the embassy of Cornelis de Schepper in 1533, hoping to sell his tapestries, and depicted several scenes about 'Turkish manners' (*Les mœurs et fachons de faire des Turcz*; Stirling-Maxwell, *Turks*; *Wien 1529*, pp. 94-5). Hans Löwenklau could not afford to publish his paintings of the Ottoman court and Ottoman everyday life, but they are preserved in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (code 8615).

Historical works

Many Turcica report the history of early Islam and the Ottoman Empire (often with the heading 'about the origin of the Turks') along with updated information about European-Ottoman warfare. The more extensive texts were usually based on Byzantine and Latin authors (Pertusi, 'I primi studi'; Meserve, *Empires of Islam*). In the late 16th century,

Europeans started to be interested in Ottoman historical works. For example, the French ambassador and orientalist François Savary de Brèves (1560-1628) brought many manuscripts from Constantinople to France. In the Habsburg context, the move towards considering Ottoman sources took place with the works of Hans Löwenklau.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Turcica printed in the German-Roman Empire were interwoven with other European Turcica by dense intertextual relations and numerous translations from Italian and other European languages into German and Latin, and vice versa. They played a part in the discourse on the 'Turkish menace', which interpreted the Ottoman expansion as a fundamental danger for the whole of Christianity. This discourse combined and shifted various traditional Christian motifs, depicting a Christian community called into action against the 'Turks' in various ways: to wage war, to unite and to do penance. They instigated and integrated empirical information about the Ottoman Empire, but they were also written without reference to this information. The Turkish menace was, to a large degree, promoted by the printing press invented by Johannes Gutenberg around the same time as the Ottoman capture of Constantinople: among its very first products were several Turcica (Döring, *Türkenkrieg*). Germany was the leading producer of European Turcica in the 15th century: of 774 Turcica, 70% were printed in the German-Roman Empire, while Italy produced 16%, including 8% in Rome and 3% in Venice; the Netherlands produced 6%, England 3% and France and the Swiss Confederation 2% each. (These calculations are based on Döring [*Türkenkrieg*, p. 36], who also points to the fact that 70% of 15th-century Turcica were ecclesiastical documents such as papal bulls and indulgences.) In the 16th century, the share of German Turcica decreased with the spread of the printing press in Europe, but Germany still held a leading position: if Göllner's bibliography is used as a statistical basis for the 16th century, around 45% of the 1788 Turcica whose place of printing is known were published in the German-Roman Empire, 27% in Italy (including 8% in Venice), 13% in France, 5% in the Netherlands, 3% in the Swiss Confederation and less than 2% in England (Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, pp. 117-18). These figures do not reflect either relations of the various European powers with the Ottoman Empire or the flow of information; the latter was dominated by Italy, and especially Venice, which leads the list for the number of travel reports about the Ottoman Empire (see Yerassimos, *Voyageurs*, p. 10). Rather, they hint at the political situation in the

German-Roman Empire, where the Habsburg emperors promoted the discourse about the Turkish menace in order to raise revenues at Diets from the imperial estates whose territories were not threatened by the Ottomans. These negotiations not only helped the Protestants to gain concessions from the Catholic emperors, but also strengthened the whole political structure of the empire, now consolidated by taxes (Schulze, *Reich und Türkengefahr*). Another factor is the conflicts between Catholics and the various Protestant denominations, which not only depicted the 'Turkish religion' as diabolical heresy but also blamed their Christian opponents for heretical dogmas and developed their various theologies in the light of the construct of the Turk (Kaufmann, *Türckenbüchlein*; Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam*).

Given the wide range of contexts within which the Turkish menace was evoked to a greater or lesser degree, Turcica were found among many different types of texts (travel reports and ethnographical compendia, chronicles, battle reports, *avvisi* and pamphlets, exhortatory writings and calls to war, theological tracts, speeches, sermons, prayers, songs, dramas, etc.). Although modern categories are useful to give an overview, the texts often overlap and should not be taken as genres of literature in the strict sense. The texts mentioned in the various categories of sources serve as examples, and are far from an exhaustive list.

Neue Zeitungen, pamphlets and battle reports

The pamphlets promoted the discourse of the Turkish menace. Thus, they were more than mere descriptions of a threat to the population living within the war zone: descriptions of the miserable lives of Christians under the Turkish yoke attempted to prevent people from migrating to the Ottoman Empire, an option that was particularly possible near borders (Lauer and Majer, *Osmanen und Islam*). The pamphlets often call for both war and penance (*Ermanung an das Gemeyn Christenlich Volck*) and treat allegedly prevalent Christian sins as the causes of the Turkish successes (Cantzler, *Auss was ursache Gott dem Türcken verhengt hat*).

The numerous Turcica registered by Göllner that are entitled *avvisi*, *copia di una lettera*, (*Wahrhaftige*) *Neue Zeitung* or otherwise (Göllner, *Turcica*, vol. 2, index) are impressive. Another collection (the so-called 'Wickiana'), which has survived in Zurich in the Swiss Reform milieu influenced by Zwingli and the more moderate attitude towards the Turks of Heinrich Bullinger, shows, however, only minor concern with

the Turkish menace. Between 1559 and 1588, the clergyman Johann Jakob Wick collected in Zurich single-leaf and illustrated broadsheets, pamphlets and other publications, thus reflecting the horizon of interest of a contemporary. The single-leaf broadsheets of the Wickiana report on comets, earthquakes, monstrosities, crimes and historical events, witnessing to a deep sense of crisis in face of all kinds of divine signs, among which the Turks, although present, are not at all the most prominent: outside the Diets of the German-Roman Empire and the Lutheran concern with the Turkish menace, perspectives shifted (Harms and Schilling, *Die Wickiana*; see also the digitalised collection available online at www.zb.uzh.ch).

Exhortatory writings and calls to war

Along with the sermons, this group of texts tends to reflect the internal affairs of the German-Roman Empire rather than encounters with the Ottomans beyond the battlefield. Many different approaches were adopted, covering a wide spectrum.

Sermons and prayers

The Protestant sermons were mostly written in German with a broad audience in mind, while a significantly higher proportion of the Catholic sermons were in Latin, being aimed at educated circles and the ruling elites. All sermons reflected the military events of the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict to a significant degree, particularly during the siege of Vienna in 1529 and the Ottoman campaigns in Hungary in the early 1540s and 1566, as well as at the climax of the Long War of 1593-1606 (Haag, “Erbfeind”).

Travel reports and pictorial representations

To a large extent, these travel reports present information about the Ottoman Empire and its everyday life gained through empirical observation. They can thus be explored as sources for both Ottoman history and ‘entangled history’. To describe them as ‘objective’, however, would be as misleading as it would be for any historical source. The travel reports within the Turcica were part of the ethnographical project of the

15th and 16th centuries to map the world by establishing new rules for presenting ethnographical information in Early Modern Europe: alongside the older pattern of describing a journey along its itinerary (Schiltberger, Nicolas de Nicolay and the majority of the pilgrimage reports), a new principle was developed that organised the information under general topics, such as the court, religion, customs and manners (Georgiewicz, Menavino, Geuffroy). This principle was formalised in the Early Modern *ars apodemica* (art of traveling). The travel reports on the Ottoman Empire particularly promoted the establishment of the ethnographical field of 'religion'. In doing so, they played a part in shaping the modern concept of religion (Stagl, *History*; Asad, *Genealogies*; Höfert, *Religio Turcorum*).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

The references below are to Göllner, *Turcica*, 3 vols, Bucharest, 1961-78, and *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1983-2000 [VD 16].

Neue Zeitungen, pamphlets and battle reports

Zeitungen, von dem grossen Christen Sieg (...) wider den Türcken, so bey dem Porto le Panto (...) erhalten worden ist, Nuremberg, 1571 (VD 16 Z 327, Z 328)

Ermanung an das Gemeyn Christenlich Volck, umb Gnad unnd Siegk widder den Türcken zu pitten, unnd zuo unterhaltung des Christenlichen Heers jr milte handtreichung gutwillig zuthun, s.l., 1542 (Göllner, no. 770)

Wolfgang Cantzler, *Auss was vrsache Gott dem Türcken verhengt das er die Christenheit so starck vberzeucht vnd it blutdurstiger hand, ermordt verfolgt vnd hin wegfürt*, Ulm, 1532 (Göllner, no. 428; VD 16 C 787)

Wahrhaftige neue Zeitung von dem Türcken, welcher eyn gefangner Türck zuo Wien, auff die Fragstuck, so hierinn begriffen, geantwort, Augsburg, 1532 (VD 16 V 2753); Nürnberg, 1532 (VD 16 2752)

Peter Stern, *Belegerung der Statt Wienn jm jar, als man zallt nach Cristi geburt, tausent fünffhundert vnnd im newnundtzwaintzigisten beschehen kürztlich angetzaigt*, Vienna, 1529 (Göllner, no. 328; VD 16 S 8927)

Hernach volgt des Bluthundts, der sych nennedt ein Türckischer keiser, Gethaten, Augsburg, 1526 (VD 16 B 5794 and several editions in other places)

Exhortatory writings and calls to war

- Johann Baptist Fickler, *Klagschrifft Uber den Hochschädlichen Verlust der Christenheit von dem laidigen Türcken (...) erlitten*, Munich, 1595 (Göllner, p. 2032; VD 16 K 222, B 2246, B 2258, F 979, K 217; with wrong date of publication: VD 16 39:12370C, 12:206259Z, 12:206498D), also published with the title *Trewherztige Warnungsschrifft an die Stände zu Regensburg (...) wider den Türcken*, Munich, 1598 (Göllner, no. 2330; VD 16 K 223, B 2247, B 2259, F 980)
- Simon Wolder, *New Türckenbüchlin, der gleichen vor diser zeit nie getruckt worden. Rathschlag, vnd Christliches bedencken, wie one sonderliche beschwerde der Obrigkeit, auch der Vnderthanen, der Christenheit Erbfeind, der Türck, (...) zu vberwinden were*, Frankfurt, 1558 (Göllner, no. 998; VD 16 W 4178, W 4179, ZV 28400); Zerbst, 1595 (Göllner, no. 2073; VD 16 W 4180, O 969)
- Johannes Brenz, *Türcken Büchlein. Wie sich Prediger vnd Leien halten sollen, so der Türck das Deutsche Land vberfallen würde. Christliche vnd nottürfftige vnterrichtung*, Wittenberg, 1537 (VD 16 B 7987); Magdeburg, 1595 (omitting 'Türcken Büchlein' in the title; Göllner, no. 2021, VD 16 B 7990)
- Bernadin Türk, *Das der Türck, ein erbfeind aller Christen, weder traw noch glauben halte, klare beweynung aus den geschichten bißher inn kurtzen jaren von jme begangen*, Regensburg, 1542 (Göllner, nos 752, 753; VD 16 T 2187, T 2186)
- Bernadin Türk, *Getrewe vnd wolmeynende kurtze erjnnernung von der Türcken ordnung in iren Kriegen von Veldtschlachten*, Nuremberg, 1542 (Göllner nos 750, 751; VD 16 T 2189)
- Türcken biechlein. Ain Nutzlich Gesprech oder Vnderrede etlicher personen zu besserung Christlicher ordnung vnd lebens gedichtet*, Augsburg, 1522 (VD 16 T 2233); Basel, 1522 (VD 16 T 2234, ZV 28152); Strasburg, 1522 (VD 16 T 2238; cf. Göllner, nos 172-4; facsimile in Göllner, *Chronica unnd Beschreibung*, pp. 121-64)

Sermons and prayers

- Esaias Heidenreich, *Zwölff Türcken Predigten vber den Neun vnd siebentzigsten Psalm, Herr es sind Heiden in dein Erbe gefallen*, Leipzig, 1582 (VD 16 ZV 7545)

- Jacob Andreae, *Dreyzehnen Predigen vom Türcken. In woelchen gehandelt vürdt von seines Regiments Vrsprung, Glauben vnd Religion, Vom Türckischen Alcoran vnnnd desselben grundtlicher Widerlegung*, Tübingen, 1568 (VD 16 A 2613)
- Urban Sagstetter, *Gaistliche Kriegsrüstung, das ist, Christliche Buss vnnnd Trostpredigten (...) wider den Türcken*, Vienna, 1567 (VD 16 S 1311)
- Moritz von Sandizell, *Wider den laydigen Türcken, vnnnd sein grausams fürnemmen, gemaine Gebet, von der Cantzel zu diser zeit abzulesen, vnd im Hauß täglich zugebrauchen*, Dillingen, 1566 (VD 16 F 2616)
- Martin Luther, *Eine Heerpredigt widder den Türcken*, Wittenberg, 1529 (VD 16 L 4914)

Travel reports and pictorial representations

- Melchior Lorichs, *Melchior Lorichs' Panorama of Istanbul, 1559*, ed. C. Mango and S. Yerasimos, Istanbul, 1999
- K. Nehring and M. Bernath (eds), *Austro-Turcica 1541-1552. Diplomatiscche Akten des habsburgischen Gesandtschaftsverkehrs mit der Hohen Pforte im Zeitalter Süleymans des Prächtigen*, Munich, 1995
- C. Göllner (ed.), *Chronica unnd Beschreibung der Türckey. Unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgabe Nürnberg 1530 sowie fünf weiterer 'Türkendrucke' des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Cologne, 1983
- W. Stirling-Maxwell, *The Turks in 1533. A series of drawings made in that year at Constantinople by Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, London, 1873
- A. Gevay (ed.), *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Verhältnisse zwischen Österreich, Ungarn und der Pforte im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderte*, 3 vols, Vienna, 1838-42
- A. Gévay (ed.), *Legatio Ioannis Hoberdanacz et Sigismundi Weichselberger ad Suleimanum I. imperatorem Turcarum*, Bécsben, 1837
- Philipp Lonicer, *Chronicorvm Turcicorvm, in quibus Tvrcorvm origo, principes, imperatores, bella (...) et caetera huc pertinentia (...) exponuntur (...)*, Frankfurt am Main, 1578 (Göllner, no. 1695; VD 16 L 2463)
- Antoine Geuffroy, *Erste Theil der Hoffhaltung des Türkischen Keyser, vnd Othomannischen Reichs (...)*, Basel, 1596 (Göllner, no. 2197; VD 16 G 1912); Basel 1573 (Göllner, no. 1621; VD 16 G 1910); Basel, 1578 (Göllner, no. 1692; VD 16 G 1911)

- Antoine Geuffroy, *Aulae Turcicae, Othmannicque imperii, descriptio*, Basel, 1573 (Göllner, p. 1621; VD 16 G 1913 and others)
- Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Les moeurs et fachons de faire des Turcz avecq les regions y appartenents, ont esté au vif contrefaictes par Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Antwerp, 1553
- Antoine Geuffroy, *Briefue description de la court du grant Turc. Et ung sommaire du regne des Othmans avec un abregé de leurs folles superstitions, ensemble Lorigine de cinq Empires yssuz de la secte de Mehemet*, Paris, 1546 (MS Paris BNF – J 3325)

STUDIES

- K. Döring, *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert. Mit einem Katalog der europäischen Türkendrucke bis 1500*, Husum, 2013
- R. Lauer and H. Majer (eds), *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa*, Berlin, 2013
- J. Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam. Eine Untersuchung zum Türken- und Islambild Martin Luthers (1515-1546)*, Heidelberg, 2008
- T. Kaufmann, 'Türckenbüchlein' zur christlichen Wahrnehmung 'türkischer Religion', Göttingen, 2008
- A. Höfert, 'Europe and Religion in the framework of sixteenth-century relations between Christian powers and the Ottoman Empire', in H.-Å. Persson and B. Stråth (eds), *Reflections on Europe. Defining a political order in time and space*, Brussels, 2007, 211-30
- R. Müller, *Prosopographie der Reisenden und Migranten ins Osmanische Reich (1396-1611). Berichterstatter aus dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, ausser burgundische Gebiete und Reichsromania*, 10 vols, Leipzig, 2006
- M. Kurz et al. (eds), *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie*, Vienna, 2005
- A. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. 'Türkengefahr' und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich (1450-1600)*, Frankfurt, 2003
- F. Fuchs (ed.), *Osmanische Expansion und europäischer Humanismus*, Vienna, 2003
- B. Guthmüller and W. Kühlmann (eds), *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, Tübingen, 2000
- S. Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman (XIV-XVI^{ème} siècles). Bibliographie, itinéraire et inventaires des lieux habités*, Ankara, 1991
- Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1983-2000 [VD 16], continued as database (www.bsb-muenchen.de/16-Jahrhundert-VD-16.180.o.html)

- W. Schulze, *Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert. Studien zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer äußeren Bedrohung*, Munich, 1978
- C. Göllner, *Turcica*. vol. 1. *Die europäischen Türkendrucke des 16. Jahrhunderts 1501-1550*, Bucharest, 1961; vol. 2. *Die europäischen Türkendrucke des 16. Jahrhunderts 1551-1600*, Bucharest, 1968; vol. 3. *Die Türkenfrage in der öffentlichen Meinung Europas im 16. Jahrhundert*, Bucharest, 1978

Neue Zeitungen, pamphlets and battle reports

- R. Lauer and H. Majer (eds), *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa*, Berlin, 2013
- M. Meserve, 'News from Negroponte. Politics, popular opinion, and information exchange in the first decade of the Italian press', *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006) 440-80
- W. Harms and M. Schilling (eds), *Die Wickiana. Die Sammlung der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, Tübingen, 1997-2005
- R. Aulinger, 'Kundschafterberichte über den Aufmarsch der Türken am Balkan 1532', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 34 (1981) 147-73
- Wien 1529. Die erste Türkenbelagerung. Katalog zur 62. Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien*, Vienna, 1979
- A. Pertusi, H.G. Beck and M. Manoussacas (eds), *Venezia come centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, Florence, 1977
- Göllner, *Turcica*
- W. Sturminger, *Bibliographie und Ikonographie der Türkenbelagerungen Wiens 1529 und 1683*, Graz, 1955

Exhortatory writings and calls to war

- K. Döring, 'Rhetorik und Politik im 15. Jahrhundert. Die "Türkenreden" und ihre Verbreitung im Druck', in G. Strack and J. Knödler (eds), *Rhetorik in Mittelalter und Renaissance. Konzepte – Praxis – Diversität*, Munich, 2011, 429-53
- F. Babinger, *Zwei bayerische Türkenbüchlein (1542) und ihr Verfasser*, Munich, 1959
- Göllner, *Turcica*

Sermons and prayers

- N. Haag, ‘“Erbfeind der Christenheit”. Türkenpredigten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert’, in G. Haug-Moritz (ed.), *Repräsentationen der islamischen Welt im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, Münster, 2010, 127-49
- C.M. Gigler, ‘“Gaistliche Kriegsrüstung”. Die Türkenpredigten des Gurker Bischofs Urban Sagstetter (1566/67)’, in M. Kurz et al. (eds), *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie*, Vienna, 2005, 213-27

Travel reports and pictorial representations

- A. Höfert, ‘Die *religio turcorum* im Spannungsfeld zwischen häresisologischer und ethnographischer Tradition’, in L. Grenzmann et al. (eds), *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Göttingen, 2012, 279-99
- R. Müller, *Prosopographie der Reisenden und Migranten ins Osmanische Reich (1396-1611). Berichterstatter aus dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, ausser burgundische Gebiete und Reichsromania*, 10 vols, Leipzig, 2006
- A. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. ‘Türkengefahr’ und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich (1450-1600)*, Frankfurt, 2003
- J. Stagl, *A history of curiosity*, Chur, Switzerland, 1995
- T. Asad, *Genealogies of religion*, Baltimore MD, 1993
- Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l’Empire ottoman*
- Göllner, *Turcica*

Historical works

- M. Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance historical thought*, Cambridge MA, 2008
- A. Pertusi, ‘I primi studi in occidente sull’origine e la potenza dei Turchi’, *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970) 465-552

Almut Höfert

Wallachian diplomatic correspondence

This comprises the diplomatic correspondence between the rulers of Wallachia and rulers of neighbouring regions in the 16th century. Only a minor part of the correspondence has survived, and little is known about individual authors.

Wallachian diplomatic correspondence

DATE 16th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Various

DESCRIPTION

This correspondence, only a minor part of which has survived, consists mainly of letters sent by the rulers of Wallachia to the Kingdom of Hungary, and to the Saxon towns of Kronstadt (Brasov) and Hermannstadt (Sibiu) in southern Transylvania. A few letters were also sent to the kings of Poland, the princes of Transylvania (after 1576) and the Habsburgs. Most of the letters were written in Latin or Slavonic.

In addition to this correspondence with fellow Christian rulers, it is known that the rulers of Wallachia also sent regular reports to the Sublime Porte. Direct evidence for this is lost, though on one occasion the Habsburg ambassador in Constantinople, Giovanni Maria Malvezzi, mentions that the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia used to send reports to the Porte written in Turkish and that the governor of Transylvania, Giorgio Martinuzzi, adopted the same practice (Džaja and Weiss, *Austro-Turcica 1541-1552*, p. 426, doc. 159). In this correspondence with the Porte, Turkish was sometimes used.

The contents of the letters closely reflect political and military events of the times in which they were written. A ruler who enjoyed the support of the Porte would always claim that the sultan was a legitimate ruler and that his overwhelming power forced the Wallachians to submit to the Turks and even side with them against other Christian rulers. Conversely, during periods of tension, the Wallachian rulers would always try to argue that, despite their tributary status, they were eager to throw off the Turkish yoke and fight alongside their fellow Christians, and as a sign of good will they offered information about the Ottoman armies and potential targets.

The language of the letters follows typical patterns of 16th century diplomatic correspondence used during conflicts with the Ottoman Empire. The message is usually full of Christian *topoi* and clichés about the Turks as mortal enemies of the Christians. Like other Christian rulers, the rulers of Wallachia present their country as a bulwark of Christianity, and argue that its survival is vital for the whole of Christendom. In consequence, the Turks and their Tatar allies are depicted as infidels, stubborn enemies of the cross and Christianity. However, such sentiments are not elaborated, and there are no details about Islam, even though a number of rulers spent periods in Ottoman territories and had a good knowledge of Ottoman customs. Similarly, there is hardly any explanation of the Ottoman 'hatred' towards Christians. Some letters refer to the Ottomans as God's punishment for the sins of the Christians, while others emphasise the sultan's ambition to conquer the whole world.

SIGNIFICANCE

The rulers of Wallachia in the 16th century were compelled by the closeness of the Ottoman Empire to follow a very flexible policy in order to maintain the autonomy of their country. Their diplomatic correspondence with neighbouring Christian rulers sheds light on this flexibility as well as on their perception of the Ottomans and their religion.

Despite the arguments they contain, the letters appear to have had very little effect. Many contemporaries considered Wallachia an unreliable ally: at the beginning of the 'Long War' between the Habsburgs and Ottomans (1593-1606), the papal envoys did not visit the Wallachian prince, who was simply regarded as the sultan's puppet.

MANUSCRIPTS

Many letters are scattered among various Romanian and foreign archives.

Most are preserved in two archives:

MS Brasov, Romania, National Archive Brasov, arh. orasului Braşov, col. Stenner and col. Schnell

MS Sibiu, Romania, National Archive, Direcția Județeană Sibiu (Sibiu County Department), col. arh. Universității Săsești

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

I. Corfus, *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolele al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 1979

P.P. Panaitescu, *Documente slavo-române din Sibiu (1470-1653)*, Bucharest, 1938

- A. Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, I-V, Bucharest, 1929-32
- G.G. Tocilescu, *534 documente istorice slavo-române din Țara Românească și Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul 1346-1603*, Bucharest, 1931
- S. Dragomir, 'Documente nouă privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Sibiul', in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională din Cluj* 4 (1926-7) 3-80
- I. Bogdan, *Documente privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Brașovul și cu Țara Ungurească în secolele XV-XVI*, Bucharest, 1905
- Copies of Wallachian and Moldavian correspondence can also be found in an earlier series, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor, culese, adnotate și publ. de Nic. Densuseanu* [Documents relating to the history of the Romanians, collected, annotated and published by Nic. Densuseanu]:
- Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor* 8, 1376-1650, Bucharest, 1894
- Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor* 2/1, 1451-1575, Bucharest, 1891
- Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor* 2/2, 1451-1510, Bucharest, 1891
- Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor* 3/1, 1576-99, Bucharest, 1880

STUDIES

- M. Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiu-Hermannstadt. Oriental trade in sixteenth century Transylvania*, Cologne, 2007
- A. Pippidi, 'La croisade au bas Danube. Les Roumains comme "rem-part de la chrétienté"', in C. Delsol and M. Maslowski (eds), *Histoire des idées politiques de l'Europe Centrale*, Paris, 1998, 77-89
- S.M. Džaja and G. Weiss, *Austro-Turcica 1541-1552. Diplomatische Akten des habsburgischen Gesandtschaftsverkehrs mit der Hohen Pforte im Zeitalter Süleymans des Prächtigen*, Munich, 1995
- M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, *L'Empire Ottoman et les pays Roumains, 1544-1545. Études et documents*, Paris, 1987
- Ș. Andreescu, *Restitutio Daciae. Relațiile politice dintre Țara Românească, Moldova și Transilvania în răstimpul 1526-1593*, 2 vols, Bucharest, 1980-9
- G. Mihăilă and D. Zamfirescu (eds) *Literatura română veche (1402-1647)*, 2 vols, Bucharest, 1969
- N. Iorga, 'Îndreptări și întregiri la istoria românilor', in *Academia Română. Memoriile Secției Istorice*, s. 2, 27 (1905) 99-140

Jeśliby Żydzi mieli zadawać

*Jeśliby Żydzi mieli zadawać naszej Hagar i
Ismailu . . . , 'If the Jews were to accuse our Hagar
and Ismā'īl . . . '*

DATE Late 16th-early 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish (with Belarussian elements) written in
Arabic script

DESCRIPTION

The opening words of this religious polemic, 'If the Jews were to accuse our Hagar and Ismā'īl . . .', can be used as its title, though they belie its contents because it is against the Christians as well as the Jews. It takes up the first nine sheets of a 17th-century manuscript now in Leipzig University Library, which is very likely to be an autograph because it does not contain the mistakes characteristic of a copyist. Its ending has been lost, and perhaps also its beginning. It comes from the Muslim Tatars of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, though H. Fleischer, who was the first scholar to examine it, judged it to be of Crimean Tatar origin. It is written in Polish with numerous Belarusian elements, which would suggest that its possible origin was somewhere in the territory of the present-day Hlusk, Luban and perhaps Slutsk districts of Belarus. It may reflect Muslim attitudes to the Catholics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów*) at the time of the Counter-Reformation, who not only wrote anti-Muslim pamphlets, such as Czyżewski's *Al-furkan*, but also acted violently towards Muslims.

The author first addresses the 'genealogical question', which was very important for Muslims. He proves that Abraham (Ibrahim) and Hagar were properly married, and goes on to refer to the vicious behaviour of the female 'ancestors' in the Old Testament, mentioning only the four women included in the genealogy of Jesus in Matthew 1:1-17, Tamar, Rahab, Ruth and the wife of Uriah. This is also touched on in specifically anti-Christian Tatar works (see the entry *Skąd poszły bałwany*, 'Whence the idols have arrived').

The author goes on to discuss the topic of ritual purity, bathing and prostration during prayer. He appeals to those who do not keep these

obligations, though without specifying whether he is referring to fellow Muslims or to Christians (and Jews).

The author supports his arguments with quotations and paraphrases from the Polish translation of the Old Testament made by Szymon Budny, published in 1572. Budny was a member of the Polish Brethren/Unitarians, known in the Commonwealth as 'the Arians' because they did not regard Jesus as the Son of God. This explains why the author would choose this translation.

SIGNIFICANCE

This original creation of the Tatars of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania reflects both features of their own culture and the cultural context in which it was written. It certainly emerges from a synthesis of different cultural elements, and shows the deep influence of the Slavic-Christian environment on the Tatar-Muslim population. It is unclear how widely it was known and used.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Leipzig, University Library – signature B.OR.280, sheets 1-9 (17th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

G. Miškinienė, *Seniausie lietuvių totorių rankraščiai*, Vilnius, 2001, pp. 50-4, 214-18, 248-9

G. Miškinienė, 'Polemika mezhdu musul'manami i iudejami (na materiale arabskoalfabitynykh rukopisei litovskikh tatar serediny 17 v.)', in S. Temčinas (ed.), *Krakowsko-wileńskie studia slawistyczne. Seria poświęcona starożytnościom słowiańskim*, Krakow, 1997, vol. 2, pp. 234-49

STUDIES

Miškinienė, 'Polemika mezhdu musul'manami i iudejami'

A.K. Antonovich, *Belorusskie teksty, pisannyye arabskim pis'mom, i ikh grafiko-orfograficheskaya sistema*, Vilnius, 1968

H.O. Fleischer and F. Delitzsch, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca senatoria civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur. Codices orientalium linguarum*, Grimae, 1838, pp. 450-1

Iryna Synkova & Michail Tarelko

Kiedy Jezusa męczono

Kiedy Jezusa męczono, 'When Jesus was tortured...'

DATE Late 16th or early 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish (with Belarussian elements) written in Arabic script

DESCRIPTION

This text has survived in five Tatar manuscripts from the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, all of them now in private collections. Three are dated (1847, 1898 and 1934); the other two have no colophons but come from the first part of the 19th century. The text is relatively short and fills three or four pages in the various manuscripts.

The text begins with a commentary on Matthew 27:46: 'And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' The author argues that Jesus was a prophet but not God, because he was tortured against his will. Following this, the author writes that if somebody asks who is better, Jesus or Muḥammad, the answer must be given: 'They are both followers of God, but Immanuel is better.' Following this, the author argues that Immanuel is Muḥammad.

The author explains that God gave four alphabets and books, the first to Moses in Hebrew, the second to David in Greek, the third to Jesus in Latin and the fourth to Muḥammad in Arabic, which was Chaldean, the original language spoken by Adam and Eve. Immanuel is the one who was to be given the original alphabet, and would imitate the first prophets, who believed in one God, were circumcised, made prostrations, fasted during daylight hours and did not eat pork.

SIGNIFICANCE

This text provides a unique exegesis of the Bible by the Tatars of the former Duchy of Lithuania. The Muslim author sees it as important to identify the biblical Immanuel, referred to in the Book of Isaiah, with Muḥammad, because the identification of Immanuel with Jesus was so central in Christian theology. In doing this, the Scripture to which the author appeals must be understood as the Bible, not the Qur'an, because only the former had value in disputes with Christians. Such an

argument could only be made as part of deep Muslim-Christian reciprocal influence.

The popularity of this work among the Tatars is attested by the existence of copies made much later, at least one known to be as late as 1934.

MANUSCRIPTS

The five manuscripts known to contain this work remain in private collections and have not been catalogued.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- M. Tarélka, 'Kali Ezusa katavali... (religijna-palemichny tэкst z rukapisnaй spadchyny belaruskikh tataray)', in M. Lewicka and C. Łapicz (eds), *Dialog chrześcijańsko-muzułmański. Klucz do wspólnej przyszłości*, Toruń, 2012, 235-48, pp. 237-41 (edition of the 1847 manuscript copied by Mustafa Szahidewicz with Belarusian trans.)

STUDIES

- Tarélka, 'Kali Ezusa katavali...'

Iryna Synkova & Michail Tarelko

Skąd poszły bałwany

Skąd poszły bałwany, 'Whence the idols have arrived'

DATE Late 16th-early 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Polish (with Belarussian elements) written in Arabic script

DESCRIPTION

The collection of texts 'Whence the idols have arrived' from MS P97 in the Central Scientific Library, National Academy of Sciences of Belarus, Minsk, consists of four polemical works by various authors. The texts together take up 61 pages of the manuscript.

The collection has a preface that briefly outlines the themes of the main works, as follows: the companions (of God) and acquired gods, the target of the first and second works; the spread of pagan cults in Israel and the struggle of king Yoshiyahu (Josiah) against the Gentiles, the subject of the third work; the opposition of believers in God to unbelievers, the subject of the fourth work.

In the first work, the author defends the idea of the pure monotheism and rejects any biblical basis for the doctrine of the Trinity. He begins by criticising the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus on the basis of quotations from the Bible, and goes on to criticise Christian exegesis of verses from the Old Testament such as Isaiah 7:14 and 9:6, and Psalm 110, which have traditionally been interpreted as predictions of Jesus as Messiah. The work ends with an account of the Council of Constance (1414-18), at which Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague were condemned for heresy. This appears to be an addition.

The second work discusses the Hebrew word *elohim*. The author shows that it has different meanings in the Old Testament, such as 'God', 'angel', 'judge', 'king' and 'false gods', and is even used for created beings, such as 'judge', 'angel', 'prophet', 'nobleman', 'hero' and 'knight'. His purpose is to prove that the reference in Isaiah 9:6, often understood as 'mighty God', is not to God but to a knight and redeemer, and he names some heroes who could be described in this way: Barak son of Abinoam, Gideon and Samson. By doing this, he severs any connection between the verse and Jesus Christ.

The third work comprises three parts, all connected with King Yoshiyahu (Josiah). The first is about the healing of King Hizkiyahu (Hezekiah), Yoshiyahu's great-grandfather, and the prophecy of Isaiah (9:5-6, 11:1-3), which the author argues is about the birth of Yoshiyahu, not about Jesus. The second part is about Yoshiyahu's struggle against paganism and his renewal of the Passover feast, and argues that Isaiah 9:5-6 and 11:1-3 more naturally relate to him than to Jesus. The third part is about sinning and acts of disobedience, including idolatry, and God's punishment for them. The author illustrates his argument by referring to Adam and Eve, Saul and Yoshiyahu, who were all punished for disobedience.

The fourth work is about Ismā'īl (Ishmael). The first part is about the noble origins of Ismā'īl, the legendary ancestor of the Arabs, and the second shows that Psalm 110 is not about Jesus but about Abraham.

These four works are clearly independent of one another. This can be seen from the different interpretations they give, from the wording of their quotations from the Bible, and from the language they use, which is a variant of the Polish literary language that existed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, what can be called Belarussified Polish. The presence of archaisms suggests a date between the end of the 16th century and the middle of the 17th.

Most quotations from the Bible (about 140 verses from the Old Testament and about 20 from the New Testament, together with the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus) are from the translation by Symon Budny published in 1572. However, the quotations from Psalm 110 in the first and fourth works are not directly from this translation, but from a source that makes use of it and that may be called 'The unknown comment on Psalm 110'. In addition, a fragment of Psalm 110:26 and the gloss on it from the Brest Bible of 1563, and also a quotation from the translation of Psalms by Jan Kochanowski (published in 1579) can be identified in the first work. It is also possible that the author of the first work knew the *Book of Adam*, a work that was translated into Polish by Krzysztof Pussman and published in 1543.

The use of the translation of the Bible by Symon Budny in all four works means that they must all have been written after it was published in 1572. While they may each have been individually composed before the end of the 16th century, the references in the opening preface and in the fourth work to external pressures on the Muslim communities and their debates with Christians make the 17th century the most likely period in which the collection was made. This was the period when the

Counter-Reformation exerted strong pressure, and when libellous anti-Muslim works were common.

There can be no doubt about the Muslim identity of the compiler-editor of the collection as a whole, or of the author of the fourth work, and this is probably also true of the authors of the first and second works. The origin of the third text is less clear, though Muslim wording is detectable there.

It is noteworthy that none of the authors used any Muslim sources, but only the Bible. In all the works, there are traces of a certain Jewish or Arian/Unitarian influence that might have permeated as part of material taken from earlier sources. It seems that the interpolation at the end of the first work is a re-shaping of an unknown source of Protestant or Hussite origin.

The comparison of these polemical works with other known sources suggests occasional reworking of earlier material. This shows that the four works were not hastily written, but carefully composed as reflective works of apology and polemic.

SIGNIFICANCE

'Whence the idols have arrived' bears little resemblance to any traditional Muslim works; it is full of the atmosphere of the European Renaissance and Reformation. The various influences detectable in the four works and the authors' knowledge of numerous sources clearly show their education and their full participation in the social and cultural movements of the time. The works shed light on the changes that were taking place within the Muslim community under the influence of the new advances in intellectual life, and in particular on the formation of a Tatar-Muslim elite, like its Christian equivalents, that was capable of sophisticated reflection and argument.

Since the works were written in Arabic letters, they were not accessible to Christian readers and potential opponents. So the collection was probably not intended for direct polemics, but rather for fellow Muslims who could use it in debates if necessary. In fact, the collection is most appropriately seen as intended to give Muslim readers moral support and to strengthen their faith.

'Whence the idols have arrived' is undoubtedly a very valuable source for the study of inter-religious relations, influences between ethno-cultural groups, and spiritual life in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th and 17th centuries. Not only do these texts contain interesting information in themselves, but they also raise important questions, not least

regarding the kind of education that was open to Tatars in the Grand Duchy, who within their own community had access to no more than elementary religious education and literacy.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Minsk, National Academy of Sciences of Belarus, Central Scientific Library – P97, fols 5r-18r and 25r-41v (late 18th century; lacks colophon)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

M. Tarélka and I. Synkova, *Adkul' pašhli idaly. Pomnik réligiŭna-palemichnaï litaratury z rukapisnaï spadchyny tatarau Vïalikaha Knïastva Litoŭskaha*, Minsk, 2009

STUDIES

Tarélka and Synkova, *Adkul' pašhli idaly*

I. Synkova, 'Otrazhenie antitrinitarnoi polemiki v literature tatar Velikogo knïazhestva Litovskogo', in *Orient v obshchestvennoi traditsii Velikogo knïazhestva Litovskogo: tatory i karaimy*, Vilnius, 2008, 223-32

M. Tarélka, 'Da pytannïa ab tšytatak z Biblii S. Budnaha i Brëstskai Biblii ŭ rukapise P97 z kalektsyi Tsëntral'nay navukovay bibliiatëki NAN Belarusi', in *Gistoryïa vydaveŭskai dzieŭnasti y Pol'shchy i Belarusi y 16-20 stagoddziakh*, Minsk, 2003, 13-16

M. Tarélka, 'Pra naradzhenie Izmaila', in *Mechety i mizary tatar Belarusi, Litvy i Pol'shi. Materialy VIII mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii*, Navahrudak, 2002, 162-4

Iryna Synkova & Michail Tarelko

Shezhere Bashkir plemeni Jurmaty

Shezhere Bashkir plemeni Jurmaty, 'Chronicle of the Bashkirs from the tribe of Yurmaty'
Istorija aula Murdash i soseidnych aulov, 'History of the Aul Murdash and neighbouring Auls'
'The Shezhere lineage'

DATE 16th-19th centuries

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Turkic in Arabic letters

DESCRIPTION

The *Shezhere* are one of the most important sources on the ethnological history of the Bashkirs, who live mostly in the southern Urals. They speak a Turkic language, and until the 19th century they maintained a partly nomadic existence. Quintessentially, the *Shezhere* are genealogical trees of individual genealogical groups, containing all members of the male line. With the gradual spread of Sunnī Islam among the Bashkirs, complete by the 15th century, and with the acquisition of Arabic writing, these genealogies were named after the Arabic word *shajara* ('tree').

Knowledge about an individual's family line was passed down from generation to generation, especially through elders or the headman of a group. Some *Shezhere* also included important events from the lifetime of particular individuals, taking the form of a chronicle. From the 16th century, *Shezhere* began to be written down, being added to as generations continued. The authors are largely unknown, though they were usually mullas, and dating applies only to the time of the first written compilation. By the beginning of the 20th century, with changed ways of living among the Bashkirs, this process of continual compilation came to an end. Most extant *Shezhere* are copies from the 19th century.

Shezhere are divided into enumerating (*nominal'nye*), consisting of lists of names in the form of a table or a text, and narrative (*narrativnye*), recounting historical events in chronicle form.

In most of the *Shezhere*, the acceptance of the supremacy of the tsar in the middle of the 16th century has a central place, as a far-reaching event in the history of the Bashkirs. Two *Shezhere* of the Yurmaty, a kin group that had been settled since the 15th century in the south of today's

Republic of Bashkortostan in the region of the towns Sterlitamak and Ishimbai, are particularly significant for the continuing history of relations with Russia.

Shezhere Bashkir plemeni Jurmaty ('*Shezhere* of the tribe of Yurmaty') is one of the oldest known Bashkir *Shezhere*. It was written down for the first time in the second half of the 16th century by a mulla named Bakyi at the dictation of the headman of the Yurmaty, Tatigas-Bii (d. 1564/5). However, it is believed that it was derived not only from oral tradition and memory, but also from earlier written sources. It has been copied several times, though the original text does not appear to have been modified in this process. It can be found in two copies: the first, from the end of the 19th century, was published in 1927 (Miras, 'Shezhere Tatigas-Bija'), and the second, from the beginning of the 20th century, was published in the canonical edition of Rail' Gumerovich Kuzeev (Kuzeev, *Bashkirskie Shezhere*; references that follow are to this edition). It was Kuzeev who gave it the title by which it is known today.

In the usual manner, the earliest events in this *Shezhere* are entangled with Bashkir legends and myths, though following these for the most part are narratives that relate to identifiable historical events from pre-Russian times. The last part (pp. 33-4) tells about the acceptance of the rule of the tsar and the relationship between the Bashkir and the Russians. It narrates that after Ivan IV had conquered the Khanate of Kazan' in 1552, he sent envoys to the Bashkir kin groups to order the Bashkir to acknowledge the tsar's sovereignty, but to guarantee them the right to their land, religion and customs. The *Shezhere* goes on to tell how Tatigas-Bii, together with other headmen of the Yurmaty, went to Kazan' and Moscow and gave obeisance to the tsar and in return received the title *murza*. He promised to pay a yearly tribute in kind (*jasak*), so that the Bashkirs could freely possess their land and practise their religion. The *Shezhere* ends with the death of Tatigas-Bii and an enumeration of all the rulers from Genghis Khan.

Another *Shezhere* of the Yurmaty, first published in 2002 (Bulgakov and Nadergulov, *Bashkirskie rodoslovnye*), tells of the time after the acknowledgment of Russian sovereignty. The manuscript of this account is a copy from 1909 without a title (the edition has the title *Istoriia aula Murdash i sosednykh aulov*, 'History of the Aul Murdash and neighbouring Auls'). It tells mainly of the events of the 18th and 19th centuries, when the Bashkir lands were further incorporated into the Russian empire, and the Bashkirs came under pressure to turn from a nomadic to an agrarian way of life.

A specific aspect of this process of incorporation was the issue of religion. The *Shezhere* tells how, before the reign of Catherine the Great (1762-96) the Muslim Bashkirs were forbidden to practise their religion freely, and the building of new mosques was greatly restricted (Bulgakov and Nadergulov, *Bashkirskie rodoslovnye*, p. 99). This policy of Russian rulers derived from missionary activities that had been growing more active since the time of Peter the Great (r. 1682-1725), founded on a move to modernise the Russian Empire towards a regulated state with a religiously homogenous society. This resulted in riots among the Bashkir through much of the 18th century, mainly against settlement of non-Bashkir groups in the pastures of Bashkir kin groups and increasing taxes, the closure of mosques as places of assembly and the dismissal of religious leaders, who in parts were supporting the riots. The culmination of this unrest came during the reign of the Elizabeth (1741-61) with the destruction of mosques, though mainly in the middle Volga region and not so much in the Urals. Catherine the Great's edict of religious tolerance in 1773 changed the relationship between the state and Islam. The *Shezhere* tells that Catherine gave 'us, the Muslims, freedom' (p. 99).

This *Shezhere* also tells of the foundation of the Orenburg Clerical Muslim Assembly in 1788 (dated 1777 in the text, p. 99). Its chair, and therefore the spiritual head of Russian Muslims, was a mufti appointed by a Russian official, and one of its tasks was the organisation of Muslim congregations in the empire. In this way, a sort of superior authority was created, which was highly untypical for Islam but which would ensure government control of religious dignitaries.

The *Shezhere* gives the names of all the muftis from the foundation of the Assembly until the end of the 19th century. During the office of the last of these occurred some 'discomforts' (to use the wording of the text), measures employed to terminate customs that from the point of view of the authorities were outdated, such as marriage for boys at 12 and girls at 18. In addition, the authorities tried to bring the congregations under their direct control through compulsory formal Russian education for mullas, and tests of their knowledge of Russian. Indeed, the examination that a mulla had to pass in order to receive his *ukaz* was in Russian. This may also be seen as part of the policy of increasing Russification of the whole empire in the second half of the 19th century.

The last part of this *Shezhere* describes a survey of land by Russian officials, and the sale of Bashkir common land that frequently followed (pp. 100-1). It ends with a list of the family of the Aul and a description of their family connections.

SIGNIFICANCE

When approached critically and compared with other sources and research, these *Shezhere* yield a multitude of historical and ethnological information. With regard to Russian supremacy over the Bashkirs, they mirror general policies and some of the features of the gradual integration of the region of Bashkiria into the Russian Empire from the mid-16th to the end of the 19th century.

Practically all the *Shezhere* acknowledge Russian sovereignty and the conditions under which it was enacted in the second half of the 16th century: mainly the right of the Bashkirs to own and make use of their land and freely exercise their religion, in return for payment in kind. This model of rule, based on the Russians deriving economic profit from the region without interfering too much with Bashkir internal affairs, continued into the second half of the 17th century. It changed under Peter the Great with the increasing trend towards integrating the region more closely into the empire, which resulted in interference in the internal affairs of Bashkir groups. This conflict-ridden process was noted by individual *Shezhere*, including the 'History of the Murdash Aul and neighbouring Auls'.

As sources written by the Bashkirs themselves and not about them, the main historical significance of the *Shezhere* lies in their reflection of the Bashkir view of the events they relate. There are few other sources by Bashkirs from this period.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Ufa, Ufimski nauchnyj tsentr Rossijskoj akademii nauk – Fond 3, Opis' 93, Delo 1, pp. 70-5, 'Shezhere bashkir plemeni Jurmaty' (last third of the 16th century)

MS Ufa, Ufimski nauchnyj tsentr Rossijskoj akademii nauk – Fond 3, Opis' 93, Delo 1, pp. 101-6, 'Istorija aula Murdash i sosednych aulov' (1909)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

P.M. Bulgakov and M.K. Nadergulov (eds and trans.), *Bashkirskie rodoslovnye*, Ufa, 2002, pp. 96-104

R.G. Kuzeev (ed. and trans.), *Bashkirskie Shezhere*, Ufa, 1960, pp. 27-35

C. Miras, 'Shezhere Tatigas-Bija', *Bashkort Ajmagy* 2 (1927) 2-14

STUDIES

M.K. Nadergulov, *Bashkirskie istoriko-literaturnye sochinenija XVI-nachala XX veka (voprosy zarozhdenija zhanrovoj sistemy i tradicii)*, Ufa, 2013

- V.R. Mazitov, *Bashkirskie Shezhere kak istoriko-etnograficheskiy istochnik*, Ufa, 2012
- V.R. Mazitov, 'Istoricheskaja dostovernost' bashkirskich Shezhere', *Trudy instituta istorii, jazyka i literatury Ufimskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN*, Ufa, 2011
- M.K. Idel'baev, *Bashkirskie Shezhere o poddanstve bashkirskich plemen Russkomu gosudarstvu*, Ufa, 2007
- M.K. Nadergulov, 'Shezhere roda Jurmaty', *Agidel'* 9 (1993) 152-3 (in Bashkir)
- A. Fattakhudinova, 'Bashkirskie Shezhere (kratkoe archeograficheskoe opisanie)', in Z.G. Uraskin, G.B. Khusainov and Z.I.A. Shari-pova (eds), *Bashkirskie Shezhere. Filologicheskie issledovanija i publikatsii*, Ufa, 1985, 88-128
- A. Fattakhudinova, 'Istochnikovedicheskoe izuchenie bashkirskich Shezhere', in *Voprosy istorii izuchenija bashkirskogo literaturnogo jazyka*, Ufa, 1985, 30-7
- U.K. Rakhmatullin, 'Nekotorye voprosy istochnikovedcheskogo izuchenija bashkirskich Shezhere', in *pis'mennye pamjatniki Bashkirii. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovanija i publikatsii*, Ufa, 1992, 117-29
- R.G. Kuzeev, 'Bashkirskie Shezhere o prisoedinenii Bashkirii k Russkomu gosudarstvu', *Sovetskaja Etnografija* (1957) 3-12

Matthias Kaufmann

Middle East and North Africa

Jibrāyil ibn al-Qilā'ī

Gabriele Barclaiο, Ibn al-Qula'ī, Barclaius, Gabriēl Qlai,
Gabriel Klahi

DATE OF BIRTH Mid-15th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Liḥfid, Lebanon
DATE OF DEATH About 1516
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Nicosia, Cyprus

BIOGRAPHY

Jibrāyil ibn Buṭrus al-Qilā'ī was a Maronite Christian. He was born around the mid-15th century in a hamlet called Ghuryā, belonging to the village of Liḥfid in the region of Jbayl/Byblos, Mount Lebanon. He was nicknamed al-Qilā'ī ('from the rocky place') after his family's house, which was situated in a rocky region.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī joined the Order of St Francis under the aegis of Friar Gryphon (d. 1475), a Franciscan who was a papal missionary to the Maronites for a quarter of a century. He first went to Jerusalem for the novitiate and then to Venice and Rome to study the Classics and the liberal arts (the *trivium* and *quadrivium*). He and his two companions, Yūḥannā and Fransīs, were the first Maronites to study in Europe.

On his ordination to priesthood, he returned to the East (before 1485), where he stayed first at the Franciscan convent on Mount Zion in Jerusalem and then at the convent of St Saviour in Beirut. In Jerusalem, he served as a guide for pilgrims, while in Beirut he administered the sacraments to Western merchants and was one of the guardians of the 'miraculous blood of Christ', which, according to an old tradition, was kept in the monastery church. From 1492 onwards, he devoted himself to mission amongst the Maronites: he was seen in Cyprus, in the Maronite patriarchal see in Qannūbīn, and in other places in the Lebanese mountains. In 1507, Ibn al-Qilā'ī was consecrated bishop for the Maronites of Cyprus, where he lived till his death in about 1516.

Appalled by the broad influence that the Syrian Orthodox, known as Jacobites, exerted in Mount Lebanon among the Maronites – his hometown neighbours and family included – Ibn al-Qilā'ī became an advocate of the Roman Catholic faith to strengthen the Maronites in their beliefs

and to discredit the 'heretics'. His mission can be summarised in the following three points:

1. To investigate the accusations made against the Maronites concerning their adherence to the faith of the Roman Church and their liturgical practice. This is why later writers considered him as one of the pioneers of the 'latinisation' of the Maronite Church.
2. To disparage the 'heretics', the Jacobites in this instance, and to combat their infiltration into Mount Lebanon by means of letters and poems.
3. To expound Western theology to his Lebanese compatriots. He wanted to teach them philosophy, logic, astrology and other subjects of the day. For this, he translated major classical treatises, which may have been the sources used by his teachers when he was pursuing his education in Italy.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī is credited with 19 major works in prose, nine letters and 16 poems, all written in the Lebanese vernacular, and some 20 more works, either apocryphal or lost, are also classified as probably written by him. Among Western medieval authors used and translated by him are Johannes de Sacro Bosco (d. 1256), Hugh Ripelin of Strasbourg (d. 1268), Martin of Opava (d. 1278), Raymond Lull (d. 1316), Astesanus (d. c. 1330), Bernardino of Siena (d. 1444), Andreas de Escobar (d. c. 1450), Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence (d. 1459), Duns Scotus (d. 1308) and Nicholas Eymerich (d. 1399).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-azmina (1095-1699)*, ed. Firdinān Tawtil, Beirut, 1951, pp. 214-15, 220, 222, 226-8, 237, 367

Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-azmina*, ed. Buṭrus Fahd, Beirut, 1976, pp. 353, 365-8, 372, 379-81, 395-7

Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, *Radd jawāb 'alā l-tuhmāt al-bāṭila allatī aṣḥāb al-tawārīkh thalabū bihā l-mawārīna*, ed. Buṭrus Fahd, Beirut, 1974, pp. 244-64, 265

Secondary

J. Moukartzel, *Gabriel ibn al-Qilā'ī (ca 1516). Approche biographique et étude du corpus*, Kaslik, 2007, pp. 46-66 (the most authoritative study on the author and his works, making use of all available earlier sources)

- R. Jabre-Mouawad, *Lettres au Mont-Liban d'Ibn al-Qilā'ī (XV^{ème} siècle)*, Paris, 2001, pp. 59-93
- H. Douaihy, *Un théologien maronite. Gibrā'il ibn al-Qolā'ī, évêque et moine franciscain*, Kaslik, 1993, pp. 175-203

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Madīḥa 'alā jabal Lubnān, 'Panegyric on Mount Lebanon'

DATE Sometime after 1487

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ibn al-Qilā'ī wrote this poem to demonstrate to his contemporaries that the history of the Maronites had always been glorious when their ancestors were united in faith under the authority of their hierarchy; and that wars lost and persecutions endured were nothing but the result of their disobedience and sin. Its copyists have given it various names: *Qiṣṣat Kisruwān wa-l-Mawārīna* ('History of Kisruwān and the Maronites'), *Madīḥat Kisruwān* ('Commendation of Kisruwān'), *'Alā l-Naṣārā* ('On the Christians'), *Min kitāb al-tawārīkh* ('From the book of histories'), and so on. Composed on the basis of the so-called 'Ephremian' melody, it was meant to be sung. It consists of 295 stanzas of four verses each.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī confirms that the events he relates are excerpted from history books. He begins with an overview about the history of the Maronites from the 7th/8th centuries until the 15th century, during which time the Maronites had to defend their lands against Muslim invaders on several occasions. According to local tradition, Mount Lebanon is called 'the Mountain of God', where justice, peace and the Catholic faith have ruled under the aegis of the patriarch and of Maronite 'kings'. The whole region was Maronite; there were no schismatics, no Muslims and no Jews. Furthermore, it was the refuge of all who wanted to convert and become Christians (Catholics). One of the Maronite 'kings' was even able to invade the Biqā' valley, a region mainly inhabited by Muslims, though his lack of prudence gave the Muslims the opportunity to kill him and re-conquer the valley. When the Muslims moved against the Maronite mountains, Sim'ān, the dead king's nephew, led the Maronite defence and succeeded in driving off the Muslim army after fierce fighting.

After many years of peace and prosperity, two monks fell into heresy and divided the Maronite community. The Mamluk Sultan Barqūq took

advantage of this situation and sent his armies to conquer the country. Kisruwān was devastated and its inhabitants were killed or exiled. Another confrontation occurred when 40 Muslims disguised as monks settled in a Maronite village. When their stratagem was uncovered, the Maronites of the village of Ḥadath (in the Qādishā valley) fought them for seven years. In the end, the Muslims invaded the village and slaughtered its inhabitants.

Long after that, and following a division among the Maronites, the Muslims succeeded in attacking and seizing Tripoli. Later, they tried to attack Byblos (Jbayl) and the surrounding area. On learning of this, the Maronite *muqaddams* (chiefs) rushed with an army of 30,000 men to defend their co-religionists. Ibn al-Qilā'ī paints a heroic if not epic picture of the bravery of the Maronite combatants, who eventually wiped out the entire Muslim army.

These glorious battles were followed by a period of success and prosperity, during which 'the Muslims were fearful / the Heretics were gone / the *Muqaddams* excelled in their union / and secured all of Mount Lebanon'. Then followed a period of decadence in which the Muslims took the opportunity to attack villages and steal crops. They even dared to arrest the patriarch and, on the evidence of false testimonies, accused him of a series of sins and burned him alive. But it did not take long for the Maronites to recover, supported by the emissaries of the Holy See.

The final decline was caused by the Jacobites, who infiltrated the villages and misled many Maronites so that they fell into their 'heresy', and Ibn al-Qilā'ī devotes the last part of his poem to this contemporary crisis. In doing so, he means to warn his people about the threat of heresy and to invite them to keep to the true faith of the Catholic Church.

SIGNIFICANCE

The copyist of MS Fayrūn 76 entitled this poem '*Alā zuhūr al-Islām*' ('On the advent of Islam') and introduced it with a paragraph explaining that God permitted Islam to dominate and destroy the Christian lands as far as Mount Lebanon because of the sins of fornication and drunkenness committed by the Christians.

This idea of punishment for sin is found in all Ibn al-Qilā'ī's writings, but becomes especially clear in *Madīḥa 'alā jabal Lubnān*, where Islam is described as God's penalty and Muḥammad is seen as the 'prophet of anger' (an expression Ibn al-Qilā'ī also uses in another treatise). According to Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Islam was only able to conquer the Christian world because of the sins of the Christians, and it was God who permitted Islam

to dominate the land of the Maronites as a punishment for their sins. But it is the same God who permitted the Maronite country to prosper and the Maronite chiefs to conquer other lands, as a reward for their union in the faith of the Church of Rome, the one true Church.

It is remarkable that Ibn al-Qilā'ī considers Jews and Muslims as less dangerous than 'heretics'. In one of his epilogues, he says: 'The Church of God forbids us to associate with heretics, but it does not forbid us to associate with Muslims and adherents of other religions. This is because the heretics have been excommunicated for transgressing [the law of the Church] and have left it, whereas Muslims and Jews have never belonged to it nor been accepted by it; therefore, it follows that Muslims and Jews are better than heretics; even idolaters are better than heretics.'

Ibn al-Qilā'ī's generally low opinion of Islam accords with the general Christian view of Islam in late medieval times, especially after the loss of lands taken by the crusades at the end of the 13th century and the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Later, with the early stages of Ottoman rule in Lebanon, Islam was viewed with less suspicion as the Maronites were ruled directly by Muslim governors rather than by their traditional *muqaddams*. During the 17th and 18th centuries, in what was called the 'republic of letters', many Maronites such as Abraham Ecchellensis, Gabriel Sionita, John Hesronita and Faustus Naironus, played a mediating role between East and West by translating Muslim works from Arabic into Latin.

MANUSCRIPTS

- For descriptions of the 11 known MSS of the poem, see Moukarzel, *Gabriel ibn al-Qilā'ī*, p. 417
- B. Qar'alī, *Ḥurūb al-muqaddamīn 1075-1450*, Bayt Shabāb, 1937, pp. 7-8 (cites three other MSS which are now either lost or whose whereabouts are unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- A. Nejjari, 'Traduction largement introduite du poème historique des croisades libanaises 1075-1450 "Les exploits des chefs", composé par Gabriel ibn al-Qilā'ī évêque maronite de Chypre (m. 1516)', Montpellier, 2011 (MA Diss. University Montpellier III; complete French trans., pp. 33-97)
- K. Salibi, *Maronite historians of mediaeval Lebanon*, Beirut, 1959, 1991², pp. 33-40 (analysis of the poem's essential points, with excerpts translated into English)

- B. al-Jumayyil, *Zajaliyyāt Jibrā'īl b. al-Qilā'ī*, Beirut, 1982, pp. 81-130 (critical edition of the whole poem based principally on MS Vatican Syr 210 and referring to another five sources, including Qar'alī's edition, in the critical notes. The editor claims that MS Vat Syr 210 dates from 1654, which is a misunderstanding of what was written in the catalogue, where Assemani suggests that this MS was written by the copyist of MS Vat Syr 209, which is dated to 1654.)
- A. Abī Khaṭṭār al-'Aynṭūrīnī, *Mukhtaṣar tāriḫ Jabal Lubnān*, ed. I. Ṭannūs, Beirut, 1953 (a prose version of the whole poem made by al-'Aynṭūrīnī [d. 1821] based on an unknown MS)
- Qar'alī, *Ḥurūb al-muqaddamīn* (critical edition of the whole poem based on three MSS whose whereabouts are unknown, and also using MS Bkerke 117 beginning from stanza 199 and MS Vat Syr 210 beginning from stanza 114)
- L. Shaykhū (Cheikho), 'Shu'arā' al-Naṣrāniyya ba'da l-Islām. Anṭunīyūs Frayjī al-lubnānī', *Al-Mashriq* 25 (1927) 266-71 (edition of verses 225-30)
- F. Naironus, *Dissertatio de origine, nomine ac religione Maronitarum*, Rome, 1679, pp. 51-2, 56-8, 60-1, 69-70, 82-5, 98-100, 102-3, 105-7 (excerpts in Arabic and Latin)

STUDIES

- M. de Ghantuz Cubbe, 'Un épisode du poème Ḥurūb al-muqaddamīn d'Ibn al-Qilā'ī et ses possibles racines historiques', *Parole de l'Orient* 37 (2012) 305-31
- H. Kilpatrick, 'Poetry on political events in the Mamluk and early Ottoman periods', in A.A. Avram, A. Focşeneanu and G. Grigore (eds), *A Festschrift for Nadia Anghelescu*, Bucharest, 2011, 297-305
- Moukarzel, *Gabriel Ibn al-Qilā'ī (ca 1516)*, pp. 416-30 (the most comprehensive and detailed study of the work)
- H. Matar-Nehmé, 'Gibrā'īl Ibn el-Qilā'ī de Lehfed (1450-1516)', *Studia Orientalia Christiana (Collectanea)* 35-6 (2003) 137-256 (Arabic text: pp. 137-216 [study of the poem: pp. 191-211]; French text: pp. 217-56 [study of the poem: pp. 245-52])
- M. Breydy, *Geschichte der Syro-Arabischen Literatur der Maroniten vom VII. bis XVI. Jahrhundert*, Opladen, 1985, pp. 194-5
- Salibi, *Maronite historians of mediaeval Lebanon*, pp. 33-40 (analysis of the poem's essential points with excerpts translated into English)
- G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Vatican City, 1949-53, vol. 3, pp. 328-30

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī

Abū l-Faḍl ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn ‘Uthmān ibn
Muḥammad ibn Khiḍr ibn Ayyūb ibn Muḥammad ibn
al-Humām al-Khuḍayrī al-Suyūṭī

DATE OF BIRTH 3 October 1445
PLACE OF BIRTH Cairo
DATE OF DEATH 18 October 1505
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī was born on 3 October 1445, the son of the lawyer and judge (*qāḍī*), Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Suyūṭī. His *nisba* derives from the town of Asyūṭ in Upper Egypt. His father moved from there to Cairo to pursue what became a successful legal career (Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, pp. 21-2) and al-Suyūṭī never left Cairo, except to perform the *hajj* in 1464, and possibly in 1468-9 (Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, pp. 37-42). He was a Shāfi‘ī jurist and also a member of the Shādhilī order. Fortunately, al-Suyūṭī left his own autobiography, *Kitāb al-taḥadduth bi-ni‘mat Allāh* (‘Recounting God’s blessings’), and there are other detailed accounts of his life written by his followers, and also by his rivals, most notably al-Sakhāwī (*Al-ḍaw‘ al-lāmi‘*, vol. 4, pp. 65-71; see also Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*; Saleh, ‘Al-Suyūṭī and his works’).

Al-Suyūṭī was something of a prodigy and went through a Mamluk education swiftly. He gained his first teaching post in 1463, at the age of 18, followed by a permanent post at the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn in 1467, and he then moved to the Shaykhūniyya in 1472. He was appointed head of the Baybarsiyya Sufi lodge by Sultan Qā’itbayy in 1486, but he left this post in 1501 after a controversy, the details of which are unclear (Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, pp. 80-6). He secluded himself on the island of Rawḍa in Cairo and devoted himself to his work. He died on 18 October 1505.

Al-Suyūṭī was a prolific author; the total number of his works remains uncertain, but estimates range from 400 to 600 works. Whilst some of these are short *fatāwa* (legal rulings) of only one or two folios, a considerable number are multi-volume works of immense size. For example, his Qur’an commentary *Al-durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr bi-l-ma‘thūr* contains

over 20,000 Hadiths. Al-Suyūṭī is also famed for the breadth of his interests: he wrote on a whole range of topics, from linguistics to law, Hadith and exegetical sciences, to angels and jinn, literature, history, and even erotica. He often compiled Hadith collections on topics that had not received attention before and, to name just a few, there are collections on turbans, earthquakes, angels, jinn, and cosmology (see Spevack, 'Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī').

A number of his works touch on areas of Christian-Muslim relations, and these include exegeses of Qur'an passages in both his contribution to the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* and his *Al-durr al-manthūr*, although what he writes in *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* generally avoids personal comment and tends to reproduce earlier views, while in *Al-durr al-manthūr* he just quotes Hadiths (for a discussion of his sources, see Burge, 'Scattered pearls').

Al-Suyūṭī's main historical work, *Ta'rikh al-khulafā'* ('History of the caliphs') contains little on Muslim-Christian relations. There are some references to particular events, such as the letter sent in the name of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I to Harūn al-Rashīd in 803, and the capture, loss and recapture of Damietta in the 13th century (*History of the caliphs*, trans. H.S. Jarret, repr., Karachi, 1977, pp. 296-7, 481, 491), though on the whole there is little concern with Christian-Muslim affairs. He compiled *Arba'ūn ḥadīthan fī faḍl al-jihād* ('Forty Hadiths on the merits of jihad') for the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II 'the Conqueror' (d. 1481) to celebrate the conquest of Constantinople, but there is little here in the way of direct comment on relations with Christians. Some of his works deal with themes common to Christianity and Islam, such as beliefs about angels, heaven, and eschatology more broadly. However, by al-Suyūṭī's day these beliefs and ideas were fully incorporated into the Muslim tradition, and as a result these are not really a product of any direct Christian and Muslim engagement, certainly not on the part of al-Suyūṭī himself (see Burge, *Angels in Islam*, pp. 177-83).

Despite an extremely extensive output, al-Suyūṭī seems not to have involved himself overly in Christian-Muslim relations, and those works that do consider Christians often do so indirectly. Al-Suyūṭī was more concerned with reforming Muslim society, and his works, particularly his popular Hadith collections, advocate a renaissance of Muslim spirituality focused on an integration of adherence to Islamic law and the *sunna* of the Prophet, with a deeper engagement with the divine. Al-Suyūṭī was a member of the Shādhilī Sufi order, and such a view and reforming project is in accordance with the Shādhilī worldview. It is, therefore, important

to place al-Suyūṭī's works, including those that touch on Christian-Muslim relations, within this broader Shādhilī spirituality.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-taḥadduth bi-ni'mat Allāh*, ed. E.M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. Biography and background*, Cambridge, 1975, vol. 2

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-ḍaw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, Beirut, 1966

Secondary

S.R. Burge, 'Scattered pearls. Exploring al-Suyūṭī's hermeneutics and use of sources in *al-Durr al-manthūr fī'l-tafsīr bi'l-ma'thūr*', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24 (2014) 251-96

S.R. Burge, *Angels in Islam. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's al-Ḥaba'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, London, 2012

A. Spevack, 'Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1445-1505)', in J.E. Lowry and D.J. Stewart (eds), *Essays in Arabic literary biography: 1350-1850*, Wiesbaden, 2009, 386-409

M.J. Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī and his works. Their place in Islamic scholarship from Mamluk times to the present', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001) 73-89

Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nuzūl 'Īsā ibn Maryam ākhir al-zamān, 'The descent of Jesus Son of Mary at the end of time'

DATE Unknown; after 1467

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-Suyūṭī's *Nuzūl 'Īsā ibn Maryam ākhir al-zamān* is a relatively short religio-legal text (37 pages in the printed edition) that explores questions relating to the judgement of Jesus on his return to earth before the Last Day. Al-Suyūṭī posits these questions, and then responds with evidence from the Hadith literature. The work is divided into five chapters or questions.

The first question (ed. 'Aṭā', pp. 22-6) concerns the means by which Jesus will make his judgement on humanity, asking, 'By what does he judge this community, by the law (*shar'*) of our Prophet, or by his own

law?' In reply, al-Suyūṭī cites a number of Hadiths from authorities such as al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Ṭabarānī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bazzār and al-Nawawī, to show that it will be by the Islamic law, and then asks: 'If we say that he judges according to the law of our Prophet, by which school of law (*madhhab*) will he judge?' (ed. 'Aṭā', pp. 26-46). This is obviously an important question, given the fact that the legal schools disagree over some aspects of criminal, civil and ritual law.

The third chapter asks whether Jesus will receive revelation (*waḥy*) after his descent (ed. 'Aṭā', pp. 47-54), and whether this will be direct revelation (*waḥy ḥaqīqī*) or inspiration (*waḥy ilhām*) (pp. 51-4). Al-Suyūṭī cites a number of Hadiths that show Jesus's interaction with angels, namely Gabriel and Michael, through which he will be able to receive revelation from God. This chapter digresses into a discussion of Gabriel and Michael's angelic responsibilities (pp. 48-50).

The fourth question asks, 'In what way will Jesus judge the treasures in the treasuries (*fi amwāl bayt al-māl*)?' (pp. 54-5). Despite the wording of the question, the main emphasis in the answer is that there will be a period of peace and justice ushered in by the coming of the *Mahdī*, and that all people will acknowledge the prophethood of Muḥammad. The final chapter discusses the views of Ibn Ḥajar on Jesus's return (pp. 55-8). The Hadiths al-Suyūṭī cites describe Jesus's coming to earth, performing the ritual prayers, and then defeating the Antichrist (*al-Dajjāl*).

The work is written in the form of a fatwa, although the focus is on religious beliefs concerning the coming of Jesus before the Last Day rather than legal issues *per se*. Al-Suyūṭī presents ideas and questions, and then provides answers based on his own reasoning, supported by Hadiths.

SIGNIFICANCE

The material and the discussions in the work are principally internal Muslim debates, rather than dealing with Muslims and Christians directly. However, in many cases the answers given have implications for Christians. For example, the response to the question 'By what does he judge this community, by the Law (*shar'*) of our Prophet, or by his own law?', that 'He judges according to the law of our Prophet' (p. 22), rules out any Christian authorities.

There was some discussion in Muslim sources as to whether Jesus was the *Mahdī* (see Q 4:171), or a figure who would descend to earth before the *Mahdī*. The Hadith literature usually argues that Jesus will descend to earth together with the *Mahdī* (ed. 'Aṭā', p. 54; J. Smith and Y. Haddad,

The Islamic understanding of death and resurrection, Albany NY, 2002, pp. 67-70). The distinction between Jesus and the *Mahdī* makes clear delineations between Muslim and Christian beliefs about the status of Jesus. The period of peace ushered in by Jesus and the *Mahdī* has clear parallels with Christian eschatology, but in the Hadith literature and in this work, the period of peace is established in conjunction with the acknowledgement of Muḥammad's prophethood.

The work does not appear to have been aimed at Christians directly, in that it is not polemical, nor is it a direct refutation of Christian ideas, but its assertion that Muḥammad's prophetic authority will be acknowledged has clear implications for Christians.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – 1446 (9) (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Nuzūl ʿĪsā ibn Maryam ākhir al-zamān, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭāʾ, Beirut, 1985

Nuzūl ʿĪsā ibn Maryam ākhir al-zamān, ed. Saʿd Karīm Fiqī, Alexandria, 2006

Y.M. Hendi, 'The descent of Jesus son of Mary at the end of time. A translation of al-Suyūṭī's *Nuzūl ʿĪsā ibn Maryam ākhir al-zamān* with explanatory notes', Hartford CT, 1993 (MA diss. Hartford Seminary)

STUDIES

Hendi, 'The descent of Jesus son of Mary'

Jahd al-qarīḥa fī tajrīd al-Naṣīḥa, 'The exertion of effort in unblocking the "Reminder"'

DATE 1488

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is al-Suyūṭī's abridgement of Ibn Taymiyya's *Naṣīḥat ahl al-īmān fī l-radd ʿalā manṭiq al-Yūnān*, although it still amounts to 174 pages in translation. Al-Suyūṭī added very little material, but aimed to remove some of the repetitiveness of Ibn Taymiyya's original (trans. Hallaq, pp. liii-lvi). The work is expressly a refutation of logic, and an attack on Islamic peripatetic philosophy, although in some places in the text

Christians are seen as being more theologically orthodox than Islamic philosophers, since they (as well as Jews and Arabian polytheists) never believed in the grave heresies advocated by the Muslim philosophers (trans. Hallaq, pp. 33, 64, 78, etc.). Ibn Taymiyya even states: 'Jews and Christians hold, in relation to the totality of their own doctrines, more truthful doctrines than these philosophers do' (trans. Hallaq, p. 103). It should be stressed, however, that the purpose of mentioning Jews and Christians in this work is only to highlight the heretical beliefs of Islamic philosophers.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is important as an attack on medieval Islamic philosophy, and al-Suyūṭī's abridgement made Ibn Taymiyya's text much more accessible than the original. Its main significance for Christian-Muslim relations is that it proposes that Christian beliefs – which maintained some commonality with traditional Muslim beliefs – corresponded more closely to Islamic orthodoxy than did those of philosophers such as al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā or Ibn Rushd.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Leiden, University Library – Or. 474 (20), fols 136r-171r (1579)
- MS Hyderabad, Āṣafiyya Library – 1322 (14) (date not given)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Jahd al-qariḥā fi tajrīd al-Naṣīḥa*, ed. 'Alī Sāmī Nashshār, Cairo, 1947
- W.B. Hallaq (trans.), *Ibn Taymiyya. Against the Greek logicians*, Oxford, 1993 (trans. of al-Suyūṭī's abridgement)

STUDIES

- Mufti Ali, 'Muslim opposition to logic and theology in light of the works of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)', Leiden, 2008 (PhD diss. University of Leiden)
- Mufti Ali, 'How did al-Suyūṭī abridge Ibn Taymiyya's *Naṣīḥat ahl al-īmān fi'l-radd 'alā mantiq al-Yūnān*', *Al-Jāmi'ah. Journal of Islamic Studies* 46 (2008) 279-301
- Hallaq, *Ibn Taymiyya. Against the Greek logicians*

*Matlā‘ al-badrayn fī man yu‘ṭa ajrayn; Matlā‘
al-badrayn fī man yu‘ṭa ajrahu marratayn;
Majmu‘ al-baḥrayn fī man yu‘ṭa ajrahu marratayn,*
‘Two moons rising on those who are given two
rewards’

DATE Unknown; before 1505

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is a short collection of Hadiths, which, given the number of manuscripts that are available, must have been relatively popular. Al-Suyūṭī describes it as a *kirāsa* (‘a booklet’; it only amounts to 26 pages in the 1991 edition) and it includes 54 Hadiths, ending with a short mnemonic poem written by al-Suyūṭī. The work is essentially a list of actions for which one can receive a ‘double reward’. Al-Suyūṭī begins by citing four texts from the Qur’an (33:31; 57:28; 28:52-3; 34:37), and then moves into his Hadith compilation. The types of actions that gain a double reward include converting from Judaism or Christianity, slaves being sincere to their masters, seeking martyrdom, reciting the Qur’an, performing the ritual ablutions, being drowned at sea, and so on.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is not overly relevant to Christian-Muslim relations, although the placing of conversion to Islam from Christianity (and Judaism) as the first action to gain a double reward gives this action particular emphasis. In the context of late Mamluk Cairo, in which there was a sizeable Christian population, and in which there were a number of converts from Christianity to Islam, such a sentiment gains deeper significance. The references to jihad and martyrdom, including a reference in al-Suyūṭī’s poem to those who are killed by ‘People of the Book’, reflect the frequent military conflicts between the Mamluks and forces from Christian nations in the Mediterranean.

MANUSCRIPTS

For details of MSS, see Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 147 (38); *GALS*, vol. 2, p. 182; Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī and Aḥmad Sa‘īd al-Khāzindār (eds), *Makḥṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī wa-amākin wujūdiḥā*, Kuwait: Markaz al-makḥṭūṭāt wa-l-turāth wa-l-wathā’iq, 1995, pp. 62-3 (176).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Maṭlā' al-badrayn fī man yu'ṭa aḡrayn, ed. Muḡammad Shukūr Ḥājj Amīr al-Mayādīnī, Beirut, 1991

Maṭlā' al-badrayn fī man yu'ṭa aḡrayn, ed. Majdī Fathī al-Sayyid, Tanta: Dār al-Ṣaḡāba li-l-Turāth, 1991

Maṭlā' al-badrayn fī man yu'ṭa aḡrayn, ed. Salīm Hilālī, al-Damām: Dār al-Hijra, 1989

Buṣhrā al-'ābis fī ḡukm al-biya' wa-l-diyur wa-l-kanā'is, 'Glad tidings for the stern on the ruling of synagogues, monasteries and churches'

DATE Unknown; before 1505

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ismā'īl Bāshā al-Baḡhdādī refers to this work in his *Hidāyat al-'arīfīn* (Beirut, 1951, p. 536), although it does not appear in any catalogues of manuscripts and it has not appeared in print. The title suggests that it is likely to have been a religious tract or a fatwa in support of the restrictions imposed on non-Muslim religious buildings during the Mamluk period. A number of fatwas on this matter were issued in the late Mamluk period as tensions between Jews, Christians and Muslims increased, often as a result of the worsening economic climate.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work attests to the virtual consensus among Muslim scholars in Mamluk Egypt that Christians and Jews should be restricted in their religious activities, and made to feel their inferior status in society.

STUDIES

S. Ward, 'Ibn al-Rif'a on the churches and synagoges of Cairo', *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999) 70-84 (general study)

M.R. Cohen, 'Jews in the Mamlūk environment. The crisis of 1442 (a Genizah study)', *BSOAS* 47 (1984) 425-48 (general study)

Stephen Burge

Al-Maghīlī

Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn
Muḥammad al-Maghīlī l-Tilmisānī l-Jazā’irī

DATE OF BIRTH About 1425-7
PLACE OF BIRTH Maghīla, Tilimsān, Algeria
DATE OF DEATH 1503/4 or 1505/6
PLACE OF DEATH Zawiyat Kunta, Tuoat, Algeria

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Maghīlī is one of the key figures in the spread of Islam in western Africa. He introduced the Qādiriyya Brotherhood to this region. At an early age, he acquired Islamic sciences, memorised the Qur’an, and became well-versed in Mālikī jurisprudence. Among his teachers were ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tha‘ālibī (d. 1470/1) and the *qāḍī* of Touat, Abū l-Zakariyya Yaḥyā ibn Yadir ibn ‘Atīq al-Tadalsī (d. 1472/3). He travelled to the heart of the African desert and reached places such as the Songhai Empire (in the region of present-day Niger), Toucouleur (in the region of present-day Mali) and Kano (in Nigeria). He also visited the desert provinces and towns of Adrar and Tamentit, and other places. The purpose of his travels was to spread the call to Islam and put an end to the *bida‘* (non-Islamic innovations) that had spread among the masses. He was also known for his intolerant attitude towards the Jews of his time.

Although most of al-Maghīlī’s works focus on the Jews, they affected the position of Christians in North Africa as well. He severely attacked the rulers of Morocco and Algeria, who not only lacked the ability to counter Christian attacks on Muslim lands, but also permitted Jews to infiltrate state positions. He considered such weakness on the part of the rulers as the main reason for the decline in the *umma*. It should be also added that al-Maghīlī was witness to the Christian conquests of the coasts of Morocco, and the expulsion of Muslims from Spain by the Christians. He was disappointed with what he saw as the growing authority of Jews within the Muslim states in Africa and the Maghreb. *Miṣbaḥ al-arwāḥ*, Al-Maghīlī’s treatise on *ahl al-dhimma*, calls upon the faithful to kill Jews, seize their property, and enslave their women and children. His ideas, however, were met by severe criticism from many

North African jurists, who brought him to the court of Sultan Muḥammad al-Shaykh ibn Abī Zakariyya l-Waṭṭāsī (r. 1472-1501) in Fez, which accused him of plots against the sultan. Consequently, al-Maghīlī had to flee from Morocco to Touat. There he found a large community of Jews who were accused of disrespecting Muslims. He launched a campaign against them and incited the Muslim populace to attack their places of worship. Other contemporary Muslim scholars, such as the mufti of Tilmisān, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Zakrī l-Tilimsānī (d. 1494) contended against al-Maghīlī that *ahl al-dhimma* were not only allowed to preserve their old houses of worship, but had the right to build new ones wherever they moved to live in *dār al-Islām*, as long as they respect their pacts. Qāḍī Abū-Zakariyya Yahyā ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Abī l-Barakāt al-Ghumārī (d. 1504/5) was of the view that the demolition of these places of worship would certainly result in civil war. Despite this opposition by the majority of the scholars of the time and of a considerable number of the public, al-Maghīlī stirred up his followers, destroyed the synagogue, and killed many Jews. Encouraged by his success, he went back to the Banū Waṭṭās, the protectors of the Jews, to overthrow them. His efforts failed and his army was defeated. He had to flee to Bilād al-Sudān, and toured the regions of Air, Takkida, Kano, Kastina and Gao.

In 1492-1503, al-Maghīlī focused his efforts on preaching and teaching. He was received and praised as a holy man in various towns. His ideas were a source of inspiration to many West African ‘*ulamā*’ who studied under his tutorship. He preached Qādirī views, and he is still today considered a *mujaddid*, a renewer of religion, and a master of Islamic sciences. He was also described as a *walī*, a holy man, and led many converts to Islam. It has been reported that he was responsible for the conversion of the ruling classes among the Hausa, Fulani and Tuareg peoples in West Africa. In addition, he was known for his gift for teaching Arabic to non-Arabs. Testimonials about his talent were received from African scholars he taught. It is worth noting that he corresponded with the famous Egyptian scholar al-Suyūṭī. On his way from Timbuktu to Mecca to perform the *ḥajj*, al-Maghīlī met al-Suyūṭī in the latter’s hometown, Asyūṭ in southern Egypt. During this meeting, he disagreed with al-Suyūṭī about his prohibition of the use of logic in Islamic sciences.

During his travels, al-Maghīlī wrote a number of treatises on the duties of amirs and kings, and also gave fatwas to kings and those in office. His famous response to the questions of Askia al-Ḥāj Muḥammad of Gao is a case in point. Al-Maghīlī wrote almost 15 works, mostly on jurisprudence,

but also on language and religious reform in his time. They include titles such as: *Al-badr al-munīr fī ‘ulūm al-tafsīr*, *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥa*, and *Miftāḥ al-naẓar*. His publications propagated his ideas on ways to reform the political structure of the state; and on how to fight religious innovations. In his treatise to the amir of Kano, *Tāj al-dīn fī mā yajib ‘alā l-mulūk* (‘The crown of religion on what kings should do’), al-Maghīlī advised the amir to restructure the state administration and introduce a consultative assembly that would advise the amir on critical matters. He also set out practical, religious and spiritual conditions for successors to the throne.

Having heard about the murder of his son ‘Abd al-Jabbār by some Jews in Touat, al-Maghīlī asked Askia al-Ḥāj Muḥammad to kill all the Jews of Gao in revenge, but Askia did not carry out his suggestion. He asked Askia to send a force to Touat to avenge the murder of his son and kill all the Jews there, but Askia refused this as well. As a result, al-Maghīlī left Gao for Kastina, intent on finding support for his plan. It is not clear how he managed to gather a force and reach Touat, but when he arrived there in 1503, he seized the amirs’ palaces and persecuted the Jewish inhabitants. After this, he retired to his *zāwiya* at Bū ‘Alī in Touat, where he stayed for the rest of his life.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Mallittī l-Tilmisānī,
Al-bustān fī dhikr al-awliyā’ wa-l-‘ulamā’ bi-Tilmisān, Algeria, 1908, pp. 253-7
Aḥmad Bābā l-Tunbaktī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj bi-taṭrīẓ al-dībāj*, Tripoli, 1989, pp. 576-9

Secondary

- Ḥāj Aḥmad Nūr al-Dīn, ‘Al-manhaj al-da‘awī li-l-imām al-Maghīlī min khilāl al-rasā’il allatī ba‘athahā li-l-mulūk wa-l-ru‘asā’’, 2011 (MA Diss. al-Ḥāj al-Khiḍr University, Algeria)
Muqaddim Mabruk, *Al-imām Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī l-Tilmisānī wa-dawruhu fī ta’sīs al-‘imāra l-islāmīyya bi-Ifriqiya l-gharbiyya*, Wahrān, Algeria: Dār al-Gharb li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī’, 2006
Muqaddim Mabruk, *Al-imām Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī min khilāl al-maṣādir wa-l-wathā’iq al-tārīkhīyya*, Algeria, 2002
C. Blum and H. Fisher, ‘Love for three oranges, or, the Askiya’s dilemma. The Askiya, al-Maghīlī and Timbuktu, c. 1500 A.D.’, *Journal of African History* 34 (1993) 65-91
J.O. Hunwick, *Shari’a in Songhay. The replies of al-Maghīlī to the questions of Askia al-Hajj Muhammad*, New York, 1985

- J.O. Hunwick, 'Al-Mahīlī and the Jews of Tuwāt. The demise of a community', *Studia Islamica* 61 (1985) 155-83
- Ādam 'Abdullāh al-Alūrī, *Al-imām al-Maghīlī wa-āthāruh fi-l-ḥukūma l-islāmīyya fi l-qurūn al-wuṣṭā fi Nayjīryā*, Cairo, 1974
- Abd al-Aziz 'Abdullāh Baṭrān, 'A contribution to the biography of Shaikh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ('Umar-A'mar) al-Maghīlī, al-Tilmisānī', *Journal of African History* 14 (1973) 381-94
- H.I. Gwarzo, 'The life and teachings of al-Maghīlī with particular reference to the Saharan Jewish community', London, 1972 (PhD Diss. SOAS, University of London)
- E.M. Sartain, 'Jalal ad-Din as-Suyuti's relations with the people of Tadrar', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 2 (1971) 193-8
- M. Hiskett, 'An Islamic tradition of reform in the Western Sudan from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 25 (1962) 577-96

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Miṣbah al-arwāḥ fi uṣūl al-falāḥ, 'The torch of souls on the foundations of success'

DATE About 1477

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Although this work is known by the title *Miṣbah al-arwāḥ*, Aḥmad Nūr al-Dīn ('Al-manhaj al-da'awī') argues that this is not correct. He suggests that *Miṣbah al-arwāḥ* is another treatise written by al-Maghīlī and that the treatise that deals with *ahl al-kitāb*, particularly the Jews, is called *Risāla ilā kull Muslim wa-Muslima* ('Message to every Muslim man and woman'). In other texts, the treatise is also referred to as *Risāla ilā ahl al-dhimma* ('Message to *ahl al-dhimma*'). The manuscript has been edited twice, first by Rābiḥ Būnār in 1968, and then by 'Abd al-Majīd al-Khayālī in 2001. The original manuscript comprises 16 or 17 pages.

In the introduction, al-Maghīlī explains that he wrote his treatise in response to a question posed by some pious people, though they are not identified. The question asks for rulings on three main points: the unlawfulness of interaction with polytheists; *jizya* and the humiliation of *ahl al-dhimma*; and the transgression of the Jews and their rebellion against and rejection of Islamic law when they assume government positions or when they serve in the sultan's courts. Al-Maghīlī directs his response to Muslims everywhere and not only to those who pose the questions.

In his response to the first question, on the unlawfulness of any interaction with polytheists, al-Maghīlī refers to the *wilāya* (loyalty) argument. Muslims should show loyalty to their fellow-Muslims but not to others, as each group loves those who belong to their own group. He argues, 'The conclusion is that no one would bring a disbeliever close to himself or to his family, or employ him, or trust him with money, for he is a man of no faith or [sound] reason or moral integrity.' He proves each of these three accusations by using both intellectual reasoning and textual evidence from the Qur'an and Hadith.

Al-Maghīlī responds to the second question on how to deal with *ahl al-dhimma* (also called unbelievers) by quoting Q 9:26, which states that Muslims should fight those who do not believe in God and the hereafter and those who do not prohibit what God has made unlawful, until they pay the *jizya* and are humbled. He directs that *jizya* is to be collected by the appropriate people and should be spent according to the teachings of the Prophet, and that *ahl al-dhimma* should be humiliated in all their affairs, because they are inferior to Muslims. They should keep private all practices that might disagree with Islamic legislation, even if it is part of their religious tradition. Therefore, they are not permitted to build places of worship, even if they give large amounts of gold for them. Any places of worship they do build should be destroyed, even if they have received the sultan's consent (cf. the entry on Ibn Nujaym).

Al-Maghīlī concludes his treatise by referring more specifically to the Jews of Algeria. Their blood, money and offspring are lawful to Muslims, as the rule of protecting *ahl al-dhimma* does not apply to them since they do not pay the *jizya*, nor are they humiliated. If a Jew works for the amir, the sultan or the judiciary, then his *amān* (treaty of protection) is annulled, as serving in these posts is against the principle of humiliation. Al-Maghīlī declares at the end of the treatise that killing a single Jew merits a better reward than engaging in a war in a land of unbelief. So Muslims should kill them and seize their wealth, and take their offspring into captivity until they surrender by paying the *jizya* and submitting to humiliation.

The scribe who copied this treatise, al-Makkī ibn Aḥmad al-Idrīsī, explains at the end that al-Maghīlī wrote it when the Jews of Touat built a new synagogue, and adds that it was praised by various scholars, such as Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Sanūsī and Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Ghāzī. Al-Maghīlī took the implementation of the fatwa on himself and went with his supporters to various Jewish places of worship, destroyed them and killed many Jews. But his fatwa and actions were

condemned by other scholars, including the chief judge of Touat, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallah al-‘Asnūnī, and he was forced to leave Touat in fear of his life.

SIGNIFICANCE

While al-Maghīlī’s short treatise sheds lights on the life of the Jews in North Africa in the 14th and 15th centuries, it also revives certain normative views about both the Jews and Christians and their status in a North and West African setting. It adds a new chapter to the debate among Muslim jurists on interpreting texts concerning *jizya*, *ṣighār* (humbling) and *amān*, setting out how Muslims should interact with non-Muslims, and it shows how this interpretation is linked to the political, economic and social life in a particular locality at a particular time.

MANUSCRIPTS

Aḥmad Nūr al-Dīn mentions two known copies of the work:

A copy preserved by al-Maghīlī’s descendants in his mosque at Kanta Quarter, Adrar governorate, Algeria

MS Algiers, National Library – 1508 (date not given)

‘Abd al-Majīd al-Khayālī mentions the following copies:

MS Rabat, Public Library – d2013 (date not given; part of a collected volume, pp. 365-80)

MS Rabat, Public Library – d2223 (date not given; part of a collected volume, pp. 379-96)

MS Rabat, Public Library – d322 (date not given; part of a collected volume, pp. 240-56)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

‘Abd al-Majīd al-Khayālī (ed.), *Risālatān fī ahl al-dhimma*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2001 (text of *Misbaḥ al-arwāḥ fī uṣūl al-falāḥ*, pp. 1-20; also contains *Al-i‘lām bi-mā aghfalahu l-‘awām* by Abū l-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Marzūq ibn ‘Abd al-Jalīl ibn ‘Azūm al-Qayrawānī l-Tunusī, who was still alive in 1600)

Misbaḥ al-arwāḥ fī uṣūl al-falāḥ, ed. Rābiḥ Būnār, Algiers: Al-sharika al-waṭaniyya li-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī‘, 1968 (repr. Public printing house of the army, 2007)

STUDIES

Nūr al-Dīn, ‘Al-manhaj al-da‘awī’, pp. 72-3

al-Khayālī, *Risālatān fī ahl al-dhimma*

Baṭrān, ‘A contribution’, pp. 381-94

Risāla fī isti'māl al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā, 'A treatise
on employing Jews and Christians'

DATE Unknown; before 1505/6

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The only references to this lost treatise are found in Hājī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, vol. 3, p. 365, and in Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, pp. 55-6.

SIGNIFICANCE

The treatise was evidently an example of the genre of works about Muslim state employment of *ahl al-dhimma* that includes the fatwa of the 14th-century scholar Ibn al-Naqqāsh (1320-62), *Al-madhamma fī isti'māl ahl al-dhimma*.

STUDIES

- L. Yarbrough, 'Al-madhamma fi isti'māl ahl al-dhimma', in D. Thomas and A. Mallett (eds), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, Leiden, 2013, vol. 5, pp. 125-9
- M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, nebst Anhängen verwandten Inhalts: mit Benutzung handschriftlicher Quellen*, Leipzig, 1877
- Mustafa ben Abdallah Haji Khalifa, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum*, ed. G. Fluegel, Leipzig, 1835-58, vol. 3, p. 365

Said Fares Hassan

Priest Yovhannēs

DATE OF BIRTH	Mid-15 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Armenian Plateau
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author identifies himself by name and ecclesiastical rank in the third verse from the end of his work, and in the acrostic formed by the first letter of the first line in each stanza. His familiarity with the intricacies of the trial mentioned in the poem and the various high officials involved, as well as his reference in the twelfth stanza to the three ecclesiastics visiting 'us' on their return from the Black Sea leg of their journey, like the angelic visitants to Abraham, suggests that he was serving in the Ottoman capital during this time.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only source directly associated with the author is the martyrology.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Inən hariwr Hayoc' t'uakan, 'In the year 900 of the Armenian era'; Martyrdom of the bishops Yovhannēs and Sargis and the Monk Dawit', nuncios of the Holy Ējmiacin

DATE 1506

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

In his work of 37 four line stanzas in octosyllabic verse with monorhyme in – *an*, the poet narrates a journey to the Ottoman Empire by a group of three nuncios (*nuiarak*) of the supreme Armenian catholicos in Ējmiacin in the Persian sphere, to distribute newly consecrated holy oil (*miwron*)

for use in baptism and other liturgical rites in a process usually performed on a seven-year cycle. Once they had paid their respects to the Armenian bishop in the capital, they embarked on a voyage to visit cities with important Armenian communities around the Black Sea, stopping at Kafa (Theodosia) on the Crimea, Kara Boğdan (the Turkish name for Moldavia), Suceava (the capital of Moldavia), Lvov (an important international trade entrepot in Poland), and Akkerman (a Moldavian port), from which they took ship back to Constantinople.

At that point, news arrived that the catholicos had passed away, and so the two bishops in the group decided to send their subordinate Dawit' on ahead to clarify the situation. However, when Dawit' reached Amasia, he was brought to trial before the local commander's son on a charge of spying for the Safavids in 'Frankistan' (western Europe). He was subjected to torture, first in prison, then at the hands of soldiers, and finally by the gendarmes, who then went to apprehend the bishops at the monastery where they were staying in Constantinople.

The three were next presented to the grand vizier Atik Ali Paşa, who arranged for a further court proceeding before three paşas to determine the crime of which they were guilty. From there they were ushered before the Sultan Bayezid II, who ordered them to be tortured by the gendarmerie for several more days. Finally, after another two weeks of punishment, they were martyred by decapitation on a Saturday. They were not accorded the right of burial, so Ēmin Xōja, a member of the Armenian merchant elite, approached the grand vizier to obtain permission for this. After the three days that this took, the bodies of the three showed no sign of decay, and a light descended upon them like stars. This was witnessed by many Muslims. Their burial was a very moving spectacle marked by the presence of a large number of clergy of different ranks, together with many laity. In addition to the liturgical solemnities, women mourners moved everyone to tears with their laments. The author concludes by beseeching his readers to pray for the remission of his sins. The martyrdom occurred on Saturday 17 October, 1506.

SIGNIFICANCE

The narrative highlights the importance of the institution of the nunciature (*nuirakut'iwn*) for the supreme Armenian catholicos in Ējmiacin to execute various tasks within his universal jurisdiction. Its function was to maintain the hierarch's oversight of his ecclesiastical subordinate, the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople. Although tradition ascribed the

origin of the latter office to the initiative of Mehmed I in 1461, it is clear that both the official's title and his jurisdiction underwent a gradual development over several centuries. The subject of a synod in Constantinople in 1651, the patriarch's internal autonomy within the Ottoman Empire received official ratification from the Sublime Porte only in the mid-18th century. Thereafter, the catholicos could no longer send nuncios to the Empire unilaterally, without prior liaison with the patriarch. This issue therefore underscores the slow emergence of the Armenian millet as an administrative structure in the Ottoman Empire.

The charge of espionage of espionage to advance Safavid interests in Europe that was brought against the nuncios reveals a great deal about the situation in which they were caught up. Over the second half of the 15th century, the Safavids had taken advantage of Shī'ī sympathies in eastern Anatolia to establish a power base and undermine Ottoman expansion in the region, while at the same time strengthening their grasp over Greater Iran and Iraq. Indeed, in the following year Shah Ismail was to seize large swathes of Kurdistan, overcoming the local Ottoman defence forces. Meanwhile, Ottoman gains to the north and west of the Black Sea were of recent memory, Akkerman being conquered only in 1485, while the princes of Moldavia continued to struggle under Ottoman suzerainty, and Poland remained an adversary. Moreover, the precedent of a dual east-west offensive had been investigated during the first Ottoman-Venetian War (1463-79) with Uzun Hasan of the Akkoyunlu. The role of Armenian clergy, especially Armenian Catholic clergy, and merchants as intermediaries in such negotiations between the European powers and Iran becomes important in the 17th and early 18th centuries.

It is a topos of such martyrdom narratives to elaborate literary parallels between aspects of the trial and execution of a given martyr and the Passion of Christ as presented in the Gospels. Thus, those responsible for bringing the monk Dawit' to trial in Amasia are likened to Judas, who betrayed Jesus to the Sanhedrin. A similar analogy is generated regarding the incarceration of Dawit' and that of John the Baptist and Christ, while Ēmin Xōja's intervention is prefigured by that of Joseph of Arimathea in seeking Jesus's body for burial from Pilate. In contrast, a paradox is developed between the nuncios' death on Saturday verging on the 'dawn of Sunday', the day of the Resurrection, a symbol of new life. Likewise, apocryphal writings on the Three Young Men who accompanied the prophet Daniel in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3:8-30) being buried in a single tomb are accepted as a basis for the three nuncios also being buried together.

Finally, their beheading is like that of both John the Baptist and James the Apostle, the latter having a particular resonance with Armenians since, according to early tradition, his head was buried in a chapel in their cathedral in Jerusalem, although his body was conveyed to Santiago de Compostela in Spain.

MANUSCRIPTS

The original editor, Tēr-Mkrt'č'ean, published the poem without citing his source. It is presumed that it derives from a MS then held in the collection of the Armenian Catholicate at Ējmiacin, but this has yet to be identified.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aṙean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vaḷaršapat, 1903, pp. 340-5 (critical edition)
- K. Kostaneanc', *Nor zotovacu* [New collection], Tiflis, 1892, vol. 1, pp. 31-7
- G. Tēr-Mkrt'č'ean, 'Taḷ vasn S. Ējmiacnay nuirakneru glxatmann' [Taḷ poem on the decapitation of the nuncios of the Holy Ējmiacin], *Ararat* (1869) 223-5

STUDIES

- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan, 2011, pp. 346-8
- Hrač'ya Ač'arıyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baṙaran*, Yerevan, 1946, vol. 3, pp. 688-9
- M. Ōrmanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople, 1927, col. 2195
- L. Ališan, *Kamenic'. Taregirk' hayoc' Lehastani ew Ŗumenioy* [Kamenic'. Chronicles of the Armenians of Poland and Romania], Venice, 1896, p. 16

Peter Cowe

Al-Wansharīsī

Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd
al-Wāḥid ibn ‘Alī al-Wansharīsī

DATE OF BIRTH 1430-1
PLACE OF BIRTH Ouarsenis (Wansharīs, Algeria)
DATE OF DEATH 1508
PLACE OF DEATH Fez

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Wansharīsī was a Mālikī jurist in Tlemcen and Fez, and was considered the leading Mālikī authority of the late 15th century. He was born in the mountain massif of Wansharīs (Ouarsenis or Guanseris in north-western Algeria) and grew up and studied in Tlemcen, where his teachers included the most outstanding intellectuals of the city. Halfway through his life, in 1469, he came into conflict with the ruler of Tlemcen, probably because of his religious rigour and strict attitude. His house was ransacked, and he fled to Fez, the cultural and political capital of the Marīnid Maghrib. He was received in his new home as a celebrity, and he was able to occupy a number of teaching positions. While he mastered many subjects, he focused on the teaching of Islamic law, where his expertise was proverbial. He is known for his moral rectitude and sound juridical and religious principles, and for his staunch allegiance to Islamic orthodoxy (sometimes interpreted as intransigence), though he combined these with a pragmatic attitude towards the duty of the mufti to take into account local custom and usage and the environment in which he issued his rulings.

Al-Wansharīsī is known to have composed 30 works, mainly on legal and religious topics, though also on language, biography and political-administrative organization. The most famous and influential of these is *Al-mi‘yār al-mu‘rib*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Al-Qarāfi, *Tawshih al-dibāj wa-ḥilyat al-ibtihāj*, ed. Aḥmad al-Shatyāwī, Beirut, 1983, p. 65, no. 39
- Ibn 'Askar, *Dawḥat al-nāshir li-maḥāsīn man kāna bi-l-Maghrib min mashāyikh al-qarn al-āshir*, ed. M. Ḥajjī, Rabat, 1977, pp. 47-8, no. 32
- Aḥmad al-Manjūr, *Fihris*, ed. M. Ḥajjī, Rabat, 1976, pp. 50-2
- Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥijāl fi asmā' al-rijāl*, ed. M. Abū l-Nūr, Cairo, 1970-1, vol. 1, pp. 91-2, no. 130
- Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās fi man ḥalla min al-a'lām madīnat Fās*, Rabat: Dār al-Manṣūr, 1973-4, vol. 1, pp. 156-7, no. 105
- Aḥmad Bābā l-Tinbukti, *Nayl al-ibtihāj bi-tatrīz al-dibāj*, in the margin of Ibn Farḥūn Al-dibāj, Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ilmīyya [s.d.], pp. 87-8
- Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Laqḥ al-farā'id min lufāẓat ḥuqaq al-fawā'id*, in M. Ḥajjī, *Alf sana min al-wafayāt fi thalāthat kutub*, Rabat, 1976, p. 281
- Aḥmad Bābā l-Tinbukti, *Kifāyat al-muhtāj li-ma'rifat man laysa fi l-Dibāj*, ed. M. Muṭī', Rabat: Wizārat al-awqāf wa-l-shu'ūn al-Islāmiyya, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 130-1, no. 83
- Al-Maqqarī, *Rawḍat al-ās al-āṭirat al-anfās fi dhikr man laqituhu min a'lām al-ḥaḍratayn Marrākush wa-Fās*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Manṣūr, Rabat, 1964, p. 105
- Ibn Maryam, *Al-bustān fi dhikr al-awliyā' wa-l-'ulamā' bi-Tūlīmān*, ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers, 1908 (repr. Algiers: Dīwān al-maṭba'āt al-jāmi'iyya, 1985-6), pp. 53-4
- Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-riyād fi akhbār 'Iyād*, ed. I. al-Ibyārī et al., Rabat: Ṣundūq ihyā' al-turāth al-Islāmī, 1980, vol. 3, pp. 35-6, 65-6, 70-2, 75-7, 306-7, 318; vol. 4, pp. 200-1, 204, 206, 211-12, 214, 342; vol. 5, pp. 91-3
- Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968, vol. 1, p. 681; vol. 2, p. 701; vol. 5, pp. 204, 207, 280-1, 284-5, 340, 349, 419, 430; vol. 6, p. 278; vol. 7, p. 406
- Ḥajjī Khalīfa (Kātip Çelebi), *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. and trans. G. Fluegel, Leipzig, 1835-58, vol. 1, p. 507, no. 1548; vol. 6, p. 221, no. 13282
- Muḥammad al-Fāsī, *Mumtī' al-asmā' fi dhikr al-Jazūlī wa-l-Tabbā' wa-mā lahumā min al-atbā'*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-'Amrawī and 'Abd al-Karīm Murād, Fez, 1989, p. 12
- Aḥmad al-Nāshirī, *Al-istiḡṣā' li-akhbār al-duwal al-Maghrib al-aqṣā*, Casablanca, 1954-6, vol. 1, p. 165
- Al-Yafrānī (al-Ifrānī), *Nuzhat al-ḥādī bi-akhbār mulūk al-qarn al-ḥādī*, ed. O. Houdas, Paris, 1889, pp. 25, 26, 34
- Idrīs al-Fuḍaylī, *Al-durar al-bahīyya wa-l-jawāhir al-nabawīyya*, ed. A. ibn al-Mahdī l-'Alawī and M. ibn A. al-'Alawī, Rabat, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 302-3

Muḥammad ibn Ja'fa al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥādathat al-akyās bi-man uqbira min 'ulamā' wa-ṣulahā' bi-Fās*, Fez, 1898, vol. 2, pp. 153-5

Secondary

V. Lagardère, art. 'Al-Wansharīsī', in *Elz*

F. Vidal-Castro, 'Las obras de al-Wansharīsī (m. 914/1508). Inventario analítico', *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 3 (1992) 73-112

F. Vidal-Castro, 'Aḥmad al-Wansharīsī (m. 914/1508). Principales aspectos de su vida', *Al-Qanṭara* 12 (1991) 315-52

'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1982, vol. 2, pp. 1122-3, no. 633

M.B.A. Bencheikroun, *La vie intellectuelle marocaine sous les Mérinides et les Waṭṭasides (XIII-XVI siècles)*, Rabat, 1974, pp. 395-401

'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jilālī, *Ta'rīkh al-Jazā'ir al-'āmm*, Algiers, 1955, vol. 2, pp. 326-7

Al-Baghādādī, *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn*, Istanbul, 1951, p. 138

E. Lévi-Provençal, art. 'Al-Wansharīsī', in *Elh*

J. Berque, 'Ville et université. Aperçu historique de l'école de Fès', *Revue Historique du Droit Français et Etranger*, 4^a serie 27 (1949) 64-117, pp. 89-90, n. 29

M. Makhluḥ, *Shajarat al-nūr al-zakiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-mālikīyya*, Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī [s.d.] (repr. 1930), pp. 274-5, no. 1022

M. Bencheneb, 'Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'Idjāza du cheikh 'Abd al-Qādir el-Fāsy', in *Actes du XIV congrès international des orientalistes*, Paris, 1905, vol. 4, 168-560, pp. 290-1 no. 71

J.J.L. Bargés, *Complément de l'histoire des Beni-Zeyān, rois de Tlemcen*, Paris, 1887, pp. 420-3

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-mi'yār al-mu'rib wa-l-jāmi' al-mughrib 'an fatāwā 'ulamā' Ifrīqiya wa-l-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib, 'The clarifying yardstick and surpassing compiler of legal opinions of the scholars of North Africa, Andalus and the Maghrib'

DATE 1496 and 1505-6

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

As its title suggests, this is a compilation of fatwas of scholars and jurists of North Africa and al-Andalus, from the 9th century to al-Wansharīsī's own time. In addition to fatwas, it also includes other texts of Islamic law, such as legal judgments, opinions of teachers and jurists, comments,

polemics, and fragments of legal works. It is the largest collection of legal opinions from the medieval Islamic West and one of the greatest in all Islam.

Following the text of a fatwa, al-Wansharīsi often adds his own criticism and commentary on the question addressed. Thus, in addition to being a legal work, the *Mi'yār* is also an extensive collection of historical data and information on the social and economic life of the medieval Islamic West, just as the fatwas compiled in it are a reflection and manifestation of the society in which they arose.

The general structure of the book follows the order of the divisions of Islamic law: ritual law, marriage, property and procedural law. Although it is divided into 12 volumes in the published editions, it was originally organized in six parts (*sifr*). The last two volumes are designed as an addendum and supplement, and therefore are diverse in subject-matter.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Mi'yār* reflects the many aspects of the economy and society of al-Andalus and North Africa in the Middle Ages, including the daily contacts that occurred between Muslims and Christians. In consequence, there are numerous references to Christians on a variety of topics, among them marriage, sales, rents and inheritance, and there are also specific fatwas and treatises on the subject of Christians themselves.

These references appear mainly in the fatwas relating to the protected communities (*dhimmīs*), though they are also found in chapters relating to religion (e.g. ritual impurity, conversion, teaching the Qur'an to Christian children, Christian blasphemy against Islam, churches), trade (products, sales and purchases that are allowed and prohibited, foreign traders), taxes, social relations, and co-existence (clothing and distinguishing marks of Christians, intermarriage, deportations, neighbours, Christian influences on Muslims), Christian festivals, Muslims living under Christian rule (Mudejar-Morisco) and migration from Christian areas, captives and procedural law (courts, testimony, punishment). Altogether, they show the intimate relations between Muslims and Christians, and the complexities of close social involvement between the two faiths.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a list of the 50 or more MSS of the work, see F. Vidal-Castro, 'El *Mi'yār* de al-Wansharīsi (m. 914/1508). 1. Fuentes, manuscritos, ediciones, traducciones', *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos, Sección Árabe-Islam* 42-3 (1993-4) 336-43

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Muḥammad 'Uthmān, *Al-mi'yār al-mu'rib wa-l-jāmi' al-mughrib 'an fatāwā ahl Ifrīqiya wa-l-Maghrib*, Beirut, 2012

Muḥammad Ḥajjī et al., *Al-mi'yār al-mu'rib wa-l-jāmi' al-mughrib 'an fatāwā 'ulamā' Ifrīqiya wa-l-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, 13 vols, Rabat, 1981-3; Beirut, 1981-3

A. al-Bū'azzāwī et al., *Al-mi'yār al-mu'rib wa-l-jāmi' al-mughrib 'an fatāwā 'ulamā' Ifrīqiya wa-l-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, 11 vols, Fez, 1896-7 (lithographic edition)

For partial editions, see Vidal, 'El *Mi'yār* de al-Wansharīsī (m. 914/1508).

I. Fuentes, manuscritos, ediciones, traducciones', pp. 348-9

Partial translations:

[H.R. Idris], *Histoire et société en occident musulman au moyen âge. Analyse du Mi'yār d'al-Wansharīsī*, [ed.] V. Lagardère, Madrid, 1995 (this gathers together more than 12 studies by Idris between 1950 and 1978 with partial translations)

H.R. Idris, 'Les tributaires en occident musulman médiéval d'après le "Mi'yār" d'al-Wansharīshī', in P. Salmon (ed.), *Mélanges d'islamologie. Volume dédié à la mémoire de Armand Abel par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, Leiden, 1974, 172-96

É. Amar, *La pierre de touche des Fétwas de Aḥmad al-Wanscharīsī. Choix de consultations des faqīhs du Maghreb (Archives Marocaines 12-13)*, Paris, 1908-9

Other partial translations are listed in Vidal-Castro, 'El *Mi'yār* de al-Wansharīsī (m. 914/1508). 1. Fuentes, manuscritos, ediciones, traducciones', pp. 349-52

STUDIES

J.N. Hendrickson, *The Islamic obligation to emigrate. Al-Wansharīsī's Asnā al-matājir reconsidered*, Atlanta, 2009

K.A. Miller, *Guardians of Islam. Religious authority and Muslim communities of late medieval Spain*, New York, 2008

D.S. Powers and E. Terem, 'From the *Mi'yār* of al-Wansharīsī to the new *Mi'yār* of al-Wazzani. Continuity and change', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 33 (2007) 235-60

F. Vidal-Castro, review of V. Lagardère (ed.), *Histoire et société en occident musulman au moyen âge. Analyse du Mi'yār d'al-Wansharīsī, Al-Qanṭara* 17 (1996) 246-54

- D.S. Powers, 'The art of the legal opinion. Al-Wansharisi on *tawlīf*', in M.K. Masud, B. Messick and D.S. Powers (eds), *Islamic legal interpretation. Muftis and their fatwas*, Cambridge MA, 1996, 98-115
- F. Vidal-Castro, 'El *Miyār* de al-Wansharīsī (m. 914/1508). II. Contenido', *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos, Sección Árabe-Islam* 44 (1995) 213-46
- F. Vidal-Castro, 'El *Miyār* de al-Wansharīsī (m. 914/1508). 1. Fuentes, manuscritos, ediciones, traducciones', pp. 317-61
- F. Vidal-Castro, 'Economía y sociedad en al-Andalus y el Magreb a través del *Miyār* de al-Wansharīsī. Breve introducción a su contenido', in *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Marroquí de Ciencias Históricas 'Historia, Ciencia y Sociedad'*. Granada, 1989, Madrid, 1992, 339-56

Francisco Vidal-Castro

Karapet Bališec'i

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1450
PLACE OF BIRTH	Presumably in or near Bitlis
DATE OF DEATH	About 1520
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Relatively little research has been expended on this poet and his output, and the task ahead is complicated by problems of ascription of works and references mainly in manuscript colophons that probably belong to a number of homonymous figures who are accorded the epithet Bališec'i, associating them with the city of Bitlis and its environs. In addition to his being born in this region, we know that Karapet Bališec'i's father was named Step'anos and his mother Alamšah, and that he had a brother, Astuacatur, and nephew, Šahlubat', both goldsmiths. The earliest dated evidence we have of him is a manuscript of 1476 (MS Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate – J1193), which contains two of his poems, *Xrat ganj ergeloy* ('Advice on singing a *ganj* song') and parallel *Xrat tať ergeloy* ('Advice on singing a *tať* song'), suggesting his birth should be placed around the mid-15th century to allow for him to receive an education, compose the poems, and have them enter into circulation.

A manuscript of the same collection from the following year (1477) finds him as a monk in the monastery of the Mother of God in Gomac' Jor near Bitlis, transcribing and illuminating a hymnal (MS J1669). Karapet also copied a collection of *ganj* songs at the same monastery in 1483 (MS Yerevan, Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M5785) in which he incorporated two *kafa* poems composed of four-line monorhymed stanzas in 15 syllable verse with an acrostic spelling his name, as well as his *ganj* poem dedicated to St Gregory the Theologian. The next information we have derives from a Gospel copied in the Cilician period (MS Matenadaran – M9422), which Karapet, together with his brother and nephew, rebound with silver covers in 1496 at the Monastery of St John the Baptist in the region of Muš.

Thereafter, we find him in Berdjor in Mesopotamia, where he copied a ritual book in 1502, and finally in 1513 he copied a Psalter at the Monastery of Elrdux in the western district of Muš, to which he appended

a long verse colophon on the campaigns of Shah Ismail. In addition to these, two further *kafa* verses of his are transmitted in MS Matenadaran – M5434 and a *ganj* poem on the resurrection of Lazarus in MS Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate – J135. It is likely that the peregrinations of his later years were provoked by the unsettled nature of the times, during which his brother was killed in a Muslim attack.

Some scholars have attributed to him other works from the 1540s, and have identified him with other figures of the same name who were elevated to the rank of archbishop in Muš during that decade, but the more recent data on his early activities clearly militate against this hypothesis.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

N. Akinean, 'Karapet V. Balisec'i (1475-1550)', *Handēs Amsōreay* 51 (1937) 318-43

Secondary

S.P. Cowe, 'Print capital, corporate identity, and the democratization of discourse in Early Modern Armenian history', *Le Muséon* 126 (2013) 340-5

K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1500-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, pp. 33-5, 391-2

N. Polarean, *Hay grotner* [Armenian writers], Jerusalem, 1971, pp. 442-4

H. Ačaiyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bararan*, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1946, p. 609

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

P'ark' anelin astuacut'ean, 'Glory to the uncreated Godhead'; Verse colophon on Shah Ismail's campaigns

DATE 1513

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

This work is a poem of 122 lines in eight syllables featuring monorhyme (in – *an*) typical of the medieval Armenian tradition for extended verse narratives. Akinean and others have classified it as a lament (*otb*), but a number of factors militate against this designation. The piece was not conceived as a freestanding work and did not enter into wider circulation as a literary composition. Moreover, it lacks several of the tropes characterising that genre, and hence it is more accurate to describe it as

a colophon. Instruction in poetic composition formed part of the curriculum in monastic schools, and its impact on colophon writing is attested from the mid-13th century.

In keeping with the norms of this genre, Karapet takes the opportunity to inform the reader in some detail about the circumstances of copying the manuscript, highlighting issues of place, time, socio-political, religious, economic, and military conditions, and information regarding the scribe (ll. 1-28). After the formulaic doxology thanking God for having reached the end of his commission, he introduces himself in stereotypical self-deprecating fashion as a monk in name only who is totally bereft of the corresponding piety and good deeds. Then he alludes to the diverse roles of the Psalter he has just transcribed for study and worship, before stating the date and location of copying in a monastery overlooking the Euphrates in the region of Muš and offering a general characterisation of contemporary life, focusing on its negative manifestations, as is the tendency in this genre. Addressing the quintessential scriptural analogue, that of Nebuchadnezzar's attack on Jerusalem, he argues that the current situation far outstrips it in scale since that calamity only encompassed the Israelites, whereas the present tribulations hyperbolically engulf the human race.

In the next section (ll. 29-47), the author provides historical background to the time of writing (1513) by sketching Shah Ismail's meteoric rise since the beginning of the century through exploiting the power of the qizilbash forces. In his overview of the shah's success in expanding his base from Ardabil to forge a realm stretching from Mesopotamia to Khorasan, Karapet pauses on the destruction of the Aqqoyunlu and the widespread acceptance of the Shi'a creed. The effect of their tactics has been to overwhelm the opposition, putting some to the sword while banishing others and handing the territory over to rapine and plunder.

The chief burden of the account is provided by the third section (ll. 48-74), which treats the Kurdish preparations for and the subsequent Safavid siege of the strategically important fortress of Bitlis in 1512-13, for which the author is a valuable witness. The local Kurdish emir first oversaw the amassing of provisions to withstand the siege, and then executed a scorched earth policy to undermine the besiegers' access to supplies. This also left the city's majority Armenian population in dire straits during the harsh winter. Meanwhile, the Safavid capture of the fortress brought further calamities in terms of the stringent tax demands they levied and the unjust treatment they meted out upon the subject community.

The fifth section (ll. 75-91) brings the narrative up to the present (30 June 1513) by discussing the aftermath of the preceding events on both the local population, still reeling from the multiple devastation they had endured, and on the victor, whose fame attained new heights from western Europe to India, so that the author likens his good fortune to that of Alexander. These ruminations are developed in the penultimate section (ll. 92-111), which seeks to interpret the events described from the perspective of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, trying to account for the divine role and purpose in their orchestration.

Finally, Karapet returns to some of the themes of the introduction regarding date and authorship (ll. 112-22), concluding with the standard scribal plea for future readers to pray for his salvation.

SIGNIFICANCE

The colophon is useful in affording a contemporary and locally defined Christian perspective on the first years of Shah Ismail's reign. From his viewpoint in the region of Tarōn west of Lake Van, Karapet naturally refers to the suppression of the Aqqoyunlu who had recently held sway in the area (1467-95), though diminished by the infighting that ensued after Uzun Hasan's death. The shah dealt them the final blow at the Battle of Nakhchivan in 1501, which put Uzun Hasan's grandson Alwand to flight, ending up in Amid, as Karapet records. Also valuable is the general impression the author conveys of qizilbash tactics and their relation to the Christian population. The indiscriminate destruction they caused provokes him to apply to them the metaphor of 'bloodthirsty beasts', which was employed by earlier Armenian historians to define the Seljuk and Mongol invasions.

The specific details Karapet provides concerning the siege of Bitlis are worthy of even greater attention. The city, located 15 kilometres west of Lake Van, had been fortified by a castle for many centuries to guard the crucial pass leading from the Armenian plateau down to northern Mesopotamia. As an integral part of the earlier state of Greater Armenia, the district still featured a sizeable Armenian population, which predominated in the city itself. In the 13th century, a Kurdish emirate had been formed there under the Ruzaki family, and this had recently regained control of the territory from the Aqqoyunlu and, as Sunnis, tended to affiliate more with the Ottomans in the increasing tensions, pitting the two powers against one another. In anticipation of the siege, they therefore collected all the cattle, oil, honey and wheat for which the region was traditionally famous in the fort 'like a storehouse' and

torched the environs. The Safavid forces arrived in winter, which at this elevation is usually long and harsh, resulting in many of the peasantry perishing from cold and hunger. So at a loss is the writer that he appeals to the topos of laments invoking Jeremiah, traditionally regarded as the author of the biblical book of Lamentations, together with professional mourners, to describe the Armenians' hardships in a fitting manner. The Kurdish harrowing of the territory meant that the following spring, after the siege was lifted, the fields were totally uncultivated. Consequently, the Safavids' new tax demands both in coin and in wheat left the population destitute. Moreover, the excesses of victory led to unlawful stealing of property and the removal of many people into captivity.

In one of the most moving passages in the poem, the writer conveys the Armenian community's utter convulsion by various metaphors inspired by storms on Lake Van. In contrast, Karapet depicts the diverse embassies eager to submit to the shah's suzerainty or to enter into treaties with him, and his varied response. The image of his unalloyed good fortune is expressed through his comparison to Alexander, interpreted as deriving from the felicitous hour of his birth, which results in Shah Ismail 'always defeating his enemies and obstructing his opponents'. This testimony is fascinating as a response of the moment, one which was to be totally reversed after the shah's crushing defeat by Sultan Selim the following year at the Battle of Chaldiran and the complete volte-face it engineered in the shah's conduct of policy in the domestic and international spheres.

The most typical response from Christian clergy to the sort of calamities Karapet records is to ascribe them to divine punishment for the corporate sin of the worshipping community. Certainly, he maintains that God is lord of history and suggests that the Kurds' defeat at Bitlis is the penalty for their arrogant behaviour previously. He also reprises from the introduction the example of Israel's captivity, deriving from their departure from the divinely given law, and argues that Christians behave 'like Cain the fratricide'. However, what is interesting is his juxtaposition of another perspective emanating from Jesus's teaching in the Gospel regarding the parity of conditions shared by the righteous and iniquitous in this life. Thus, God sends the rain and sun to both (cf. Matthew 5:43-8) and allows both weeds and plants to grow together (Matthew 13:30), and hence he gives everyone to drink the cup of his wrath. His justification for this latter view is an appeal to divine inscrutability, contending that what is obscure to humankind is clear to the divine.

MANUSCRIPTS

The Psalter that Karapet copied is now held by the Escorial Museum, Madrid. The verse colophon he appended is found on fols 305r-311r. For a description, see Macler, 'Notices de manuscrits arméniens', pp. 91-106, and B. Coulie, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits arméniens*, Turnhout, 1992, p. 121.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

N. Akinean, 'Ołb i veray aršawanac' Šah Ismayēli' [Lament over Shah Isma'il's expeditions], *Handēs Amsōreay* 54 (1937) cols 338-43

F. Macler, 'Notices de manuscrits arméniens ou relatifs aux arméniens vus dans quelques bibliothèques de la péninsule ibérique et du sud-est de la France', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 1 (1920) 94-101 (French trans. pp. 101-6)

STUDIES

P. Xač'atryan, *Hay miġnadaryan patmakan ołber* [Medieval Armenian historical laments], Yerevan, 1969, pp. 92-101

Peter Cowe

Martyrology of Xaç'atur Kołbec'i in 1517

DATE OF BIRTH Second half of the 15th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Armenian Plateau
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author does not identify himself/herself in the narrative nor does he/she make any indirect allusions that might clarify his/her provenance and background. Taking into account the norms of this type of narrative, it might plausibly be argued that it was composed by a monk or vardapet (doctor of theology) in Amid.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only source directly associated with the author is the martyrology itself.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Yišatak srboyn Xaç'atroy or i yAmit' katarec'aw,
'Commemoration of St Xaç'atur who died
at Amid'

DATE 1517
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

A copy of this short text is found in a manuscript dated 1704, where it takes up only one part of a folio; the critical edition is three pages long.

The work is a martyrology of an Armenian from the district of Kołb who relocated to Amid some years before the events that led to his death. Entering the market to buy bread, he was accosted by two soldiers who asked whether he was Armenian or Muslim and, when they were told that he belonged to the former community, loudly informed those in the neighbourhood that this Armenian had previously accepted Islam. Gathering some false witnesses, they bound him and led him to the paşa

and qadi, who tried to persuade him by various means to revert to his Muslim creed. However, when Xač'atur confessed Christ as God, he was sentenced to death by burning.

When Xač'atur was taken with a military escort to the place of execution, the Muslim populace collected wood and made a bonfire. Then the soldiers drew him near to the flames to scorch his limbs first before burning him completely. At this point, one of them queried what Xač'atur was saying, and, hearing that his plea was 'My God, my God, help me', unsheathed his sword and decapitated him.

The coda to the account continues that one of the two soldiers who had originally accosted Xač'atur struck the other with such force that he killed him. The soldier was then tied to a horse's tail and dragged round the city walls past the four gates until his limbs were broken, after which he was taken to the middle of the market, where his body was pierced with metal staves.

SIGNIFICANCE

The narrative provides a vignette of conditions during the first Ottoman-Safavid War, and is particularly valuable because, in the absence of primary Armenian sources and the lack of published 16th-century manuscript colophons there is a relative dearth of historical sources in Armenian to document the situation of the Armenian community. The protagonist hails from the area of Kołb in the Surmalu district on the west bank of the River Axurean and probably moved to Amid a few years before it was captured by the Ottomans, as the city was a bustling artisan centre (for a map locating both sites in their 16th-century context, see R. Hewsen, *Armenia, a historical atlas*, Chicago, 2001, p. 148). Indeed, its massive expanse and impressive external wall dating back to Roman times punctuated with gates in the four cardinal directions is alluded to in the account. The fact that he transplanted his whole family suggests that they were fleeing the upheaval in the countryside caused by the hostilities to find protection in one of the largest cities in the region rather than moving for purely economic reasons, in which case he would likely have come alone. Granted that Ottoman-Safavid antagonisms provoked a series of six wars, which punctuated the 16th and first quarter of the 17th century, Xač'atur's situation mirrors that of a large percentage of the population of the Armenian plateau during this period, who left the land to resettle in urban environments locally or further afield.

Amid was captured for the Ottomans during a campaign of Bıyıklı Mehmet Paşa in 1515 and became the node of an *eyalet* (governorate) of

the same name soon afterwards. That the Ottoman occupation was comparatively recent is suggested by issues of comprehension: in the initial encounter, the protagonist, who probably knew Armenian and Persian, did not understand the soldiers' query in Turkish regarding his identity, while a later soldier had to inquire what he was saying as he was tied to the stake. It may be that Xač'atur's hesitation created suspicion, while also implying vulnerability, which the soldiers were quick to exploit. The desire for a display of superiority and power at the expense of the ethno-religious minority is also manifested in the paša's decision to transform the Armenian cathedral church of St T'oros into a mosque the following year.

The central role played by the soldiers in the narrative is emblematic of Amid's status as a key military base at this point, both to defend the newly acquired territory and as a springboard for new campaigns.

Although the martyrology represents on the whole a simple, straightforward and rather unvarnished account, as is typical of this period, a number of features have been developed to heighten the parallel with the circumstances of Christ's death. As a devoted follower, Xač'atur is described as a 'lamb among wolves', exactly like the 70 disciples Jesus commissions in Luke 10:3-4. Just as his master did not respond during his trial before the Sanhedrin (Matthew 26:63; Mark 14:61) and before Pilate (Mark 15:5), so the martyr remains silent as the throng presses him to renounce his religion. Moreover, his appeal to God cited above is constructed on Jesus's use of Psalm 22:1 on the cross (Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34-5). One might also note an analogy between the negative consequences of betrayal on Judas in his subsequent act of suicide (Matthew 27:3-10) and on the two soldiers who initiated the proceedings against Xač'atur, where the enmity sown between them quickly leads to their death.

Although it is a trope in this genre to depict the martyr as 'afire with love for Christ', here too the author has given the topos more effect by pointedly integrating it into the broader context of his coming immolation.

The author records that the martyrdom coincided with the feast of the Annunciation, which, according to the Armenian sanctoral, falls on the Sunday nearest 6 April, which in this case would be 5 April. The manuscript reading, in contrast, is 7 April, but this can easily be corrected, as the date is referenced by Armenian characters applied numerically, the forms of which are graphically similar.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M3783,
fol. 165v (1704)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-*
dislovie i primechaniya, Yerevan, 1998, pp. 138, 281 (Russian trans.)

Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*,
Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 350-2 (critical edition)

STUDIES

K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner*
(V-XVIII dd.), Yerevan, 2011, pp. 372-4

H. Ač'arıyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, Yerevan, 1948, vol. 2, p. 485

M. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople, 1927, col. 2222

M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'ıwn Hayoc' i skzbanē ašxarhis minč'ew c'am*
Teařn 1784, Venice: Petros Valvazeanc' Press, 1786, vol. 3, p. 516

Peter Cowe

Hüsâm Çelebi

Hüsâmeddin Hüseyin ibn Abdurrahmân

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown (presumably mid-15th century)
PLACE OF BIRTH Tokat
DATE OF DEATH 1520
PLACE OF DEATH Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY

Biographical sources do not mention when Hüsâm Çelebi was born, nor do they agree upon the place of his origin. Despite this ambiguity and lack of information, it has been suggested that he was originally from Tokat, where he also received his early education before moving to Istanbul (Öztürk, 'Hüsâm Çelebi'nin Hayatı ve Eserleri', p. 454).

In Istanbul, Hüsâm Çelebi studied with eminent Ottoman scholars such as Hocazâde (d. 1496), Efdalzâde Hamîdüddin Efendi (d. 1503), Müeyyedzâde Abdurrahmân Efendi (d. 1516) and many others (Taşköprüzâde Ahmed, *Al-shaqâ'iq*, p. 388). He later taught at the madrasas of Vâcidiye in Kütahya, Kapluca (Hüdâvendigâr) in Bursa and Sultâniye (Bayezid II) in Amasya. In 1511, he was appointed mufti of Amasya, a post he occupied until 1516, and then he held a teaching position at one of the Sahn-ı Semân, the eight most prestigious madrasas in Istanbul. Subsequently, he served as the *kadı* of Edirne (1517) and Bursa (1518) respectively, and in 1519 he once again taught at the Sahn-ı Semân of Istanbul. He died in Istanbul in 1520 (Öztürk, 'Hüsâm Çelebi'nin Hayatı ve Eserleri', pp. 456-7).

In bibliographical sources as well as various library catalogues, Hüsâm Çelebi is often confused with a number of other Ottoman scholars of the period, particularly with Hüsâmeddin et-Tokâdî (d. 1456). This has led to the mistaken attribution of some of his works to other authors (Öztürk, 'Hüsâm Çelebi'nin Hayatı ve Eserleri', pp. 458-66). In addition to his *Risâla ma'mûla li-bayân ahwâl al-kanâ'is shar'an* ('Treatise composed as an explication of the legal status of the churches'), and *Risâla fi sabb al-Nabî wa-ahkâmihî* ('Treatise on insulting the Prophet and its legal consequences'), Hüsâm Çelebi is also known for a number of other works in the fields of theology and law, such as *Hâshiya 'alâ Sharh al-wiqâya li-Şadr al-Shar'â*, *Hâshiya 'alâ Sharh al-mawâqif*, *Hâshiya 'alâ Sharh al-Tajrîd li-l-Sayyid al-Sharîf*, *Risâla fi ta'rîf ilm al-kalâm*, *Risâla fi jawâz istikhâlâf*

al-khaṭīb, Risāla fī jawāz al-dhikr al-jahrī, Risāla fī raqş al-mutaşawwifa, and Risāla fī naql al-shahāda.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Taşköprüzâde Ahmed, *Al-shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya fī 'ulamā' al-dawla al-'uthmāniyya*, ed. A.S. Furat, Istanbul, 1985, pp. 387-8

Mehmed Mecdî, *Tercüme-i Şekaik (Hadâiku's-Şekâik)*, Istanbul, 1852, p. 391

Taqî al-Dîn ibn 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Tamîmî, *Al-ṭabaqât al-saniyya fī tarâjîm al-Ḥanafiyya*, ed. 'A.-F. M. al-Ḥulw, Cairo, 1970, vol. 3, p. 147

Najm al-Dîn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzî, *Al-kawākib al-sā'ira bi-a'yân al-mi'a al-'āshira*, ed. K. al-Manşūr, Beirut, 1997, vol. 1, p. 188

Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, Cairo, 1932, vol. 8, p. 97

Ḥajjî Khalifa (Kâtip Çelebi), *Kashf al-zunûn*, ed. Ş. Yaltkaya and K.R. Bilge, Istanbul, 1941-3, vol. 1, pp. 347, 871

Secondary

A. Özel, *Hanefî fıkıh alimleri*, Ankara, 2006, p. 118

L. Öztürk, 'Hüsâm Çelebî (ö. 926/1520)'nin Hayatı ve Eserleri', *Sakarya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 3 (2001) 453-68 (the most thorough biography)

C. Baltacı, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı medreseleri*, Istanbul, 1976, pp. 111, 250, 365

Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, Westmead, New South Wales, 1971, vol. 2, p. 111
Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 231; *Supp.*, vol. 2, p. 322

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī sabb al-Nabî wa-aḥkāmihî, 'Treatise on insulting the Prophet and its legal consequences'

Al-Risāla fī taḥqîq al-sabb, 'Treatise on judicial inquiry of the insult'

DATE Unknown, presumably 1495 or after (but no later than 1520)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise offers a systematic analysis of the legal and theological implications of insulting the Prophet Muḥammad. It consists of three main sections: the definition of *sabb*; the status of the Muslim who insults the Prophet; and the status of the *dhimmî* who insults the Prophet (MS Ankara, fol. 70v).

In the first part, Hüsâm Çelebi writes that belittling (*istikhfâf*) the Prophet or any of the prophets is considered blasphemy (*kufîr*) by the consensus of scholars. This is further substantiated with references to, and quotations from, a number of jurists of different legal schools. He then thoroughly discusses how scholars have come to varying conclusions about which statements are to be considered a *sabb* and which are not (MS Ankara, fols 70v-73r).

In the second part, Hüsâm Çelebi discusses whether the repentance of the Muslim who has insulted the Prophet is acceptable or not. After presenting varying views on the matter, he concludes that the Muslim who knowingly and deliberately (*bi-‘amdin wa-qaşdin*) has insulted the Prophet deserves a death sentence even if he subsequently repents. Nevertheless, such a person is to be treated as a Muslim after his death, i.e. he is to be washed, prayed over and buried according to the rites of Islam (MS Ankara, fols 73r-74r).

In the third part Hüsâm Çelebi refers to differences of opinion among Shâfi‘î, Hânafi and other jurists concerning the status of the *dhimmî* who has insulted the Prophet. According to al-Shâfi‘î’s (d. 820) view, when it is established that a *dhimmî* has insulted the Prophet, he is to be killed unless he accepts Islam, whereas Abû Hânîfa (d. 767), al-Thawrî (d. 778) and their followers are of the opinion that a *dhimmî* who has insulted the Prophet should be given only a discretionary (*ta’dhîr*) and disciplinary (*ta’dîb*) punishment, and not a death sentence. According to another opinion, the *dhimmî* cannot escape the death sentence by embracing Islam (MS Ankara, fol. 74r). Among these three differing views, Hüsâm Çelebi seems to prefer the last, as he concludes that if the Muslim’s repentance is not to be accepted, then the *dhimmî*’s repentance is even less acceptable (MS Ankara, fol. 74v).

SIGNIFICANCE

A number of Ottoman scholars, contemporaries of Hüsâm Çelebi, are also known for their treatises on the question of *sabb*. Among the most prominent are Molla Ehaveyn Muhyiddin Mehmed ibn Kasım (d. 1498) (MS Süleymaniye – İbrahim Efendi, Mecmua 859, fols 20r-25r; Turkish trans. by A.Y. Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar ve mülhitler yahut dairenin dışına çıkanlar (15-17. yüzyıllar)*, İstanbul, 1998, pp. 340-7), and Efdalzâde Hamîdüddin Efendi (d. 1503), Hüsâm Çelebi’s teacher who would later become a Şeyhülislam (Ş. Özen [ed. and Turkish trans.], ‘Molla Lutfi’nin İdamına Karşı Çıkan Efdalzâde Hamîdüddin Efendi’nin Ahkâmü’z-zındık Risalesi’, *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (2000) 7-16). Both of these works were written in reference to the case of Molla Lutfi, the eminent Ottoman

scholar, Lutfullah ibn Hasan (d. 1495), who like Hüsâm Çelebi also taught at a madrasa in Bursa and the prestigious Sahn-ı Semân madrasas of Istanbul. In addition to blasphemy, Molla Lutfi was also accused of insulting the Prophet (Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar ve mülhitler*, pp. 207-8). Both authors participated in the trial, but whereas Ehaveyn's treatise defends the execution of Molla Lutfi, the work of Efdalzâde, who was the *kadı* of Istanbul at the time, stands against it (Özen, 'Molla Lutfi'nin İdamına Karşı Çıkan Efdalzâde', pp. 7-8).

Hüsâm Çelebi was serving as a *müderris* when the incident of Molla Lutfi took place in 1494 (for a detailed account of the incident, see Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar ve mülhitler*, pp. 205-27, and O.Ş. Gökyay and Ş. Özen, art. 'Molla Lutfi', in *DİA*). One is therefore inclined to link Hüsâm Çelebi's treatise to this specific case. In the opening line, Hüsâm Çelebi states that he was impelled to write it 'so that it may serve as a reference whenever incidents and troubles occur', an indication that he may have been addressing a particular situation that he must have personally encountered. There is no explicit mention in the text of any particular event that motivated Hüsâm Çelebi to pen his treatise, but his words in the conclusion of the text also imply that he had a specific incident in mind. There he asserts that the person who has claimed that the Prophet is among the losers, persisting in his claim and refusing to repent, deserves the death penalty. Hüsâm Çelebi further invokes 'woe unto him who hesitates regarding the necessity of killing this persistent (criminal) and cursing him' (MS Ankara, fol. 74v). The treatise is silent about the religious identity of the person in question. Was he a Muslim or a *dhimmî*? If it was about Molla Lutfi, why does the text discuss the status of the *dhimmî*? No explicit information in the text provides an answer to these questions. Overall, by providing historical material about contemporary scholarly debates, the treatise reflects the socio-political and religious life of 16th-century Ottoman society and its attitudes towards *dhimmîs*.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Denizli 409, fols 35v-37v (undated; the MS is identified as *Risāla sabbiyya* and wrongly attributed to 'Alī al-Qārī' [d. 1605])
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Kasidecizade 710, fols 35v-37v (undated; the MS is identified as *Risāla al-sayf al-maslūl fī sabb al-Rasūl* and wrongly attributed to Ibn Kemāl [d. 1534])
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Kasidecizade 710, fols 38r-38v (undated)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Reşid Efendi 193, fols 191v-195v (undated)

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehid Ali Paşa 2886, fols 43v-48r (undated)
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Antalya Tekelioğlu İl Halk Kütüphanesi
 909, fols 188v-191r (undated)
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Antalya Tekelioğlu İl Halk Kütüphanesi
 861, fols 118v-124r (undated)
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Antalya Tekelioğlu İl Halk Kütüphanesi
 852, fols 93v-96v (undated)
 MS Ankara, Milli Kütüphane – Yazmalar 5997, fols 70v-74v (undated)
 MS Konya – Isparta Uluborlu İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi 375, fols 160v-162r
 (undated)

Risāla ma‘mūla li-bayān aḥwāl al-kanā’is shar‘an,
 ‘Treatise composed as an explication of the legal
 status of churches’

DATE Presumably 1519

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

At the beginning of this treatise Hüsâm Çelebi explains the reason behind it, which was apparently scholarly disagreement concerning the status of mosques and churches (ed. Öztürk, p. 142).

Hüsâm Çelebi first explores differing Ḥanafî views regarding the necessary preconditions for the foundation of a mosque. What is the requirement for an endowed property to be considered as a mosque? Is the declaration of the endower sufficient? Or should it be followed by a communal prayer? Some Ḥanafî jurists (Abū Yūsuf, d. 798) argued for the former, while some others (Abū Ḥanîfa, d. 767, and Muḥammad al-Shaybānî, d. 805) held the latter position (ed. Öztürk, p. 143). After this short introduction, Hüsâm Çelebi discusses the status of churches in conquered lands, which he lists under the following categories:

Churches in lands conquered by force: these can be converted into mosques if such a decision is made and explicitly declared by the sultan, if the necessary conditions are fulfilled (communal prayer) and if certain legal regulations (testimony of the witnesses) are followed. However, the sultan’s declaration has no legal validity once the church has become the property of a Muslim or has been left to the use of its inhabitants upon mutual agreement (ed. Öztürk, p. 144-5).

Hüsâm Çelebi holds that the validity of endowment is dependent on the following: the endower must explicitly declare that the place is to be made a mosque, and a communal prayer must be performed with the endower's permission. Given that jurists have differed on the matter, Hüsâm Çelebi concludes that the conversion of a church into a mosque should be treated with utmost caution (ed. Öztürk, p. 146).

Churches in lands conquered by treaty: these cannot be altered. Since the inhabitants have become the *ahl al-dhimma*, their lives and property as well as their places of worship are under protection. It is by no means permissible to prevent them from performing their worship in these buildings. They have acquired the right of protection by the peace treaty they have signed. The Christians in such lands are further permitted to build new churches. The permission continues until the time when the place becomes populated by Muslims. Hüsâm Çelebi contends that, when it becomes a Muslim town, the Christians will no longer be allowed to build new churches there (ed. Öztürk, p. 147).

Churches in lands conquered by war and force, but whose inhabitants are given the right of *dhimma* through a peace treaty: old churches as well as new ones built until such time as the town has become populated by Muslims are not to be demolished, but the Christians will be required to use such buildings as living spaces and no longer as places of worship. In the margins of the manuscript, there is a comment stating that this prohibition of worship is not practised in Anatolia (*al-diyâr al-rûmîyya*). As for those churches built after the town becomes inhabited by Muslims, in Hüsâm Çelebi's view these must be demolished (ed. Öztürk, p. 147).

SIGNIFICANCE

Hüsâm Çelebi's work is an important source of information, providing valuable insights into legal disputes regarding the status of churches in the 16th-century Ottoman world. It reflects the concerns of the learned elite of the period about the lawful treatment of *ahl al-dhimma* and their right of worship.

A number of 19th-century historians, beginning with Baron Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856), Mustafa Nuri Paşa (d. 1890) and others, relate that, upon his return from the Mamluk campaign in Egypt, Sultan Selim I (d. 1520) considered confiscating the churches of Istanbul and expelling its Christian population. He was opposed, however, by Şeyhülislam Zenbilli Ali Cemâli Efendi (d. 1526), who refused to issue a *fetva* that would enable the sultan to take such a drastic step, arguing that this

would be an illegitimate move against the rulings of *sharī'a* (see J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Graz, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 539-41; Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayic ül-vukuat*, Istanbul, 1877, vol. 1, p. 95). However, the story does not appear in contemporary Ottoman chronicles (ed. Öztürk, '*Risâle ma'mûle*', p. 140), and in some later sources a comparable account is attributed to Süleyman the Magnificent (d. 1566) and his Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi (d. 1574) (these accounts are discussed in H. Çolak, 'Co-existence and conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in the 16th century Ottoman Istanbul', Ankara, 2008 [MA Diss. Bilkent University]).

Although there is no explicit reference to any particular event in Hüsâm Çelebi's *Risâla*, the modern editor of the text situates it within the context of Şeyhülislam Zenbilli Efendi's opposition to Sultan Selim's attempt to confiscate the churches of Istanbul. The contents of the treatise are thus taken to refer to the tensions of the time, reflecting the heated scholarly debates concerning the legal and theological questions raised by Selim I (ed. Öztürk, '*Risâle ma'mûle*', pp. 135-6, 140). This suggestion seems to be supported by the opening lines of the treatise, in which Hüsâm Çelebi praises Selim I and his successful sultanate, and adds a short prayer: 'May (God) protect us from the sin of burning the blessed lands by the sanctity of our ancestors who in lineage (*nasaban*) are related to the Master of the prophets, may (God's) blessings and peace be upon them all. This can be achieved only by pursuing justice among people.' Since 'the matter of the mosques and churches has become obscure among the scholars', Hüsâm Çelebi is determined to express the correct position (ed. Öztürk, p. 142). His emphasis on 'justice among people' and his resolve to clarify the status of the churches imply the ongoing debates within '*ulamâ*' circles in Istanbul.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Izmir 805, fols 125r-128v (undated)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

L. Öztürk, 'Hüsâm Çelebi'nin (ö. 926/1520) *Risâle ma'mûle li-beyânî ahvâli'l-kenâisi Şer'an Adlı Eseri*', *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* 5 (2001) 135-56 (critical edition, Turkish trans. and analysis)

STUDIES

Öztürk, 'Hüsâm Çelebi'nin (ö. 926/1520) *Risâle*'

Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1480s-90s
PLACE OF BIRTH	Ałt'amar, Lake Van
DATE OF DEATH	After 1544
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Born towards the end of the 15th century on the island of Ałt'amar, an autonomous Armenian enclave in Lake Van, in 1512, Grigoris inherited from his uncle the office of catholicos of Ałt'amar, which he held until 1544. The catholicate was transmitted lineally within the Sefedinian branch of the ancient house of Arcruni, once lords of the Armenian province of Vaspurakan and rival kings of Armenia. Before acceding to his hierarchical status, Grigoris was a monk in the nearby monastery of Varag, where his principal mentor was Grigor Rabunapet, while Yovsēp' *vardapet* instructed him in the art of manuscript illumination. He is renowned for his exquisite copies of the *Alexander romance* marked by characteristically fine line drawing and subtle use of colour. Three exemplars of this survive from 1525, 1526, and 1536, which he also interpreted by *kafa* verses. He repeated this in his illumination of the tale *City of copper*, originally of Persian provenance, which later found its way into the *Thousand and one nights* collection.

Grigoris's poetic oeuvre can largely be dated to the years 1515-24, early pieces such as the life of St Marinus (1516) and the martyrology of Astucatur Xat'ayec'i (1519) being composed at the request of his teacher Grigor Rabunapet. His output embraces a number of religious themes, such as *ganj* and *meledi* poems on the Holy Cross in the nearby monastery of Uınkar, and poems on the Mother of God and birth of Christ. Most of the rest are lyrical effusions of a more personal nature, several involving the Persian motif of the rose and nightingale associated with love allegory. In these, Grigoris emerges as the most consummate exponent of medieval Armenian lyric in the high style, introducing a number of innovations in metre, rhythm, and structure, including the most frequent and elaborate acrostics, which became his hallmark. A number of his poems are also macaronic, featuring one couplet in Armenian followed by another in Persian, while some of his compositions are trilingual.

Although the island of Aġt'amar provided relative security, twice the socio-political and military situation was so unsettled that it required him to leave for safety. In the aftermath of the insurrection following the death of Shah Ismail in 1523, Grigoris had to lead a peripatetic existence from one monastery to another, returning to the island in the early 1530s. Again he was forced to leave in 1534 under Süleyman I's campaign in the region in the context of the second Ottoman-Safavid war. The date and circumstances of his death are unknown.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- S.P. Cowe, 'The object of Aġt'amarc'i's affections', in T.M. van Lint (ed.), *J.J.S. Weitenberg memorial volume*, Leuven (in press)
- S.P. Cowe, 'Grigoris Aġt'amarc'u sirac ėaki ink'nut'yunə' [The identity of Aġt'amarc'i's beloved], *Ējmiacin* 7 (2013) 36-45
- S.P. Cowe, 'The politics of poetics. Islamic influence on Armenian verse', in J.J. van Ginkel et al. (eds.), *Redefining Christian identity. Cultural interaction in the Middle East since the rise of Islam*, Leuven, 2005, 379-403
- S.P. Cowe, 'Medieval Armenian literary and cultural trends (twelfth-seventeenth centuries)', in R.G. Hovannisian (ed.), *History of the Armenian people from ancient to modern times*, vol. 1, New York, 1997, 293-325
- S.P. Cowe, 'Models for the interpretation of medieval Armenian poetry', in J.J.S. Weitenberg (ed.), *New approaches to Middle Armenian language and literature*, Leiden, 1995, 29-45
- J.R. Russell, 'An Armeno-Persian love poem of Grigoris Aġt'amarts'i', *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 6 (1992-3) 99-105
- H. Simonyan, 'Grigoris Aġt'amarc'in ibrev kafanerə 'Patmut'yun Aġek'sandri Makedonac'woy vepi kafaneri heinak' [Catholicos Grigoris Aġt'amarc'i's *kafa* verses in the History of the Great Emperor Alexander of Macedon], *Lraber* (1968) 85-93
- Y. K'iwrtėan, 'Grigoris kat'ohikos Aġt'amarc'ii kafanerə 'Patmut'iwn meci ašxarhakalin Aġek'sandru Makedonac'woy' mēj' [Catholicos Grigoris Aġt'amarc'i's *kafa* verses in the History of the Great Emperor Alexander of Macedon], *Handēs Amsōreay* 81 (1967) 423-44
- B. Č'ugaszyan, 'Grigoris Aġt'amarc'u taleri parskeren hatvacneri vercanumə' [The decipherment of the Persian portions in Grigoris Aġt'amarc'i's *tał* poems], *Patmabanasirakan Handes* (1960) 201-22
- N. Akinean, *Grigoris I kat'otikos Aġt'amarc'i* [Grigoris I catholicos Aġt'amarc'i], Vienna, 1958
- H. Ačařyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, Yerevan, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 623-4
- N. Akinean, 'Grigoris Aġt'amarc'i', *Handēs Amsōreay* 29 (1915) 18-67

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

First poem: *Taḷ Astuacatur Xat'ayec'un i Grigoris kat'otikosē Aḷt'amarc'woy*, 'Taḷ poem on Astuacatur Xat'ayec'i by Catholicos Grigoris Aḷt'amarc'i'
 Second poem: *Taḷ Astuacatur Xat'ayec'woyn*,
 'Taḷ poem on Astuacatur Xat'ayec'i'

DATE 1519

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

First poem: The work is a poem composed of 30 four-line verses with lines of 11 syllables in stanzaic mono-rhyme written by the young Armenian catholicos at the behest of his teacher Grigor, the chief instructor in the monastic school (*rabunapet*). The introduction sets the scene, introducing the accomplished Armenian merchant Mxit'ar of Bitlis and outlining the route by which he travelled along the Silk Road from Ottoman territory overland via Iran, northern India, and Central Asia to Qitai (Xat'ay), one of the most westerly cities of China. At that point the author strategically pauses his narrative to dilate on the region's being idolatrous (*k'rapašt*) and devoid of knowledge of Christianity.

In the next episode, the protagonist makes his appearance. He is a Kalmyk youth, who has been taken captive along with his tribe by enemy horsemen who now expose him for sale at the market, where he is purchased by Mxit'ar. Returning home by a different route via the Caspian Sea and North Caucasus, the youth is ransomed back to his Armenian master for three times the original price.

Back in Bitlis, the next section notes the youth's desire to be baptised a Christian, adopting the name of Astuacatur, his speed in learning the language and script, and his growth in spirit. This is immediately followed by the account of an accusation brought against the youth to the local *paša* that he is Turkic in origin and therefore by presumption a Muslim who has now renounced his religion. The *paša* demands that he return to Islam or face the consequences in undergoing severe trials, but when Astuacatur rigorously opposes this, he tries to cajole him with sweet words.

Refusing to be persuaded, the youth is then subjected to a series of tortures. He is plunged into the Bitlis River during the winter, has fire

applied to his back, is made to wear smouldering sandals, has his body pierced by the sword, and has to carry burning coals in his hands. However, he bears all these torments with equanimity as a 'sacrifice' to God.

At this point there occurs a vivid exchange between the youth and the local mullah, rendered all the more lively by the pithy dialogue reproduced in Persian and Turkish, in which the youth employs increasingly pejorative language about his interlocutor. The mullah pleads with him not to go astray, but to study the Qur'an with him and become a friend of the Prophet, in each case eliciting a ringingly negative response.

The final section moves very quickly to the culmination. After eight months of diverse tortures, the death penalty is carried out by stoning. The youth's age is given as 18 years, the date of the martyrdom is stated, and the circumstances of composition are briefly rehearsed.

Second poem: The second poem consists of eight four-line verses of seven syllables with stanzaic rhyme and featuring an acrostic formed by the first letter in each verse that spells the author's name. As the first word proclaims, it is composed as a brief paean to the martyr, adopting a laudatory tone throughout, the short lines conveying a light tone and a sense of swift motion. Although very different in conception, its dependence on the previous poem is obvious, attested by the borrowing of various phrases, e.g. the youth's being 'inflamed with the love of Christ', while the 'sons of Hagar' strike him. Although this work, like most of Grigoris's oeuvre, is deeply influenced by the Persian *ghazal*, in which each couplet represents a distinct thought and overall cohesion is often secondary, nevertheless, the author is able to sustain the diverse strains of imagery throughout the composition to create a more comprehensive whole. It rests on the conventions of lyric poetry, here applied to panegyric in a tendency that becomes more pronounced in the 17th century, which is in turn directed towards the specific characteristics of martyrdom.

SIGNIFICANCE

First poem: The poem is extremely interesting from a number of different perspectives. First there is the involvement of the Bitlis Armenian community in international overland trade with Central Asia in this period, which is relatively little studied. From the 9th-10th centuries, Armenians were engaged in commerce along the western portions of the Silk Road, but began traversing the whole route under the Pax Mongolica. The poet carefully maps Mxit'ar's journey from the Lake Van

area through the neighbouring Persian province of Atrpatakan via Qom to the province of Iranian Iraq (central western region) to the contiguous sphere of Khorasan, which in the Middle Ages also embraced the territory of Samarkand and Bukhara, mentioned next, before entering Hindustan (northern India) and crossing from there to the 'renowned' city of Qitai in what is now China's Xinjiang province. Though the poet does not record what wares the merchant sold along the way, the goal of his mission is to acquire musk, a perfume fixative from the musk pod of the male musk deer indigenous to that area, which was sought after as a means of extending the impact of various kinds of scent. It is also significant that this sort of overland trade with China had continued into the Ming period, though the government only granted concessions to the Portuguese in 1517. This Armenian commerce was poised to expand with the founding of the Mughal state about a decade later.

The second important issue the poem raises is the background of the young Kalmyk slave and the circumstances of his captivity. The actual term the text attests is *Lalmu* (i.e. *Kalmuk*), which is an appellation applied in relations with outsiders by the Oirats, pastoral nomadic western Mongols who engaged in disputes with the eastern Mongols, as well as with the Ming dynasty, for control of inner and outer Mongolia from the 14th to the 18th centuries. This may afford the context for the skirmish in which armed horsemen captured an Oirat (Kalmyk) tribe and drove them eastwards to sell them at market. Related to this is the poet's observation that the inhabitants of the whole region were idolaters, by which he probably means Buddhists with a rich tradition of religious representational art, in contrast to Islam. Hence it is ironic that the youth was viewed as being Muslim, though by this time much of Central Asia was inhabited by Islamic Turkic peoples (e.g. Uyghurs, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Tatars, Kazakhs).

Also significant is the merchant's decision to return by a different route, which may imply that the southern itinerary was rendered unsafe by Ottoman-Safavid hostilities, which necessitated adoption of the route past the Aral and north of the Caspian seas before crossing into southern Caucasia by the Alan Gate. That road was traditionally plagued by brigands and bandits, as *Mxit'ar* was to experience in ransoming his servant for an exorbitant sum.

As an exercise in composition within a monastic school, the poem naturally features various theological elaborations beyond the scope of the Armenian merchant and his godson. The excursus on idolatry affords

the poet the opportunity to insert a brief Christian creed contrasting the 'false gods' with the persons of the Trinity, Christ's economy and Ascension, his current status on the cherubic chariot depicted in Ezekiel's vision (Ezekiel 1:5-28), and his Second Coming. Similarly, he inserts a reference to martyrdom into Mxit'ar's travels by alluding to traditions of St Thomas, presumably applying to Hindustan, though the sites associated with the saint on the east and west coasts both relate to the southern state of Kerala, far from the overland Silk Road. Later, he also prefaces his discussion of the charges brought against the youth before the *paşa* with a theological representation of Satan as the instigator of the act, inflaming the Muslim community with bitter envy against him after portraying him in the previous verses as the embodiment of every virtue and divinely-given grace, a pun on the young man's baptismal name Astuacatur (lit. 'God-given').

The debate with the *paşa* and mullah also affords the author a chance to reveal his knowledge of Islamic practice. In response to the former's statement that the youth is a Muslim from the people of Muḥammad, his reply deliberately references the Islamic *shahāda* in averring, 'Christ is God, and I am his servant', so that it is impossible to deny him and accept obedience to their prophet. In fact, he argues, he is prepared to give his life for the one who assumed death as the penalty for sin in order to grant humanity new life. Similarly, in his exchange with the mullah, the youth rejects his appeal to him as a 'son of the Prophet' to study the law, to interpret the Qur'an with them, and become 'a friend of the Prophet' by confessing Christ as God and venerating the cross.

The final aspect worthy of comment is the author's rhetorical inclusion of a set of themes from both the Bible and the martyrological genre to enrich the poem's resonance. Thus, he associates the youth's literal tortures with the metaphorical reference to 'passing through fire and water' in Psalm 66 [LXX 65]:12 and parallels the throng that brought him before the *paşa* to the 'Hebrew assembly that slew the Lord'. He also expresses his vitriol against the perpetrators by employing a set of pejorative terms, as towards the end of the poem in portraying the stoning as 'tearing' the youth 'to pieces like a dog or beast', which is particularly incisive in terms of the dog's Islamic classification as an impure animal. Similarly, the youth is typically described as 'inflamed with love' for Christ, while his martyrdom is viewed as a 'sacrifice' to God and is compared to its precedent in that of the Forty Martyrs of the same city. Finally, in continuity with early martyrological tradition, the context of his execution is

envisioned as a 'contest', evoking the atmosphere of the arena and the Christians' combat there against gladiators or wild beasts.

Second poem: The poem weaves together four major strands: the theme of movement-distance; fire-light; appeal to the senses; the martyr's Christ-like features. The horizontal dimensions of the first are introduced by reference to the narrative's axis between Qitai and Bitlis, which is further exploited in the youth's description as a 'gift from afar'. The image of travel in search of precious stones embodied in his master Mxit'ar's livelihood is focused here on his servant. While distant pearls are inherently a costly commodity, his portrayal as a 'gift' to the Armenian Church highlights the voluntary nature of his martyrdom and his subsequent role as intercessor for Christians. In contrast, the 'Ishmaelites' were unable to 'move' him to 'convert'. The vertical dimension then appears at the conclusion with his transition to the heavenly places.

The second trope emerges in discussion of the 'fire' of love juxtaposed with the fire of torture, which are then combined in the image of the red rose. This reprises the love motif, as well as the torture of its position amidst thorns, and enunciates the theme of the shedding of blood developed in the final verse. Fire as light then accompanies the martyr's entry into celestial splendour.

The poem is extremely sensuous in appealing to sight, especially through the enumeration of various precious minerals (bdellium, emerald, and gold). Meanwhile, the natural imagery presented stimulates the sense of smell through the fragrance of the rose and lily, symbols of the beloved in Islamic and Judaeo-Christian traditions. The former conjures up the relation of the rose and nightingale in medieval Persian verse, while the latter depends on the *Song of Songs* 2:1-2, which exerted a powerful influence on medieval lyric. Fragrance also references the martyrological interpretation of the hero's sacrifice in terms of the Old Testament cult of the holocaust and its odour of sweetness (Genesis 8:20).

Similarly, the vignette of the rose also alludes to the martyr's torments in depicting the opposition as pelting the newly blossoming flower with showers of hail. More briefly, the martyr's likeness to the date evokes the sense of taste in being 'sweet to the palate'.

Finally, the widespread parallelism between Christ and the martyr in this type of literature comes to expression in describing his refusal to convert as 'crushing the head of the evil one', an episode drawn from the patristic 'contest' between Christ and Satan as it relates to the former's baptism and his stamping upon his adversary in the guise of a dragon

lurking in the River Jordan. Like Christ, he also freely sheds his blood (during the stoning) and thereafter enters into the 'fiery splendour' of heaven to receive from Christ his martyr's crown.

MANUSCRIPTS

First poem:

- MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute – M8968 (1556)
 MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute – M3081 fols 97r-98v (1617)
 MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute – M1636 fols 213v-218r
 (pre-1758)
 MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute – M2939 (1779-82)
 MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute – M6488 (1832)
 MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute – M3751 (19th century)
 MS Vienna, Vienna Mxitarist Congregation – W684, fols 40v-42v (2nd
 half of the 16th century)

Second poem:

- MS Vienna, Vienna Mxitarist Congregation – W684 fols 20v-21v
 (2nd half of the 16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

First poem:

- M. Avdalbegyan, *Grigoris Attamarc'i Taterə. bnaqir ew k'nnutiwn* [Grigoris Altamarc'i: *tał* verses], Yerevan, 1984, pp. 28-33
 Avdalbegyan, *Grigoris Att'amarci, XVI dar*, pp. 121-7
 Akinean, *Grigoris I kat'olikos Att'amarci*, pp. 40-5
 T. Palean, *Hay ašutner* [Armenian bards], Izmir, 1912, vol. 2, pp. 140-3
 Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aŕean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*,
 Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 353-8 (critical edition)
 K. Kostaneanc', *Grigoris Attamarc'in ew iwr taterə. Yaweluac: Alek'sandri*
patmut'ean kafanerə [Grigoris Altamarc'i and his *tał* verses. Appen-
 dix on his *Kafa* verses to the Alexander Romance], Tiflis, 1898,
 pp. 88-94
 L. Ališan, *Sisakan*, Venice, 1893, p. 531

Second poem:

- Avdalbegyan, *Grigoris Attamarc'i Taterə*, pp. 34-5
 Avdalbegyan, *Grigoris Att'amarci, XVI dar*, pp. 128-9
 Akinean, *Grigoris I kat'olikos Att'amarci*, pp. 44-5
 Palean, *Hay ašutner*, vol. 2, p. 144

STUDIES

First poem:

K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan, 2011, pp. 378-9

S.P. Cowe, 'Armenian hagiography', in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *Ashgate research companion to Byzantine hagiography*, Aldershot, 2011, vol. 1, 316-18

H. Ačařyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, Yerevan, 1942, vol. 1, p. 117

Peter Cowe

Mkrtič' Abelaj

The monk Mkrtič'

DATE OF BIRTH Late 15th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Armenian Plateau
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

In his martyrdom narrative, Mkrtič' gives his own ecclesiastical rank as *abelaj* (monk) and indicates that he is *lusarar* (sacristan) and *awelacu* (sweeper) of the Armenian church of St Kirakos in Amid, one of several clergy associated with the shrine who enjoy his protagonist Putax's hospitality. Both his tasks in maintaining the cleanliness of the church and lighting the lamps, as well as his office of monk-priest who has not yet completed the course of study necessary to become of teacher and preacher (*vardapet*), suggest his relative youth. The only other information he divulges is his knowledge of Arabic, which became the medium by which he could converse with Putax.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only source directly associated with the author is the martyrdom narrative itself.

Secondary

H. Ačaiyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri ba'aran*, Yerevan, 1948, vol. 3, p. 413

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vkayabanut'iwn srboyn Putaxay, 'Martyrology of St Putax'

DATE 1524
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The text of this account is found in a single manuscript dated 1704, on folios 444r-446r. The critical edition is nine pages long.

The work begins with a description of the home life of an Armenian farrier named Putax, whose family had moved to Amid from Maragha in the late 1490s. His father was an Armenian sectarian, but his mother was the daughter of an Armenian priest. In Amid, Putax's father and brother attended the West Syrian church, while Putax himself went to the Armenian church, though he did not understand the proceedings because he had no fluency in the language. He did, however, have a good command of Turkish, Arabic and Persian. He approached the monk Mkrtič' to ask him to explain the scripture readings in Arabic, as a result of which his grasp of Christian faith and practice grew. This manifested itself first in his opening up his home in hospitality to the clergy and poor, and then in a more ascetic direction in which he and his wife would live as brother and sister and share in prayer and fasting together.

In his work, Putax was largely surrounded by Muslims, both as clients and apprentices. Many would frequent his premises because of his profound knowledge of and ability to recite mystical works by the Ḥurūfī poet Nesīmī, as well as to talk about Christ and the Last Judgment. He would intrigue them with remarks about how a number of great Sufi figures such as al-Ḥallāj had died in the name of Christ. As a result, they would stop him working so much that he took them home secretly and continued his exposition about Jewish prophecy foretelling Jesus's life and miracles. He asserted that Muḥammad was not a prophet, and in the same vein as early Christian anti-Muslim polemic he called him the precursor of the Antichrist. He was so convincing that he had a following of 90 people, including some with positions of leadership in the Muslim community. Some of these he baptised privately in his home.

Naturally, his proselytism caused opposition in certain quarters. Three of his apprentices prevailed on him to visit a shaykh who was able to read people's minds. One of them went on ahead to alert the shaykh about their real intention to have him convert Putax to Islam, arguing that only he would be able to defeat the farrier in an argument about religion. Putax debated with the shaykh all night and asked what the shaykh perceived in his mind, to which the shaykh replied that he saw he wished to accept Islam. At this Putax condemned him as a charlatan, accumulating money, sheep, horses and mules under false pretences. This provoked the shaykh to strike him and order his servants to remove him. When they returned to the city, it was broadcast that Putax had converted.

The qadi summoned him to check this, and when he found it was not so he began offering him rewards to convert, finally jailing him for three days to consider his position. When he was taken before the qadi a second time, the qadi acknowledged his wisdom and knowledge of Islamic law, intending to employ this as a means of persuasion. But Putax outwitted him with two questions. He first asked where Muḥammad was, to which the qadi responded that he was dead in Mecca because none of the prophets was still alive, though Christ was alive in heaven, opening the way for Putax to ask why he followed the dead. The qadi conceded that soldiers serve a living king not a dead one.

The qadi then sent Putax for further examination to the pasha, remarking that he had not uttered blasphemy and hence did not deserve the death penalty. The pasha also praised him and showed him affection, putting his arm around his neck and kissing him as he repeated the offer of wealth and authority if he would accept Islam. However, when Putax contrasted the wealth of kings with the power of Christ as heavenly king, the pasha instructed the commander to subject him to torture by fire to weaken his resolve. After this he was taken back to prison.

In the next episode, supernatural happenings occur. One night the jailers saw him in the marketplace, apparently brought there by three soldiers. They returned him to jail without reporting the incident for fear of the commander. Then one of the pasha's soldiers later informed the author of the narrative that he saw himself in a vision crossing the market where Putax was to be martyred, and he saw the space illumined and strewn with flowers, with a pavilion and golden throne studded with gems being prepared. Putax appeared pouring with sweat and exhausted like a soldier from battle, he was seated on the throne and then transported to heaven in a fiery chariot. The soldier had wanted to report this, but was told that the pasha would not believe him and would punish him severely.

Next day, seeing his repeated persuasions were of no avail, the pasha pronounced the verdict of death by fire, and had Putax escorted to the middle of the bazaar for execution. A fire was built and Putax was nailed to a wooden plank in the middle, and burnt with two dogs hung around his neck. They stoked up the fire and doused the martyr with pitch and oil to hasten the process, though his body took from the second hour to the ninth to burn, when they extinguished the fire and removed five cartloads of ash to the Tigris to prevent the Christians coming to take his relics. However, a dazzling light illumined both the place of execution and the location of the relics in the river.

The single witness available to the editors of the critical edition (MS Maštoc‘ Matenadaran Institute – M3783) states that the martyrdom took place on 6 July, whereas the historian Č‘amč‘ean records it on 13 June.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work provides a fascinating vignette of the protagonist’s religious development and the multi-layered socio-religious environment in which he lived. Although his mother was the daughter of an Armenian priest in Maragha, a city with a large Armenian community near Lake Urmia, we learn that he did not know Armenian. The local vernacular was a north-west Iranian dialect significantly impacted by Arabic, while Azeri was widely spoken in the region, the latter being reinforced by Turkish after the family’s move to Amid, thus explaining the youth’s linguistic profile. Similarly, while Putax decided to attend the Armenian church of St Kirakos in Amid, his father and brother preferred to join the West Syrian communion. Their choice may have been determined by language, since it is likely that most of the congregation would be Arabophone, though it may in part have been influenced by expectations of opprobrium from the Armenian church at the father’s sectarianism. The text identifies him as an *arewordi* (lit. son of the sun), a sect recorded from the 11th century associated with Mesopotamia, which at that time is depicted as worshiping Christ through the symbol of the sun. It appears that the group was rather fluid and possessed syncretistic tendencies, as branches are also recorded in the border zone between Armenia and Iran speaking Persian, collaborating with Shi‘as, and in some cases converting to Islam. It is significant that *arewordi* communities persisted in northern Mesopotamia for several centuries and are documented in the Amid region until the end of the 19th century. References to the group’s affinities with Islam would provide a context for Putax’s well-grounded knowledge of Muslim belief and practice, which rendered him such an able debater. At the same time, his studies with the monk Mkrtič‘ would have reinforced his understanding of mainstream Christian doctrine, emphasising its distinctiveness from Islam.

Meanwhile, his workplace became a centre for deep theological discussion, with a particular bent for clandestine traditions indicated by the frequent reference to ‘wisdom’ and the surreptitious nature of the conversations. Similarly, the close affiliation between trade guilds and Sufism highlights the role of Putax’s apprentices and their relation with shaykhs who claimed various spiritual powers. At the core of their shared interests is the Turkic mystical poet Nasimi, who composed hundreds

of ghazals and *rubāʿīs* in Azeri and Persian expounding the teachings of the founder of the Ḥurufi sect Faḍlullāh Astarābādī. The essence of their illuminationist philosophy was that God had bestowed light on humans to guide them to unity with the divine through self-sacrifice and self-perfection. Both Faḍlullāh and Nasimi were executed for their beliefs, in 1394 and 1417 respectively, the latter being skinned alive in Aleppo, as referred to in the text. The role of self-sacrifice in the process of salvation is significant, as it contextualises Putax’s eager embrace of Christian ascetic disciplines (prayer, fasting, abstention from sexual relations). Faḍlullāh and Nasimi were also influenced by the Sufi teachings of al-Ḥallāj on mystic union with God, for which he in turn had been executed in 922. Contemporaries had perceived them as subverting the understanding of the oneness of God in a crypto-Christian manner, which was regarded as further substantiated by al-Ḥallāj’s devotion to Christ’s martyrdom and his desire to imbue his own with a redemptive effect. It is precisely this sort of religious interchange that Putax exploited in persuading his network of adherents to consider more seriously the efficacy of the Christian revelation.

In this connection, Putax’s association with the hierarchy of both religions is instructive. On the one hand, his Sufi and Ḥurufi beliefs inevitably clashed with normative Islam, yet his circle comprises authority figures such the imam and mullah, some of whom he apparently baptised himself in his home, while both the qadi and the pasha approach him with affection and respect. Similarly, Putax’s Christian teacher, the monk Mkrtič‘, far from censuring his pupil for his engagement with sectarian Islam, actually boasts hyperbolically that he could recite a thousand of Nasimi’s works. Nor does he oppose his practice of lay baptism, which, although canonical, was in practice only intended as a last resort in case the candidate’s life was in mortal danger.

The family had moved to Amid during the chaotic last years of Aqqoyunlu rule, and it was perhaps the uncertainty of conditions that prompted them to relocate to this powerful centre in the west of the region. In the interim, the city had changed hands from the Safavids to the Ottomans in 1515, and the pasha referred to in the account must have been one of the first *beylerbeys* of the newly structured *eyalet*. Throughout the 16th century, Amid remained an important military base, which also explains the prominence of soldiers in the martyrdom.

A number of the points raised in the interreligious debate between Putax and the qadi repeat fairly standard polemical positions, such as

Muḥammad not being a prophet in continuity with the Old Testament, or being the precursor of the Antichrist of apocalyptic speculation. Similarly, Putax's view of Christ's having removed rule from Christians because of their corporate sin and placed them under Islamic subjugation is emblematic of several Armenian authors of the 15th-18th centuries, as is the distinction he draws between the power and authority of kings in earthly kingdoms and Christ's kingdom which is not 'of this world' (John 18:36).

Finally, it is important to highlight the main tropes the author applies to his subject from the martyrological repertoire, as well as to underscore the parallels between his passion and that of his prototype Christ. Thus, Putax's similarity to a soldier coming directly from battle in the vision anticipating his execution draws on the early Christian image of the martyr's contest in the arena against gladiators. His raising his eyes heavenwards before the ordeal associates him with Stephen the proto-martyr (Acts 7:55). Meanwhile, the references to stoking up the fire and applying pitch unite the martyr with the trials of the Three Young Men in the Babylonian furnace under Nebachadnezzar, a frequent figure in such scenes because of the passage's recurring inclusion in the church's daily office.

Likewise, the action of hanging the two dogs round the martyr's head, and the ensuing monologue liken his passion to that of Christ, surrounded by the two thieves. In the Gospel account the thieves accept the appropriateness of their own punishment but query the legitimacy of the verdict against Jesus (Luke 23: 40-2), while here Putax acknowledges his status as a sinner but argues that the dogs are innocent creatures.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M3783, fols 444r-446r (1704)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

K'.S. Ter-Dav'tyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, predislovie i primečaniya*, Yerevan, 1998, pp. 139-45, 282 (Russian trans.)

Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aṙean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 360-8 (critical edition)

STUDIES

S.P. Cowe, 'The reception of Daniel in medieval Armenian society', in S. La Porta (ed.), *The Armenian apocalyptic tradition. A comparative perspective*, Leiden, 2014, 81-125

- K'.S. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner* (V-XVIII dd.), Yerevan, 2011, pp. 352-4
- Ačariyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bararan*, vol. 1, pp. 418-19
- M. Ōrmanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople, 1927, col. 2227
- M. Č'amč'ean, *Patmut'wn Hayoc' i skzbanē ašxarhis minč'ew c'am* *Tearn 1784*, Venice, 1786, vol. 3, p. 516

Peter Cowe

Molla Kâbız

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably late 15 th or early 16 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably Iran
DATE OF DEATH	Early November 1527
PLACE OF DEATH	Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY

Not much is known about the life and work of Molla Kâbız. He is described in Ottoman chronicles as originating from eastern provinces, specifically Persia. It is unknown whether he held any teaching positions, yet his title 'Molla', as well as the data provided by his biographers, suggests he belonged to the Ottoman circles of *ulemâ* (Üzüüm, 'Molla Kâbız'; Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda*, p. 232).

The chronicles further narrate that in early November 1527, Kâbız was brought before the Dîvân-ı Hümâyün, the Imperial Council, charged as a heretic (*zındık*). He was sentenced to death and executed for preaching that Jesus was superior to Muḥammad. Kâbız is described as a man who would visit taverns, propagate his heretical views in public, and lead people to confusion. The Imperial Council, presided over by the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, referred the case first of all to the Kazasker of Rumelia, Fenârîzâde Muhyiddin Çelebi, and the Kazasker of Anatolia, Kâdirî Çelebi, the two chief judges of the Empire. During the trial, Kâbız is described as self-confidently defending his views, and relying on scriptural evidence from the Qur'an and the Hadith. Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, who witnessed the event from the enclosed balcony (*kafes*) of the Dîvân, felt perturbed on seeing his two Kazaskers failing to provide a theological refutation of Kâbız's allegations. Thus on the following day, Kâbız was brought to the Dîvân again, this time before Şeyhülislam Kemalpaşazâde or Ibn Kemal, and the *kadı* of Istanbul, Sâdeddin Efendi. The two were specifically directed by the sultan to resolve the case.

According to the chronicles, when Kâbız repeated his claims, the Şeyhülislam refuted all his arguments one by one, explaining how Kâbız had misinterpreted the verses of the Qur'an and the relevant Hadiths. The Şeyhülislam then issued his fatwa declaring Kâbız a *zındık* (Kemalpaşazâde would subsequently corroborate and expound the

legitimacy of his fatwa in his *Risāla fî mâ yata'allaq bi-lafz al-zindîq* ['Treatise on the definition of the word *zindîq*'], published in *Resâil-i İbn Kemâl*, ed. A. Cevdet, Istanbul, 1898, vol. 2, pp. 240-9). In accordance with the legal procedure applied to *zındıks*, the *kadı* of Istanbul Sâdeddin Efendi then asked Kâbiz to renounce his false beliefs, repent and return to the true doctrine – a call which Kâbiz is reported to have resolutely rejected. On the basis of Şeyhülislam Kemâlpaşazâde's fatwa, the *kadı* then handed down the death penalty, which was immediately enacted (see Üzümlü, 'Molla Kâbiz'). The earliest account of the event is narrated by Celâlîzâde Mustafa Çelebi, who was at the time Secretary to the Dîvân and private secretary to the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha (Imber, 'Mollâ Kâbid'). Celâlîzâde's report served as the basis for other chroniclers who adopted the account with some changes and additions.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Celâlîzâde Mustafa Çelebi, *Tabakâtü'l-memâlik ve derecâtü'l-mesâlik*, facsimile in P. Kappert, *Geschichte Şultan Süleymân Kânünis von 1520 bis 1557 oder Tabakât ül-Memâlik ve Derecât ül-Mesâlik von Celâlîzâde Muştafâ gennant Koca Nişancı*, Wiesbaden, 1981, fols 172b-175b
- Nev'îzâde Atâî, *Zeyl-i Şekâik*, Istanbul, [1852], pp. 88-9
- Hasan Beyzade Ahmed Paşa, *Hasan Bey-zâde Târîhi*, ed. Ş.N. Aykut, Ankara, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 87-91
- İbrahim Peçevî, *Peçevî Tarihi*, trans. M. Uraz, Istanbul, 1968-9, vol. 1, pp. 71-2
- Solakzâde Mehmet Hemdemi Çelebi, *Solak-zâde Tarihi*, ed. V. Çabuk), Ankara, 1989, vol. 2, pp. 157-60
- P. Rycout, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire*, New York, 1971, p. 129
- Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede, *Sahâifü'l-ahbâr fî vekayi'ül-a'sâr*, Istanbul, [1868], vol. 3, pp. 484-5
- I.M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris, 1788, vol. 1, pp. 153-9

Secondary

- T. Winter, 'İbn Kemâl (d. 940/1534) on Ibn 'Arabî's hagiology', in A. Shihadeh (ed.), *Sufism and theology*, Edinburgh, 2007, 137-57, pp. 143-4
- M. Sariyannis, 'Aspects of "neomartyrdom". Religious contacts, "blasphemy" and "calumny" in 17th-century Istanbul', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005/6) 249-62
- İ. Üzümlü, art. 'Molla Kâbiz', in *DİA*
- A.Y. Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar ve mülhidler yahut dairenin dışına çıkanlar (15.-17. yüzyıllar)*, Istanbul, 1998, pp. 228-38

- İ.S. Üstün, 'Heresy and legitimacy in the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century', Manchester, 1991 (Diss. University of Manchester), pp. 77-99
- M. Balivet, 'Chrétien secrets et martyrs christiques en Islam Turc. Quelques cas à travers les textes (XIII^e-XVII^e siècles)', *Islamochristiana* 16 (1990) 91-114, pp. 94-9
- C.H. Imber, 'A note on "Christian" preachers in the Ottoman Empire', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / Journal of Ottoman Studies* 10 (1990) 59-67, pp. 65-7
- C.H. Imber, art. 'Mollâ Kâbiđ', in *El2*
- H. Algar, art. 'Khübmesihîs', in *El2*
- H.G. Yurdaydın, art. 'Kâbiđ', in *El2*
- H.G. Yurdaydın, 'Düşünce ve bilim tarihi (1300-1600)', in S. Akşin (ed.), *Türkiye tarihi 2. Osmanlı devleti, 1300-1600*, Istanbul, 1988, 145-210, pp. 164-6
- R.C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul. A study in the development of the Ottoman learned hierarchy*, London, 1986, pp. 234-6
- R. Zelyut, *Osmanlıda karşı düşünce: düşünceleri nedeniyle idam edilenler*, Istanbul, 1986, pp. 162-71
- H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire. The classical age 1300-1600*, London, 1973, p. 182
- İ.H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul, 1971-2, vol. 2, pp. 125-6
- M. Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, Westmead, New South Wales, 1971, vol. 4, p. 45
- H.G. Yurdaydın, *İslâm tarihi dersleri*, Ankara, 1971, pp. 111-14
- J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Graz, 1963, vol. 3, pp. 69-70
- A.A. Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul, 1943, p. 98
- L. Massignon, art. 'Kâbiđ', in *EP*
- H.D. Jenkins, *Ibrahim Pasha. Grand Vizir of Suleiman the Magnificent*, New York, 1911, pp. 49-50

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Unknown work

DATE Unknown; before November 1527

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Unspecified

DESCRIPTION

No work by Molla Kâbız is known to have survived. Kemalpaşazâde's treatise *Risâla fî afdâliyyat Muḥammad 'alayhi l-salâm* ('Treatise on the superiority of Muḥammad, peace be upon him'), written in response to Kâbız's allegations constitutes an important source of information, shedding light on Kâbız's views and arguments based on the Qur'an and the Hadith. Of the Qur'anic verses and Hadiths, it is especially those praising Jesus's high status as a prophet that emerge among the scriptural material that Kâbız must have used, since Kemalpaşazâde refers to these

examples, providing, as he calls it, the ‘correct’ interpretation (for a short analysis of Kâbız’s arguments and Kemalpaşazâde’s counter-arguments, see Üstün, *Heresy and legitimacy*, pp. 77-99; Yavuz, ‘Kelâm’da Efdaliyyet Meselesi’, pp. 169-73).

D’Ohsson’s (d. 1807) *Tableau général*, the earliest Western source referring to the case, relates that Kâbız not only relied upon the Qur’an and Islamic sources, but that he also had access to the Old and New Testaments due to his close relationship with Christians, though no mention of this piece of information is to be found in contemporary Ottoman chronicles. Kâbız thus not only made use of passages from the Qur’an, according to d’Ohsson, but also referred to the Bible. Unlike the chronicles, which only cite his view regarding the superiority of Jesus over Muḥammad, d’Ohsson mentions that Kâbız also claimed that the Gospel was superior to the Qur’an, that certain principles of Islam were in contradiction with the Qur’an, and that the Qur’an primarily drew upon the Bible, although the Qur’an deviated from the spirit of the Bible (d’Ohsson, *Tableau général*, pp. 153, 154, 155). Given the fact that Kâbız was charged as a heretic (*zındık*) and not as an apostate (*mürted*), d’Ohsson’s description of Kâbız’s ideas has not been considered convincing (Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda*, p. 237).

SIGNIFICANCE

Molla Kâbız’s preaching of Jesus’s superiority over Muḥammad must have agitated the learned elite of Istanbul. Heated theological debates appear to have led to the condemnation of Kâbız, who genuinely held to his beliefs. During the trial, he appears to have been alone; no disciples or followers are recorded. Yet as historical sources recount, Ottoman society, and especially the capital, was not devoid of figures propagating similar views. According to Tezkireci Latîfî (d. 1582), around 1409 in the Ulu Cami of Bursa, a certain ‘Acem’, a preacher from Persia, claimed that Muḥammad was not superior to Jesus (Üstün, *Heresy and legitimacy*, p. 98). The late-15th-century Italian chronicle *Cronaca Zancaruola* mentions the execution of a Persian preacher in Edirne, who ‘went about ardently preaching the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the law of Muhammad is a bestial law’ (Imber, ‘A note on “Christian” preachers’, p. 59). An Italian report from 1495 Istanbul, included in Stefano Magno’s *Annals*, refers to a case of 24 *kadı*s who ‘began to preach in mosques, recognising that it was not their Faith, but the faith of the Christians that is good’ (Imber, ‘A note on “Christian” preachers’, pp. 63-4). We also learn from a fatwa issued by Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi (d. 1574)

that a certain Hakîm İshak and his followers were of the opinion that the Torah and the Gospel in the hands of the Jews and the Christians were preserved in their original form and were unaltered (Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda*, pp. 238-9, 363).

Other 16th- and 17th-century Western sources record a number of individuals who preached the supremacy of Jesus over Muḥammad during this time (Balivet, 'Chrétiens secrets', pp. 96-9). According to the Ottoman chroniclers Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa and Fındıklılı Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, a certain Patburunzâde Mehmed Halife, a clerk of the Ottoman palace, was executed before the sultan in 1681 on a charge of blasphemy (*sebb töhmetiyle*). Patburunzâde is presented in the Greek chronicles of Nicodemus and Demetrius Ramadanés as a neomartyr, who became a Christian and died for his faith (Sariyannis, 'Aspects', pp. 252-62). Moreover, about a decade after Patburunzâde's execution, one of his colleagues is reported to have turned Christian. According to Demetrius Ramadanés, this was Mustafa Efendi, a scribe of Albanian origin who had a good knowledge of Arabic and was always on good terms with Christians. After his conversion to Christianity, Mustafa Efendi escaped to Venice, where he was baptised as Stephanus and became a Franciscan monk (Sariyannis, 'Aspects', p. 259).

Reports such as these have led some modern historians to consider Kâbız as the founder of the Hûbmesîhîs (see Massignon, 'Kâbiđ'), an obscure movement described by Paul Rycaut as having existed in 17th-century Istanbul. Rycaut attributes to the Hûbmesîhîs, whom he calls Chupmessahis, 'the good followers of *Messiah*' (Persian *khûb* 'good' or 'virtuous', and Arabic *masîḥ* 'Messiah'), a belief in Jesus as 'God and Redeemer of the world', an opinion, which he says, was 'principally maintained amongst the Gallants of the *Seraglio*, and common in Constantinople'. Rycaut further writes that the members of this denomination suffered martyrdom, and commonly practised secrecy, yet they could be recognised by the white turbans they wore (Rycaut, *The present state*, p. 129). Yet Rycaut makes no mention of Kâbız, and none of the sources on Kâbız see him as the founder of the Hûbmesîhî movement (Algar, 'K̲h̲ûbmesîḥîs').

The Ottoman chronicles fail to identify the theological ground of Kâbız's view of the superiority of Jesus, while modern scholarship relates it to certain Sufi ideas and to the Ḥurûfiyya movement (Balivet, 'Chrétiens secrets', pp. 103-7), especially bearing in mind that Kâbız is described as having originated from Iran, the birthplace of the Ḥurûfiyya, who

placed special emphasis on Jesus (Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda*, pp. 230, 232). Kâbız's view is further associated with Ibn 'Arabî's understanding of Jesus, whom Ibn 'Arabî calls the 'Seal of universal sainthood' (M. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the saints. Prophethood and sainthood in the doctrine of Ibn 'Arabî*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 125) and regards as his first teacher (Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the saints*, p. 77). Ibn 'Arabî further speaks of the *Ûsawî*, the 'Christ-like' saints, the *awliyâ* 'who are born into Islam and who inherit only from Jesus, through the intermediary of Muḥammad' (Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the saints*, p. 76). It is thus noted that in the case of Kâbız, Akbarian ideas of the *insân kâmil* could have been conflated with Christian-sounding language about Jesus (Winter, 'Ibn Kemâl', pp. 143-4). Nevertheless, Kâbız as well as others who propounded similar ideas, still represent a little-known page of Ottoman history, awaiting further research.

STUDIES

Winter, 'Ibn Kemâl (d. 940/1534)', pp. 143-4

Sariyannis, 'Aspects of "neomartyrdom"'

S.S. Yavuz, 'Kelâm'da Efdaliyyet Meselesi ve İbn Kemal'in "*Efdaliyyetu Muhammed*" Risalesi', *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 5 (2005) 147-85, pp. 177-85 (provides a critical edition of Kemâlpaşazâde's *Risâla fi afdaliyyat Muḥammad 'alâ sâ'ir al-anbiyâ* or *Faḍîlat al-Nabî 'alâ sâ'ir al-anbiyâ*)

Üzüm, art. 'Molla Kâbız'

Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda*, pp. 228-38

Üstün, 'Heresy and legitimacy in the Ottoman Empire', pp. 77-99

Balivet, 'Chrétien secrets et martyrs christiques', pp. 94-9

Imber, 'A note on "Christian" preachers', pp. 65-7

Imber, art. 'Mollâ Kâbiḍ'

Algar, art. 'Kḥübmeseḥîs'

Yurdaydın, art. 'Kâbiḍ'

Yurdaydın, 'Düşünce ve bilim tarihi (1300-1600)', pp. 164-6

Zelyut, *Osmanlıda karşı düşünce*, pp. 162-71

Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 182

Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, pp. 125-6

Yurdaydın, *İslâm tarihi dersleri*, pp. 111-14

Adivar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, p. 98

Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, p. 45

Massignon, art. 'Kâbiḍ'

Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 3, pp. 69-70

Jenkins, *Ibrahim Pasha*, pp. 49-50

d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, vol. 1, pp. 153-9

Lejla Demiri & Muharrem Kuzey

Ibn Kemal

Kemalpaşazâde, Şemseddin Ahmed ibn Süleyman ibn
Kemal Paşa

DATE OF BIRTH May 1469
PLACE OF BIRTH Edirne, Tokat, Amasya or Dimetoka
DATE OF DEATH April 1534
PLACE OF DEATH Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Kemal, or Kemalpaşazâde, was an eminent Ottoman historian, jurist, theologian, linguist and poet, who also served as Şeyhülislam from 1526 until 1534. He owes his name to his grandfather Kemal Paşa, an *emir* (military official) at the time of Mehmed II, who later also served as *lala* (tutor) to Şehzâde Bayezid II. Ibn Kemal's father, Süleyman Çelebi, also held military offices in Anatolia; he is known to have served as *muhâfız* (commander) in Amasya and *sancak bey* (military governor) in Tokat. On his mother's side, Ibn Kemal was related to an elite *ulema* family. The military judge (*kazasker*) Küpelizâde Muhyiddin Mehmed was reportedly his maternal uncle (though some later sources describe him as Ibn Kemal's maternal grandfather).

Ibn Kemal completed his early education with eminent scholars in Amasya. Following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, he first entered the *askeriye* (military class), but moved on to the *ilmiye* (scholarly class). At the Dârü'l-hadis school in Edirne, Ibn Kemal took classes from Lutfullah ibn Hasan, an eminent Ottoman scholar, also known as Molla Lutfi (d. 1495), who would later be executed on charges of blasphemy and insulting the Prophet. In Edirne, Ibn Kemal also studied with other scholars such as Kestelî Muslihuddin Mustafa (d. 1495), Hatibzâde Muhyiddin Efendi (d. 1496), Muarrifzâde Sinâneddin Yûsuf (d. 1486) and Müeyyedzâde Abdurrahman Efendi (d. 1516).

Ibn Kemal held his first teaching position (*müderreslik*) at Ali Bey (Taşlık) Medresesi in Edirne, followed by another appointment (1505) at İshak Paşa Medresesi in Üsküp (Skopje, present-day Macedonia), and a year later taught at Halebiye and Üç Şerefeli schools in Edirne. He then taught for a while (1508) at one of the prestigious Sahn-ı Semân schools in Istanbul, and later moved back to Edirne (1511) to teach at Sultan Bayezid II Medresesi.

During the Ottoman-Safavid conflict, Ibn Kemal attracted Sultan Selim I's attention by penning a treatise against Shah Ismail and his followers to prove the legitimacy of a war against the Safavids (*Risāla fī ikfāri Shah Ismā'īl wa-kull man taba'ahu*). In 1515, Ibn Kemal was appointed as *kadı* (judge) of Edirne and in 1516 he was promoted to the post of *Anadolu kazaskeri*, military judge of Anatolia. He accompanied Selim I on his campaign to Egypt, during which he was dismissed from his position as *kazasker* by the sultan, but was shortly after reappointed (1517). Ibn Kemal is also known for his fatwa in defence of Ibn 'Arabī, which is considered to have influenced Sultan Selim I's decision to build a shrine, a mosque and a complex on the site of Ibn 'Arabī's tomb (1517-18), but the historicity of the link between Ibn Kemal's opinion and the sultan's act has been recently challenged (see Ş. Özen, 'Ottoman *'ulamā'* debating Sufism. Settling the conflict on the [sic] Ibn al-'Arabī's legacy by *fatwās'*, in A.C. González (ed.), *El sufismo y las normas del islam. Trabajos del IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jurídicos Islámicos: derecho y sufismo* (Murcia, 7-10 de mayo de 2003), Murcia, 2006, pp. 309-41; A. Zildzic, 'Friend and foe. The early Ottoman reception of Ibn 'Arabī', Berkeley CA, 2012 (PhD Diss. University of California, Berkeley), pp. 133-42).

In 1519, Ibn Kemal lost his post as *kazasker* and went back to his old teaching position at the *Dârü'l-hadis* in Edirne (1520), followed by his reappointment as *müderris* at the Sultan Bayezid II Medresesi at Edirne (1522) and to one of Istanbul's *Sahn-ı Semân* schools (1524). Upon the death of Şeyhülislam Zenbilli Ali Efendi (d. 1526), Ibn Kemal was appointed as Şeyhülislam, a position which he held until his own death in April 1534. Thus, Ibn Kemal served three Ottoman sultans: Bayezid II, who commissioned him to write a history of the Ottoman dynasty, Selim I, who raised him to the post of the military judge of Anatolia, and Süleyman I, who appointed him as Şeyhülislam.

Ibn Kemal was a prolific author who wrote in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish. Over 200 works in history, law, theology, philology, logic, philosophy and poetry have been attributed to him, many of which still remain in manuscript form (for a detailed list of his writings and extant manuscripts, see Atsız, 'Kemalpaşa-Oğlu'nun Eserleri'; and for a list of critical editions and studies, see Alak, *Kemalpaşazâde*, pp. 155-81). One of the most important of his works is his ten-volume magnum opus *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân* ('The Chronicles of the House of Osman'), covering the periods from the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty until 1527 (in Ottoman Turkish). Some parts of it appear to be lost (volumes 5, 6 and 9), while some others have been copied as independent works (the

Mohaçnâme on the Battle of Mohács and *Târîh-i Feth-i Kostantiniyye* on the conquest of Constantinople). His other writings in Ottoman Turkish include a *Dîwân*, a collection of his poetry; *Yûsuf u Züleyhâ*, a *mathnawî*; and a translation into verse of the famous *Qaşîdat al-burda* ('The mantle ode') by al-Bûşîrî. Among Ibn Kemal's works in Persian is *Nigâristân*, penned in the pattern of Sa'dî al-Shirâzî's *Gülistân*. In Arabic, he wrote an incomplete *tafsîr* of the Qur'an; a commentary on Hocazâde's *Tahâfut al-falâsifa* ('The incoherence of the philosophers'); a treatise on the categories of distinguished jurists entitled *Risâla fî tabaqât al-mujtahidîn*, and many others.

The trial of Molla Kâbız took place in 1527, a year after Ibn Kemal's appointment as Şeyhülislam. It was concerning this event that he wrote his *Risâla fî mâ yata'allaq bi-lafz al-zindîq* ('Treatise on the definition of the word *zindîq*'), justifying the legitimacy of his fatwa. In response to Kâbız's allegations, Ibn Kemal also wrote his *Risâla fî afdaliyyat Muḥammad 'alayhi l-salâm* ('Treatise on the superiority of Muḥammad, peace be upon him'). As for the *Risâla fî sabb al-Rasûl* ('Treatise on insulting the Messenger'), it has been wrongly attributed to Ibn Kemal (see for instance Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumdanda*, p. 231). The two manuscripts identified as his *Risâla*, and preserved in the Süleymaniye Library (Kasidecizade 710, fols 35v-37v and Yazma Bağışlar 1398, fols 56r-57v) are in reality two distinct treatises on the question of *sabb*, one by Hüsâm Çelebi (d. 1520) and another by Molla Ehaveyn (d. 1498).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- H. Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî, *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi*, Istanbul, [1864], vol. 1, pp. 180-1
İlmiye salnâmesi, Istanbul, [1916], pp. 346-54 (including a short biography of Ibn Kemal and a few examples from his fatwas)
- Ḥajjî Khalîfa (Kâtip Çelebi), *Kashf al-zunûn*, ed. Ş. Yaltkaya and K.R. Bilge, Istanbul, 1941-3, vol. 1, pp. 41, 54, 95, 109, 283, 439
- Taqî al-Dîn ibn 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Tamîmî, *Al-tabaqât al-sanîyya fî tarâjim al-Ḥanafîyya*, ed. 'A.-F.M. al-Ḥulw, Cairo, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 409-12
- Hoca Sadeddin, *Tâcü't-tevârih*, ed. İ. Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul, 1979, vol. 4, pp. 136-41, 329; vol. 5, p. 163
- Ahmed Taşköprüzâde, *Al-shaqâ'iq al-nu'mânîyya fî 'ulamâ' al-dawla l-'uthmânîyya*, ed. A.S. Furat, Istanbul, 1985, pp. 377-9, see also pp. 197-8
- Mecdî Mehmed Efendi, *Hadaiku's-Şakaik* in *Şakâik-ı Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri*, ed. A. Özcan, Istanbul, 1989, vol. 1, pp. 381-5
- Abdullah Çelebi Latîfî, *Latîfî tezkiresi*, ed. M. İsen, Ankara, 1990, pp. 96-100

Secondary

- Ö.M. Alper, *Varlık ve insan. Kemalpaşazâde bağlamında bir tasavvurun yeniden inşası*, İstanbul, 2010
- M. Alak, 'Kemalpaşazâde'nin Şerhu tağyîri'l-miftâh adlı eserinin tahkik ve tahlili', İstanbul, 2009 (PhD Diss. Marmara University), pp. 102-81 (a detailed biography of Ibn Kemal, including a thorough list of his writings and critically edited publications)
- S. Bahçivan, *Şaykh al-Islâm Ibn Kamâl Bâshâ wa-ârâ'uhu l-i'tiqâdiyya*, Beirut, 2005
- Ş. Turan *et al.*, art. 'Kemalpaşazâde', in *DİA*
- K. Sözen, *İbn Kemal'de metafizik*, Isparta, 2001
- Ş. Öçal, *Kemal Paşazâde'nin felsefi ve kelâmî görüşleri*, Ankara, 2000
- S. Dalkıran, *İbn Kemal ve düşünce tarihimiz*, İstanbul, 1997
- A. Uğur, *Kemalpaşa-zade İbn-Kemal*, Ankara, 1996
- M.A. Yekta Saraç, *Şeyhülislam Kemal Paşazade. Hayatı, şahsiyeti, eserleri ve bazı şiirleri*, İstanbul, 1995
- R.C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul. A study in the development of the Ottoman learned hierarchy*, London, 1986, pp. 224-39
- S.H. Bolay, B. Yediyıldız and M.S. Yazıcıoğlu (eds), *Şeyhülislâm İbn Kemâl sempozyumu*, Ankara, 1986
- H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire. The classical age 1300-1600*, London, 1973, pp. 174, 178, 182, 200
- Bursalı Mehmet Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, ed. A.F. Yavuz and İ. Özen, İstanbul, 1972, vol. 1, pp. 352-4
- Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, Westmead, New South Wales, 1971, vol. 1, p. 197; vol. 4, p. 78
- N. Atsız, 'Kemalpaşa-Oğlu'nun Eserleri', *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* 6 (1966) 71-112; 7 (1972) 83-135
- İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Ankara, 1964, vol. 2, pp. 668-71
- V.L. Ménage, art. 'Kemal Paşha-Zâde', in *El2*
- İ. Parmaksızoğlu, art. 'Kemal Paşa-zâde', in *İslâm ansiklopedisi: İslâm âlemi tarih, coğrafya, etnografya ve biyografya lugati*, ed. A. Adivar *et al.*, İstanbul, 1955, vol. 6, pp. 561-6
- F. Babinger, art. 'Kemâl- paşha-zâde', in *El1*
- F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 61-3
- Amasyalı Abdizâde Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1927, vol. 3, pp. 219, 222-4, 226-7, 230-2, 237-8
- Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, pp. 597-602; *GAL S*, vol. 2, pp. 668-73
- Reşad Fâik, *Eslâf*, İstanbul, [1894], vol. 1, pp. 6-11

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-karīm, 'Commentary on the noble Qur'an'

DATE 1524

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This is an incomplete commentary on the Qur'an. The extant manuscripts include Ibn Kemal's comments on *al-Fātiḥa* up to the end of *al-Şāffāt*, thus covering only sūras 1-37. His commentaries on *al-Mulk* (sūra 67), *al-Naba'* (sūra 78), *al-Nāzi'āt* (sūra 79), *al-Ṭāriq* (sūra 86) and *al-'Aşr* (sūra 103) are preserved as independent treatises.

In his Qur'an exegesis, Ibn Kemal primarily relies on al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 1144) *Kashshāf* and al-Bayḏāwī's (d. 1286 or 1291) *Anwār al-tanzīl*. Among other sources, he also uses al-Nasafī's (d. 1310) *Madārik al-tanzīl*, and his exegetical methodology shows close resemblances to these three *tafsīrs*. He interprets qur'anic verses by means of other verses from the Qur'an and through the use of relevant Hadiths, while linguistic and grammatical analysis plays an important role (Kılıç, 'İbn Kemâl'in Tefsir Metodu', pp. 131-9).

Ibn Kemal discusses thoroughly the verses regarding Jesus: the meaning of the title *Masīḥ* (Q 3:45; Ibn Kemal, *Tafsīr*, MS Manisa, İL Halk Ktp. 34, fol. 128r), Jesus's miraculous creation (Q 3:59; fol. 130v), the identification of Jesus as 'a spirit from Him' (Q 4:171; fol. 205v), and 'His word' (fol. 491v), Jesus being raised to heaven and his return (Q 3:45-6, 55; fol. 128v, 130r), the denial of his crucifixion (fol. 203v), miracles performed by Jesus (Q 3:49; fol. 129r), his relationship to Moses and the Mosaic Law (Q 3:50; fol. 129r), *tawḥīd* as a unifying principle among the prophets (Q 3:51; fol. 129v). He also offers a critique of the *Ahl al-kitāb*'s attitude towards prophets and scriptures (Q 3:64; fol. 131v), and discusses the truthfulness of Islam (Q 3:65; fol. 131v), and the Jewish and Christian denial of the biblical prophecies regarding Muḥammad (Q 3:70; fol. 132v).

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn Kemal's *tafsīr*, which still awaits a thorough scholarly analysis, is an important source of information for detecting his views concerning Christian doctrine and scriptures, and for examining his description of Jesus and Mary. He provides detailed interpretation of the qur'anic verses that deal with these and similar themes.

MANUSCRIPTS

The dates of some MSS are given below. But this is not possible with all MSS.

- MS Manisa, İl Halk Kütüphanesi – 36, 251 fols (vol. 1), 225 fols (vol. 2) (1531)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yeni Cami 20, 503 fols (1549)
- MS Manisa, İl Halk Kütüphanesi – 35, 215 fols (vol. 1), 225 fols (vol. 2) (1554)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Düğümlü Baba 5, 341 fols (1556)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehid Ali Paşa 80, 312 fols (1564)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Mihrişah Sultan 13, 317 fols (vol. 1), and 418 fols (vol. 2) (1565)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Damat İbrahim 51, 617 fols (1587)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Halit Efendi 19, 786 fols (1595)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yeni Medrese 1745, 452 fols (1598)
- MS Istanbul, Köprülü – Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 64, 560 fols (1608)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Ayasofya 125, 541 fols (1646)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Kılıç Ali Paşa 44, 400 fols (1652)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Ayasofya 80, 609 fols (1658)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehid Ali Paşa 78, 410 fols (vol. 1), and 87 fols (vol. 2) (1705)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hacı Beşir Ağa 10, 608 fols (1782)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hacı Mahmud Efendi 93, 169 fols (vol. 1), 505 fols (vol. 2), and 891 fols (vol. 3) (1898)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Carullah 69, 507 fols
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Carullah 70, 264 fols
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Damat İbrahim 52, 598 fols
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Damat İbrahim 53, 301 fols (vol. 1) and 268 fols (vol. 2)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 59, 444 fols
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Gülnuş Valide Sultan 1, 445 fols
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – H. Hüseyin Paşa 108, 300 fols (vol. 1), and 312 fols (vol. 2)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Karaçelebizade 19, 782 fols
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Karaçelebizade 20, 132 fols
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 123, 500 fols
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 124, 211 fols
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 125, 256 fols

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Mehmed Ağa Cami 17, 433 fols (vol. 1) and 198 fols (vol. 2)
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Reşid Efendi 34, 592 fols
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yeni Cami 21, 412 fols
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yeni Cami 23, 161 fols
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yusuf Ağa 15, 200 fols
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yusuf Ağa 16, 184 fols
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yusuf Ağa 18, 275 fols
 MS Istanbul, Köprülü – Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 63, 596 fols
 MS Manisa, İl Halk Kütüphanesi – 34, 678 fols
 MS Manisa, İl Halk Kütüphanesi – 52, 554 fols

A large number of other MSS are preserved in various other libraries in Turkey (Burdur, Çorum and Istanbul), Cairo, Leipzig, London, Stockholm, and Tunis (some of these are listed in Brockelmann, *GAL S*, vol. 2, p. 669).

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- M. Yıldırım, 'Tafsîr ibn Kamâl Bâshâ li-sûrat al-An'âm. Dirâsa wa-taḥqîq', Amman, 2011 (MA Diss. University of Jordan)

For a full list of the 12 other MA dissertations that include critical editions of parts of Ibn Kemal's commentary on the Qur'an, focusing on two or more sûras each, see M. Alak, 'Kemalpaşazâde'nin Şerhu tağyîri'l-miftâh adlı eserinin tahkik ve tahlili', Istanbul, 2009 (PhD Diss. Marmara University), p. 157.

- Risâla fî tafsîr sûrat Fâtihat al-Kitâb*, in *Resâil-i İbn Kemâl*, ed. A. Cevdet, Istanbul, 1898, vol. 1, pp. 2-16
Risâla fî tafsîr sûrat al-Fajr, in *Resâil-i İbn Kemâl*, ed. A. Cevdet, Istanbul, 1898, vol. 1, pp. 17-21
Risâla fî tafsîr sûrat al-Mulk, in *Resâil-i İbn Kemâl*, ed. A. Cevdet, Istanbul, 1898, vol. 1, pp. 22-32
Risâla fî tafsîr sûrat al-Naba', in *Resâil-i İbn Kemâl*, ed. A. Cevdet, Istanbul, 1898, vol. 1, pp. 33-40

STUDIES

- M. Kılıç, 'İbn Kemâl'in Tefsirdeki Metodu', in S.H. Bolay, B. Yediyıldız and M.S. Yazıcıoğlu (eds), *Şeyhülislâm İbn Kemâl sempozyumu*, Ankara, 1986, 131-9
 M. Kılıç, 'İbn-i Kemal: hayatı, tefsire dair eserleri ve tefsirdeki metodu', Erzurum, 1981 (PhD Diss. Atatürk University)

Risāla fī mā yata‘allaq bi-lafẓ al-zindīq, ‘Treatise on the definition of the word *zindīq*’

Risāla fī taṣḥīḥ lafẓ al-zindīq wa-tawḍīḥ ma‘nāhu al-daḡīq, ‘Treatise on the correct meaning of the word *zindīq* and clarification of its precise meaning’

Risāla fī taṣḥīḥ lafẓ al-zindīq, ‘Treatise on the correct meaning of the word *zindīq*’

Risāla fī taḥqīq lafẓ al-zindīq, ‘Treatise on the definition of the word *zindīq*’

DATE After early November 1527

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ibn Kemal opens this short treatise with an etymological analysis of the word *zindīq*, contrasting it to *murtad* (‘apostate’), *munāfiq* (‘hypocrite’) and *mulḥid* (‘disbeliever’) (ed. Cevdet, vol. 2, pp. 240-6; references below are to this edition). He then discusses the legal status of the *zindīq* (pp. 246-9), dividing it between a *zindīq* who propagates and one who does not propagate error (*dalāl*). Relying on Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī’s (d. 983) categorisation, he further divides the second type into three groups: a *zindīq* who is originally a polytheist – if he is a non-Arab polytheist he will be left free, and in the case of an Arab polytheist he will be given two options: to accept Islam or face a death sentence; a *zindīq* who was once Muslim but later became a *zindīq* – he is called to repent and if he does not repent then he will be sentenced to death, for he is a *murtad*; a *zindīq* who was a *dhimmī* but later became a *zindīq* – he is left free (p. 246). As for a *zindīq* who openly propagates his views, according to one opinion his repentance is acceptable only if he repents before being sentenced (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Qādīkhān), while according to another opinion his repentance will be acceptable no matter whether he repents before or after the conviction (Abū Yūsuf). It is the latter opinion that Ibn Kemal seems to prefer (p. 247).

Ibn Kemal concludes his treatise with a reference to Molla Kâbiz, whom he declares to be *zindīq*, since he propagated error in public, as testified by truthful witnesses, leading others to go astray and corrupting the religion. Relying on the Ḥanafī jurist Fakhr al-Dīn al-Qādīkhān’s

(d. 1196) *Al-fatāwā al-khāniyya*, Ibn Kemal reaches the conclusion that this category of *zindīq* deserves the death penalty (p. 249).

SIGNIFICANCE

The conclusion of the treatise reveals the reason behind Ibn Kemal's decision to compose it. His primary intention was to justify his fatwa on Molla Kâbız, who had claimed the superiority of Jesus over Muḥammad. He was thus taken to trial, accused of heresy, sentenced to death and executed in early November 1527. Ibn Kemal's concluding words reveal that not all of the *ulema* who were involved in the case were of the same opinion: 'How strange is he who abstained from issuing a judgment on such a case and pondered carefully his opinion, although his [i.e. Molla Kâbız's] error and call to error were uncovered! Instead, this man vacillated on the matter, refused to sentence him to death, and thus separated himself from all the "men of the pen" (*aşhāb al-qalam*) and the "men of the sword" (*arbāb al-sayf*) who strive to keep the religion alive and to annihilate the head of the corrupters. How on earth can this man claim for himself a high and lofty rank in the science of fatwa?' (p. 249). Who exactly the mufti was who disagreed with Ibn Kemal's verdict is a puzzle, yet it shows the existence of diverse theological and legal opinions among the elite of the Ottoman *ulema* in the face of 'heresies'. What is also noteworthy about the treatise is that, when he discusses the category of a *zindīq* who was originally a *dhimmī*, despite the difference of opinion, Ibn Kemal only refers to a more lenient view, that by Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, who held that such a person was not to be liable to any legal judgment and was to be left free.

MANUSCRIPTS

The dates of some MSS are given below. But this is not possible with all MSS.

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 2433, fols 41-5 (1561)
- MS Istanbul, Beyazıt – Beyazıt 5999, fols 114r-118r
- MS Istanbul, Beyazıt – Veliyyüddin Efendi 3235, fols 37r-40v
- MS Istanbul, Beyazıt – Veliyyüddin Efendi 3236, fols 65r-68r
- MS Istanbul, Beyazıt – Veliyyüddin Efendi 3271, fols 241v-249r
- MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – Nuruosmaniye 4920, fols 23-8
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Amcazade Hüseyin 454, fols 122-4
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Atif Efendi 2816, fols 150-2
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Atif Efendi 2827, fols 53-60
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Atif Efendi 2851, fols 1-9

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Beşir Ağa 199, fols 26-30

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1991, fols 30-5

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Kasidecizade 695, fols 239-49

A large number of other MSS are preserved in various other libraries of Turkey (e.g. Ankara, Diyarbakır, Istanbul, Kastamonu, Konya and Manisa), Cairo, Mosul, Berlin, London, Manchester, Stockholm, Uppsala and Vienna (some of these are listed in Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 599, and *GAL S*, vol. 2, p. 669)

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Risāla fī mā yata'allaq bi-lafẓ al-zindīq, in *Resāil-i İbn Kemâl*, ed.

A. Cevdet, Istanbul, 1898, vol. 2, pp. 240-9

Ḥ. 'A. Mahfūz, 'Risāla fī taḥqīq lafẓ al-zindīq wa-tawḍīḥ ma'nāhu lughatan wa-shar'an wa-bayān ḥukmihi l-Ibn Kamāl Bāshā al-mutawaffā sana 940 h.', *Majallat Kullīyyat al-Ādāb* (Baghdad) 5 (1962) 45-8

A.Y. Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar ve mühlidler (15.-17. yüzyıllar)*, Istanbul, 1998, pp. 348-54 (Turkish trans.)

STUDIES

M.C. Huart, 'Les Zindīqs en droit musulman', in *Actes du onzième congrès international des orientalistes Paris-1897* 11/3 (1899) 69-80

Risāla fī afḍaliyyat Nabīyyinā 'alā sā'ir al-anbiyā',

'Treatise on the superiority of our Prophet over all other prophets'

Afḍaliyyat Muḥammad 'alā sā'ir al-anbiyā', 'On the superiority of Muḥammad over all other prophets'

Tafḍīlu Nabīyyinā Muḥammad 'alayhi l-salām 'alā sā'ir al-anbiyā', 'On the superiority of our Prophet Muḥammad – peace be upon him – over all other prophets'

Risāla fī faḍīlat al-Nabī, 'Treatise on the superiority of the Prophet'

DATE After early November 1527

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ibn Kemal wrote this work in response to Molla Kâbız – whom he identifies as ‘one of the heretics’ – and against his allegations that Jesus was superior to Muḥammad (ed. Yavuz, p. 184; all the references below are taken from this edition, unless otherwise stated). In this treatise Ibn Kemal aims to refute the claim and prove that Muḥammad is superior to all the prophets. In his view, the prophets are ranked higher than the angels (*Risāla fī tafḍīl al-anbiyā’ ‘alā l-malā’ika*, in *Rasā’il Ibn Kamāl*, ed. A. Cevdet, Istanbul, 1898, vol. 1, pp. 117-24), and above all stands Muḥammad, who has surpassed all the prophets.

In his ‘Treatise on the superiority of the Prophet’, Ibn Kemal bases his argument on the principle of *ijmā’*, the consensus of Muslims, on the superiority of Muḥammad (pp. 177, 178, 184). In order to explicate his argument, he then quotes a number of qur’anic verses and Hadiths, and refers to authorities such as al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144), al-Qurṭubī (d. 1273), al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1280), al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390) and others.

Quoting qur’anic verses such as, ‘You are the best community that has been raised up for humankind’ (Q 3:110) and ‘Thus We have appointed you a middle nation’ (Q 2:143), Ibn Kemal holds that the superiority of the community is due to the Prophet’s superiority. They have surpassed other communities because they believe in him and in all other prophets; and the Prophet surpassed earlier prophets because he was sent ‘as a mercy for the worlds’ (Q 21:107) and ‘as a bringer of good tidings and a warner to all humankind’ (Q 34:28), so that if any of the prophets were alive they would have had to follow him. Hence the Hadith: ‘If Moses were alive, he would have no choice but to follow me’ (Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-musnad*, ed. Ḥ.A. al-Zayn, Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1995, vol. 11, p. 500, no. 14565 [3/338]). Similarly, when Jesus returns he will follow Muḥammad’s *sharī’a*, Ibn Kemal concludes (p. 178).

In Ibn Kemal’s opinion, what makes the Prophet Muḥammad surpass other prophets are the following characteristics: his mission was directed to both humans and jinn; he was the seal of the prophets and the messengers; his *sharī’a* abrogated all other *sharī’as*; on the Day of Resurrection he will stand as a witness to all humankind; his clear and splendid miracle (i.e. the Qur’an) will endure till the end of time – as indicated by Q 2:253: ‘Some of them He exalted (above others) in degree’ (p. 180).

Ibn Kemal criticises the argument of his opponent, who is described as having claimed that Jesus surpassed Muḥammad because he is still alive in heaven. In his response, Ibn Kemal states that Muḥammad’s death after completing the religion is more beneficial than his remaining

alive, as indicated by the following Hadith: 'When God desires to show mercy to a people, He brings to an end the life of its prophet before they expire, thus making him one who precedes them and goes ahead of them' (Muslim, *Şahih*, 'tafdil', 5). Ibn Kemal further states that the place of the Prophet's burial has become a holy garden (*rawḍa muḩaddasa*), a locus of prayers, and blessings and a place of gatherings for worship and other forms of goodness. Moreover, he holds that Jesus is still alive in order to revive the religion of Muḩammad when he returns towards the end of time. Jesus will descend from heaven and serve as Muḩammad's representative (*khalifa*). So he concludes that 'the opponent's argument is in favour of our position, not against us' (p. 182).

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn Kemal's treatise is the only extant work that offers glimpses of the arguments and scriptural readings of Molla Kâbız, who claimed the superiority of Jesus over Muḩammad. Given that no work by Molla Kâbız is known to have survived, Ibn Kemal's treatise constitutes an important source of information, shedding light on the pluralistic milieu of 16th-century Ottoman society and its learned elite.

MANUSCRIPTS

The dates of some MSS are given below. But this is not possible with all MSS.

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Reşid Efendi 1052, fols 77-80 (1528)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Pertevniyal 916, fols 51r-53v (1574)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Kılıç Ali Paşa 1028, fols 30-5 (1577)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yahya Tevfik 1732, fols 72-5 (1628)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Nafiz Paşa 1506, fols 153-5 (1642)
- MS Istanbul, Beyazıt – Beyazıt 5999 fols 171r-175v
- MS Istanbul, Köprülü – Ahmed Paşa 330, fols 287-94
- MS Istanbul, Köprülü – Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1580, fols 194-8
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Âşir Efendi 459, fols 82-5
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Ayasofya 4797, fols 25-30
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Dügümlü Baba 351, fols 41v-48r
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1694, fols 1-8
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3551, fols 127v-130r
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3587, fols 126-31
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3618, fols 36-42
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3646, fols 36-40
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 3787, fols 115-17

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 5326, fols 88-93
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 5337, fols 10-14
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1991, fols 15-21
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hacı Mahmud Efendi 5689, fols 60-5
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Halet Efendi 288, fols 221-6
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Halet Efendi 819, fols 70-4
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hamidiye 388, fols 44-9
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hekimoğlu 937, fols 148-51
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – H. Hüsnü Paşa 121, fols 226-31
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – İsmihan Sultan 428, fols 46-50
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – İzmirli İsmail Hakkı 3672, fols 26-9
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Kadızade Mehmed 549, fols 49-52
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Karaçelebizade 344, fols 22-7
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Kasidecizade 677, fols 280-4
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 2285, fols 2r-4v
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 3682, fols 113-19
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 3698, fols 57-62
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 3710, fols 52-7
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Osman Huldi Ö. 27, fols 141-7
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Reisülküttab 1158, fols 70-2
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Süleymaniye 1046, fols 156-9
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehid Ali Paşa 2755, fols 131-8
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehid Ali Paşa 2737, fols 218-28
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yazma Bağışlar 1398, fols 29-31

A large number of other MSS are preserved in various other libraries in Turkey (Istanbul, Kastamonu, Konya and Tokat), Berlin, Cairo and London (some of these are listed in Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 598).

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- S.S. Yavuz, 'Kelâm'da Efdaliyyet Meselesi ve İbn Kemal'in "*Efdaliyyetu Muhammed*" Risalesi', *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 5 (2005) 147-85, pp. 177-85 (critical edition)
 Jum'a Muştafâ al-Faytûrî (ed.), *Al-rasâ'il al-'aqqdiyya*, Beirut, 2002, pp. 47-66

STUDIES

- Yavuz, 'Kelâm'da Efdaliyyet Meselesi ve İbn Kemal'in "*Efdaliyyetu Muhammed*" Risalesi', pp. 163-85 (critical edition and analysis of the text)

Mecmûatü'l-Fetâvâ, 'Fatwa collection'

DATE Before 1534

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish, Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *ahl al-dhimma* often feature in the fatwas issued by Ibn Kemal. Some of these legal cases are related to family law and conversion. For instance, the wife of a *dhimmi* who is absent (and it is unknown whether he is alive or dead) converts to Islam. Is she allowed to remarry, or should she wait until her husband's circumstances become clear? Ibn Kemal responds that conversion gives her freedom to remarry (*Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Âşir Efendi 270, fol. 89r; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*, p. 173).

In some other legal cases that involve Muslim civil law or criminal law, no distinction is made between *dhimmi*s and Muslims. For instance, can a Muslim appoint a *dhimmi* as his *wakîl* in a marriage contract? Should such representation be considered legally valid? Ibn Kemal responds positively (*Mecmûatü'l-Fetâvâ*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Atıf Efendi 2835, fol. 64b; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*, p. 139). Another case relates to the punishment for pederasty. In his fatwa, Ibn Kemal issues a discretionary (*ta'zîr*) punishment for a Muslim male who forces a boy into a sexual act (*Fetâvây-ı Kemalpaşazâde*: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Darü'l-Mesnevi 118, fol. 29v; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*, p. 103). Similarly, in another fatwa, Ibn Kemal determines the same punishment for a *dhimmi* male who forces a *dhimmi* boy into a sexual act (*Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal*, MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – Nuruosmaniye 1967, fol. 28r; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*, p. 103).

Some of Ibn Kemal's fatwas deal with matters of *waqf* ('trust'). Such is the case of a Muslim who decides to convert his land into trust to be used as a graveyard for the *dhimmi*s. Under what conditions is such a transaction valid? (*Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal*, MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – Nuruosmaniye 1967, fol. 92r; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*, p. 276). Is it licit when a *dhimmi* turns land into a trust, *waqf*, for a church? (*Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal*, MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – Nuruosmaniye 1967, fols. 52r, 171v; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*, p. 270). Some other fatwas deal with questions relating to inheritance. What is the legal consequence when a Muslim includes a *dhimmi* in his will? Is the latter entitled to inherit from the former? (*Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal*, MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – Nuruosmaniye 1967, fol. 55v; *Mühimmâtü'l-müftî*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye –

Çorlulu Ali Paşa 280, fol. 198v; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*, p. 130). There are also fatwas regarding alcoholic beverages. If a Muslim took an alcoholic drink from a *dhimmī* and drank it, he would not be required to pay for it (*Mühimmâtü'l-müftî*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Çorlulu Ali Paşa 280, fol. 48v-49r; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*, p. 188). But if a Muslim threw away a *dhimmī*'s alcoholic drink, he would have to compensate him for the loss. Although an alcoholic drink has no economic value for a Muslim, it does for a *dhimmī*. But if the *dhimmī* were to convert to Islam after the loss, then compensation would not be required (*Mühimmâtü'l-müftî*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Çorlulu Ali Paşa 280, fol. 142r; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*, p. 188). What if a Muslim produces wine and appoints a non-Muslim as his *wakīl* to sell it? Is this a legally valid transaction? Yes it is, according to Ibn Kemal (*Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal*, MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – Nuruosmaniye 1967, fol. 150v; İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*, p. 188).

Fatwa collections also tell a great deal about daily interactions between members of different faith communities, such as the case of mutual greetings. In one of his fatwas, Ibn Kemal is asked whether it is licit for a Muslim to greet a non-Muslim? He says it is licit by necessity, not by honour. In another fatwa, Ibn Kemal is asked whether it is required to treat non-Muslims the same as Muslims when it comes to greeting and returning the greeting, or whether they should be ignored. Ibn Kemal responds that it is more appropriate to return the greeting (MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Nuruosmaniye 2061, fol. 63; quoted in H. Çolak, 'Co-existence and conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in the 16th century Ottoman Istanbul', Ankara, 2008 (MA Diss. Bilkent University), pp. 99-102). These are only a few examples relating to Christian-Muslim relations, a theme that needs to be explored thoroughly when examining this rich legal material.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of Şeyhülislam Ibn Kemal's contribution to the Ottoman legal system is demonstrated not only by the large corpus of fatwas and other legal treatises he left, but also and more importantly by his attempt to reconcile the rules of *kanun* and *şeriat* – a fact that led some historians to call him *muallim-i evvel*, 'the first teacher', and his later successor Ebussuud (1545-74) *muallim-i sânî*, 'the second teacher' (Nev'izâde Atâî, *Hadaïku'l-hakaik fî tekmileti's-şakaik in Şakâik-ı Nu'maniye ve Zeyil-leri*, ed. A. Özcan, Istanbul, 1989, vol. 2, p. 185). It was due to the prestige of these two influential figures that, as Colin Imber states, the position

of the Mufti of Islam, or the Şeyhülislam, the title by which he was known in later centuries, became 'the supreme office in the Ottoman judicial hierarchy' (*Ebu's-Su'ud. The Islamic legal tradition*, Stanford CA, 2009, p. 7).

Ibn Kemal's fatwas shed light upon the multi-cultural and multi-religious character of the 16th-century Ottoman Empire, in which *dhimmīs* and especially Christians played an important role. They feature not only in the areas of socio-politics and economics, but also and more importantly in family and civil law. The fatwa collections in general, and Ibn Kemal's fatwas in particular, are a real treasure trove for understanding Christian-Muslim relations in both the private and public spheres of life in Ottoman society.

MANUSCRIPTS

About 21 fatwa collections have been attributed to Ibn Kemal, 14 of which, according to a recent study, have been established as actually originating from him (İnanır, *İbn Kemal'in fetvaları*, pp. 5-10):

Mecmûatü'l-Fetâvâ: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Atıf Efendi 2835, 71 fols (1530/1)

Mecmau'l-mesâilî'ş-şer'iyye fi'l-ulûmi'd-dîniyye: MS Istanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi – Nadir Eserler (Türkçe) 6253, 60 fols (1572/3)

Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal: MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – Nuruosmaniye 1967, 181 fols, including about 1000 fatwas by Ibn Kemal (1604/5)

Fetâvây-ı Kemalpaşazâde: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Darü'l-Mesnevi 118, 89 fols, including about 800 fatwas by Ibn Kemal (undated)

Fetâvây-ı Kemalpaşazâde: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1224, 35 fols, an incomplete collection, some 600 fatwas included (undated)

Fetâvây-ı Kemalpaşazâde: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Carullah 971, 15 fols, including some 600 fatwas (undated)

Fetâvây-ı Kemalpaşazâde: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yazma Bağışlar 3369, 84 fols, consisting of 49 sections (undated)

Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Âşir Efendi 270, fols 72v-124v (undated; besides Ibn Kemal's fatwas, it also includes some fatwas by other Şeyhülislams)

Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 2348, 25 fols, consisting of about 300 fatwas (undated)

Fetâvây-ı Kemalpaşazâde: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Süleymaniye 862, fols 82v-89v, including some 100 fatwas (undated)

- Fetâvây-ı Ahmed İbn Kemal*: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1017, fols 115v-144v (undated)
- Fetâvây-ı Ahmed İbn Kemal*: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Ayasofya 2705, fols 79v-91r (undated)
- Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal*: MS Istanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Merkez Kütüphanesi – Nadir Eserler (Türkçe) 9274, fols 23v-79v, including 231 fatwas (undated)
- Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal*: MS Istanbul, Beyazıt – Beyazıt 7912, 10 fols (undated)

Some other MSS are listed in catalogues as containing Ibn Kemal's fatwas:

- Fetâvâ mecmûası*: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – İsmihan Sultan 200, fols 28-92 (undated)
- Fetâvây-ı İbn Kemal Paşa*: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yeni Cami 685, fols 183-263 (undated)
- Mühimmâtü'l-fetâvâ*: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Kılıç Ali Paşa 464, 222 fols (undated)
- Mühimmâtü'l-müftî*: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Çorlulu Ali Paşa 280, fols 1v-211v

Fetâvâ:

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – İzmir 259, 82 fols (undated)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Ayasofya 3698, fols 77-91 (undated)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Carullah 971, 15 fols (undated)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1017, fols 115-44 (undated)

STUDIES

- A. İnanır, *Şeyhülislâm İbn Kemal'in fetvaları ışığında Kanûnî devrinde Osmanlı'da hukukî hayat*, Istanbul, 2011
- A. İnanır, 'İbn Kemal'in fetvaları ışığında Osmanlı'da İslâm hukuku', Istanbul, 2008 (PhD Diss. Istanbul University)
- E. Ökten, 'Ottoman society and state in the light of the fatwas of Ibn Kemal', Ankara, 1996 (MA Diss. Bilkent University)
- M. Esat Kılıçer, 'Kemâlpaşazâde'nin aile hukukuyla ilgili bazı fetvaları', *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 19 (1973) 83-95

Lejla Demiri and Muharrem Kuzey

Abū l-Faḍl al-Su‘ūdī

Abū l-Faḍl (ibn Muḥammad) al-Su‘ūdī (and/or al-Mas‘ūdī)
al-Mālīkī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH After April 1536
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; presumably Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Abū l-Faḍl al-Su‘ūdī was a theologian, Mālīkī jurist and poet. In some sources, he is called al-Su‘ūdī (Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, vol. 1, p. 379; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn*, vol. 8, p. 68), while in some others his name appears as al-Mas‘ūdī (Sarkīs, *Mu‘jam al-maṭbū‘āt*, vol. 2, p. 1745). In the extant manuscripts of his works, he is almost always identified as al-Su‘ūdī, suggesting that al-Mas‘ūdī is likely to be a misreading.

‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī (d. 1565) mentions Abū l-Faḍl al-Mālīkī as a devoted disciple of Abū l-Su‘ūd al-Jāriḥī (d. shortly after 1524), a Ṣūfī shaykh from Egypt (al-Sha‘rānī, *Lawāqih al-anwār fi ṭabaqāt al-akhyār*, Cairo, 1954, vol. 2, p. 130). Ḥajjī Khalīfa further identifies Abū l-Faḍl as the *khādim*, ‘servant’, of Abū l-Su‘ūd al-Jāriḥī (Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, vol. 2, p. 1349). It is in reference to his master that Abū l-Faḍl is believed to derive his *nisba* al-Su‘ūdī, as testified by the *Muntakhab* (ed. al-Badrī, p. 199, see also pp. 182, 184), where Abū l-Faḍl calls Abū l-Su‘ūd his ‘master and teacher’ (*sayyidī wa-ustādḥī*) (see van Arendonk, ‘al-Su‘ūdī’).

In addition to his *Muntakhab*, Abū l-Faḍl also wrote a commentary on al-Būṣīrī’s (d. 1296) famous ode in praise of the Prophet, *Umm al-qurā fi madḥ Khayr al-warā*, also known as *al-Qaṣīda l-ḥamziyya fi l-madā’ih al-nabawiyya* (Abū l-Faḍl al-Mālīkī, *Sharḥ Umm al-qurā fi madḥ Khayr al-warā*, MSS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Damad Ibrahim 375, 115 fols; Lala Ismail 550, 73 fols; and Laleli 3670, fols 92-177) and *Sharḥ al-alfiyya*, a commentary on Ibn Mālīk’s (d. 1274) *Al-khulāṣa l-alfiyya*, also known as *Al-alfiyya*, a didactic poem of Arabic grammar (Abū l-Faḍl al-Mālīkī, *Sharḥ al-alfiyya*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yahya Tevfik 1678, 159 fols).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn 'an asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. Ş. Yaltkaya and K.R. Bilge, Istanbul, 1941-3, vol. 1, p. 379; vol. 2, p. 1349

Secondary

M. Aydın, *Müslümanların Hristiyanlara Karşı Yazdığı Reddiyeler ve Tartışma Konuları*, Ankara, 1998, p. 61, n. 215

E. van Donzel, *Islamic desk reference, compiled from The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1994, p. 432

C. van Arendonk, art. 'al-Su'ūdī', in *EI*²

'U.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muḥjam al-mu'allifin. Tarājim muṣannifī l-kutub al-'arabiyya*, Damascus, 1957-60, vol. 8, p. 68

E. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1930, pp. 17, 57

Y. b. M. Sarkīs, *Muḥjam al-maṭbū'āt al-'arabiyya wa-l-mu'arraba*, Cairo, 1928, vol. 2, p. 1745

Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 2, p. 432; *S* vol. 1, pp. 471, 766; *S* vol. 2, p. 456

Bursalı Mehmet Tahir, *Osmanlı müellifleri*, Istanbul, 1914, vol. 1, p. 247 (reference to the Ottoman trans. of the *Muntakhab*)

M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, nebst Anhängen verwandten Inhalts*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 141 (no. 121), see also pp. 36-37 (no. 17)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-muntakhab al-jalīl min Takhjīl man ḥarrafā l-Injīl,
'A splendid selection from The shaming of those
who have altered the Gospel'

DATE April 1536

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

As indicated by the title and further explained in the introduction of the work (ed. al-Badrī, p. 19), this is a polemical treatise against Christians based on Abū l-Faḍl's selected extracts from Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ja'farī's *Takhjīl man ḥarrafā l-Tawrāt wa-l-Injīl*, 'The shaming of those who have altered the Torah and the Gospel'. The *Muntakhab* consists of an introduction, ten chapters and a conclusion.

The introduction provides a commentary on the Gospel terminology ('Father', 'Son', 'God', 'Lord', 'prostration', 'forgiveness', etc.), claiming that there is no difference between Jesus and other prophets with regard to

these terms. In ch. 1, the author aims to use the Gospels to prove Jesus’s servanthood. Ch. 2 focuses on *tahrīf* in the canonical Gospels. Ch. 3 is a refutation of the Incarnation, and ch. 4 is a refutation of the Trinity. Ch. 5 presents Jesus’s miracles as evidence of his prophethood, while ch. 6 refers to the miracles of other prophets, asserting that these are not an indication of their divinity. Ch. 7 rejects Jesus’s crucifixion and ch. 8 proposes that someone else was crucified instead and that Jesus was raised to heaven. Ch. 9 provides a critical analysis of certain Jewish and Christian matters of faith, scriptures and worship, while ch. 10 focuses on the biblical prophecies regarding the coming of Muḥammad. In the conclusion, the author explains ‘the uniqueness of the miracles’ performed by Muḥammad.

Abū l-Faḍl’s *Muntakhab* does not follow the chapter order of al-Ja‘farī’s *Takhjil*. A chart contrasting the chapters in each work is provided by F. Trieb (*Liber decem quaestionum*, pp. vi-vii), where he also occasionally points to the textual similarities and differences between the two. However, a thorough analysis of the *Muntakhab* and a comparison with the *Takhjil* still await careful scholarly attention.

Abū l-Faḍl’s sources do not seem to be confined to al-Ja‘farī’s work alone. Each section of the *Muntakhab* also contains verses of poetry by Abū l-Faḍl himself, as well as citations from other poets, especially al-Būṣīrī (ed. al-Badrī, pp. 184, 292, 307, 317, 322-3, 324, 325, 326). The *Muntakhab*’s frequent references to the poetry of al-Būṣīrī, who is also known for his polemical poems refuting the Christians and the Jews, require a close and comparative reading.

In addition to his comparison of Jesus’s miracles with the miracles of other prophets and especially those of the Prophet Muḥammad, Abū l-Faḍl also makes mention of the miracles, *karāmāt*, of the Muslim saints. In this context he refers to various accounts narrating miraculous feats attributed to various Sufi figures, such as his own shaykh Abū l-Su‘ūd al-Jāriḥī (d. shortly after 1524), ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 1166), Aḥmad al-Rifā‘ī (d. 1182), and many others (see ed. Badrī, pp. 180-5, 199). These examples, revealing Abū al-Faḍl’s inclinations to Sufism, constitute one of the important features that distinguish his work from that of al-Ja‘farī.

In a recent study, Dennis Halft has shown that *Al-risāla mimmā jā’a fī-l-Tawrāt wa-fī-l-Injil wa-fī-l-Zabūr wa-l-Ṣuḥuf ‘an ism al-Nabī* by Sa‘īd ibn Ḥasan al-Iskandarī, a 14th-century Jewish convert to Islam who wrote a refutation of his former religion, also served as a source of information for the *Muntakhab*. The study demonstrates that Abū l-Faḍl’s renderings of certain biblical passages agree with Sa‘īd ibn Ḥasan’s text, edited by

Half: 'Entire passages, including the transcribed Hebrew verses of Genesis 13:17; 21:12 and 18 as well as Arabic translations of Genesis 13:17; 15:5; 17:20; 21:12; Deuteronomy 18:18 and 19, reappear' in the *Muntakhab* (Half, 'Sa'īd b. Ḥasan al-Iskandarī', p. 276; for a comparison of the two texts, see pp. 280, 284-7 and 311). Half further notes that none of these passages is to be found in al-Ja'farī's *Takhjīl*, indicating that Abū l-Faḍl must have included them from a different source. Yet, since Abū l-Faḍl does not identify his source, Half concludes that 'it cannot be decided at present' whether he had access to Sa'īd ibn Ḥasan's text, or whether he relied on an intermediary work (Half, 'Sa'īd b. Ḥasan al-Iskandarī', p. 276).

Instances such as these suggest that Abū l-Faḍl's work is more than just a simple *muntakhab*, 'selection of extracts', from al-Ja'farī's refutation, and as such requires a thorough examination in order to determine its sources and understand the context of its production.

SIGNIFICANCE

The existence of numerous manuscripts indicates that the *Muntakhab* was in wide circulation. It must have attracted serious attention, as it was translated into Ottoman Turkish in the 18th century and into Latin a century later. Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī (d. 1854) appears among the scholars who benefited from the *Muntakhab*, as is shown by his citations from Abū l-Faḍl in his famous Qur'an commentary, *Rūḥ al-ma'ānī* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d., vol. 6, pp. 33-4). There is still a serious need for further research that will help create a clearer picture of the reception history of the *Muntakhab*.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Atif Efendi 6, 123 fols (undated)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 6/1, fols 1-85 (undated)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Reisülküttab 5, 138 fols (undated)
- MS Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library – Ahmed III Kit. 1765, 134 fols (1581)
- MS Amsterdam, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences – Oriental Manuscripts, Acad. 25, 305 fols (1677; known as MS Leiden, 133)
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Huntington 549 (1679)
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Marsh 620 (1692)
- MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – 305 'Aqā'id Taymūriyya (microfilm 30529), 390 pp. (1859)
- MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – 306 'Aqā'id Taymūriyya (microfilm 30812), 347 pp. (undated; the text is almost identical with the publication by Maktabat Tamaddun in 1904)

MS Cairo, Ma‘had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-‘Arabiyya (Institute for Arabic Manuscripts) – 136 Tawḥīd ghayr mufahras, 130 fols (1854)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Abū l-Faḍl al-Su‘ūdī l-Mālīkī, *al-Muntakhab al-jalīl min Takhjīl man ḥarrafa al-Injīl*, ed. R. al-Ṣafanāwī al-Badrī, Cairo, 1997

Abū l-Faḍl al-Mālīkī l-Mas‘ūdī, *al-Muntakhab al-jalīl min Takhjīl man ḥarrafa al-Injīl*, ed. B.Z.I. ‘Awaḍ, Cairo, 1993

Abū l-Faḍl al-Mālīkī l-Mas‘ūdī, *al-Muntakhab al-jalīl min Takhjīl man ḥarrafa al-Injīl*, Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Tamaddun, 1904

Abū l-Faḍl al-Su‘ūdī l-Mālīkī, *Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos. Textum Arabicum e Codice Leidensi cum Varr. Lectt.*, ed. and (Latin) trans. F.J. van den Ham, 2 vols, Leiden, 1877 and 1890

Abū l-Faḍl al-Mālīkī l-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb sifr al-khayr* (Ottoman Turkish) trans. ‘A.S. al-Anṭākī, Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Taqaddum, 1904 (the translation was completed in 1767)

STUDIES

D. Halft, ‘Sa‘īd b. Ḥasan al-Iskandarī. A Jewish convert to Islam. *Editio Princeps* of the later recension (732/1331) of his biblical “Testimonies” to the Prophet Muḥammad’, *Mélanges de l’Institut Domini-cain d’Etudes Orientales du Caire* 30 (2014) 267-320, pp. 276, 280, 284-7, 311

I. Di Matteo, ‘Il “taḥrīf” od alterazione della Bibbia secondo i musulmani’, *Bessarione* 38 (1922) 64-111, 223-60, pp. 247-52

F. Trieb ‘Liber decem quaestionum contra Christianos’, Bonn, 1897 (Diss. University of Bonn), pp. vi-vii

Lejla Demiri

Yovasap' Sebastac'i

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1510
PLACE OF BIRTH	Sebastia/Sivas
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Sebastia/Sivas

BIOGRAPHY

Yovasap' Sebastac'i was born into an Armenian priestly family in Sivas around 1510 and received training from his father T'adēos in scribal arts, illumination and poetic composition. In the course of his work, Yovasap' made a still extant copy of two of his father's poems, and in another codex devoted a verse colophon to him. It seems his father died in 1542, aged about 65. The poet also had a younger brother who died in 1548, for whom he wrote a *kafa* elegy.

The first dated work of Yovasap' we have is a copy of the *Alexander Romance*, which he transcribed, illuminated and commented on in a series of *kafa* verses, focusing on the theme of the transience of life. A colophon there indicates that he composed several of his love poems in the same year. The corpus revisits themes of earlier masters such as Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i, but it lacks their stylistic finesse and emotional intensity.

In addition to moral paraenesis and some verses affording a simplified introduction to calendrical issues, Yovasap' produced a series of works on historical topics that not only underline the Armenian community's status as an ethno-religious minority, but also reveal a degree of pro-Ottoman sentiment with regard to the protection the sultan provided to the cities of eastern Anatolia from Safavid attack. This approach is embodied in the two poems he dedicated to the rebellion of Alqas Mirza against Shah Ṭahmāsp, where Sultan Süleyman is praised for his defence of Amid in the context of the third Ottoman-Safavid War of 1548-49. He wrote two further poems on the illustrious 4th-century Armenian leader Mušel Mamikonean, who spent most of his adult life opposing the campaigns of Shapur II, which were intended to draw Greater Armenia more fully into the Sasanian sphere and replace Christianity with a reformed type of Zoroastrianism. There he argues that Armenians used to enjoy a much better life, but that it is their actions and disunity that are to blame

for their current malaise. However, another long poem reflecting a medieval form of the vision of a 4th-century hierarch, Nersēs Part'ew, offers the Christians hope that they will ultimately prevail with assistance from the west in an apocalyptic scenario prefiguring Christ's second coming.

In addition to the martyrdom narrative of Kawkčay, Yovasap' produced another on the famous Forty Martyrs of Sebastia who perished in 320, as well as a life of the voluntary beggar John of Constantinople. Apart from a colophon of uncertain attribution dated to 1564, we have no information about him from the 1550s onward.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Most details of Yovasap's biography derive from the colophons to his works and the manuscripts he copied. For details, see V.P. Gevorgyan, *Hovasap' Sebastac'i banastelcutyunner* [Yovasap' Sebastac'i poems], Yerevan, 1964, pp. 16-58

Secondary

- K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1500-1920*, Detroit, 2000, pp. 35-38, 567
 N. Polarean, *Hay grołner* [Armenian writers], Jerusalem, 1971, pp. 453-6
 H. Ačarıyan, *Hayoc' anjanunneri bařaran* [Armenian prosopographical dictionary], Yerevan, 1946, vol. 3, p. 535
 G. Yovsēp'ean, 'Yovasap' Sebastac'i', *Ararat* 13 (1918) 226-31

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vkayabanut'ıwn nor vkain [sic] K'ristosi Kawkčayin (prose version), 'Martyrology of Kawkčay, the Neomartyr of Christ' (prose version)
Otanawor nor vkayin K'ristosi Kokčayin, or nahatakec'aw i Sebastiy (verse version), 'Verse on Kokčay, the Neomartyr of Christ, who was martyred in Sebastia/Sivas' (verse version)'

DATE 1536

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Prose version: In the introductory section, Yovasap' describes Kawkčay, the protagonist, as the son of a wealthy family of Sebastia/Sivas, handsome, married, and well read. Indeed, he devoted time every day to reading the scriptures and lives of the saints. The text adds that he was a 'traveller' (*čanaparhord*) – other sources say, more specifically, a merchant (*xōjāy*) – and he probably assisted in his father's business by overseeing the transport of commodities. The trigger for the later chain of events was the festivities his family and friends organised in his honour on his return from one of these trips. The jubilant celebrations provoked one of their Muslim neighbours, who maliciously assembled some friends and went with them into the family's house, seized and bound the young man and his companions, and took them to the qadi.

During the hearing before the qadi, they bore false witness against Kawkčay to the effect that he had insulted their mouth (perhaps their language) and the sultan, and contended that the land belonged to the *Qizilbash*. At this, the qadi pronounced the death sentence and had Kawkčay imprisoned. After two days, they took him before the paša, who at first tempted him with promises of wealth and authority if he converted to Islam, but when he confessed Christ as God, the paša ordered him to be taken to the place of execution.

The crowd threw him to the ground and cut out his tongue. Then, when they reached the place of execution, they thrust a wooden stave into his mouth and used it to turn him upside down before stoning him. His body remained tied to the stake for two days before Christians removed his corpse and buried it. The narrative concludes with the date of the martyrdom, 27 August 1536.

The main portion of the text is found in MS Berlin Armenian 805, although the conclusion is absent as a result of a folio having fallen out. The editor, Gevorgyan, has supplemented this with the related but abbreviated account in MS Matenadaran M6273.

Verse version: The work consists of 17 four-line stanzas, with eight syllables in each line, rhyming in *-in* in keeping with the norms of medieval Armenian extended verse narratives. It was composed on the basis of the prose account, the key points of which it repeats while it changes and mainly abbreviates others.

The opening gives the year, identifies the protagonist, alludes to the tribulation visited upon him, and evokes the tone of sorrow and lamentation that overwhelmed the local community after his death. Then, with the sparest of details, Yovasap' underscores the young man's innocence

as the intruders forced their way into his house without any warning, surrounded him, and falsely accused him of insulting the Ottoman government and affirming allegiance to the *Qizilbash*.

The next scene collapses the two sessions of the trial into one before the qadi alone, who demands that Kawkčay reject Jesus's divinity and promises much wealth if he accepts. However, the youth makes a stalwart confession of Christ's divinity and says nothing more.

Yovasap' elaborates the cutting out of Kawkčay's tongue over four verses, saying that the act was perpetrated by Muslim soldiers 'filled with venom like a snake'. It first elicited a defiant response from the youth, who 'roared like a lion', then one of resignation and acceptance as he looked to heaven and sighed. The pathos of the scene is heightened by reference to the absence of anyone to intercede for him or arrange his release, and the sight of him as he is led through the town, head bowed and hands tied, blood from his wound pouring over his clothes. The dynamism of the march through the town is suggested by the enumeration of four responses from the crowd: some called on him to convert, others threatened him with further torture, a third group struck him with sticks, while a fourth pierced him with swords.

The execution is similarly developed over four verses, of which the first two relate his being struck with a stave and then stoned, while the latter two focus on the community response, reprising themes from the second verse, lamenting the youth's untimely death but lauding the courage with which he attained in martyrdom 'the heavenly light that does not pass away'.

The final two verses then describe Kawkčay's burial. His body was laid to rest with the relics of the Forty Martyrs for whom the city was renowned, soldiers of the Legio XII Fulminata, who were martyred near the city in 320, during the Emperor Licinius's persecution of the Christians. Yovasap' concludes by noting that a light shone over the martyr's tomb in the middle of the night, which caused Muslims who saw it to regret the act, while Christians found consolation in it and praised God.

SIGNIFICANCE

Prose version: The reference to the youth belonging to a merchant family and the homecoming party organised for him on his return from a long journey is significant as highlighting the activities of the Armenian community in advancing the city's economy through trade and craftsmanship. Moreover, the data the account provides regarding the provocation are important for an insight into the urban demographics: at least in

certain quarters, there was a certain intermingling of the communities. The negative impact of the Armenian celebration highlights the general expectation of the time that ethno-religious minorities would maintain a low profile.

The insult to the Ottomans' mouth (or language) and leader, Sultan Süleyman, and the contention that the territory belonged to the *Qizilbash* were clearly fabricated to be as inflammatory as possible at a point when the second Ottoman-Safavid War (1532-35) had only recently concluded and tensions were continuing. The reference to the mouth also dictated the form of the punishment to which Kawkčay was subjected by the crowd.

Verse version: While the earlier prose narrative was written to take its place in a *menologium*, and designed to be read as an accurate account of events on the anniversary of the martyrdom it commemorates, the poem was intended for inclusion in a collection of *tał* compositions (*tałaran*) to be read or sung on a variety of occasions. Consequently, rather than pursuing the specifics of Kawkčay's case, here Yovasap' highlights the generic qualities of his situation and the essential traits he exhibited, playing throughout the role of spokesman for the community and expressing their various responses. Thus, while retaining core elements, such as the neighbour's ill-will and the substance of the trumped-up charge of support for the Safavids, employing here the Arabic loanword in Turkish *memleket* for 'rule' as the term used by the Muslim in the altercation, in general more attention is given to the onlookers' weeping and lament and to heightening the pathos of the protagonist's situation. In this way, Kawkčay emerges as an innocent youth, a victim caught up in circumstances beyond his control who, with no one to support him, heroically maintains his integrity throughout the inhumane proceedings.

The poem employs a series of rhetorical tropes characteristic of the genre, which are missing in the simple straightforward prose tale. Of these we might mention the 'snake venom' used as a metaphor to convey the soldiers' hostility towards the youth and the contrasting descent of the divine spirit into the latter's heart to inspire him to have courage in endure. Also significant is the authenticating appearance of the brilliant light in the middle of the night vindicating the youth, especially because of its impact in moving to remorse the Muslims who witnessed it.

Among other facets of the poetic version are the deliberately developed parallels with the Apostles: Kawkčay is inverted in his martyrdom like the Apostle Peter and stoned to death like Stephen the protomartyr

(Acts 7:54-60). Other biblical allusions include his portrayal as a 'lamb among wolves', like the 70 disciples Jesus commissioned (Luke 10:3), and his giving no reply to questions during his trial, just like his master (Matthew 26:63; Mark 14:61).

MANUSCRIPTS

Prose version:

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute – M6273, fols 473v-74r
(1868-89)

MS Berlin, Berlin National Museum – 805, fol. 302v (date unknown)

Verse version:

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute – M1661, fols 63v-65r (1594)

MS Erevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute – M1639, fols 62r-63v
(pre-1650)

MS Berlin, Berlin National Museum – 805, fols 252v-253r

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Prose version:

Gevorgyan, *Hovasap' Sebastac'i banastelcutyunner*, p. 184

Verse version:

Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*,
Valaršapat, 1903, pp. 373-5 (critical edition)

Gevorgyan, *Hovasap' Sebastac'i banastelcutyunner*, pp. 102-5

STUDIES

Prose version:

This text has yet to attract scholarly attention.

Verse version:

Ačařyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, vol. 1, pp. 480-1

M. Őrmanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople, 1927, col. 2228

M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'ıwn Hayoc' i skzbanē ařxarhis minč'ew c'am*
Tearn 1784, Venice, 1786, vol. 3, p. 516

Arak'el Davriřec'i, *Girk' patmut'eanc'* [Book of histories], Amsterdam,
1669, p. 487

Peter Cowe

Ibn Ṭūlūn

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn
al-Ṣāliḥī l-Dimashqī l-Ḥanafī

DATE OF BIRTH 1473
PLACE OF BIRTH Al-Ṣāliḥiyya, Damascus
DATE OF DEATH 1546
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn was one of the most prolific writers of his age, mostly noted for his works on Prophetic traditions, jurisprudence and history. His autobiography, *Al-fulk al-mashḥūn fī aḥwāl Muḥammad ibn Ṭūlūn*, is an excellent source for his intellectual and religious career as well as the traditional Islamic education of his time. Born in al-Ṣāliḥiyya, a suburb of Damascus on Mount Qāsiyūn, Ibn Ṭūlūn belonged to a family of scholars, including his paternal uncle, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ṭūlūn, a *qādī* and *muftī* of the Palace of Justice (Dār al-‘adl). Ibn Ṭūlūn was said to have completed the reading of the Qur’an by the age of seven. When he was 11, he received a stipend from the *waqf* of the Māridāniyya madrasa to pursue his study of jurisprudence. He also received *ijāza* from his contemporary, the Egyptian scholar al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505).

Besides his post as preacher in the Umayyad Mosque, he occupied numerous teaching and administrative posts of a religious nature, such as his position as Ḥanafī *muftī* of Damascus. Avoiding any political involvements during the late Mamluk and early Ottoman eras, he lived as a bachelor and devoted most of his life to scholarship and writing. In his autobiography, the list of books he studied and his own works (750 titles) show the breadth of his interests and writings, especially in the fields of history, Arabic grammar, Hadith and jurisprudence. Many of these works are no longer extant.

Ibn Ṭūlūn was interested in many fields of learning, including various traditional Islamic sciences as well as history, medicine and astronomy. His works on history and the Prophetic traditions do not deal directly with Christian-Muslim relations, but he alludes briefly to events related to Christians. For instance, in his work *I’lām al-sā’ilīn ‘an kutub Sayyid*

al-mursalīn ('Enlightening questioners about the writings of the Master of messengers'), he cites the letters that Muḥammad sent to Christian rulers such as the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, the Muqawqis of Egypt and the Negus of Abyssinia (*I'lām al-sā'ilīn*, various places). In his works on history, he gives an account of various historical disputes between Christian and Muslims. For example, on 3 April 1481 three shops in Damascus owned by Christians were robbed (*Mufākahat al-khillān*, vol. 1, p. 33). On 6 May in the same year, it was reported from Jerusalem that 3,000 Abyssinian Christians entered the city to celebrate the Easter. Their leader, sitting on a golden seat that was specially prepared for him, ordered the church bells to be rung, which interfered so much with the Muslim call to prayer that the voice of the *mu'adhdhin* was not heard. When a Muslim shouted out, 'O, Islam', the Christians set about him with their weapons; and it was said that he actually died (*Mufākahat al-khillān*, vol. 1, p. 33).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- R. Hartmann, *Das Tübinger Fragment der Chronik des Ibn Ṭulūn*, Berlin, 1926
 Ibn Ṭulūn, *Al-fulk al-mashḥūn fī aḥwāl Muḥammad ibn Ṭulūn*, Cairo, 1929
 Ibn Ṭulūn, *Al-qalā'id al-jawhariyya fī tā'rikh al-Ṣālihiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, 2 vols, Damascus, 1949-56
 Ibn Ṭulūn, *I'lām al-sā'ilīn 'an kutub Sayyid al-mursalīn*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Arnā'ūt, 2 vols, Beirut, 1987
 Ibn al-Ghazzī, *Al-kawākib al-sā'ira bi-a'yān l-mi'a al-'āshira*, Beirut, 1997, vol. 2, pp. 51-53
 Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān*, ed. Khalīl al-Mansūr, 2 vols, Beirut, 1998

Secondary

- W.M. Brinner, art. 'Ibn Ṭulūn', *El2*
 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Munajjid, *Al-mu'arrikhūn al-dimashqiyyūn*, Cairo, 1956, pp. 79-81

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī ḥukm 'Isā 'alayhi al-salām huna nuzūlih,
 'A treatise on the verdict about the descent of Jesus
 (peace be upon him)'

DATE Before 1536

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Like many other works by Ibn ṬŪlŪn, this treatise is not known to be extant. Its title is listed by Ismā'īl Pasha al-Baghdādī together with Ibn ṬŪlŪn's other 40 works of Hadith, while Brockelmann mentions it as *Irshād dhawi l-ʿirfān li-nuzūl Isā ʿalayhi al-salām*. Strangely enough, this title is not mentioned in Ibn ṬŪlŪn's autobiographical *Al-fulk al-mashhūn*, where more than 750 titles of his works are listed.

SIGNIFICANCE

It can be assumed that Ibn ṬŪlŪn wrote this work as a historian and scholar of Hadith. It was thus probably a study of the authenticity of the prophetic traditions about the ascension of Jesus and his return to earth at the Last Judgement, rather than a polemical work against Christianity.

STUDIES

Ismā'īl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-ʿarīfīn. Asmā' al-mu'allifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, Beirut, Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d., vol. 2, pp. 240-1

Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 481, S vol. 2, p. 494

Umar Ryad

Serapion Sabashvili

Serapion Sogratisdze Sabashvili, Kedelauri

DATE OF BIRTH Last quarter of the 15th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Gremiskhevi, Georgia
DATE OF DEATH First half of the 16th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The Georgian poet Serapion Sogratisdze Sabashvili, also known as Kedelauri, is best known for his work *Rostomiani*, a Georgian verse translation of parts of the Persian *Shahnameh*. He was a monk from Gremiskhevi (Mtiuleti, Georgia), and he lived and worked at the courts of King Konstantine II (1478-1505) and his son Bagrat Mukhranbatoni (1512-39). He was already well on in years when he started working on *Rostomiani*, and it is understood that he was 72 when he finished.

Sabashvili translated approximately 4,000 verses, from the beginning to the point at which Zardasht arrives at Gostasab and the story of the bringing of the fire. In his approach, he was influenced by Persian poetical practices and also by the Georgian poet Rustaveli. In turn, he was one of the pioneers of the so-called Georgian 'Renaissance', and was an important representative of this era.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S-1580

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S-406

Secondary

A. Gvakharia, *Kartuli sabč'ota encik'lop'edia*, vol. 8, Tbilisi, 1984, p. 536

K. Kekelidze, *Kartuli lit'erat'uris ist'oria*, vol. 2, Tbilisi, 1958, pp. 325-38

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Rost'omiani

DATE Between 1512 and 1539

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Rost'omiani is the name commonly given to Georgian translations of Firdawsi's *Shahnameh*, and often to translations of parts concerned with the warrior Rustam. There are both prose and poetical versions, the prose versions dating from the 15th and 16th centuries and containing parts of the *Shahnameh* that date from the 14th and 15th centuries.

Serapion Sabashvili translated the first part of the *Shahnameh* into verse as the *Rost'omiani* in the first quarter of the 16th century. He is generally thought to have used a Georgian prose translation, though since this was incomplete he also translated parts directly from the Persian original. His version is creative and free, with some incidents in the original abbreviated and others amplified. He makes both the story and its characters Georgian, and turns them into recognisable embodiments of Christian virtues.

SIGNIFICANCE

Owing to Georgia's close proximity to Persia, works by Islamic authors, and particularly heroic poems such as *Rost'omiani*, circulated widely and exerted great influence on Georgian literature. Relations through art were not affected by religious or political differences (Javakhishvili, *Kartveli*, p. 305). However, the original heroes of the *Shahnameh* became so changed that it is difficult to recognise them. The *Rost'omiani* became Georgian national property and Rustam, Sohrab and Bezhan became Georgian heroes, exhibiting Christian virtues that could be condoned by the Georgian church. It is these virtues that endeared them to Georgians. In one of the colophons of the *Rost'omiani* it is written: 'O reader, do not laugh at this book! Whoever reads it carefully will find morals and customs of former Georgians and stories of their heroes, which have been told through generations in order to awaken courage in new generations. There is vast wisdom here' (Gvakharia, *Pirdousi*, pp. 78-90).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S-1594, fols 1r-148v (1647; 'Utrutian-Saamiani')

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – H-921, fols 4r-161v (17th century; 'Šah-names p'rozauli versia')

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S-1580, fols 1r-487v (17th century)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S-406, fols 6r-463v (18th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

I. Abuladze (ed.), *Šah-names kartuli versiebi*, 2 vols, Tbilisi, 1916, 1934

STUDIES

I. Javakhishvili (ed.), *Kartveli eris ist'oria*, vol. 2, Tbilisi, 1965, pp. 305-6

A. Gvakharia, *Pirdousi*, Tbilisi, 1963

D. Kobidze, *Šah-names kartuli versiebis sp'arsuli c'qaroebi*, Tbilisi, 1959,
pp. 35-152

Kekelidze, *Kartuli lit'erat'uris ist'oria*, vol. 2, pp. 325-37

A. Baramidze, *Nark'vevebi kartuli lit'erat'uris ist'oriidan*, vol. 2, Tbilisi,
1940, pp. 33-85

Natia Dundua

Bagrat (I) Muxranbatoni

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1487
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably T'bilisi, Georgia
DATE OF DEATH	Approximately 1550
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Mc'xet'a, Georgia

BIOGRAPHY

Bagrat was the third son of King Konstantine II of Kartli (r. 1478-1505, and until 1484 also of Imeretia). Bagrat's elder brothers were Davit X (king of Kartli 1505-25) and Giorgi IX (king of Kartli 1525-34). His younger brother Melkisedek was Catholicos of Georgia from 1538 to 1541. Their mother Tamar entered a convent shortly before her death in 1492, as did Davit X (as Damiane), Giorgi IX (as Gerasime) and others of Bagrat's siblings.

In 1512, frustrated by his brother Davit X's unwillingness to resist invasions by their cousin King Aleksandre of Imeretia in 1509 and then by King Giorgi 'the Evil' of Kakhetia in 1511, Bagrat declared himself autonomous Prince of Muxrani (Muxranbatoni). He settled in his castle at Ksani, 60 kilometres west of the capital, and held out against Giorgi's Kakhetian army, which besieged the castle for months. When Bagrat sent Giorgi a gift of a live salmon from the castle pond, the Kakhetians concluded that Bagrat's fortress was unassailable and withdrew. A year later, Bagrat's forces captured and killed Giorgi and collaborated with King Davit to conquer Kakhetia: Ksani castle received its present name 'Eat my cock'.

As first Muxranbatoni, Bagrat began a royal dynasty: two great-grandchildren and four later descendants became kings of Kartli and Kakhetia and other descendants became patriarchs. Muxranbatoni territory extended from the River Mtkvari up the Aragvi and Ksani valleys to the high Caucasus, and became strategically important for 200 years.

In 1520, when his brother Davit again failed to resist, Bagrat went to war a second time to fight a coalition of Georgian armies led by Levan, the son of Giorgi the 'Evil', and Mamia I prince of Guria. He only achieved a negotiated peace.

Around 1540 (or just possibly a decade earlier), Bagrat followed family tradition and became a monk. But his religious interests date from 1519, when he commissioned a scribe to compile a *Menaion* to be given to Mc'xet'a cathedral: he signed this and his main composition, *An account*

of the beliefs of the ungodly Tatars, not Barnabas (his clerical name) but Crown Prince Bagrat. (From Davit IV 'the Builder' in the 12th century to Crown Prince Ioane, exiled in St Petersburg in the 19th, many Bagratid kings and princes wrote prose and poetry, secular and spiritual, even when embroiled in affairs of state.)

Little is known of Bagrat's last years: he is quoted (not verbatim) in Serapion Sabashvili's *Rostomiani* (a verse adaptation of Firdawsi) as saying: 'I know, Serapion, you're very experienced, / A king should be God-fearing, innately noble, / I have preferred a humble soul to the glory of the world, / Your fruits of discussions are no use to me in the face of eternity.' Sabashvili summed up Bagrat's life in three lines: 'I saw Bagrat, he settled at Marana, he made Muxrani his holiday home, / He undertook the building of temples, took power into his hands, / Revitalised an ancient throne, found the glory of God.'

Bagrat is thought to have lived until at least 1550, and is presumed to be buried near Mc'xet'a cathedral.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Early datable sources include inscriptions at Vale, Georgia, which were commissioned by Bagrat's sister Dedisimedi (see 'Nadpisi cerkvi v Vale', *Izvestiia kavkazskogo obščestva*, St Petersburg, 1907, vol. 2).

There are numerous but chronologically contradictory passages in a number of later chronicles (notably the Paris Chronicle, the *kinklos* [minor chronicles]) and compilations, especially that made by Vakhushti (Vaxušti, *K'art'lis c'xovreba*, Tbilisi, 1955-73, vol. 1).

Later 19th- and 20th-century accounts merely select from earlier data. Only in Boris Darč'ia, *Bagrat Muxranbatoni*, has critical judgement been brought to bear on all aspects of the author's life and work.

Secondary

B. Darč'ia, *Bagrat Muxranbatoni*, Tbilisi, 2011

K. Kekeliže, *Žveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria*, Tbilisi, 1981, vol. 2, p. 73

N.I. Marr, 'Iz knigi careviča Bagrata...', *Izvestiia imperatorskoi akademii nauk* 10/2 (1899) 233-46

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mot'xrobay sjult'a uǵmrt'ot'a t'at'rist'a, gamokrebilni, da sitqws-geba k'ristianet'a mier, t'k'muli batonis švilis Bagratisa, 'An account of the beliefs of the ungodly Tatars, collated, and a refutation by Christians, uttered by Crown Prince Bagrat'

DATE Between 1519 and 1541; possibly 1539

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

The earliest complete manuscript of this work (Q-91 in the Manuscript Collection of the [Georgian] State Museum, dated the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries) amounts to 37 pages on 19 sheets. The date of composition must be between 1519, the earliest time that Bagrat showed an interest in religious writing, and 1541, the date of the earliest surviving manuscript fragments. The year 1539 has for centuries been accepted as the date of writing, though without convincing evidence. In the first and only published edition (in Darč'ia, *Bagrat Muxranbatoni*), the text takes up 48 pages (pp. 137-84).

The work is a biographical, historical and theological polemic. It begins with a sketch of Muḥammad that verges on the scurrilous: he is portrayed as a young opportunist who makes his fortune camel-trading with Khadija, an older woman whom he later marries, and then attributes the seizures he experiences (which Bagrat blames not on epilepsy but on 'black bile') to visitations of the angel Gabriel. Khadija is only convinced of his prophetic stature when he is validated by the excommunicated Patriarch Nestorius (whom Bagrat seems not to know died a century before Muḥammad was born). Only when he is helped by his relative 'Alī, is he able to win battles with Jews; he tells his followers that they are blessed if 'they kill Christians or die at the hands of Christians'. Muḥammad is illiterate, and therefore dictates a mishmash of texts to 'Alī and 'Uthmān, some remembered from the Old and New Testaments, some derived from Nestorius, and some his own. Bagrat believes Muḥammad was inspired by the myth of Nimrod (Nebroth) flying in a chariot to heaven to usurp God.

The next section deals with Arabs and Muslims as the descendants of Hagar and Ishmael who, in the eyes of God, are Abraham's illegitimate

offspring, unlike the descendants of Sarah and Isaac, and are condemned to be a race of 'bloodthirsty predators, rebels and thieves'. Islam suffers from its dependence on just one prophet and one book (the Qur'an) plus the violent *Story of Amir Hamza* (which Bagrat rightly recognises as having pre-Islamic roots), whereas Christianity has many prophets, a Bible of many books, translated into Greek and thence into Georgian, and hagiographies. Bagrat accuses Muḥammad of distorting his reading of the Bible, changing the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Good and Evil to 'wheat' (in fact, the Qur'an refers merely to 'this tree here'), but he gives Muḥammad credit for including in the Qur'an the Christian tale of the seven sleepers of Ephesus. He denounces Islam for reducing paradise to a place for eating, drinking and fornicating with 'peris', and for acknowledging the annunciation of Christ's birth to Mary without accepting Christ's divinity. He argues that circumcision was ordained for Abraham's descendants only as a temporary measure, that God did not forbid wine, and that Islam – 'living in peace' – is a false name for such a violent religion. He criticises Islam for failing to understand that the Trinity is compatible with monotheism and that Christ was not a prophet but came 'to fulfil'. He deplores the Muslim assumption that Christ employed a stand-in for the crucifixion. Finally, he denounces the sectarianism of Islam resulting from the claims of 'Alī, Ḥusayn and 'Umar.

The treatise ends with a set of answers to be given to questions that Muslims may ask: Is Christ a god or a human being? Why was Christ incarnated? How did God beget a son? Why was he crucified? Why are icons not idols? Why consecrate bread and wine? When should one fast? What is the point of baptism?

Bagrat's sources are obviously the Bible and the Qur'an, but he is clearly familiar with Shi'ite views and with Persian terminology. His defence of icons reflects a reading of the Georgian scholar Ekvtime of Athos (955-1038), while the source of his idiosyncratic account of how Ptolemy had Hebrew books translated into Greek has not yet been found. Anti-Muslim diatribes are rare in Georgian literature (it was important to maintain the peace with Persian sovereigns), but Bagrat has a few precedents. The *Martyrdom of Davit and Konstantine* (between 741 and 1050) has the martyrs comparing Muslims to sailors rescued from a shipwreck (fire-worship) only to drown in coastal waters. Arsena of Iqalto (c. 1110) wrote two polemics (one translated from the Greek) contrasting Christian and 'Saracen' beliefs.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work's significance is demonstrated by the number of extant manuscripts (19), and by the popularity of an extremely faithful verse rendering in the 17th century by Iakob Dumbadze, bishop of Shemokmeda in Guria (south-western Georgia). A little-known Georgian Muslim, Iase, wrote a verse defence of Islam against Christianity, *Samec'niro* ('In aid of scholarship') (see M. Todua, 'Uc'nobi poeti da misi "Samec'niro"', in *K'art'uli-sparsuli etiudebi*, Tbilisi, 1971, 5-46), arguing, possibly with Bagrat in mind, that 'Ahmad' superseded Christ, and that the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity were false additions to Christ's testimony.

MANUSCRIPTS

All 19 extant MSS appear to derive from the same source, since variants are due to scribal errors, modernisations, choice of *titlo* diacritics, or loss of pages.

MS Tbilisi, Former Society for the Propagation of Literacy among Georgians – S 312 (fragment; provides a date *ante quem* for its composition, since it is signed 1541 by the deacon Svimon Kargaret'eli)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian State Museum – New Collection Q-91 (late 16th century, on the basis that the scribe Ioane Vašalomize responsible for later texts bound in the same volume flourished at that time; the earliest complete MS, and the basis for the published edition)

MS Tbilisi, former Ecclesiastic Museum – A 186 (turn of the 17th and 18th centuries; bound in a *gulani* [liturgical anthology] of several thousand pages)

The remaining MSS all date from the end of the 18th century to 1830, and are of no great interest.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Darč'ia, *Bagrat Muxranbatoni*, pp. 137-84 (Darč'ia worked for over 40 years on this text, and this edition is of remarkable authority and quality. There are a few misprints, and on p. 151 the Qur'anic references seem to give the wrong *sūras*, but the commentary and apparatus are very helpful.)

STUDIES

Darč'ia, *Bagrat Muxranbatoni*

Kekeliže, *Žveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria*, vol. 2, p. 73

Marr, 'Iz knigi careviča Bagrata'

Donald Rayfield

Qādī Jahān

Sayyid Qādī Jahān Sayfī Ḥusaynī Qazvīnī

DATE OF BIRTH 1483
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH 1552-53
PLACE OF DEATH Qazvīn

BIOGRAPHY

Qādī Jahān came from a family of clerics in Qazvīn, Persia, where his father was a judge. He came to court during the reign of the first Safavid shah, Ismā'īl (r. 1501-24), and served Ismā'īl's son and successor, Ṭahmāsp (r. 1524-76) as vizier but, being a supporter of the Ustajlū tribe, he fell from favour when this tribe's fortunes suffered during the ten years of civil war that followed Ismā'īl's death. From 1524 to 1525, he was held in prison, but then in 1535-36, as the Ustajlū regained prominence, the shāh recalled him to his post. He served some 15 years, to about 1550, when he resigned.

Most of the notables of this period had been Sunnīs before the rise of the Safavids, but their nominal conversions to Twelver Shī'ism, established as the realm's official religion by Ismā'īl, were accepted. Qazvīn was known as a stronghold of Sunnism well into the late 16th century, and Qādī Jahān was great-grandfather of Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīfī (d. 1587), a vizier of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, whose Sunnī-style sermons in Qazvīn were popular. He figured in the attempted restoration of Sunnism in Iran during the prolonged civil war that broke out following Ṭahmāsp's death.

Morton (*Mission*, p. 74) identifies Qādī Jahān as a descendant of the Prophet's grandson Ḥasan, but Iskander Munshī (d. c. 1633), author of the famous 17th-century court chronicle, calls him a descendant of Ḥasan's younger brother Ḥusayn (*History*, vol. 1, p. 251), as does al-Bidlīsī (d. 1603) (*Sharafnāme*, vol. 2, pp. 149, 165).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāme*, Cairo, n.d., vol. 2, pp. 149-50, 152, 165
Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, trans. C.N. Seddon, Baroda, 1934, pp. 166-7

Iskandar Beg Munshī, *History of Shah Abbas the Great*, trans. R.M. Savory, Boulder CO, 1978-86, vol. 1, pp. 163, 208, 237, 251-3, 469-70

Secondary

A. Newman, *Safavid Iran. Rebirth of a Persian empire*, London, 2006, 27, 31, pp. 36, 46, 160, 163, 166, 168

Michele Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)*, trans. A.H. Morton, London, 1993, pp. xiv, xvii, xx, 41, 74-5

R. Savory, 'The principal offices of the Safavid state during the reign of Tahmasp I (930-984/1524-1576)', *BSOAS* 24 (1961) 65-85, pp. 66, 73-5

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Letter from Qāḍī Jahān in the Persian Court to
Andrea Gritti, Doge of Venice 1523-1538

DATE Before 1540

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

This is one of two letters from Iran to the Doge of Venice, the other being one from Shah Ṭahmāsp himself. As Morton notes (*History*, p. 59), both letters contain some of the same wording. He points out that Shah Ṭahmāsp's letter was composed after May/June 1540, and suggests that Qāḍī Jahān's letter must have been written earlier, when an alliance with Venice against the Ottomans was still being contemplated by the Safavid court, whereas in May/June 1540 the shah heard news that peace negotiations between Venice and the Ottomans were in progress and dismissed the notion of an alliance. In Morton's translation the letter runs to two pages. The vizier's seal on the reverse guarantees its authenticity.

Qāḍī Jahān refers to the receipt of the letter from Venice via Michele Membré (called Mikā'īl Beg) in 946/July 1539, when the court was encamped near Tabriz, the reading of it, the shah's questions to Membré about the manners and customs of his people, and his expressed hopes for an anti-Ottoman alliance. It refers to a second audience between Membré and the shah, and Membré himself also mentions two meetings.

SIGNIFICANCE

The letter is purely 'political' and, if anything, suggests the comparative unimportance at the Persian court of religious differences between Christian Venice and Twelver Shī'ī Safavid Iran when it came to building

an alliance against the Ottomans, even though the latter were at least fellow Muslims.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Venice, Venetian State Archives – Firmano persiano n. 9 della Sala Margherita (late 1530s)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia*, pp. 61-3 (Morton's English trans. of the letter appears in the appendix)

M. Membré, *Relazione di Persia (1542)*, ed. G.R. Cordova, F. Castro, and A.-M. Piemontese, Naples, 1969, pp. xliii-xlv (Italian trans.), 185-7 (transcription), 194-5 (facsimile plates)

G. Scarcia, 'Un documento persiano del 946/1539 nell' Archivio di Stato di Venezia', *Annali. Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, New Series 18 (1968) 338-42, pp. 339-41 (transcription), 341-2 (Italian trans.), 340-1 (facsimile plates)

STUDIES

Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia*, pp. 59-61

Membré, *Relazione di Persia (1542)*, pp. xlii-xliii

Scarcia, 'Un documento persiano del 946/1539', pp. 338-9

Andrew Newman

Ṭahmāsp ibn Ismāʿīl

DATE OF BIRTH	22 February 1514
PLACE OF BIRTH	Shāhābād, near Isfāhān
DATE OF DEATH	14 May 1576
PLACE OF DEATH	Qazvīn

BIOGRAPHY

Ṭahmāsp was the eldest son of the founder of the Safavid dynasty, Ismāʿīl I (r. 1501-24). From his birth, he was heir apparent to his father. In 1516, when he was two years old, he was assigned an *amīr* of one of the prominent Qizilbāsh tribes, the Turkish tribes that formed the military backbone of the Safavid polity, as his *lala* (tutor, i.e. guardian), and sent to Herat as nominal governor of the rich province of Khurāsān.

At the age of ten, he succeeded to the throne on his father's death, but remained subservient to the Safavid political elite, the Turkish tribes and the native Iranian (Tajik) administrative elements. At his accession, a prolonged civil war for influence over him began between the various Turkish tribes that made up the Qizilbāsh coalition and elements of the Tajik administrative class. The internal situation was complicated by repeated invasions by the Ottomans and Uzbegs, taking advantage of the widespread internal disorder. Ṭahmāsp participated in some of the actions against Uzbeg forces.

Ottoman forces and some Qizilbāsh elements continued to vie for internal control and supported the shah's brother against him. By the 1550s, however, the internal and external challenges had been met. The capital was relocated from Tabriz, very close to Ottoman territory, to Qazvīn in the centre of the kingdom, in the aftermath of a peace treaty that was concluded with the Ottomans in 1555.

Though his father had declared Twelver Shīʿism to be the official religion of the state, Ṭahmāsp continued to favour the very heterodox spiritual discourse that had reflected the Shīʿī-Ṣūfī messianism that remained widely popular across the Iranian plateau, and he actually reprised for himself his father's claim to be the dominant figure within this messianic teaching. Thus, he continued to portray himself as head of the Safavid Ṣūfī order (though he never showed intimate acquaintance with details of religious teaching), and eliminated similar but non-Safavid messianic

discourses on the plateau, while he remained formally committed to and a patron of the faith. Like his father, he was also a patron of key Tajik Persian cultural markers.

Ṭahmāsp died a natural death in 1576, upon which a prolonged second civil war and concomitant Ottoman and Uzbek invasions ensued.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- P. Horn (ed. and trans.), 'Die Denkwürdigkeiten des Schah Ṭahmāsp I. von Persien', *Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 44 (1890) 563-649; 45 (1891) 245-91 (German trans. of the shah's own memoirs, *Tadhkira-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, written in 1561)
- D.C. Phillott (ed.), *Memoirs of Shah Tahmasp*, (*Bibliotheca Indica* 210), Calcutta, 1912 (Persian text with English footnotes)
- Ṭahmāsp ibn Ismā'īl, *Tadhkira-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, Berlin, 1924
- Sām Mirzā, *Tadhkira-ye Toḥfa-e Sāmi*, ed. R. Homāyun-Farroḡ, Tehran, 1969 (the memoirs of his brother)

Various contemporary (Persian-language) court chronicles include:

- Ghiyās al-Dīn Khwāndamīr, *Habīb al-sīyar*, Tehran, 1954
- Qāḏī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulṣāt al-tawārikh*, Tehran, 1980-4
- Amīr Maḥmūd ibn Khwāndamīr, *Irān dar Ruzegār e Shāh Ismā'īl va Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, ed. G.R. Tabatabai, Tehran, 1991

Secondary

- C.P. Mitchell, art. 'Ṭahmāsp I', *Encyclopedia Iranica*, London, 2009, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tahmasp-I>
- R.M. Savory, art. 'Ṭahmāsp', *EI2*
- M. Pārsādust, *Shāh Ṭahmāsb-e Avval*, Tehran, 1998 (in Persian)
- W.M. Thackston, *The reign of the Mongol and the Turk*, Cambridge MA, 1994
- I. Afshār, *Ālam Ārā-ye Shāh Ṭahmāsb*, Tehran, 1991 (in Persian)
- M. Dickson, 'Shah Tahmāsb and the Uzbeks. The duel for Khurāsān with 'Ubayd Khān, 930-946/1524-1540', Princeton NJ, 1958 (Diss. Princeton University)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Letter of Shah Ṭahmāsp to the Venetian Doge Andrea Gritti

DATE About 1540

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Unspecified

DESCRIPTION

In Morton's translation, the letter runs to two pages. No questions have been raised about its authenticity.

The text of the letter reveals that the Shah had heard that Venice had reached a peace accord with the Ottomans. This was in May/June 1540, after Gritti's death in 1538. In fact, Gritti had died and a new doge was in place before Michele Membré (d. 1595) departed from Cyprus for Iran. The letter Membré carried to the shah was nevertheless composed in Gritti's name.

Ṭahmāsp's letter, written in the usual flowery style of such communications, opens by noting that he had received the letter from the doge via Membré (referred to as 'Mikā'il Beg'), and that the shah had heard that the Venetians ('those famed sultans') had sent emissaries to the Porte in Istanbul to seek peace and thereby retreated from their previous hope of organising an alliance with the shah against the Ottomans. Ṭahmāsp then notes that he has given Membré permission to return to Venice to ascertain the full truth and to report the shah's continued interest in such an alliance.

There are no explicitly Christian-Muslim elements in the letter.

SIGNIFICANCE

The letter is purely a 'political' letter and, if anything, suggests the comparative unimportance of religious differences between Venice and Safavid Iran. Shah 'Abbās I (r. 1585-1629) would later endeavour to effect similar alliances between European powers against the Ottomans, and allied himself with the English in the successful operation against the Portuguese-controlled island of Hormuz in 1622.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Venice, Venetian State Archives – Firmano persiano n.1 della Sala Margherita (c. 1540)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

M. Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)*, trans. A.H. Morton, London, 1993, pp. 63-5 (English trans. in the appendix)

M. Membré, *Relazione di Persia (1542)*, ed. G.R. Cordova, F. Castro, and A.-M. Piemontese, Naples, 1969, pp. lix-lx (Italian trans.), 188-93 (transcription), 194-5 (facsimile plates)

L. Bonelli, 'Il trattato turco-veneto del 1540', *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, Palermo, 1910, vol. 2, pp. 332-63 (Italian trans.)

STUDIES

Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia*, pp. 59-61

Membré, *Relazione di Persia (1542)*, pp. lvii-ix

Andrew Newman

Mec Paron

DATE OF BIRTH Turn of the 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Armenian Plateau
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author only identifies himself by name in the penultimate stanza of the poem. Granted the tradition of martyrologies being composed close to the place and time of the events they describe, it is likely that Mec Paron was living near the town of Marzuan during the period of writing. Similarly, it is the norm for such works to be written by clergy. Since those in ranks from the priesthood and above would normally be expected to cite this, we may assume he belonged to one of the minor orders. This is also borne out by the poet's lack of skill in maintaining the monorhyme typical of this type of narrative verse, his repetition of certain lines or half-lines, and incorporation of significant features of the vernacular, including foreign lexical borrowings, on the register of the piece, all of which imply a limited education.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only reference is in the poem.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Taṭ Xətəršay mankan or i Marzəuan k'atak'n ē nahatakeal, 'Poem on the youth Xətəršay who was martyred in the town of Marsovan'

DATE 1541
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

In the earliest extant manuscript, dated 1647, the poem consists of folios 101r-109r; it is seven pages long in the critical edition.

After a long exordium on the current parlous state of the Armenian people as a result of their corporate sin, the author introduces the protagonist Xətərşay as a godsend to open to them the closed door to divine mercy and compassion. A fine youth of good repute, scarcely had he set foot in the town of Marsovan than he was charged with insulting Islam. As a crowd began to gather round him, he recalled his brothers and wept when he considered his situation as a wayfarer and outsider. Although he implored the crowd to leave him a while as he had come a long way, two men approached to strip him, tied his hands behind his back, and took him to court, adding to the crowd by repeating the charge of blasphemy.

However, the qadi judged the people were in error, maintaining that Xətərşay was non compos mentis, drunk, or had been magically bound to a 'lawless woman'. He ordered the youth to be kept in prison for a day or two to come to his senses. Similarly, when the young Armenian rejected his assessment of his mental state, the qadi changed his approach to offers of money and costly clothing if he would adopt Islam, offers Xətərşay again denied, arguing that he had all sorts of possessions at home, which now lacked an owner.

Without any reference to the qadi's verdict, the account continues with the crowd taking Xətərşay to the spot where the death sentence by burning was to be carried out. On the way, a servant called Dalal approached him and tore his earring from his ear so that the blood flowed onto his shoulder. Once at the place of execution, Xətərşay prayed for mercy for his sins and was vouchsafed a voice from heaven in reply. To the appeal of some mullahs for him to apostasise before the fire was lit, he responded with a Trinitarian credal statement, contrasting the grace of the baptismal font with his interpretation of the alternative of a coerced belief in a man that was placed before him.

At this point a figure defined purely as the 'superior' intervened, approaching him from behind and striking his head with a stick. God then granted him patience to endure the flames, and a light shone upon him as he joined the ranks of martyrs.

In the brief conclusion the author reprises the theme of Xətərşay's benefit to the Armenian people, interpreting it as a conduit for light to shine on them. He then bids his listeners follow his subject's example in confessing their sins.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is an interesting amalgam of elements from different medieval poetic genres. Its introductory section borrows from the lament genre in setting the scene for the protagonist's appearance against the backdrop of secular vulnerability and spiritual bankruptcy. From the former viewpoint, it voices the angst of Armenians on the Plateau over the 15th-18th centuries at the demise of their statehood and established monarchy when the Bagratid kingdom of Ani fell in 1045 and Cilicia collapsed in 1375. In contrast to the anointed kings of the past (l. 13), who on Old Testament precedent were regarded as the bearers of divine favour and, together with their great lords, have now long disappeared, the current leaders, the more local gentry, are viewed as 'drunk' (l. 11) and lacking in insight and understanding. Somewhat anachronistically through a concertinaing of a much longer process, this vacuum in leadership is depicted as the catalyst for large-scale Muslim migration into the region, where under the impact of the second Ottoman-Safavid war 'they sting us [the Armenians] from all sides' (l. 22). This widespread assessment of the Armenian situation led to two divergent movements, the first to renounce territoriality and reinterpret Armenian communal identity in terms of an ecclesiastical polity, the second to seek western European support to reconstitute a dynastic monarchy.

The poet perceives these secular developments as corollaries of a parallel set of events in the religious sphere, contending that God does not listen to people's pleas for mercy because of their lapses in piety. These mean that they do not attend church or, even when they go occasionally, they are still unable to give up their sinful pursuits. This perspective parallels the disruption of monasteries and Armenian spiritual life as documented by the contemporary historian Grigor Daranalc'i, with the result that they are deprived of life both on earth and in the hereafter (l. 5). This stalemate is broken by God as Lord of history, not by raising up a divinely appointed warrior or civil leader but by sending the pious Xətəršay, who through martyrdom will become an intercessor for his community.

The position of Armenians as now being subject to Muslim rule is heightened by reference to the dress code that has the colour blue as a distinguishing feature, observing also a prohibition on employing white headgear (ll. 27-28). In that connection, one should also note the protagonist's name, which derives from the Arab figure al-Khiḍr, of ancient Near Eastern origins as a prophet and source of wisdom, secret knowledge, and inspired speech, to which the Persian element 'shah' has been

appended. The form occurs in the Armenian onomasticon between the 15th and 17th centuries.

Another Persian borrowing in the work is the love motif of the rose and nightingale, which is largely found in lyric poetry. It was received into Armenian verse in the 13th century, and it experienced a unique development into the early 20th century (see Cowe, 'The politics of poetics', pp. 397-403, for an overview). Here it is employed, rather uncharacteristically, as a figure of the protagonist's resting on the pyre like the rose on the nightingale (l. 158), so keen is he to be united with the divine.

Another genre referenced in the poem is the song of the *panduxt*, usually a migrant moving from the countryside to an urban environment to find more gainful employment and improve his family's financial situation. This is alluded to in verses 12-16, where Xətərşay thinks of his brothers and weeps as he faces the charge of insulting Islam and watches the incensed crowd gather around him. Indeed, he appears as a classic example of such figures, finding himself in foreign parts with no friends and no means of protecting his rights. It also seems that the local Muslims may have taken advantage of his status as a member of an ethno-religious minority from another region to press their charge. In contrast to the norm, Xətərşay is presented as from a wealthy family, presumably on a business trip of some sort. The unexpected nature of the encounter is highlighted all the more by its occurrence in the provincial town of Marsovan, 60 kilometres south-west of Amasia, which was clearly not the youth's final destination but merely a stop along the way. His tangible affluence may have motivated the two ringleaders to get involved, bringing him before the qadi and taking the opportunity to purloin his expensive clothes.

One final point worthy of comment is the poet's contention that Xətərşay's story should be included in the Armenian menologion (*yaysmawurk'*) for all to read. However, the last major redaction of this liturgical book had been made by Grigor Xlat'ec'i in 1401, resulting in the exclusion of so many later neomartyrs such as Xətərşay from regular ecclesiastical commemoration and the circulation of their martyrologies in only small range of witnesses.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M1989,
fols 101r-109r (1647)

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M2394,
fols 79-82 (post-1670; incomplete)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aŕean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 376-82 (critical edition)

STUDIES

- S.P. Cowe, 'Print capital, corporate identity, and the democratization of discourse in early modern Armenian history', *Le Muséon* 126 (2013) 319-68
- K. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan, 2011, pp. 321-22
- S.P. Cowe, 'The politics of poetics. Islamic influence on Armenian verse', in J.J. van Ginkel et al. (eds), *Redefining Christian identity. Cultural interaction in the Middle East since the rise of Islam*, Leuven, 2005, 379-403 (for an overview of the use of Persian imagery in Armenian poetry)
- H. Ač'aŕyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baŕaran*, Yerevan, 1944, vol. 2, p. 506, vol. 3, p. 311
- M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc' i skzbanē ašxarhis minč'ew c'am Teaŕn 1784*, Venice, 1786, vol. 3, p. 516

Peter Cowe

Serrâc ibn Abdullah

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Serrâc ibn Abdullah lived sometime in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. An extant manuscript of his *Mecmûatü'l-letâif* ('The collection of pleasantries'), copied in 1543/4, provides a *terminus ante quem* in the most general terms for his life. There is evidence from his work and his name that he was a convert to Islam (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, p. 89).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Serrâc ibn Abdullah, *Mecmûatü'l-letâif*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Serez 2015 (1543/44)

Secondary

T. Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam. Narratives of religious change in the early modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford CA, 2011, pp. 89-90

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mecmûatü'l-letâif, 'The collection of pleasantries'

DATE Shortly before 1543/44
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

This is a polemical work which, as its author notes, was composed in a moment of leisure 'primarily in order to polemicize with Christian and Jewish learned men' (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, p. 89). It is divided into five chapters: 'First Chapter – The counsels for the kings in the words of the Qur'an and Hadith, saints and the first four caliphs; Second Chapter – Expounds the blessings of holy war on land and sea through citations from the Qur'an and the Hadith; Third Chapter – Relates the histories

of the prophets mentioned in the Qur'an, the counsels from the Psalms of David, and the stories composed about saints and prophets; Fourth Chapter – Proves the unity of God [*vahdāniyyet*] with citations from the Qur'an, Hadith, New Testament, and Pentateuch. Declares the religion of the Christians and Jews false and explains the scriptural distortions of the four Gospels. Enumerates the kings of Rum from the birth of Jesus until Muhammad's time; Fifth Chapter – Relates the questions Christians and Jews pose to us and our answers to them' (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, p. 196, n. 54). As can be seen from the extensive titles, chs 4 and 5, in particular, focus on polemical arguments against Christianity.

Serrâc ibn Abdullah's arguments concerning Islam's superiority to Christianity exemplify the genre of *tahrîf* and focus on the nature of the true, original scripture, the Gospel that came down to Jesus in Hebrew. One of the tales explains that eventually only one man survived who believed in the original Gospel, and he lived as a hermit on a mountain. One day Selmân the Persian came across him while he was reading a book. When he asked about the contents, the old man explained that it was the true, original Gospel, at which point Selmân converted and became a Christian. However, the hermit continued to explain that the book indicated the coming of a new Prophet, Muḥammad, and that Selmân should submit himself to Muḥammad, as he would renew God's truth that the Christian community had distorted over time. This argument thus not only acts as a polemical argument against Christianity, but also justifies conversion, presenting Islam as a true, purified form of Christianity – a true Christian is a Muslim (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, pp. 85-6). Such an argument is not really surprising given the assumption that Serrâc ibn Abdullah was himself probably a convert to Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work, along with some other writings by converts, points to the existence of a corpus of polemical narratives written, circulated and presumably consumed by converts, which not only justify conversion to Islam, but also work to give a clear delineation of a Muslim Jesus as distinct from the Christian Jesus, and thereby enable a convert audience to perform their own Islam (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, pp. 90-1). Examples of other works by converts that include sections from 'The Collection of pleasantries' include: *Mecmûa*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Mihrişah Sultan 443.

The *Mecmûatü'l-letâif* bears a close resemblance to other contemporary works, most notably the *Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem* (published by

İ.H. Danişmend, 'Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem', in *Fatih ve İstanbul*, İstanbul, 1954, vol. 2, pp. 211-70). As a result of an initial dating of the *Mecmûatü'l-letâif* to very early in Sultan Süleyman's reign (r. 1520-66) it was thought that sections of this text were subsequently incorporated into the *Gurbetnâme* (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, pp. 87-8, 90). However, a more recent study by Krstić has argued for a later date of composition of the *Mecmûatü'l-letâif* (c. 1540), which would suggest it was written after the *Gurbetnâme* (see Krstić, 'Conversion', pp. 69, 70) and thus imply either that the *Mecmûatü'l-letâif* utilises sections from the *Gurbetnâme* or that they both independently relied on an earlier source.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS İstanbul, Süleymaniye – Serez 2015 (1543/4)

(According to Krstić (*Contested conversions*, p. 195, n. 52), there are three other copies of this work in the Süleymaniye Library.)

MS Sofia, SS Cyril and Methodius National Library – Oriental Collection, Op. 2461 (1586; see Krstić, p. 195, n. 52)

MS Paris, BNF – Supplément turc 8 (1623/24; see E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, Paris, 1932-3, vol. 1, pp. 169-70)

MS Vienna, Nationalbibliothek – Mixt. 708 (date unknown; see G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, Vienna, 1865-7, vol. 3, pp. 125-6, no. 1685)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Réflexions d'un savant turc sur la certitude de la sainteté de sa religion, rédigées en cinq livres, traduites par le sieur de Cresmery, jeune de langues de France, à Constantinople, 1737', MS Paris, BNF – Supplément turc 899 (1737) (French trans. (182 fols) bound together with the original text in Ottoman Turkish (95 fols). See E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, Paris, 1932-33, vol. 2, p. 91)

STUDIES

T. Krstić, 'Conversion and converts to Islam in Ottoman historiography of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', in H.E. Çıpa and E. Fetvacı (eds), *Writing history at the Ottoman court. Editing the past, fashioning the future*, Bloomington IN, 2013, 58-79, pp. 69-70
Krstić, *Contested conversions*, pp. 89-90

Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; presumably 16 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

No information is available about the identity of the author of *Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem* ('The book of exile of Prince Cem'), which shows close similarities with an earlier work, *Vâkıât-ı Sultan Cem* ('The events in the life of Prince Cem'), though it also differs significantly. The *Vâkıât* is believed to have been written by one of the close companions of the Ottoman prince Cem Sultan, a member of his entourage who accompanied him during his long years of exile in Europe. The author of the *Vâkıât* kept his identity hidden and preferred to remain anonymous. Some historians identify him as Cem's secretary (*defterdâr*), Haydar Bey or Haydar Çelebi, who was also a poet (see Danişmend, 'Gurbetnâme', p. 212; İncılık, 'Case study', pp. 80-1, n. 2). Although some others disagree with this hypothesis (Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, p. 86), there remains little room for further speculation on the authorship of the *Vâkıât*, which was written during the sultanate of Selim I (r. 1512-20), and is dated 1514.

Unlike the *Vâkıât*, we do not know the exact date when the *Gurbetnâme* was compiled – no information is provided by the author. However, his writing style is that of an eyewitness and there are other internal indications that the author accompanied Cem during his exile in Europe (e.g. the author's assertion that when Cem left for Naples, he himself remained in Rome to settle some important matters on Cem's behalf; see Danişmend, 'Gurbetnâme', p. 247). Relying on a reference (Danişmend, 'Gurbetnâme', pp. 227-8) to Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-66), historians have concluded that the *Gurbetnâme* was written during the early years of Süleyman's reign (Danişmend, 'Gurbetnâme', p. 212), in the early 1520s (Fleischer, 'Shadows', p. 52), more precisely sometime after the conquest of Hungary in 1526 (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, p. 79), or sometime in the 1530s-40s after the siege of Vienna (Flemming, 'Sixteenth-century Turkish apology', p. 113, n. 38). They further suggest that the author may

have been a member of Cem's retinue (Danişmend, 'Gurbetnâme', p. 212; Fleischer, 'Shadows', p. 52), and possibly an Italian-speaking convert involved in diplomacy (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, p. 79), who simply copied the *Vâkıât* for the first part of his work, but created his own version in the second part with an intention to polemicise certain views circulating in his time and to respond to the new challenges that had arisen.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- T. Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam. Narratives of religious change in the early modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford CA, 2011, pp. 79, 84-5
- C.H. Fleischer, 'Shadows of shadows. Prophecy in politics in 1530s İstanbul', *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007) 51-62, p. 52
- H. İnalçık, 'A case study in Renaissance diplomacy. The agreement between Innocent VIII and Bayezid II on Djem Sultan', in A.N. Yurdusev (ed.), *Ottoman diplomacy. Conventional or unconventional?*, Basingstoke, 2004, 66-88, pp. 80-1
- N. Vatin, *Sultan Djem. Un prince ottoman dans l'Europe du XV^e siècle d'après deux sources contemporaines. Vâkı'ât-ı Sulţân Cem, Œuvres de Guillaume Caoursin*, Ankara, 1997, p. 86
- B. Flemming, 'A sixteenth-century Turkish apology for Islam. The *Gurbetname-i Sultan Cem*', in A. Bryer and M. Ursinus (eds), *Manzikert to Lepanto. The Byzantine world and the Turks 1071-1571*, Amsterdam, 1991, 105-21, p. 113
- İ.H. Danişmend, 'Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem', in *Fatih ve İstanbul*, İstanbul, 1954, vol. 2, p. 212

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem, 'The book of exile of Prince Cem'

Gurbetnâme, 'The book of exile'

DATE Unknown (presumably sometime in the 1520s, and no later than the 1540s)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

The *Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem*, 'The book of exile of Prince Cem', is a biography of the Ottoman prince, Cem Sultan, also known in Europe

as Sultan Zizim. He was the son of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (r. 1444–6 and 1451–81), and brother of Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). His adventurous life turned him into a legendary figure in both Ottoman and European sources. The first part of the biography covers the period between Cem's birth (1459) and his arrival in Rome as a papal prisoner (1489), after having taken refuge with the Knights of St John, the Hospitallers, in Rhodes (1482), and sojourned seven years in France as a political hostage of Pierre d'Aubusson, the grand master of the Knights of St John, who had violated the safe-conduct pledges given to Cem. The second part narrates Cem's days in Rome, where he spent almost six years, until his death in Naples on 25 February 1495. It also includes a long account of a dialogue between Pope Innocent VIII (Giovanni Battista Cibò, 29 August 1484 – 25 July 1492) and his captive Cem, which reportedly took place at the papal court in Rome.

Apart from a few minor divergences in wording, the first part of the *Gurbetnâme* is identical with *Vâkiât-ı Sultan Cem*, 'The events in the life of Prince Cem', an earlier biography of Cem and the earliest known Ottoman travelogue about Europe. In the second part, however, the two biographies are completely different: the *Gurbetnâme* contains a long section on Cem's theological discourse with the pope, which is absent from the *Vâkiât*. The two biographies also differ on the nature of his death, for while the *Gurbetnâme* maintains that Cem was poisoned by Pope Alexander VI (11 August 1492 – 18 August 1503; see Danişmend, 'Gurbetnâme', pp. 247–48; all the references to the *Gurbetnâme* that follow are to this edition), there is no mention of poisoning in the *Vâkiât*, where Cem appears to die a natural death (Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, pp. 235–39).

The first objective of the *Gurbetnâme* is to cherish the memory of Cem and call for prayers for his soul (p. 213), to honour him with rightful respect, and to correct the distorted image of him that his brother Bayezid II and his supporters may have generated, bearing in mind that it was Bayezid II who had granted trade privileges to the Rhodians, made payments to the Knights of St John, and extended his agreement with the pope in order to keep Cem from the throne (see İnalçık, 'Djem'). To this end, the *Gurbetnâme* focuses on Cem's religiosity and loyalty to Islam, despite his wrong decision to seek assistance from the Knights of Rhodes. The inclusion of long conversations between Cem and the pope is not accidental, for the biography's second objective, which appears to be more important, is to instruct a wider audience about the veracity of Islam vis-à-vis Christianity, and especially to give guidance to those

readers who may not be able to read the relevant literature in Arabic. As is explained in the introduction (p. 213), the author intends to reach the uneducated masses, and therefore prefers to keep the language simple.

The part of the text narrating the debate between Cem and the pope has several lacunae (see pp. 237 and 241) and the opening paragraph of the account has been misplaced (see pp. 225-6). However, most of the text is extant, and informs us that Cem and the pope held conversations on numerous occasions (p. 247). These meetings are variously referred to as *meclis*, 'gathering' (pp. 231, 241), *meclis-i kelâm*, 'discursive gathering' (pp. 227, 247), and *meclis-i ilm*, 'scholarly gathering' (p. 231), suggesting that they met at various times and spoke on different matters, which is not surprising given that Cem spent six years in Rome.

The dialogue between Cem and Pope Innocent VIII opens with one question and concludes with another. The pope's opening question relates to how Muslims view Christianity (p. 228), while his concluding question represents a Christian response to the prophethood of Muḥammad, an often-repeated argument in polemical literature (p. 247). Between these two questions, it is Cem who speaks, while the pope listens attentively. The text is also intended to entertain. In order to hold the reader's attention, each time a new point is added Cem asks the pope whether he should continue with his explanation, to which the pope in all eagerness responds positively. With these repeated pauses, the curiosity of the reader is further encouraged. The pope is depicted as showing a genuine interest in exploring Muslim objections to Christianity (pp. 228, 231 and 232), at times imploring Cem to continue with his clarifications (pp. 237 and 241), calling Cem 'my son', and assuring him that he will not be offended by anything Cem has to say (p. 228).

The pope's first question to Cem is as follows: 'We hear that you recognise our religion. Is it true?', to which Cem responds with a clear-cut answer: 'We certainly affirm the religion of Jesus, peace be upon him, but not that religion of yours forged by those 318 priests who gathered in Nicaea' (p. 228). Then, using various Muslim polemical sources, Cem offers a comprehensive historical account of how Jesus's message was 'distorted'. The first point is related to the scriptures. There were five Gospels, Cem asserts. The first was the Gospel sent down to Jesus, the truthfulness of which should be affirmed, while the four canonical Gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, do not have the same authority, for they are biographies of Jesus, and not the word of God. They may contain some of Jesus's words, but most of what they hold is altered (*tahrif*), since

they were transmitted from one language to another. As for the Gospel of Jesus, it is lost. Contrasting the Christian and the Muslim scriptures, Cem states that the Qur'an has preserved its authenticity in its original language of Arabic, whereas the Gospels have failed in this regard. Therefore, Christians do not follow the path of Jesus, Cem concludes (pp. 228-9). He further claims that Jesus foretold the coming of Muḥammad, the 'Paraclete' mentioned in the Gospel being a clear indication of this. Therefore, in his opinion, Muslims are the true followers of Jesus, for they affirm Jesus's prophecy. In his exegesis of the Paraclete, Cem refers to three sources:

The first is the well-known account of Salmān al-Fārisī's encounter with a Christian monk, who informed him about the emergence of the Prophet – the traces of which go back to as early as Ibn Ishāq's (d. 767) *Sīra* (see A. Guillaume, *The life of Muḥammad. A translation of Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, Karachi, 1967, pp. 95-8). In Cem's version of the story, the monk urges Salmān to believe in Muḥammad when he appears in Mecca, warning him against following the Christians, for they have abandoned the religion of Jesus; they eat pork despite it being prohibited by the Gospel, the Torah and the Psalms; they do not practise circumcision, although it is in the Abrahamic tradition; they turn eastwards to pray, although their *qibla* used to be Jerusalem; they prostrate before the cross just as the idolaters prostrate before their idols; and they claim Jesus and Mary are divine (pp. 229-30).

Cem's second source is Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 1209) *Al-tafsīr al-kabīr*, on which he bases his three different interpretations of the term 'Paraclete': 'the praised One'; *al-shafī' al-mushaffa'* ('the intercessor whose intercession is accepted'); and *al-fāriq bayn al-ḥaqq wa-l-bāṭil* ('the distinguisher between truth and falsehood') (p. 231).

Cem's third source of information is defined by the author of the *Gurbetnâme* as an oral report narrated by a former priest who converted to Islam. It is a prophecy (*beṣâret*) that Cem claims to have written down exactly as he heard it from the priest, who allegedly transmitted it from the 'True Gospel' (*İncil-i tâm*). The quotation is in Greek, accompanied by a Persian translation, which is then provided in an Ottoman Turkish rendering. The passage describes Muḥammad's Abrahamic lineage, his eloquence and trustworthiness as follows: '(He shall appear) from among the people of Āzar, the sons of the prophet Abraham, peace be upon him; he is worthy of prophethood, eloquent and in possession of a book; he is the son of a man called 'Abdallāh; and his blessed name is Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace; he is trustworthy, not a liar;

beloved of God, the Glorious and Exalted, to Whom belongs all glory and power. Whoever believes in him shall prosper in this world and the hereafter' (p. 231).

Cem then embarks upon an exposition of how Christianity was corrupted by a Jew who was hostile to the early followers of Jesus. Although he does not name the individual, it is clear that the reference is to Paul, who is commonly referred to in Muslim polemical literature as a false convert who aimed to undermine and destroy the message of Christ from within. According to Cem's version of the story, the Jew spent his life fighting against Christians, but when he grew old and powerless, he decided to adopt a new strategy. Pretending to have repented, he outwardly became Christian, while secretly retaining his hostility. He lived a life of seclusion in a cloister to the extent that he became known as the most devout and faithful Christian. After having gained the respect of the Christians, he began with his 'diabolic preaching and satanic teaching' (*İblîs va'zın ve Şeytan nasihatın itdi*). First, he preached on the sanctity of Sunday, since Jesus's resurrection and ascension to heaven had taken place on a Sunday. Second, he instructed them to drink wine, attributing this to Jesus, who had informed him that wine contained a spiritual power (*kuvvet-i nefsanî*). Third, he taught them to face east to pray, and not face Jerusalem, and to venerate the cross. He also told them to eat pork in order to distinguish themselves from the Jews. In all his three sermons, the instructions were attributed to Jesus, who allegedly appeared to him on Sundays. In Cem's account, this cunning Jew managed to deceive the Christians and gain control over them, for he had a virtuous appearance and was sly and well-versed in his religion, whereas the faith of the Christians was still new and weak (pp. 232-3).

Cem further asserts that Melkâ, Nastûr and Mâr Ya'kub, the three righteous and learned men among the followers of Jesus, were misled by the cunning Jew. Although the three believed Jesus to be a prophet, the Jew secretly taught each one of them contradictory things about Jesus and provided each with a different scroll. Then he suddenly left his cloister never to return again. Cem mentions various views as to what happened to him: according to one opinion he committed suicide; according to another he left for Macedonia, where he was later slain; yet others claimed he was killed in Byzantium. Cem then mentions that the *Mathnawî* of Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî (d. 1273) contains information about this individual (p. 236; see Rumi, *Spiritual verses. The first book of the Masnavi-ye Ma'nawî*, trans. A. Williams, London, 2006, pp. 36-73). Then Cem informs the pope that each of the three, Melkâ, Nastûr and Ya'kub,

claimed to hold the truth while accusing the others of falsehood, relying upon the conflicting scrolls they had been given, and this early disagreement subsequently led to further divisions (pp. 233-6).

Cem next comments on the Council of Nicaea, where, he says, the 318 priests rejected Arius and anathematised his teaching about Jesus being a creation and a servant of God. Instead, Melkâ's teachings were adopted and Constantine was persuaded to impose this doctrine on the lands of Byzantium. 'No religion contains as many disagreements as Christianity,' Cem concludes, regarding the divergences in doctrine as an indication of the falsehood in Christianity (pp. 236-7). Then he refers to the Muslim views concerning the crucifixion, based on the *Tafsîr* of al-Baghawî (d. 1122) (pp. 237-8). Cem further recounts the history of the early Christians, the stories of Jesus's apostles, and the persecutions his early followers suffered under the Roman emperors, followed by the conversion story of Constantine, the controversy over Arius, the Council of Nicaea, and various other church councils (pp. 238-41). Again, Cem's main point concerning the Council of Nicaea is to show how the triumphant view was forcibly imposed by Constantine, who ordered all opponents to be killed and all the writings of Arius to be burnt (p. 241). In the end, the pope grows pale, looks devastated, and is speechless, having realised that the creed of the Christians is based on *ta'aşşub* (bigotry), which he explicitly admits: 'Bigotry leads one to unbelief. Those bishops fanatically corrupted the world through injustice' (p. 226).

Cem concludes his disputation with a story, the beginning of which is missing due to a lacuna in the manuscript. The story is identical with another example of a *meclîs* narrative, which reportedly took place in the presence of the Byzantine emperor between a Muslim scholar whom Cem identifies only as a shaykh, the Christian Bashîr, and some other priests and monks. The story involves discussions, including a comparison between Jesus and Adam; Jesus's human actions; the crucifixion; baptism and the authority to forgive sins; the divinity of Jesus; and a comparison between the miracles of Jesus and those of the other prophets such as Ezekiel, Joshua, Enoch and Elijah (pp. 241-46). By narrating the story of the shaykh who manages to silence the Christians, Cem intends to demonstrate to the pope the flaws in the Christian faith. There is also an obvious parallel between the shaykh of the story and Cem in his own theological defence. Ultimately, Cem's triumph is manifested by the pope's silence and his acknowledgment that it was fanaticism (*ta'aşşub*) that led the early church leaders to unbelief and injustice.

This story of the shaykh narrated by Cem corresponds to a work of a literary genre named by Sidney Griffith as 'the *mutakallim* in the emperor's *majlis*' (S.H. Griffith, 'The monk in the Emir's *Majlis*. Reflections on a popular genre of Christian literary apologetics in Arabic in the early Islamic period', in H. Lazarus Yafeh et al. (eds), *The majlis. Interreligious encounters in medieval Islam*, Wiesbaden, 1999, 13-65, p. 64). This supposedly 9th-century work contains an account of an imprisoned Muslim theologian, a shaykh from Damascus called Wāṣil al-Dimashqī, who lived during the rule of the Umayyads, and his debate with Christian priests, first in the presence of the patrician Bashīr, who had once been a Muslim, and then in the presence of the emperor, allegedly the Byzantine emperor Leo III (r. 717-41) (see S.H. Griffith, 'Bashīr/Bēsér: Boon companion of the Byzantine Emperor Leo III. The Islamic recension of his story in Leiden Oriental MS 951 (2)', *Le Muséon* 103 (1990) 293-327). The *Gurbetnâme* seems to be the earliest example of the story in Ottoman Turkish, implying either that the Ottoman translation existed before the composition of the *Gurbetnâme* or that the author of the *Gurbetnâme* had direct access to the Arabic original of the text.

As the dialogue concludes, the pope raises his final question: 'Son, did not Christ say, there is no prophet after me?' to which Cem responds: 'Yes, he said so. This statement is correct, but it only refers to the prophets of the Children of Israel. Truly Jesus, [God's] blessings and peace be upon him, was undoubtedly the last prophet among the Children of Israel. However, the pride of the two worlds, Muḥammad, the chosen, may God bless him and grant him peace, is the seal of the prophets (*hâtem-i enbiyâ*)' (p. 247).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Gurbetnâme* contains one of the earliest surviving polemics against Christianity written in Ottoman Turkish. All references cited are from Arabic, Persian or Greek sources, which the author must have read either in their original versions or in translation. The *Gurbetnâme* must have played a pioneering role in the formation of polemical literature in Ottoman Turkish, although a thorough analysis of the text and its reception is still lacking. A recent study has suggested that the core of the text 'appears to have been taken from another contemporary polemical narrative', *Mecmuatü'l-letâif*, 'Collection of pleasantries', written by a certain Serrâc ibn Abdullah 'probably early in the reign of Sultan Süleyman' (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, pp. 87-8, 90). However, a subsequent study by the same scholar has situated the *Mecmuatü'l-letâif* (c. 1540)

after the *Gurbetnâme* (after 1526), leading one to infer that it was the *Mecmuatü'l-letâif* that included certain polemical features of the *Gurbetnâme* (see Krstić, 'Conversion', pp. 69 and 70). Yet it might well be the case that the two contemporary authors were actually quoting from an earlier source available to both of them. A careful comparison between the two polemics is required before any further conclusions can be drawn about their relationship to one another.

The *Gurbetnâme* has political implications as well as didactic purposes. It primarily intends to demonstrate that Cem remained loyal to Islam until his last breath, despite being under pressure to give up his religion and convert to Christianity. This emerges at various points throughout the biography. Immediately after taking refuge with the Knights Hospitaller in Rhodes, he resolutely rejects a knight's offer of wine, saying: 'It is prohibited (*harâm*) in our religion.' The work further mentions the Christian host's appreciation of Cem's faithfulness to Islam (Danişmend, 'Gurbetnâme', p. 217). The second incident relates to Cem's arrival at the Vatican. Just before his encounter with the pope he is informed about protocols at papal audiences, which apparently involved kissing the pope's foot. Again Cem's response is firm: 'I would rather die than do anything that will make me unfaithful to my religion or cause any harm to it', a reaction for which he is again admired by his opponent (p. 226).

There are a few similar cases in the second part of the *Vâkıât* that are not mentioned in the *Gurbetnâme*. Cem refuses the pope's offer of cooperation against the Ottomans, saying: 'I shall not give up my own religion for the kingdom of the world' (Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, p. 207). Another case occurs upon the pope's attempt to convert Cem to Christianity. Cem is described as someone who often gave alms to the poor among the Christians of Rome, which led to rumours that he had a certain sympathy for Christianity. One day, the pope asks Cem to convert to Christianity, and promises to make Cem's son, who was in Egypt, cardinal in return. Cem responds indignantly: 'Alas, we are left to live this moment to see you asking us to convert to your religion. I am asking you to let me go to Egypt, while you are leading me to falsehood! As you know, every person holds all religions to be false except his own. Although Muḥammad's religion is true, can you leave your religion and enter Muḥammad's religion? Not only cardinalship or the papacy, if you were to give me the kingdom of the entire world I shall not leave my religion [...] and if this wrong assumption is based on the fact that I have shown mercy to the poor among the Christians, you should then know that almsgiving is

part of my religion, be they Muslim or not' (Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, pp. 209, 211). With these examples of heroism it is clear that the goal of the work is to set a model for anyone caught in a similar situation. It comes as no surprise, given that the text was composed during the climax of the Ottoman-Habsburg conflict, when continuous battles led many of Cem's coreligionists to fall captive in the lands of Christian Europe.

The *Gurbetnâme's* mention of theological controversies in early Church history (the case of Arius, his anti-Trinitarianism and denial of Jesus's divinity) recalls the 16th-century anti-Trinitarian beliefs that became popular in various parts of Europe – some of its proponents ending up as refugees in Istanbul. As indicated by Tijana Krstić, the *Gurbetnâme* was therefore aiming to delineate space for the religious 'other' within the ecumenical imperial system aspired to by Sultan Süleyman, who was well-informed about religious developments in Reformation Europe (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, p. 87). Moreover, two surviving manuscripts from Sultan Süleyman's personal library demonstrate his deep interest in Muslim-Christian polemical literature and theological debates: a copy of *Al-naṣīḥa l-īmāniyya fī faḍīḥat al-milla l-Naṣrāniyya* ('Faithful counsel concerning the ignominy of the Christian religion') by Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā (d. 1193 or 1163; MS Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library – Ahmed III Kit. 1883, 92 fols) and a copy of *Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā* ('The book of refutation of the Christians') by Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ja'farī (d. 1270; MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Ayasofya 2246M, 114 fols).

Is the dialogue between the pope and Cem a mere fiction, or a record of an actual meeting? In Cornell H. Fleischer's words, 'The scenario is far less fantastic than it might seem at first glance' (Fleischer, 'Shadows', p. 53). The *Gurbetnâme's* 'references to recourse to the nuclear Vatican library during Cem Sultan's sojourn in Rome and religious disputation between prince and pope resonate with the historical record: The earliest record of a loan of a book from the oriental collection of the Vatican notes the return to the library of an Arabic Christian "refutation of the Jews," by a member of Cem Sultan's party on January 27, 1495 – the eve of the prince's deportation to Naples by Charles VIII of France, who hoped, with the pope and other princes of Christendom, to put him at the head of a crusade against his brother Bayezid II' (Fleischer, 'Shadows', p. 54).

The *Gurbetnâme* not only discusses Christian theology, the creed, scriptures, and early Church history, but also instructs its readership about the Vatican, the papacy and its diplomacy. The author's description of the papacy and popes, which is seen to be similar to contemporary

European anti-papal literature (Isom-Verhaaren, 'Sultan Cem', p. 111), serves as an important source of information on 16th-century Ottoman views of the Catholic Church and its leadership.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. Turc 1434 (date unknown)

MS Istanbul, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi – Halis Efendi Kitapları (date unknown; see İnalçık, 'Djem'; Flemming, 'A sixteenth-century Turkish apology', p. 110, n. 21)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Danişmend, 'Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem', pp. 211-70 (the Ottoman text transcribed into modern Turkish)

For the *Vâkıât*, see:

Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, pp. 107-253 (transcription of the Ottoman text and trans. into French)

Ş. Rado, 'Vâkı'ât-ı Sulţân Cem, Sultan Cem'in Başına Gelenler', *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası* 1-6 (1969) (transcription of the Ottoman text in modern Turkish)

M. Arif, in *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni Mecmuası* 22-3 (1913), 25 (1914) (first publication of the Ottoman text)

STUDIES

C. Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the infidel. The Ottoman and French alliance in the sixteenth century*, London, 2013, pp. 82-113 (focusing on the case of Sultan Cem, the chapter examines a 15th-century Ottoman view of relations with the infidels)

T. Krstić, 'Conversion and converts to Islam in Ottoman historiography of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', in H.E. Çıpa and E. Fetvacı (eds), *Writing history at the Ottoman court. Editing the past, fashioning the future*, Bloomington IN, 2013, 58-79, pp. 69-70
Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam*, pp. 77-8, 84-8, 90, 95

Fleischer, 'Shadows of shadows', pp. 52-4

İnalçık, 'A case study in Renaissance diplomacy'

K. Beşirov, 'Gurbetname-i Cem Sultan (Giriş-İnceleme-Metin-Sözlük)', Istanbul, 2001 (MA thesis, Istanbul University)

Flemming, 'A sixteenth-century Turkish apology'

İnalçık, art. 'Djem', in *EL2*

Vatin, *Sultan Djem*

K.M. Setton, 'Innocent VIII, Jem Sultan, and the Crusade (1484-1490)', in *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1517)*, vol. 2: *The fifteenth century*, Philadelphia PA, 1978, 381-416 (on Jem and his stay at the Vatican)

J. Buri-Gütermann, 'Ein Türke in Italien. Aus einer unbekanntenen Handschrift der National-Bibliothek Wien', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 124 (1974) 59-72 (a short analysis of the Ottoman scholar Tâlikîzâde's (d. c. 1606), references to Cem's story in Rome and additional dialogues he introduced in his *Şemâilnâme-i Âl-i Osmân*)

Lejla Demiri

Ibn Nujaym al-Miṣrī

Zayn al-‘Abidīn, Zayn al-Dīn ibn Ibrahīm ibn Muḥammad
ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr

DATE OF BIRTH 1520
PLACE OF BIRTH Egypt
DATE OF DEATH 1563
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Nujaym was born in Egypt during the early period of Ottoman rule. Biographical references do not give detailed accounts to his early life and upbringing, his family or his father’s profession. After his elementary religious education, he probably joined the circles of well-known religious Ḥanafī scholars, such as Amīn al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Āl al-Ḥanafī (d. 1560), and gained his *ijāza* at a young age. He became a teacher at the *madrasa* of the amīr Sarghitmish in Cairo, and gave *fatwās* on various issues during the lifetime of his teachers at an early age. He was also known for his inclination to Sufism. For many years, he was a close friend of the Egyptian Sufi scholar ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī, with whom he performed the *hajj* in 1546. It appears that Ibn Nujaym wanted to embrace a full Sufi way of life, but al-Sha‘rānī discouraged him until he had gained full mastery of the *sharī‘a* and its disciplines.

Ibn Nujaym died at the early age of 43, before fulfilling his intellectual potential, though his pioneering judicial contributions ensured him a prominent position in the Ḥanafī school of law. In his legal works, Ibn Nujaym introduced a systematic approach by articulating the relationship between law, legal theory, and custom in Ottoman Egypt. He also contributed to discussions on public finances and Muslim international relations in the 16th century. He was buried near the sanctuary of Sayyida Sukayna in Cairo.

In his general attitudes to non-Muslims, Ibn Nujaym showed an attitude that reflected a combination of tolerance and harsh criticism. In one case, he took the view that a *qāḍī* should reject the testimony of a Muslim against a *dhimmi* if it was known that the two were enemies, while in another he maintained that *dhimmi*s should wear distinguishing clothes and not appear in the attire of ‘*ulamā*’ and *ashrāf* (Winter,

Egyptian society, p. 216). In contrast with his *risāla*, Ibn Nujaym comments on the case of Ḥārat Zuwayla in his *Al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓā'ir* by stating that if a church or synagogue is demolished by a ruler's decree, it should not be reopened (p. 386; also Winter, *Egyptian society*, p. 217).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Ibn Nujaym, *Kitāb al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓā'ir*, Calcutta, 1825, and Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1985
- Ibn Nujaym, *Al-fawā'id al-Zayniyya*, Calcutta, 1829
- Muḥammad Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Ḥanafī, *Ithāf al-abṣār wa-l-baṣā'ir bi-tabwīb Kitāb al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓā'ir*, Alexandria, 1872
- 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *Al-khiṭaṭ al-jadīda li-Miṣr al-Qāhira*, Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Kubra al-'Amīriyya, 1886, vol. 5, pp. 17-18
- Ismā'īl ibn Sinān al-Sīwāsī, *Khams rasā'il awwaluhā risālat al-ṣaghā'ir wa-l-kabā'ir*, Istanbul, 1886-7
- Ibn Nujaym, *Al-baḥr al-rā'iq*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1915
- Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Al-kawākib al-sā'ira bi-a'yān al-mi'a al-āshira*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 137-8

Secondary

- A.A. Islahi, 'Perception of market and pricing among the sixteenth century Muslim scholars', *Thought on Economics* 18 (2008) 31-42
- A.M. Asmal, 'Muslims under non-Muslim rule. The fiḥi (legal) views of Ibn Nujaym and al-Wansharisi', Manchester, 1998 (PhD diss. University of Manchester)
- M. Winter, *Egyptian society under Ottoman rule, 1517-1798*, London, 1992
- J. Schacht, art. 'Ibn Nuḍjāyḡ', *El2*

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fi l-kanā'is al-miṣriyya, 'A treatise on the Egyptian churches'

DATE 1559/60

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise is the twelfth in Ibn Nujaym's compilation, *Al-rasā'il al-zayniyya fi madhhab al-Ḥanafīyya*, which contains 40 short chapters and fatwas collected by Ibn Nujaym's son Aḥmad one month after his father's

death. Ibn Nujaym wrote most of these chapters at the request of the head judge in Cairo.

This treatise is very short, no more than four folios in some manuscripts. It begins: 'This is a treatise on the Egyptian churches, [particularly] the issue of the church [*kanīsa*] of Ḥārat Zuwayla that was closed down while *mawlāna* Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Ilyās was in office. *Mawlāna* the Sultan ordered the issue to be evaluated according to the *sharʿ* in 967 [1559-60].' Muḥammad ibn Ilyās was most probably Muḥī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ilyās al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī, a military judge in this period (ed. Sirāj, p. 206). Winter understands *kanā'is* in the treatise to refer to synagogues not churches (*Egyptian society*, p. 217), and Ibn Nujaym himself states in his *Al-baḥr al-rā'iq* (vol. 5, p. 122) that the term can refer to both Jewish and Christian places of worship. On the other hand, Muslim legal discussions in medieval Egypt mostly refer to Coptic places of worship as *kanā'is*, and Ḥārat Zuwayla, site of the residence of the Coptic patriarch, was one of the most important Christian quarters in medieval Cairo.

In this brief treatise, Ibn Nujaym does not offer fresh views but constructs his opinion on the basis of earlier precedents in the Ḥanafī school of law. He quotes Hadiths and the views of earlier Ḥanafī jurists such as Ibn Sahl al-Sarkhasī (d. 1096) and Qāḍī Khān (d. 1196), who held that synagogues and churches built before the Muslim conquest should not be demolished unless there was proof that they were actually built after the conquest or that new parts had been added. He also cites other Ḥanafī works, such as Abū Bakr ibn 'Alī al-Ḥaddād's (d. 1397) *Al-jawhara al-nayyira sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* and Burhān al-Dīn ibn Māza's (d. 1106) *Al-dhakhīra al-burhāniyya fī l-fatāwā*, in which the view is advocated that ancient places of worship should not be demolished because this would violate Muslim treaties with *dhimmīs*, and also the opinion of Ibn 'Abbās that in newly conquered lands *ahl al-dhimma* should not be allowed to build new places of worship, sell wine or ring church bells, except when there were previous agreements allowing them to do so. At the end of the treatise, Ibn Nujaym cites *Ghāyat al-bayān fī nādīrat al-zamān* by Qawām al-Dīn Amīr Kātib al-Ḥanafī, who argues that the Hadith 'No *kanīsa* in Islam' does not refer to the repair of existing buildings but to the erection of new churches and synagogues, and he concludes that pre-existing churches and synagogues should not be destroyed. If a church collapses, it can be re-built on the same site, though it cannot be re-sited because that would be the same as building a new church, which is not permitted.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn Nujaym's treatise should be read against the historical background of legal works on the question of demolishing churches and synagogues in the Muslim lands. It was written in the early period of Ottoman rule in Egypt, when the status of Copts in the tumultuous Mamluk era had changed somewhat. The reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-66) represented a period of firm and efficient rule with developed economic awareness. The Ottomans made use of all the Empire's material and human resources, including the economic talents of the religious minorities (Winter, *Egyptian society*, p. 194). Ibn Nujaym's tone is concomitantly moderate, and his legal view is based on traditional Ḥanafī teachings without any harsh polemical elements.

It is worth noting that his friend 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī argued that the demolition of churches and synagogues should be carried out only by the authorities. He also supported the ruler's decree that Frankish kings be permitted to enter Muslim lands, and be given horses to ride (against the stipulations of the Pact of 'Umar) and *mamlūks* to serve them. Al-Sha'rānī relates many incidents in which Muslim fanatics were brought to court because of their disobedience to such decrees. For example, a dervish was badly beaten by the *mamlūks* when he attempted to pull down a Frank riding a horse, while the preacher al-Sunbātī (d. 1587) was sent into exile for attempting to demolish a church himself (Winter, *Egyptian society*, pp. 263-4).

Ibn Nujaym's student 'Abdullāh al-Khatīb al-Timirtāshī al-Ghazzī (d. 1595-6) followed his master by writing a similar work, *Risālat al-nafā'is fī aḥkām al-kanā'is*, though this has not survived.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the Cairo edition of *Rasā'il Ibn Nujaym* for a list of four MS copies of the treatise.

Other MSS are held in:

MS Istanbul, Bayezid Library – 479 (1727)

MS Cairo, Al-Azhar Library – 1048 (no date)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Rasā'il Ibn Nujaym al-iqtisādiyya wa-l-musammā al-rasā'il al-zayniyya fī madhhab al-Ḥanafīyya, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Sirāj and 'Alī Jum'a Muḥammad (Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Fiqhiyya wa-l-Iqtisādiyya), Cairo: Dār al-Salām, 1998-99, pp. 207-11

Al-rasā'il al-zayniyya fī madhhab al-Ḥanafīyya, Cairo: Būlāq, 1904-5

STUDIES

Winter, *Egyptian society under Ottoman rule*, p. 217

M. Winter, *Society and religion in early Ottoman Egypt. Studies in the writings of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī*, New Brunswick NJ, 1982

'Alī Pasha Mubāarak, *Al-khiṭaṭ al-jadīda li-Miṣr al-Qāhira*

Umar Ryad

Seydi Ali Reis

Sîdî Ali ibn Hüseyin, Sidi Ali Reis, Seyyidî 'Ali Re'îs

DATE OF BIRTH Presumably 1498/99
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; possibly Istanbul
DATE OF DEATH January 1563
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY

Seydi Ali Reis was a seaman, scholar, poet and, like his father, supervisor (*kethüdâ*) at the Ottoman naval arsenal at Galata in Istanbul. He participated in various Ottoman campaigns and was one of the most trusted commanders of the Ottoman admiral Hayreddin Barbarossa.

Appointed *Mısır* (Egypt) admiral, Seydi Ali was sent in 1553 to take charge of the Ottoman fleet in Basra and bring it to Suez. En route, he suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of a Portuguese fleet off the coast of Muscat. Seydi Ali and the remnants of his fleet escaped, but they encountered storms and were ultimately deposited in November 1554 off the north-west coast of India in Gujarat. There, Seydi Ali later wrote in his memoir of the trip, the people of Surat and other west Indian kingdoms were anxious to ally themselves with the Ottomans against the Portuguese. The Portuguese, he claimed, attempted to persuade Khudawand Khan, the governor of Surat, to surrender him to them, but the governor refused. Abandoning his vessels and abandoned by many of his crew, Seydi Ali made his way back overland to Istanbul by way of Afghanistan and Persia, received en route by both the Mughal emperor and the Safavid shah. He did not reach home until 1557.

Early on in his journey through Gujarat, at the court of Sultan Ahmad in Ahmadabad, the Ottoman admiral had to confront a Portuguese envoy. Again, the Portuguese purportedly demanded that the sultan surrender Seydi Ali, but again he eluded their grasp. For Seydi Ali, India was thus the site of a rhetorical as well as a physical and commercial struggle for sovereignty in the Indian Ocean region.

On his return, he composed a narrative of his travels, the *Mir'âtü'l-memâlik* ('Mirror of kingdoms'), designed to redeem himself in the eyes of his sovereign, explain distant lands, and address Ottoman imperial ambitions in the Indian Ocean. Seydi Ali also produced an important

navigational guide, entitled *Kitâbü'l-muhît* ('Book of the ocean'), a book on astronomy and seamanship entitled *Mir'ât-ı kâinât* ('Mirror of the universe'), and other poetic, geographical, and mathematical works. After his return from India, he served the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520-66) in various capacities until his death.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Seydi Ali Reis, *Mir'âtü'l-memâlik. İnceleme, metin, indeks*, ed. M. Kiremit, Ankara, 1999, pp. 10-14, 28-37 (editor's introduction)

Seyyidi 'Ali Re'is, *Le Miroir des pays. Une anabase ottomane à travers l'Inde et l'Asie centrale*, ed. and trans. J. Bacqué-Grammont, Arles, 1999, pp. 9-35 (editor's introduction)

Secondary

P. Emiralioğlu, *Geographical knowledge and imperial culture in the early modern Ottoman Empire*, Farnham, UK, 2014, pp. 117-42

G. Casale, *The Ottoman age of exploration*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 85-8, 100-2, 120-3, 186-7

M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400-1800*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 94-120

P. Brummett, 'What Sidi Ali saw', *Portuguese Studies Review* 9/1-2 (2002) 232-53

Ç. Orhonlu, 'Seydi Ali Reis', *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1 (1970) 39-56

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mir'âtü'l-memâlik, 'Mirror of countries'; 'Mirror of kingdoms'; 'Le Miroir des pays'

DATE May-June 1561

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

In the earliest 1561 manuscript, *Mir'âtü'l-memâlik* consists of 83 folios (99 pages in the 1895 Ottoman print edition, and 100 pages in the 1999 Turkish edition by M. Kiremit). It describes the travails of its author, the Ottoman admiral Seydi Ali Reis, between 1554 and 1557, as he departs Basra with an Ottoman fleet, encounters storms and a Portuguese flotilla in the Arabian Sea, lands at Gujarat, and then makes his way overland back to the Ottoman court at Istanbul.

The segments of the work relevant to Christian-Muslim relations are not extensive. They relate the seaborne conflict between Ottoman and Portuguese fleets, and Seydi Ali's claims regarding Portuguese threats, influence on the western coast of South Asia, and attempts to have him taken prisoner (see 1895 Ottoman edition, pp. 18-21, 27-34; 1999 Turkish edition, pp. 79-82, 89-96; and 1999 French edition, pp. 51-4, 62-9).

Current scholarship regards Seydi Ali's travel narrative as authentic. One can speculate upon the degree to which Seydi Ali embellished upon his experiences, distorted conversations, and engaged in self-aggrandisement, but for much of the narrative journey we have only his word to rely upon. The *Mir'âtü'l-memâlik*, as a 16th-century Ottoman travel narrative focused in part on sea travel, is a unique source. Its personal style finds resonance with the later and much better known multi-volume *Seyahat-nâme* ('Book of travels') of Evliya Çelebi (1611-82).

SIGNIFICANCE

As regards Christian-Muslim relations, what is most significant about this work is Seydi Ali's rhetorics of sovereignty, which propose that various kingdoms and Muslim peoples (*ehl-i İslâm*) of the Indian Ocean zone see the Ottoman sultan as their 'natural' ruler. That claim is made in the context of Portuguese expansion in the Indian Ocean and the challenge it poses to Ottoman commerce, ambitions in the East, and control of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. Seydi Ali shows a Portuguese infidel (*kâfir*) envoy taunting the Ottomans with the claim that even a bird cannot fly from Indian ports without Portuguese permission. In turn, Seydi Ali boasts that Goa itself would soon be in the hands of his master Süleyman. His volume ends with the sincere wish that Gujarat should be joined to the Ottoman domains. Seydi Ali was well aware that Portuguese expansion in the Indian Ocean zone combined with Christian proselytising not only thwarted the sultan's territorial ambitions but also compromised his claims to the title of 'caliph' of the subcontinent's Muslims. He wanted to emphasise the idea that the Portuguese were not 'winning' the competition for imperial power.

Little is known of the reception of Seydi Ali's *Mir'âtü'l-memâlik* beyond the number of manuscript editions, its citation in other Ottoman sources, and the fact that Seydi Ali seems to have been welcomed back into the good graces of the Ottoman court. Several scholars (Casale, Alam and Subrahmanyam) have argued that Seydi Ali's work was used by the Ottoman grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha to help formulate Ottoman

policy for the Indian Ocean region. It was later partially incorporated into the famous history of Ottoman naval campaigns by the Ottoman historian Kâtîp Çelebi or Hâjjî Khalîfa (d. 1657), in his *Tuhfetü'l-kibâr fi esfârî'l-bihâr* (ed. Alam and Subrahmanyam, p. 120).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi – Revan Köşkü 1470 (May-June 1561; the oldest known MS)

For a description of five MSS dated from 1561 to the early 17th century, see, M. Kiremit ed., *Mir'âtü'l-memâlik. İnceleme, metin, indeks*, Ankara, 1999, pp. 17-18

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Kiremit, *Mir'âtü'l-memâlik*. (Turkish edition, giving the most complete information to date including lists of MSS, editions, and translations, pp. 16-18, 37-8)

J. Bacqué-Grammont, *Le miroir des pays. Une anabase ottomane à travers l'Inde et l'Asie centrale*, Arles, 1999 (French annotated trans.) *Mirat ul memalik* (The mirror of countries)', in C.F. Horne (ed.), *The sacred books and early literature of the East*, vol. 6: *Medieval Arabia*, New York, 1917, 329-95 (text scanned and modernised by Jerome S. Arkenberg, available at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/16CSidii.asp>)

M. Tafazzulî and A. Genceli, *Mir'ât al-mamâlik. safarnâma-î bi Hâlîğ-i Fârs, Hind, Mâwarâ-an-Nahr wa Īrân*, Tehran, 1977 (Persian trans.)

Seydî Ali Reis, *Mir'at-ül memalik (Ülkelerin aynası)*, ed. N. Akyıldız, Istanbul, 1975 (transcribed into Modern Turkish)

Mir'otul mamolik. Mamlakatlar küzğusi, Tashkent, 1963 (Uzbek trans.; no details of translator)

M. Özon and H. Örs, *Hindelerinden İstanbula*, Ankara, 1935 (modern Turkish trans.)

Mir'ât-ül-memâlik, Istanbul [1895] (Ottoman Turkish edition)

A. Vambéry, *The travels and adventures of the Turkish admiral Sidi Ali Reis in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia during the years 1553-1556*, London, 1899 (repr. Lahore, 1975) (English trans.)

H.F. von Diez and M. Moris, *Relation des voyages de Sidi-Aly, fils d'Housain, nommé ordinairement Katibi Roumi, amiral de Soliman II*, 1827 (French trans.)

STUDIES

Emiralioglu, *Geographical knowledge and imperial culture*, pp. 117-42

Casale, *The Ottoman age of exploration*, pp. 85-8, 100-2, 120-3, 186-7

Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400-1800*, pp. 94-120

Brummett, 'What Sidi Ali saw'

Kiremit, *Mir'ât'ül-memâlik*, pp. 35-8 (lists studies in Turkish)

Palmira Brummett

Murad ibn Abdullah

DATE OF BIRTH 1509
PLACE OF BIRTH Nagybánya (today Baia Mare in northern
Transylvania, Romania)
DATE OF DEATH About 1586
PLACE OF DEATH Presumably Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY

According to his own story, Murad ibn Abdullah was captured by the Ottoman army at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 when he was 17 years old (*Tesviyetü't-teveccüh*, MS London, fol. 149r). His Hungarian name was Balázs Somlyai, and he was born in Nagybánya (today Baia Mare in northern Transylvania, Romania; see Ács, 'Tarjumans Mahmud and Murad', p. 308). As he later related to Stefan Gerlach, the Lutheran chaplain to the Habsburg embassy to Constantinople, Murad had studied in Vienna before the Ottomans captured him.

It is unclear what turn his life and career took immediately after the Battle of Mohács. He seems to have received a solid education in Islamic faith and the Ottoman Turkish language, possibly as a recruit into the Janissary corps. His appointment as an imperial translator (*dragoman*) came only later, in 1553, and followed 30 months of captivity in Transylvania, where he was sent on a diplomatic mission by Rüstem Pasha, the Ottoman grand vizier (1544-53; 1555-61). Rüstem Pasha ransomed Murad and brought his linguistic and diplomatic potentials to the attention of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-66). Murad participated in the peace negotiations between the Habsburg ambassadors and the Ottoman Porte in the 1550s and 1570s as a second imperial dragoman. From Stefan Gerlach's diary for the years 1573-78, we know that Murad was assigned to be an interpreter to the Habsburg embassy in Istanbul, where he had a chance to discuss Christian theology with Lutherans, such as Gerlach, and even Anti-Trinitarians, such as the infamous Adam Neuser, who fled to the Ottoman Empire, converted to Islam, and became the inspirational leader of a sizeable circle of German converts to Islam in the Ottoman capital (Gerlach, *Tagebuch*).

In addition to his long career as an imperial interpreter, from the mid-1550s to the mid-1580s, Murad produced several fascinating works

in Ottoman Turkish, some of which he then translated into various languages. In 1556-57, inspired by the discussions he had had with Christians during his captivity in Transylvania, he wrote a polemical work entitled *Kitâb tesvîyetü t-teveccüh ila l-Hakk* ('Guide for turning [or orienting] oneself towards God [or truth]'), in which he argued for Islam's superiority over previous revelations, and to which he added the story of his own conversion to Islam (Krstić, 'Illuminated', pp. 35-63).

In 1559, he was commissioned by the Venetian *bailo* Marino di Cavalli to produce (what has been described as) a 'translation' or 'paraphrase' of Cicero's *De senectute* into Ottoman Turkish, known under the title of *Risâle fî medh-i pîrî* ('In praise of old age'). However, a recent study shows that this was in many respects an original work, combining Cicero's Stoic philosophy with Muslim, especially Sufi, views on old age. In adapting Cicero's dialogue for an Ottoman audience, Murad made its main protagonists Sultan Murad II (r. 1421-44 and 1446-51) and his son, the future Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444-6 and 1451-81; see Krstić, *Contested*, pp. 138-93).

Between 1567 and 1569, Murad returned to his *Kitâb tesvîyetü t-teveccüh* and translated it into Latin for the benefit, as he said, of the Christians in *Firengistân* (*Kitâb tesvîyetü t-teveccüh*, fol. 148v). Sometime between 1580 and 1582, he wrote a number of religious hymns in Ottoman Turkish on the unity of God, which he presented with parallel translations in Hungarian and Latin that were nevertheless written in the Arabic script. Finally, as an elderly man dismissed from imperial service due to his immoderate enjoyment of wine, he translated Mehmed Neşrî's Ottoman chronicle into Latin for Philip Haniwald of Eckersdorf in return for a small *per diem*. This translation became one of the central texts of the *Codex Hanivaldanus* (Ménage, *Neshrî's history*, pp. 331-40).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Kitâb tesvîyetü t-teveccüh ila l-Hakk:

MS London, BL – Add. 19894, fols 1v-167r (autograph; undated though containing a reference to Murad III as the reigning sultan [1574-95])

MS Vienna, Österreichischer Nationalbibliothek – A.F. 180, 70 fols (undated; autograph – incomplete)

Risâle fî medh-i pîrî:

MS Istanbul, Nurosmaniye Library – No. 3295, 53 fols (1559-60)

MS Istanbul, Topkapı Saray – Revan Köşkü 407, 46 fols (undated; under the title *Nasihât-ı Sultan Murad*)

The critical edition of the text in Ottoman Turkish and translation into Italian is available in E. Rossi, 'Parafrasi turca del *De Senectute* presentata a Solimano il Magnifico dal Bailo Marino de Cavalli (1559)', *Reale academia nazionale dei lincei. Rediconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 12/7-10 (1937) 680-756

Transliteration into modern Turkish is available in A. Uçman (ed.), *Fatih Sultan Mehmed'e Nasihatlar*, Istanbul, 2007

Trilingual spiritual hymns:

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Marsh 179, fols 1v-22r (undated)

A facsimile and transcription of the hymns into modern Turkish and Hungarian, with a translation into German, is available in F. Babinger et al. (eds), *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Berlin, 1927, pp. 45-51, 55-69, 143-82

Secondary

T. Krstić, 'Of translation and empire. Sixteenth-century Ottoman imperial interpreters (Dragomans) as Renaissance go-betweens', in C. Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman world*, New York, 2011, 130-42

T. Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam. Narratives of religious change in the early modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford, CA, 2011

T. Krstić, 'Illuminated by the light of Islam and the glory of the Ottoman Sultanate. Self-narratives of conversion to Islam in the age of confessionalization', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 (2009) 35-63

A. Uçman (ed.), *Fatih Sultan Mehmed'e Nasihatlar*, Istanbul, 2007

P. Ács, 'Tarjumans Mahmud and Murad. Austrian and Hungarian renegades as sultan's interpreters', in B. Guthmüller and W. Kühlmann (eds), *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, Tübingen, 2000, 307-16

J. Matuz, 'Die Pfortendolmetscher zur Herrschaftszeit Süleymans des Prächtigen', *Südost-Forschungen* 34 (1975) 26-60

V.L. Ménage, *Neshri's history of the Ottomans. The sources and development of the text*, London, 1964

E. Rossi, 'Parafrasi turca del *De Senectute* presentata a Solimano il Magnifico dal Bailo Marino de Cavalli (1559)', *Reale academia nazionale dei lincei. Rediconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 12/7-10 (1937) 680-756

F. Babinger, 'Der Pfortendolmetsch Murad und seine Schriften', in F. Babinger et al. (eds), *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Berlin, 1927, 33-54

R. Gragger, 'Der magyarische Text von Murad's *Glaubenshymnus* mit deutscher Übersetzung', in Babinger et al. (eds), *Literaturdenkmäler*, 55-69

S. Gerlach, *Tagebuch der von zween Glorwürdigsten Römischen Kaysern Maximiliano und Rudolpho... an die Ottomannische Pforte zu Constantinopel Abgefertigten*, Frankfurt am Main, 1674

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitâb tesvîyetü t-teveccüh ila l-Hakk, 'Guide for turning [or orienting] oneself towards God [Truth]'

DATE 1556-67

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

As its title suggests, *Kitâb tesvîyetü t-teveccüh ila l-Hakk* ('Guide for turning [or orienting] oneself towards God [or truth]') is intended to be a catechetical work that introduces tenets of the true faith; for the author this is, of course, Islam. At the same time, it is a polemical treatise arguing for Islam's superiority over previous revelations, especially over Christianity. As Murad ibn Abdullah points out, he wrote this narrative in response to the discussions he had with 'Christian learned men' during his 30 month-long captivity in Transylvania, some time in the early 1550s. The Ottoman text of the treatise was begun in 1556 and completed in 1557. However, the author also states that the intended readership of the narrative was not just his fellow Muslims, since he also hoped it would soften the hearts of the European Christians toward Islam (he refers specifically to the Christians of Hungary, Germany, France, Poland, Bohemia, Spain and Portugal). This is why, ten years later, in 1566-7, Murad ibn Abdullah himself translated the text into Latin. He also expanded the original narrative by adding an autobiographical section at the end, where he discusses the circumstances of his own conversion to Islam and his subsequent career as an imperial interpreter (*tercüman*) of the Ottoman Porte who owed his ascent to the patronage of the Ottoman grand vizier Rüstem Pasha. The two surviving manuscripts, both of which seem to be autographs (a complete and a partial one), feature the main Ottoman text in the middle of the page, surrounded by the Latin translation in the margins.

The treatise goes through many traditional subjects of the Muslim *'aqâ'id* (catechetical) and *radd* (polemical) genres, but adds interesting personal touches of a former Christian familiar with the confessional debates raging in contemporary Europe. Although it is unlikely that he was a Protestant at the time when he was captured by the Ottomans in 1526, it is possible that he was exposed to the reformist ideas of the Franciscans active in Hungary in the early 16th century. At times, his narrative seems to embrace elements of the Protestant critique of Catholicism

but with the goal of proving the superiority of Islam; at other times, he simply shows awareness of the issues central to Protestant-Catholic polemics. For instance, he amplifies the traditional Muslim polemical argument that Christians and Jews corrupted (*tahrif*) the meaning of the original scriptures that were sent to them by translating them into other languages. He gives the example he himself allegedly witnessed, of how the Psalms were translated from Latin into Hungarian, and discusses the questionable word choices the translators made. To this phenomenon he juxtaposes the untranslatability of the Qur'an, which guarantees the authenticity of Islam as the true faith.

Throughout the narrative, Murad juxtaposes Islamic and Christian beliefs and rituals, seeking to make the subject more familiar and relevant to his Christian audience. For instance, he contrasts the role of circumcision in Islam to that of baptism in Christianity. He devotes considerable attention to the issue of female sanctity in Islam, possibly to make an analogy with the cult of the Holy Virgin and other popular female saints in the Catholic tradition. He also discusses the rejection of images in Islam (he specifically derides the depiction of the Trinity, whereby God the Father is represented as an old man, Jesus the Son as a black-bearded man, and the Holy Spirit as a dove) and the rejection of particular foods and alcohol by Muslims. In the section devoted to Jesus, he does not use only traditional Muslim arguments for arguing against Jesus's divinity but relies on his own knowledge of the Gospels. One of the most extensively discussed topics in the narrative is Jesus's miracles. These are compared to the miracles of Muslim holy men and of Muḥammad, which are then presented as superior to those of Jesus.

Murad's understanding of Islam is decisively informed by his Sufi proclivities (although it is not clear which Sufi order he might have been affiliated with), and he takes great care in his account to shed light upon the nature of sainthood and the hierarchy of saints in Islam. He refers to a number of sources used in his exposition of the tenets of Islam, many of which are by Sufi authors. He mentions by name Yazıcızâde Mehmed (d. 1451) and his *Muhammediyye*, Kutbüddin İznikî's (d. 1418) *Mukadimme*, Ibn al-'Arabî's (d. 1240) *Al-futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmî's (d. 1273) *Mathnawî*, al-Ghazālî's (d. 1111) *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār's (d. 1221) *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, and Lâmiî Çelebi's (d. 1532) *İbretnâme*. He also cites the famous revolutionary mystics Manşūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922) and Nesîmî (d. 1417), refers to the Sufi poets such as Sa'dî (d. 1292) and Yunus Emre (c. 1320), and discusses anecdotes

from the lives of famous Sufis such as Bāyazīd al-Bistāmī (d. 874 or 877), Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 910) and Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya (d. 801), as well as the legal scholars Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 767) and al-Shafī'ī (d. 820).

Despite being a catechism that deals mostly with issues related to belief and ritual, the *Kitāb tesvīyetü t-teveccüh* is also a peculiarly Ottoman polemical narrative. Murad is not simply arguing for Islam's superiority over all previous revelations; he is also arguing for the superiority of the Ottoman sultans as the representatives and protectors of Islam over all of their rivals and previous Muslim rulers. To this end, Murad mobilises his knowledge of Western European apocalyptic lore anticipating the end of the Ottoman dynasty in the time of the twelfth ruler from the House of Osman to argue that in fact the final victory of Islam will be accomplished in the age of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-66), the twelfth 'caliph' in the Ottoman line. He also argues that the popes have lost the spiritual authority bestowed upon them by Jesus through Peter; with Muḥammad's prophetic mission, the keys to heaven were transferred to the community of Islam, and specifically to the Ottoman sultans as the guardians of the Muslim community.

Seeking to address both his Ottoman Muslim and his European Christian readers, Murad at times treads a fine line between professing familiarity with and distance from both communities. While he is certainly identifying himself with Muslims, he also takes it upon himself to criticise what he sees as blameworthy practices among his Muslim contemporaries, most notably a widespread corruption among the judges, fascination with fleeting material things of European provenance (such as Venetian cloth or German mechanical clocks), and the practice of sodomy, which, as he asserts, makes many Christians refuse to convert to Islam. Interestingly, the same tropes appear in other contemporary Ottoman authors' treatises: a criticism of the 'decline' in the morals of the Muslim community that is then blamed for what the authors perceived as a downward trend in Ottoman political fortunes.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Kitāb tesvīyetü t-teveccüh* is a unique work in many respects. If we discount multilingual dictionaries popular with Ottoman literate audiences, it is a unique bilingual work featuring Ottoman and Latin texts on a single page, written by the same author. A detailed comparison of the two versions, in Ottoman and Latin, is bound to reveal more about Murad ibn Abdullah's knowledge of both languages, as well as about his approach to translation.

The work also includes the earliest known self-narrative of conversion to Islam written in Ottoman Turkish. Murad's discussion of his own conversion, following his capture by the Ottoman army at the Battle of Mohács in 1526, resembles contemporary conversion narratives popular in Europe that were used as polemical weapons in the confessional struggles between Catholicism and various Protestant denominations. Throughout his discussion of how he embraced Islam, Murad emphasises the importance of opening one's mind and becoming receptive to the rational proofs of Islam's truth, which he then tries to relay to his audience as well. The narrative provides a unique insight into the spiritual universe of a convert to Islam coming from a Catholic background but familiar and seemingly sympathetic to the Protestant critique of Catholicism. It also offers fascinating evidence of how these particular Christian sensibilities are translated into, and/or combined with, a decisively Sufi understanding of Islam and its tenets.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS London, BL – Add. 19894, fols iv-167r (from the reign of Murad III [1574-95]; autograph)

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – A.F. 180, 70 fols (undated; incomplete autograph)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

There is no critical edition of the text. A translation of the Ottoman text into Latin by the author himself can be found in the margins of the existing manuscripts.

Fragments of the text in English translation are available in Krstić, 'Illuminated', pp. 43-4, and Krstić, *Contested conversions*, pp. 79-80.

STUDIES

Krstić, *Contested conversions*

Krstić, 'Illuminated by the light of Islam'

Babinger, 'Der Pfortendolmetsch Murad'

Tijana Krstić

Birgivî Mehmed Efendi

DATE OF BIRTH 1523
PLACE OF BIRTH Balıkesir
DATE OF DEATH 1573
PLACE OF DEATH Birgi

BIOGRAPHY

Few individuals in the history of Ottoman Islam would become as well-known and influential as Birgivî Mehmed ibn Pîr Ali Efendi. The son of a Sufi master in the town of Balıkesir, Birgivî studied in Istanbul *medreses*, then served for a short time as a judge in Edirne, which was followed by a brief career as a Sufi *mürîd*. Supposedly on the advice of his shaykh, and with the patronage of the personal tutor of Selim II, Birgivî took up the post of a *medrese* teacher in the Anatolian town of Birgi. His death in 1573 from the plague cut short a productive career as an author and would-be reformer of what he saw as the pervasive ills afflicting the Muslim society of his day.

Birgivî's later fame rests largely on his textual production, both pedagogic and exhortative and polemical. Several of his introductory works on Arabic grammar and syntax would circulate widely, some becoming integral parts of the Ottoman *medrese* curriculum (Ivanyi, 'Virtue', pp. 40-2). Birgivî also wrote a wide range of treatises addressing several of the legal controversies of his day, from questions of proper Qur'an recitation (*Al-durr al-yatim fi l-tajwîd*, MS Princeton, Islamic Manuscripts – Garrett 441Y, fols 206b-212a) to the issue of cash *waqfs* (*Al-sayf al-şârim*, MS Princeton, Islamic Manuscripts – Garrett 928H, 38 fols). His writings on Hadith would prove popular (*Sharh al-ahādith al-arbaʿin*, Istanbul, 1905); he began a Qur'an *tafsîr* which his premature death left unfinished (*Muqaddimat al-mufasssîrîn*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmân ibn Şâlih ibn Sulaymân al-Dahsh, Manchester, 2004). In addition to grammatical (*Al-ʿawâmil al-jadîda in Avamil ve tercümesi*, ed. N.H. Yanık and M.S. Çöğenli, Erzurum, 1997) and legal texts (*Muʿaddal al-şalât. Dirâsa şhâmila li-masâ'il ta'dîl al-arkân fi l-şalât*, ed. 'Abd al-Tawwâb al-Multânî, Riyadh, 1998; *Birgivi's manual interpreted. Complete fiqh of menstruation and related issues*, ed. and trans. H. Hartford and A. Muneeb, Beltsville MD, 2006), Birgivî also wrote several treatises of an ethical-doctrinal nature (*Kitâb inqâdh*

al-hālikîn, wa-yalîhi kitāb iqādh al-nā'imîn, ed. Hāmdî 'Abd al-Majîd Salafî, Riyadh, 1999; *Al-mufāḍala bayna l-ghanî l-shākîr wa-l-faqîr al-ṣābir*, Beirut, 1994; *Naṣîḥat al-mulūk [Dhukhr al-mulūk]*, a 'mirror for princes', MS Princeton, Islamic Manuscripts – Garrett 5380Y, fols 34b-38b), of which his Turkish *Vasiyetnâme* and Arabic *Al-ṭarîqa l-muḥammadiyya* would be the most successful.

Although in modern historiography (e.g. Zilfi, *Politics*, pp. 143-6) the figure of Birgivî has become most strongly associated with the 'puritan' Kadızadeli of the 17th century – who certainly looked to Birgivî as an authority and inspiration – in the early modern Ottoman Empire, his authority and memory were employed and contested by a diverse array of actors. Birgivî himself is in fact not easy to classify: he was certainly not a 'fundamentalist' in the later Wahhābî sense, nor did his views exactly coincide with some of his later 'reformist' followers. Suffice it to say, at the heart of his enterprise was the conviction of the superiority of the Muslim community as *the* site of salvific redemption, coupled with an unrelenting demand for constant, meticulous attention on the part of every individual believer to his or her beliefs, actions and especially inner intention. In so far as Christians or other non-Muslims intruded upon his singular vision of normative Islam, it was either as part of a broad continuum of threats to the salvific community's integrity and to the integrity of the individual believer, or as touchstones against which the superiority of the 'community of Muḥammad' could be measured.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

'Alî ibn Bālî Manq, Oskar Rescher, and Ahmed ibn Mustafa Taşköprüzâde, *Taşköprüzâde's 'eş-Şaqâ'iq en-no'mânîje' fortgesetzt von 'Alî Minuq unter dem Titel 'el-'Iqd el-manzûm fî dhîkr afâdil er-Rûm'. Enthaltend die Biographien der türkischen Gelehrten, Aerzte und Derwiş-Şeih's von der Regierung des Sultans Murad b. Selim. Mit Zusätzen, Verbesserungen und Anmerkungen nach dem Randdruck Cairo 1310 H. und der Hs. Wel'eddîn 2435 über*, Stuttgart, 1934

Ahmed ibn Mustafa Taşköprüzâde and ['Alî ibn Bālî Manq], *al-Shaqâ'iq al-nu'mânîyya fî 'ulāmā' al-dawla l-Uthmāniyya wa-yalîhi al-'Iqd al-manzûm fî dhîkr afâdil al-Rûm*, Beirut, 1975, pp. 436-7

Nev'îzâde Atâî, *Hadaiku'l-hakaik fî tekmeleti's-şakaik*, in *Şakâik-ı Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri*, ed. A. Özcan, Istanbul, 1989, vol. 2, pp. 179-81

Secondary

- K.A. Ivanyi, 'Virtue, piety and the law. A study of Birgivi Mehmed Efendi's "Al-Tariqa al-Muhammadiyya"', Princeton NJ, 2012 (PhD Diss., Princeton University)
- T. Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam. Narratives of religious change in the early modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford CA, 2011, pp. 29-32, 172-3
- H. Martı, *Birgivi Mehmed Efendi*, Istanbul, 2008
- M. Şeker (ed.), *İmam Birgivi [sempozyum]*, Ankara, 1994
- E. Yüksel, art. 'Birgivi', in *DİA*
- A.T. Arslan, *İmam Birgivi. Hayatı, eserleri ve Arapça tadrîsâtındaki yeri*, Istanbul, 1992
- M.C. Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, Minneapolis MN, 1988
- J.E. Mandaville, 'Usurious piety. The cash waqf controversy in the Ottoman Empire', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10 (1979) 289-308

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vasiyetnâme, 'The last will and testament'
Risâle-i Birgivi

DATE Around 1570

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Considerably shorter than *Al-ṭarîqa l-muḥammadiyya*, numbering around 50 pages in printed editions, Birgivi's *Vasiyetnâme* (also known as *Risâle-i Birgivi*) appears to have been intended for a wider audience. This is indicated by both its language – relatively simple Ottoman Turkish – and its concern for explicating the basic principles and obligations of Islam. In this, it is typical of a large body of Ottoman texts known as *ilmihâl*, catechisms or theological primers (see Terzioğlu, 'Islamic manuals'). Its polemical concerns are hence directed at an audience drawn not just from members of the 'ulamâ', but also from a more diverse array of Muslims – an audience in frequent, possibly 'corrosive', contact with non-Muslim beliefs and practices. Its reception existed at multiple levels, with its audience also including students in the *ilmiye* system (İzgi, *Osmanlı*, pp. 70, 83), besides a vast 'popular' reception (Ivanyi, 'Virtue', pp. 25-7). Like the *Ṭarîqa*, this text also received various commentaries; the *kalâm*-centric *şerh* of Ahmed ibn Muhammed Efendi Kadızâde (d. c. 1781) is of note for the commentator's relatively accurate, if polemical, treatment of the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation

(Kadıızâde, *Cevher*, pp. 12-15), alongside his use of Birgivî's text to refute anthropomorphist doctrines supposedly held by Ibn Taymiyya and his followers.

The *Vasiyetnâme* opens with a lengthy explication of basic theological principles (drawn largely from the already quite old 'aqā'id, or creedal genre), starting with the 'negative' attributes of God (his being non-spatial, non-physical, and so on), before proceeding to his 'positive' attributes. It then moves on to the various basic tenets of Islam – the revelation of the Qur'an, the prophethood of Muḥammad, the nature of angels, last things (including the return of Jesus and his 'acting in accord with Muḥammad's *sharī'a*'), and so on. The remaining pages of the treatise are concerned with a wide range of matters, from a discussion of menstruation to principles for proper household management to moral-ethical exhortation similar to the long middle section of the *Ṭarīqa*. The work also functioned as a 'last will and testament', including various specifications for Birgivî's funeral and post-mortem arrangements. These, too, served a specific didactic purpose (such as a prohibition against building any sort of commemorative structure over the author's grave).

SIGNIFICANCE

While there are many points of contact between this work and the *Ṭarīqa*, with Birgivî constantly emphasising both the superiority of Islam and the importance of maintaining vigilance from within the Muslim community against wrong belief and practice, the continuum of potential threats to right doctrine and practice is somewhat broader here, encompassing explicit references to Christians and others. Birgivî's concern with the possibility of Muslims straying, intentionally or unintentionally, into 'unbelief' provides the discursive site for drawing these boundaries and placing non-Muslims, and any possible sympathies with non-Muslim beliefs and practices, firmly outside. Alongside a medley of short daily prayers intended as prophylactics against accidental acts of unbelief (parallel in the *Ṭarīqa*, p. 46), Birgivî briefly describes and refutes a whole litany of 'words of unbelief' (*küfür sözler*), and some practices that express unbelief, whose content provides a useful mirror for probable actual beliefs and discourses, albeit filtered through Birgivî's perceptions, in his 16th-century Anatolia (ed. Duman, p. 115). Besides injunctions against anthropomorphism and against mockery of things religious, and other concerns echoed in the *Ṭarīqa*, Birgivî condemns those Muslims who might express affirmation of Christian practices, believe 'incorrect' things about Christians or other non-Muslims, or otherwise blur or

ignore Islamic boundaries and strictures. For instance, those who envy unbelievers' supposed licence to have intercourse with their menstruating wives, Birgivî argues, commit unbelief. One who declares that 'the Christians are better than the Jews' also commits unbelief, though declaring the Jews to be worse than the Christians is allowable. Wearing clothing specifically marked out to distinguish non-Muslims is unbelief. More broadly, refusing to specify one's religious beliefs beyond a rather generic theism is an act of unbelief ('if one says, "God is in heaven – that is what I believe", it is unbelief'), as is the act of critiquing or deliberately ignoring any elements of the Sunna (such as rejecting the use of the *misvâk*). Refusing to seek *sharî'a* arbitration, or regarding certain sins as trifling, would also seem to reflect a similar reluctance toward rigid confessional identification. Affirming the continued existence of two *qiblas* – perhaps an attempt at affirming both Islam and Christianity or Judaism as equally legitimate – is unbelief (ed. Duman, pp. 115-18).

Birgivî's interest in identifying and refuting these 'words of unbelief' reflects the reality of Muslim communities in close contact with Christians in particular, as well as with other non-Muslim communities, and Birgivî's concern with individual Muslims' theological knowledge, or lack thereof. Ultimately such concerns over the seemingly porous boundaries between 'correct' Islam and other beliefs are subsidiary to the *Vasiyet-nâme's* central emphasis upon the integrity of Islamic belief and of the community, much as is true of the *Ṭarīqa*. In this vernacular language text, however, unlike in the Arabic *Ṭarīqa*, externally generated threats – not just internal problems of *bid'a* and the like – are explicitly presented. The multi-confessional, rather porous religious world of early modern Anatolia is implicitly recognised, as is the fact that popular understandings of Islam did not necessarily reflect either the normative vision of someone like Birgivî, or even competing visions from certain Sufis and other members of the learned classes.

Finally, Birgivî's *Vasiyetnâme* figures into Muslim-Christian relations in another, somewhat unexpected way. It was translated into Western European languages as early as 1703, most likely as a result of being such a commonly reproduced and hence easily available text in the Ottoman Empire. In German translation, it was employed by an Enlightenment-era German author to critique the Catholic Church (Ivanyi, 'Virtue', pp. 6-7, 27), Birgivî's straightforward depiction of austere religion being held up as a figure of 'rational' faith and practice. But besides acting as a supposed example of 'Enlightened' religion, these translations served

to introduce the basic doctrinal tenets and practices of Islam to various Western European audiences.

MANUSCRIPTS

For listings of some of the many extant MSS, see the manuscript citations under *Al-ṭariqa l-muḥammadiyya* in N. Atsız, *Istanbul kütüphanelerine göre Birgili Mehmet Efendi (929-981 = 1523-1573) bibliografyası*, Istanbul, 1966, pp. 6-11, which records 110 MSS in Istanbul alone, with slightly lower numbers existing in many other cities of the former Ottoman Empire.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

There are several printed editions in Arabic script, as well as numerous modern romanized editions. The best critical edition, with romanized Ottoman Turkish and a facsimile copy of a manuscript of the text, is:

Vasiyyet-name. Dil incelemesi, metin, sözlük, ekler indeksi, ve tıpkıbasım, ed. M. Duman, Istanbul, 2000

One of the many earlier lithograph editions, *Risale-i birgivî*, [Istanbul], 1805, is easily accessible online: <http://dbooks.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/books/PDFs/N12590781.pdf>

For a commentary, see Ahmed ibn Muhammed Efendi Kadızâde, *Birgivi vasiyetnamesi Kadizade Şerhi*, ed. F.A. Meyan, Istanbul, 1970

For an early, and now digitized, lithograph version, see: Ahmed ibn Muhammed Efendi Kadızâde, *Cevhere-i behiyye-i ahmediyye fi şerhi'l-vasiyyeti'l-mumammediyye*, [Istanbul?], 1825

Translations include:

J.H.G. de Tassy, *Exposition de la foi musulmane, traduite du Turc de Mohammed Ben Pir-Ali Elberkevi*, Paris, 1822

J.T. Plant, *Birghilu Risale. Oder Elementarbuch der muhammedanischen Glaubenslehre. Nach dem Arabischen des Nedschmuddin Omar Nessefy. Nebst Kommentar von Sadeddin Teftazany*, Geneva, 1790

Ahmad G. Mūsā al-Hayālī, *Religion ou théologie des turcs, avec la profession de foi de Mahomet fils de Pir Ali*, Brussels, 1703

STUDIES

The following are not thorough studies of the text, but do touch upon aspects of its reception or its historical background:

D. Terzioğlu, 'Where 'ilm-i ḥāl meets catechism. Islamic manuals of religious instruction in the Ottoman Empire in the age of confessionalization', *Past & Present* 220 (2013) 79-114

Ivanyi, 'Virtue, piety and the law', pp. 6-7, 25-30

Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam*, pp. 29-32, 172-3

C. İzgi, *Osmanlı medreselerinde ilim*, Istanbul, 1997, pp. 70, 83
 Zilfi, *The politics of piety*, pp. 144-5

Al-ṭarīqa l-Muḥammadiyya wa-l-sīra l-aḥmadiyya,
 ‘The Muhammadan way and the praiseworthy path’
Al-ṭarīqa l-Muḥammadiyya, ‘The Muhammadan
 way’

DATE 1572

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The longest of Birgivî’s ethical-doctrinal works – about 200 pages in printed editions – *Al-ṭarīqa l-Muḥammadiyya wa-l-sīra l-aḥmadiyya* is a compelling, yet rhetorically unembellished, guide to proper Islamic belief and practice as envisioned by its author. Its intended audience was probably made up of middling Ottoman *‘ulamā’* such as mosque preachers, provincial muftis, provincial madrasa teachers and the like, though its actual overall reception ranged far and wide.

After an opening section extolling the value of the Qur’an and the Sunna, replete with copious citations from these sources, Birgivî confronts the issue of blameworthy ‘innovation’ (*bid‘a*), castigating innovation and encouraging instead ‘moderation’ in following the Qur’an and Sunna. The long middle section opens with a brief discussion of right belief and of the various forms of knowledge, praiseworthy and otherwise. This leads into the heart of the text, which is devoted to the centrality of piety (*taqwā*) and its impediments, with Birgivî describing in detail the moral ‘harms’ operative in various parts of the body, along with ‘cures’ for these harms. Finally, in a rather eclectic closing section, Birgivî examines contemporary practices that he finds defective.

Much of the material in the text is drawn directly from the Qur’an and Hadith; citations by Ḥanafī scholars and others are also abundant, alongside some references to early Sufi texts. The *Ṭarīqa* would go on to have a long and rich afterlife, with a very diverse, and sometimes surprising, record of reception. It spread across the Ottoman lands, was eventually translated into Ottoman Turkish, and attracted multiple commentaries, including one by the great mystical philosopher and litterateur ‘Abd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī of Damascus (d. 1731), as well as others by figures

with more 'reformist' inclinations. In recent years it has been 'translated' under the title *The path of Muhammad* by T. Bayrak, a Halveti shaykh in America, though in a very loose and free manner.

SIGNIFICANCE

The vision of normative Islam laid out in the *Ṭarīqa* has as its foundations attention to the preservation of right authority (that is, textual – the Qur'an and Sunna – and interpretative, vested in the 'ulamā') and of communal integrity, joined with constant attention to one's internal 'state'. Many contemporary beliefs and practices, in Birgivî's estimation, could undermine these foundations and rupture the boundaries of the Muslim community. For instance, the extraordinary epistemic claims of many Sufis, according to Birgivî, disrupted the authority of the Qur'an and Sunna, which was shared among all Muslims, and denigrated the supreme prophetic station of Muḥammad. Further, many of the ascetic practices followed by Sufis threatened the community with their displays of egocentric piety. The transmission of 'ilm, Birgivî argued, outweighed such ascetic performances as it benefited the many in the community (*Ṭarīqa*, Istanbul, 1904, pp. 28, 32). Hence Birgivî also critiqued non-Sufi members of the 'ulamā', whether for their practice of pietistically excessive ablutions (*waswasa*, best translated in this context as 'scrupulousness'), or for their studied inattention to matters of *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* in their income (*Ṭarīqa*, pp. 199-206, 214). All of these 'deviations', even if undertaken for the sake of apparent piety, diverged from the supreme example of Muḥammad, and so undermined the foundations of the Islamic community.

In the *Ṭarīqa*, Birgivî rarely directly addresses matters pertaining to non-Muslims. Rather, the text's significance vis-à-vis Christians and other non-Muslims is more productively to be sought in the exclusions implicit in the vision of the Islamic community and doctrine depicted therein. It is only within the bounds of the community of Muḥammad that salvation is to be found. Christians and Jews are by their very nature as non-Muslims excluded from this community, and hardly merit a mention, even in a polemical context; their theological and hence soteriological nullity is taken as a given. Concurrent with the constant reiteration of the superiority of the Muslim community and its sacred deposit of the Book and Sunna, Birgivî strives to maintain the boundaries of Islam against the threat of deviant beliefs or lax practice and wrong intention. Christians and others provide points of reference for issues internal to Islam, as both negative markers of proscribed practices and as

positive loci for *sharī'a* compliance. Excess in asceticism, for instance, can become equivalent to Christian monasticism, potentially taking the practitioner outside the bounds of Islam (*Tarīqa*, p. 12). Yet Christians and Jews also exist within the text, not as threats or polemical objects, but as a means of proper piety vis-à-vis Muslims. For instance, Birgivî takes pains to clarify the generally *halāl* nature of the food and cooking vessels of Christians and Jews, against the practitioners of pietistic *waswasa* who would only eat food from Muslims (*Tarīqa*, p. 212). Here, non-Muslims form part of the landscape of boundary-setting: but that which is being excluded is an over-zealous, and incorrect, interpretation of piety on the part of Muslims. In the interest of 'moderation' and adherence to the *sharī'a*, Christians and Jews are incorporated by Birgivî into daily social relations of Muslims; it is the misguided would-be pietists who are outside the bounds of correct Islam.

On the whole, the image of Islam projected in this text is of a self-confident and internally-directed religion, yet one that is at the same time threatened by internal deviations and individual failings – but not, significantly, by external threats, be they from Christians dwelling within the empire or from Christian powers without.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a listing of works in MS, see:

- Brockelmann, *GAL*, Leiden, 1949, vol. 2, pp. 583-6
- N. Atsız, *Istanbul kütüphanelerine göre Birgili Mehmet Efendi (929-981 = 1523-1573) bibliografyası*, Istanbul, 1966
- A. Kaylı, 'A critical study of Birgivi Mehmed Efendi's (d. 981/1573) works and their dissemination in manuscript form', Istanbul, 2010 (MA Diss., Boğaziçi University)

For samples of the MS tradition of this text, see two digitized MS copies, each with copious marginalia, available from the Hathi Trust:

- MS Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library – Isl. Ms. 35 *Al-ṭarīqa l-Muḥammadiyya wa-l-sīra l-aḥmadiyya*, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015079105345>
- MS Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library – Isl. Ms. 516, *Kitāb al-ṭarīqa l-Muḥammadiyya*, Isl. Ms. 516, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015079125699>

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- The path of Muhammad. A book on Islamic morals and ethics*, trans. T. Bayrak, Bloomington IN, 2005 (loose English trans.)

Sīrat al-rasūl aw al-Ṭarīqa l-muḥammadiyya, Riyadh, 1993

Commentaries include: ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Al-ḥadīqa l-nadiyya. Sharḥ al-Ṭarīqa l-muḥammadiyya*, 2 vols, Lailbur, 1977

Al-ṭarīqa l-muḥammadiyya wa-l-sīra l-aḥmadiyya, Istanbul, 1904

Muḥammad ibn Muṣṭafā al-Khādimī, *Barīqa maḥmūdiyya fī sharḥ Ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya [sic] wa-sharī‘a nabawiyya fī sīra aḥmadiyya*, Istanbul, 1900

STUDIES

Ivanyi, ‘Virtue, piety and the law’

M. Cook, *Commanding right and forbidding wrong in Islamic thought*, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 323-8 (on Birgivi’s treatment of ‘commanding the right’ in the *Ṭarīqa*)

Jonathan Allen

Ebussuud Efendi

Ebussuud ibn Muhammad ibn Mustafa el-İmâd,
Hoca Çelebi

DATE OF BIRTH 30 December 1490
PLACE OF BIRTH Istanbul, Meteris (Mudarris) village
DATE OF DEATH 23 August 1574
PLACE OF DEATH Istanbul, Eyüp District

BIOGRAPHY

Ebussuud Efendi, also known as Hoca Çelebi, was one of the most distinguished and celebrated Ottoman Ḥanafî scholars. He served as a *müderris* (teacher) a *kadı* (judge), a *kazasker* (military judge) and *şeyhülislâm* (head of the Ottoman religious establishment) during the reigns of Süleyman I (r. 1520-66) and his son Selim II (r. 1566-74). Information about the date and place of his birth differs between sources. In an endowment deed, his birthplace is recorded as Iskilip near Amasya (*DİA*, vol. 4, p. 92). However, Uzunçarşılı argues that this was the family residence (*Osmanlı tarihi*, vol. 2, p. 677), and it is more likely that Ebussuud Efendi was born on one of the estates supported by his father's *zâviye* (Sufi lodge) outside Istanbul (Atâî, *Hadâîku'l-hakâîk*, vol. 2, p. 183) on 30 December 1490 (Şemseddin Sâmi, *Kamûsü'l-Â'lâm*, Istanbul, 1889-98, vol. 1, p. 722). His first teacher was his father, İskilipli Şeyh Muhyiddin Mehmed Efendi, a close companion of Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512).

Ebussuud Efendi rose rapidly through the ranks of the *ulema* and was appointed judge of Istanbul in 1533, a reflection of both his erudition and the Ottoman system of patronage. As the *kazasker* of Rumelia (from 21 September 1537) and *şeyhülislâm* (from 29 October 1545) he tackled important administrative issues. The principle of cash endowments that he defended on the basis of custom against the more conservative stand of Imam Mehmed Birgivi (d. 1573), who rejected them as innovations, together with his regulations on land holding and its taxation, earned him a reputation as a jurist who was responsive to social needs and able to find middle ground (Peçevî, *Tarih*, vol. 1, p. 467; Mandaville, 'Usurious piety'; Repp, *Müfti of Istanbul*, pp. 253-6; Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, pp. 115-38, 144-6, 270-1; Schacht, 'Abū 'l-Su'ūd').

He was equally diplomatic on the subject of Muslim and non-Muslim co-existence. Although within Islamic law non-Muslims were theoretically subject to sumptuary regulations and faced restrictions on the establishment and repair of their places of worship, and their legal testimony was considered inferior to that of Muslims, Ebussuud Efendi supported a more lenient approach that reflected the multi-religious, multi-cultural Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, his fatwas on everyday life between Muslims and non-Muslims rescinded many social restrictions and placed importance on good neighbourly relations. His erudition and pragmatism provided the sultan with a workable legal system. As both Imber and Repp have argued, he also promoted Sultan Süleyman's claims to universal sovereignty through the office of the caliphate, thereby empowering Süleyman to both interpret and apply the law (Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*, pp. 65-111; Repp, 'Abū l-Su'ūd'). By empowering the ruler to legislate, on occasion unhindered by the strictures of Islamic norms, he permitted non-Muslim institutions to become incorporated into Muslim society and law, as, for example, in the case of monastic endowments discussed below.

He died in Istanbul, and his funeral was attended by the bureaucratic and learned establishment. He was buried in the courtyard of the school he founded in the environs of Eyüp (Repp, 'Abū l-Su'ūd').

Ebussuud Efendi composed many fatwas that were collected in two main compilations, the *Fetâvâ-yı Ebussuud*, which were copied extensively. In addition, many of his fatwas that had been approved by the sultan became binding on Ottoman judges and were compiled posthumously in a collection known as *Mârûzât*. Ebussuud Efendi also wrote treatises on Sufism and Arabic grammar, and a *tafsîr*, the *Irshād al-'aql al-salîm* (Repp, 'Abū l-Su'ūd'). Perhaps less known are his poems in Persian, Arabic and Turkish, the most famous being *Kasîde-i mîmiyye* (Atâî, *Hadâiku'l-hakâik*, vol. 2, p. 187).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Nev'îzâde Atâî, *Hadâiku'l-hakâik fi tekmileti's-şakâik*, Istanbul, 1851

İbrahim Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî*, Istanbul, 1866-77, vol. 1, pp. 462-8

Secondary

İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi. İstanbul'un Fethinden Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın ölümüne kadar*, vol. 2, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2011

C. Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud. The Islamic legal tradition*, Edinburgh, 1997

- R.C. Repp, *The müfti of Istanbul. A study in the development of the Ottoman learned hierarchy*, London, 1986
- R.C. Repp, art. 'Abū l-Su'ūd', in *El3*
- J. Schacht, art. 'Abū l-Su'ūd', in *El2*
- A. Akgündüz, art. 'Ebüssuûd Efendi', in *DİA*
- J.E. Mandaville, 'Usurious piety. The cash waqf controversy in the Ottoman Empire', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10 (1979) 289-308

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Fetâvâ-yı Ebussuud, 'The legal opinions of Ebussuud'

DATE Before 1574

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Ebussuud Efendi's fatwas cover a variety of issues pertaining to the co-existence of Muslims and Christians. Although most are extant in manuscript form, a number are given in German translation in Horster, *Zur Anwendung des islamischen Rechts*, and in English translation in Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud*. In addition, M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ has transcribed 1001 fatwas in *Şeyhülislâm Ebüssuûd Efendi fetvaları*. With regard to issues related to Christians, the various compilations and their copies exhibit slight variations, and information is scattered throughout them: MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – İsmihan Sultan 223 and 241; and MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehid Ali Paşa 1067. Specific information on Christians and their duties and responsibilities can be found in MSS 223, fols 103-14, and 1067, fols 95-118.

The renowned pragmatism that Ebussuud Efendi exhibited in his regularisation of Islamic law and the sultans' administrative ordinances is masterfully displayed in his various responses to questions of cohabitation between Muslims and non-Muslims. For example, unlike many classical Ḥanafî jurists, he does not accept conversion to Islam without clear evidence of intention, arguing against the simple utterance of the profession of faith as proof of submission to the Muslim faith (Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebüssuûd*, p. 91). Thus, the utterance of the formula of conversion under duress, while intoxicated, or as part of a promise is not sufficient to enforce conversion (223, fol. 313r). Similarly, he argues that a non-Muslim wearing a white turban (exclusively reserved for Muslims) does not signify, or compel conversion to Islam (241, fol. 87r). To understand

the importance of this legal opinion one would only have to look into the *Lives* of neo-martyrs of the Ottoman period, and the entries in the registers of important affairs (Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ*, pp. 123, 140; Binark, *5 numaralı mühimme defteri*, p. 68, d. 367; Yıldırım, *82 numaralı mühimme defteri*, p. 341, d. 82; Yılmaz, *Üsküdar mahkemesi*, p. 177, d. 286), where non-Muslims are frequently accused of breaching the dress codes, leading to misunderstandings.

On certain aspects of Islamic jurisprudence, Ebussuud followed mainstream opinion. For example, he argued that new converts to Islam must forfeit their inheritance rights (241, fol. 231r). Nevertheless, although conversion entailed the legal requirement to sever social ties as the new convert embraced the community of Muslims, Ebussuud acknowledged that a permanent severance of ties to one's family would be impossible. Thus, in another fatwa he permits new Muslims to give charity to their impoverished Christian family (241, fol. 268v), stressing only that the alms must not be counted as *zakāt* (which is reserved for Muslims). Interestingly enough, the prohibition on inheritance between new converts to Islam and their non-Muslim relatives was not applied with regard to conversion between other faiths. When asked whether a former Jewess who converted to Christianity before marriage should be excluded from inheriting her deceased father's estate, he replies that such conversion will not have alienated the heiress from her birth-right (Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuûd*, p. 100).

By the 16th century, the increase in the Muslim population in Istanbul and other urban centres led to neighbourhoods of increasingly mixed faiths (H. Inalcik, art. 'Istanbul' in *El2*, pp. 234-5). Ebussuud Efendi's legal opinions reflected the daily practicalities of close interfaith co-existence. Thus, in his response to what should be the punishment for a Muslim who accepted Easter sweets and red eggs offered by a Christian, he answered that no punishment is prescribed for neighbourly relations (Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuûd*, p. 93).

Although Ebussuud Efendi can be considered a pragmatist, he was still a rather conservative Muslim jurist and, following the traditions of the Ḥanafī school, there is evidence that he aspired, if only in theory, to a religiously segregated society. In a number of his fatwas he permits the compulsory resettlement of Christian households if Muslims move into a predominately non-Muslim neighbourhood (1067, fols 94v, 95r-v, 106r). The expansion and reconstruction of Muslim space is, however, only to be permitted if the Christian owners are reimbursed. Rather than showing antipathy towards non-Muslims, his desire to maintain moral

values and avoid disorder might explain his encouragement to Muslims to disperse Christians who gather once a year in a mixed neighbourhood and who 'according to their customs [...] dance and are merry' (1067, fol. 274v). In this specific legal opinion, it is the formulation of the question that is of more interest than Ebussuud's answer. The questioner asks whether Jews, 'given their animosity to Christians', are to be allowed to intervene in a customary gathering that disturbs no one, especially Muslims. Ebussuud ignores the complaint about Jewish intervention and retorts that Jews should not get involved, as Muslims ought to ban this gathering on the basis of ostentatious exhibition that is harmful to Islam (1067, fol. 274v).

Ebussuud Efendi maintains a fairly traditional position with regard to the judicial rights and responsibilities of Christians. For example, the reduced legal capacity of Christians as witnesses is repeated in his legal opinions (241, fol. 156v, 223, fol. 190v). He is, however, aware of the complications that Christian family law can impose upon a Muslim judge, particularly when non-Muslims make use of Islamic courts and legal traditions and practices. Christians applying to the *sharī'a* court for family affairs circumvented the jurisdiction of the church and its canon law, forcing Muslim judges to make court decisions based on Islamic law. The litigants' choice of judicial forum was entirely their own decision. Jurists were thus faced with an array of questions related to the family affairs of Christians. The *sharī'a* registers abound with cases of Christians registering their marriage contract, obtaining a divorce or settling their inheritance. For Ebussuud Efendi, however, retaining social boundaries and preventing Christians from imitating Muslim practices was important. Thus, in a series of legal opinions he clarifies that divorce between Christians is not effected by the husband pronouncing the Muslim triple divorce formula (1067, fol. 44r), and that a divorced Christian woman does not have to observe the waiting period of three months after divorce before remarriage, as is observed in Islamic law (1067, fol. 72v and fol. 78r). Perhaps the most detailed opinion on the matter is Ebussuud's response to whether a Christian woman married to a Christian man could claim her advance dower if there is no mention of it in her marriage contract. In his answer, Ebussuud lays down that since canon law – unlike Islamic law – does not make provisions for the payment of an advance dower, in a situation in which the advance dower is not specified in the marriage contract, the woman cannot take an oath to prove her claim (Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuûd*, p. 99).

Ebussuud Efendi's concern about non-Muslims having recourse to the *shari'a* courts with issues relating to family law is not merely a theoretical matter of adherence to Islamic social codes. It echoes real concern about morality, as judicial, juridical and social boundaries became blurred. An example of this concern is the Christian custom of keeping concubines or of bigamy (Yılmaz, *Üsküdar mahkemesi*, p. 278, d. 566). Even though Christian metropolitans and patriarchs condemned both practices (G. Arampatzoglou, *Photieios library*, Constantinople, 1935, vol. 2, d. 13, p. 129; d. 42, p. 142; d. 70, p. 154), Christians still continued to conduct second marriages in the *shari'a* court, following Islamic law prescriptions. The *kepinion* – as non-religious marriages were called – became such a problem for the church that eventually in the 18th century it was forced to accept as legitimate children born from these unions (*Nomikon procheinon of the bishop of Ioannina Theophilos (1788)*, ed. D. Gkines, Thessaloniki, 1960, pp. 36, 46). Foreseeing the social problems occurring from the adaptation of Muslim marital practices to Christian family life, Ebussuud, when he is asked about Christians keeping concubines and thus in effect becoming bigamous, resorts to traditional punishments to maintain order. He suggests corporal punishment and long imprisonment for culprits (1067, fol. 108r).

Ebussuud Efendi's implicit support for church juridical jurisdiction on family matters extended to issues vital for the survival of the Patriarchate. During the 16th century, an investigation occurred as to whether Constantinople had been conquered by force or by treaty. According to Islamic law, if an area was conquered by force, the inhabitants lost their property rights, a position that would have jeopardised the possessions of non-Muslim residents. According to an anonymous Greek chronicle, *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinoupoleos* (Bonn, 1850, pp. 157-68), Ottoman officials and the Greek Orthodox Patriarch collaborated and were able to find two elderly Muslim fighters to act as witnesses and assert that the non-Muslim population surrendered. In a later fatwa, Ebussuud repeats the testimony of the witnesses and stresses that, although it was commonly believed that the capital was taken by force, the truth is that the Christian and Jewish population surrendered (1067, fol. 97r).

A final example of Ebussuud Efendi's pragmatism towards the Patriarchate and Christian institutions arises from the affair surrounding the confiscation and repossession of monastic properties in 1568-9. In 1568, Sultan Selim II ordered the confiscation of monastic properties, basing his decision on Ebussuud's legal opinion that public land could be confiscated by the state. This was based on two principles: first, that monastic

endowed land was not held as the freehold of the monasteries, but was public land, and, second, that the remaining movable and immovable properties of monasteries were made into trust in mortmain in violation of Ḥanafī laws on endowments (Kermeli, 'Ebū's Su'ūd's definitions', pp. 150-1). In response to the threat of the monks of Mount Athos to disperse unless their Byzantine tradition of owning property collectively was respected, Ebussuud Efendi devised a legal trick to recognise monasteries as collective legal entities. He categorised monastic endowments as family endowments and permitted the property of deceased monks to pass to the remaining monks in contradiction to the Islamic law of inheritance (1067, fol. 93v; Kermeli, 'Ebū's Su'ūd's definitions', p. 147).

SIGNIFICANCE

The legal opinions of Ebussuud on relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire reflect his prerogatives as a jurist and a consultant to the sultan, and also the societal realities of coexistence in the multi-religious and multicultural empire. As a moralist and a traditionalist, he was an ardent advocate of social segregation and adherence to communal codes prescribed by Islamic law. Nevertheless, the reality of interfaith cohabitation permeates his legal opinions. Thus, he rejects the utterance of the profession of faith as proof of conversion without additional clear intent, contrasting with another jurist, Abdürrahim Efendi, who at the beginning of the 18th century insisted on the conversion of non-Muslims who adopted even the attire of a Muslim (*Fetâvâ-yı Abdürrahim*, Istanbul, 1827, vol. 2, p. 285). Ebussuud's understanding extends to the behaviour of newly converted Muslims to their former non-Muslim relatives. Even though they cannot claim the inheritance of their 'infidel' parents, new Muslims are allowed to help their parents financially. Participating in non-Muslim religious activities might be forbidden, nevertheless he regards accepting gifts of religious or cultural significance from neighbours as part of friendly neighbourly relations, and thus not proscribed.

Ebussuud Efendi's legal opinions do, however, reflect a concern about non-Muslims using Muslim courts rather than those run by their co-religionists in the context of family law. In a number of fatwas he attempts to curb the practice of non-Muslims applying to *sharī'a* courts.

With regard to Muslim-Christian relations, one could argue that Ebussuud Efendi's most important contribution was in the acceptance of the Christian *vakıf* into Ḥanafī jurisprudence on religious endowments. In 1568, he categorised Christian *vakıfs* as family endowments, ending the

controversy about their validity and allowing the monks of a monastery to be considered the heirs of deceased monks.

Ebussuud Efendi's fatwas were cited in numerous court cases and petitions to the sultans well into the 19th century (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (BOA), A.MKT/34/97/1262; BEO/1050/78680/1315; BEO/2503/187718/1322; BEO/2510/188239/1322; BEO/3587/269003/1327; C.ADL/28/1666/1233; C.ADL/29/1751/ 1171). Lastly, by reiterating the rather flimsy proof that Istanbul was not taken by force but by agreement, he effectively put an end to efforts to deprive the Patriarchate and non-Muslims of their property in the city.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – İsmihan Sultan 223, fol. 304 (1575)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – İsmihan Sultan 241, fol. 318 (1580)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehid Ali Paşa 1067, fol. 421 (1587)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Sultan Ahmed 95, fol. 463 (1588)

There are two main compilations of Ebussuud Efendi's fatwas. The most comprehensive, based exclusively on his legal opinions, is that by Bozanzâde, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehid Ali Paşa 1067, fol. 421 (1587). The most popular in terms of copies made was that compiled by his secretary, Veli ibn Yusuf el-İskilibî, which also includes fatwas by other *şeyhülislâms* such as Kemâlpaşazâde, Çivizâde Mehmed Efendi, Sâdî Çelebi, Ali Cemâlî Efendi with comments in Arabic, imperial orders and historical information on *ulema* debates. The manuscripts bear the names of the owners' collections.

For a detailed analysis of the MSS, see P. Düzenli, 'Şeyhülislâm Ebussuûd Efendi. Bibliyografik bir değerlendirme', *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Imber, *Ebu's-Su'ud* (a selection of fatwas in English trans.)
- M.E. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuûd Efendi fetvaları ışığında 16. asır Türk hayatı*, Istanbul, 1972 (a selection of *fetwās* transliterated from Ottoman into modern Turkish)
- P. Horster, *Zur Anwendung des islamischen Rechts im 16. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1935 (a selection of fatwas in German trans.)

STUDIES

- Ç. Yılmaz (ed.), *İstanbul kadı sicilleri. Üsküdar mahkemesi, 26 numaralı sicil (970-971/1562-1563)*, Istanbul, 2010

- E. Kermeli, 'The right to choice. Ottoman justice vis-à-vis ecclesiastical and communal justice in the Balkans, seventeenth-nineteenth centuries', in A. Christmann and R. Gleave (eds), *Studies in Islamic law. A Festschrift for Colin Imber, Journal of Semitic Studies*, suppl. 33, Oxford, 2008, 165-210
- H. Çolak, 'Co-existence and conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in the 16th century Ottoman Istanbul', Bilkent, 2008 (Diss. University of Bilkent)
- N.M. Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ? Orthodox Christian neomartyrs of the Ottoman period 1437-1860*, New York, 2000
- E. Kermeli, 'Ebū's Su'ūd's definition of church *vakfs*. Theory and practice in Ottoman law', in R. Gleave and E. Kermeli (eds), *Islamic law. Theory and practice*, London, 1997, 141-56
- İ. Binark (ed.), *5 numaralı mühimme defteri, (973/1565-1566)*, Ankara, 1996
- O. Yıldırım (ed.), *82 numaralı mühimme defteri, (1026-1027/1617-1618)*, Ankara, 1994
- Ö.L. Barkan, *XV ve XVIinci asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları*, İstanbul, 1943

Eugenia Kermeli

Giovanni Battista Eliano

Gian Battista (Gianbattista) Eliano, Giovanni Battista Romano, Juan Baptista Eliano, Jean-Baptiste Elían,
Joannes Baptista Ælianus (Romanus), Eliah ben Yitṣḥaq Behem miRoma

DATE OF BIRTH 1530
PLACE OF BIRTH Rome
DATE OF DEATH 3 March 1589
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Rome in 1530 to Jewish parents, Eliah ben Yitṣḥaq Behem was on his mother's side the grandson of Rabbi Eliah Levita, a renowned grammarian. His father Yitṣḥaq originated from a Bohemian family. At the age of seven, Eliah went to Venice to study with his grandfather. During the winter of 1540-1, he and his elder brother Yosef accompanied Levita to Germany, returning to Venice afterwards. In Germany and Venice, they both helped Levita to prepare editions of Hebrew texts. Later, Eliah went with his family on business to Constantinople and Cairo, where he learned Arabic. Meanwhile Yosef, who had stayed in Venice, converted to Catholicism.

In 1551, Eliah came back to Venice and, under the influence of his brother and André des Freux, a French Jesuit, he also was baptised, and chose the name of the Baptist (the new Elijah of the Gospel) but kept the name Eliano in honour of his grandfather. He entered the Society of Jesus, and in 1552 he moved to Rome where he studied theology and philosophy in the Roman College. In 1561, he was ordained priest and was sent to the Coptic patriarch in Egypt to promote union with the Roman Catholic Church. In 1564, back in Rome, he resumed his study of theology, and in 1565 became professor of Hebrew and Arabic at the Roman College. In 1564, he was charged by Pius IV with acquiring oriental typefaces for the *Tipografia del Collegio Romano*, the Jesuit press in Rome (1556-1615). In 1578, he left Italy again on the first Jesuit mission to the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, and brought manuscripts back to Rome. In 1580, he returned to the East in order to organise a synod

with the Maronite patriarch in the monastery of Qannūbīn, attempting to impose Tridentine legislation and to increase Roman influence on Lebanese Christianity. In 1582, while in Aleppo, he was asked by the Roman authorities to go to Egypt, again to promote the union of the Coptic patriarchate with the Roman Church. He was back in Rome by 1585, and he died there on 3 March 1589.

A cultured man of learning, Eliano knew numerous languages and published several books, among them the first illustrated catechism written in Italian (*Doctrina Christiana nella quale si contengono li principali misteri della nostra fede rappresentati con figure per istrutione de gl'idioti et di quelli che non sano legere*, Rome, 1587), an Arabic translation of the profession of faith promulgated by Pius V for Eastern Christians who claimed to be united with the Catholic Church (*I'tiqād al-amāna l-urtūduksiyya kanīsa rūmiyya* [sic] – *Fidei orthodoxae brevis et explicita confessio quam Sacrosanta Romana Ecclesia docet*, Rome, 1566), and an Arabic catechism, *Al-ta'lim al-Masīhī* (Rome, 1580). He also wrote an *Autobiographia*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- A. Rabbath, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du christianisme en Orient*, Beirut, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 140-70, 195-207, 209, 211-314, 632-41 (letters and documents of the Society of Jesus written by or about Eliano)
- J.C. Sola, 'El p. Juan Baptista Eliano. Un documento autobiográfico inédito', *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 4 (1935) 291-321 (edition of Eliano's autobiography written in 1588 at the request of Claudio Acquaviva, Superior General of the Society of Jesus)
- S. Kuri (ed.), *Monumenta Proximi-Orientis, I, Palestine-Liban-Syrie-Mésopotamie (1523-1583)*, Rome, 1989
- C. Libois (ed.), *Monumenta Proximi-Orientis, II, Égypte (1547-1563)*, Rome, 1993
- S. Kuri (ed.), *Monumenta Proximi-Orientis, III, Palestine-Liban-Syrie-Mésopotamie (1583-1623)*, Rome, 1994
- C. Libois (ed.), *Monumenta Proximi-Orientis, IV, Égypte (1565-1591)*, Rome, 1996 (The *Monumenta* contain many letters and other documents written by Eliano during his missions in the Middle East)
- M. Rastoin, *Du même sang que Notre Seigneur. Juifs et jésuites aux débuts de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Montrouge, 2011, pp. 261-74 (French trans. of part of the autobiography)

Secondary

- A. Bikard, 'Elia Levita's yiddish works', *Italianistica Ultraiectina* 7 (2012) 31-39
- Rastoin, *Du même sang que Notre Seigneur*, pp. 67-75, 120-1, 180, 221, 261-75, 288, 298-9
- R. Librandi, 'Indottrinare in un continuum di varietà', in C. Di Giovine (ed.), *Lingua e dialetti tra storia e cultura*, Potenza, 2008, 25-44
- A. Hamilton, *The Copts and the West, 1439-1822. The European discovery of the Egyptian Church*, Oxford, 2006, pp. 58-73
- A. Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari*, Turin, 1996, pp. 580-1
- B. Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique*, Rome, 1994, pp. 79, 146, 149, 232-4, 405-7, 470, 481-2
- P.C. Ioly Zorattini, art. 'Eliano, Giovanni Battista', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 42, Rome, 1993, pp. 472-5 (with an exhaustive bibliography of earlier literature)
- J. Balagna, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident (XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles)*, Paris, 1984, pp. 28-31
- H.D.L. Vervliet, *Cyrillic and oriental typography in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century. An inquiry into the later work of Robert Granjon (1578-90)*, Berkeley CA, 1981, p. 23 (original edition: 'Robert Granjon à Rome [1578-1589]', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 38 [1967] 177-231)
- G. Weil, *Elie Lévi, humaniste et massorète (1469-1549)*, Leiden, 1963, pp. 40, 108, 128, 135, 153
- M. Scaduto, 'La missione di Cristoforo Rodríguez al Cairo (1561-1563)', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 28 (1958) 233-78
- R.G. Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773)*, Rome, 1954, pp. 71-2
- G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Vatican City, 1949-53, vol. 4, pp. 210-17
- G. Levi della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle Chiese orientali con la S. Sede durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII*, Vatican City, 1948, pp. 22, 32-3, 34, 36-8, 114-120, 123-6, 169
- G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1939, pp. 193-6, 199-201, 205, 257, 282, 388
- G. Castellani, 'La tipografia del Collegio Romano', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 2 (1933) 11-16, p. 15
- A. Vaccari, 'Una Bibbia araba per il primo gesuita venuto al Libano', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* 10 (1925) 79-107
- C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Brussels-Paris, 1892, vol. 3, cols 379-80

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya, 'The spiritual conversation'

DATE Between the 1560s and the 1580s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This book was published with no mention of the author's name, date or place of publication (its title in full is *Hadhā muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya bayn al-‘ālimayn, wa-ism wāḥid minhumā shaykh Sinān wa-ism al-ākhar Aḥmad al-‘ālim, allatī kānat fī rujū‘ihimā min al-Ka‘ba, nāfi‘a li-kull Muslim wa-Muslima*; 'This is a spiritual conversation between two scholars, the name of one of them is shaykh Sinān and the name of the other is Aḥmad the scholar, which took place during their return from the Ka‘ba; it is useful to every Muslim man and woman'). Since the Arabic typeface in which it was printed is identical to that used for *Fidei orthodoxae brevis et explicata confessio* by Giovanni Battista Eliano, published at the Roman College in Rome in 1566, *Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya* has been attributed to him. Against this attribution, however, Eliano's missionary activities were more concerned with Eastern Christians than with Muslims and he never mentions the book in his other writings, while as late as 1580 the same typeface was used at the College in a reprint of the *Confessio*.

Another argument for a date of printing before 1580 is that Granjon's Arabic type, used in the Medici workshop, became available in that year. This was far superior to the type used by the Roman College press, and so anyone publishing an Arabic work after this date would have used it. Against this, however, the Roman College press continued to use its Arabic typeface until 1615. Another possibility for dating, suggested by the historian G. Levi della Vida, is that the work was written in the congregation created in 1584 by Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85), who wanted them to compose a book in Arabic against the 'sect of Mahomet', though by this date anyone publishing a book in Arabic would presumably have used the Medici typeface, which was more aesthetically pleasing than any other.

If the work was written in the first part of the 1580s, it could perhaps have been the fruit of collaboration between Leonard Abel, a Maltese priest, and Moses, the Jacobite bishop of Tyre. They were both in Rome in the 1580s, and together had written the Arabic work, *Shahādāt al-Qur‘ān ‘alā Sayyidinā Yasū‘ al-Masīḥ* ('Testimonies of the Qur'an to our Lord Jesus Christ') (MS Vat – Ar. 83, fols 77v-85r). Further investigation is

needed to establish any relationship between this work and *Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya*.

While the traditional attribution to Giovanni Battista Eliano continues to be accepted, at present it is impossible to be definite about the author(s) or the date of the work. It was probably written somewhere between the 1560s and the 1580s, and certainly before a second edition, which can be dated to the late 16th century.

Written in incorrect Arabic and amounting to 116 pages, *Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya* comprises three dialogues between the two Muslims shaykh Sinān and Aḥmad the scholar as they are returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca. In all three dialogues, they discuss a series of questions about the Qur'an, and they discover contradictions in it and identify such problems as the impossibility of understanding its irrational nature or what it says about women in paradise. They also come to agree that Muḥammad was immoral because of his polygamy, and fraudulent because he was not confirmed by miracles or martyrs, unlike Christ and the Gospel, and they acknowledge that Islam is violent in its nature and will lead to damnation. They conclude that Christians possess authentic scriptures and believe in one God.

In this way, the dialogues set out to prove the truth of Christianity by using the Qur'an itself, though there are clear signs that the author does not understand its status for Muslims: he introduces quotations with the words *qāla nabīyyunā* ('our prophet said'), thus attributing it to Muḥammad. The topics covered in the work had been commonplaces of Christian-Muslim polemics since the Middle Ages, though further work would be required to ascertain whether it draws on any particular written sources.

As the two honest Muslims sincerely explore their scripture, the reader comes to see that the pious Arab was ultimately close to Christianity and could actually not be convinced by Islam. In its portrayal of the two men reaching towards Christian truth, *Muṣāḥaba* also posits a form of fundamental piety, moral and natural philosophy that was common to both Christians and Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya may have been written in the pontificate of Gregory XIII or a few years before, sometime towards the end of the 16th century. This was a time of strong renewal in Catholic missionary activity throughout the world, and particularly in the Middle East. The end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th represented a pivotal moment

in the lengthy and complex process by which the post-Tridentine Catholic Church became centralised and the papacy claimed authority over all foreign missions. It was also the time when books were first printed in Rome in Eastern languages to support missions in the Middle East. *Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya* would have appeared in this context, as a way of providing arguments for missionaries to use.

The literary form of dialogue between Christians and Muslims goes back to the first centuries of Islam, and is related to the practice of formal sessions of live debate (*majālis*). This practice was no longer followed in the Ottoman period, and in the 16th-century apologetic arguments from the first centuries of Christian-Muslim encounters were only partially known. *Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya* is a revival of this tradition, though here the debate is between Muslims alone, an isolated and very original instance of this in Christian-Muslim polemics, even if the themes covered are not new.

It seems that a second edition of the book was prepared, though never printed. MSS Vat – Ar. 244 and 245, written at the end of the 16th century, present a heavily revised text with numerous variants, corrections to the Arabic and more precise theological arguments. An introduction is added in which the pilgrims are now identified as Egyptians, and the younger, Aḥmad al-Ṭanūsī, emerges as the author of the dialogues and says that they took place in June 1534.

We have no information about the reception of the work in the Middle East, although in Europe it seems to have had a fairly wide circulation at the beginning of the 17th century. Isaac Casaubon, Thomas Erpenius, Joseph Scaliger and Gilbert Gaulmin read it, while in 1615 the Arabist William Bedwell published an English translation under the title *Mohammedis imposturae. That is, a discovery of the manifold forgeries, falshoods, and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed* (re-edited in 1624 with the title *Mahomet unmasked. Or a discoverie of the manifold forgeries, falshoods, and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mahomet*). He intended it as practice in Arabic for his students, to be read alongside the Arabic version, and took it at face value, believing that it was written in the 11th century by ‘some Saracen or Mohametane’.

It seems that *Muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya* was largely ignored by Catholic missionaries and polemicists. But it is the first in a series of Catholic polemics against Islam, in the form of dialogues between Christians and Muslims, that were published in the 17th century using very similar arguments.

MANUSCRIPTS

It seems that the work originally circulated in printed form, though, as the date of its publication is uncertain, one cannot be sure. However, several MSS are known that are roughly contemporary to the edition or copied soon after:

- MS Paris, BNF – Ar 219 (1599)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar 218 (16th century)
- MS Vat – Ar 244 (16th century)
- MS Vat – Ar 245 (16th century)
- MS Vat – Rossiana 924, fols 45r-72v (17th century)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 680 (18th century)
- MS Aleppo, collection Anṭūn Maṭar (inaccessible; see Sbath, *Fihris*, vol. 1, p. 31, no. 216)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

W. Bedwell, *Mahomet Unmasked. Or A Discoverie of the manifold Forgeries, Falshoods, and horrible Impieties of the Blasphemous Seducer Mahomet: With a demonstration of the Insufficiencie of his Law, contained in the cursed Alcoran Written long since in Arabicke; and now done into English by William Bedwell. Whereunto is annexed the Arabian Trudgman, Interpreting certaine Arabicke termes used by Historians. Together with an Index of the Chapters of the Alkoran, for the understanding of the confutation of the Booke*, London, 1624 (English trans.)

W. Bedwell, *Mohammedis Imposturae: That Is, A Discovery of the Manifold Forgeries, Falshoods, and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed: With a demonstration of the insufficiencie of his law, contained in the cursed Alkoran; Delivered in a conference had betweene two Mahometans, in their returne from Mecha. Written long since in Arabicke, and now done into English by William Bedwell. Whereunto is annexed the Arabian Trudgman, interpreting certaine Arabicke termes used by Historians: Together with an Index of the Chapters of the Alkoran, for the understanding of the confutations of that booke*, London, 1615 (English trans.)

Hadhā muṣāḥaba rūḥāniyya bayn al-‘ālimayn wa-ism wāḥid minhumā shaykh Sinān wa-ism al-ākhar Aḥmad al-‘ālim allatī kānat fī rujū‘ihimā min al-Ka‘ba, nāfi‘a li-kull Muslim wa-Muslima, (s.l), (s.d.)

STUDIES

G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom Learning. The study of Arabic in seventeenth-century England*, Oxford, 1996, p. 61

- A. Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist, 1563-1632*, Leiden, 1985, pp. 66-9
- J. Balagna, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident (XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles)*, Paris, 1984, pp. 30-2
- Vervliet, *Cyrillic and oriental typography*, pp. 23-4
- N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, Edinburgh, 1960
- Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 4, p. 213
- Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 205-6, 212-13, 257-9
- G.E. Saltini, 'Della stamperia orientale medicea e di Giovan Battista Raimondi. Memoria compilata sui documenti dell'Archivio centrale di Stato', *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani* 4 (1860) 257-308, pp. 260-3
- C.F. de Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halle, 1811, pp. 234-6

Aurélien Girard

Leh kralına nâme-i hümayun

‘Imperial letter to the Polish king’

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably mid-16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; after 1591
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author(s) of this letter, which contains the *tuğra* (official calligraphic signature) of Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-95). Presumably drafted and written by unnamed court official(s), the letter was sent from the Ottoman court to Sigismund III, King of Poland, in 1591.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Leh kralına nâme-i hümayun, ‘Imperial letter to the Polish king’

List suttana Murada III do króla Zygmunta, ‘Letter of Sultan Murad III to King Sigismund’

DATE 19-28 October, 1591

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

This letter was written in response to a request made by the Lithuanian Muslim Tatars, who went to Sultan Murad III to ask for his protection. It is addressed to Sigismund III Vasa, King of Poland, and begins with a short invocation to God, after which the sultan’s *tuğra* is traced. The letter is written in Ottoman Turkish in *dîvânî* script on a single sheet of paper. It is only nine lines long (see the cover illustration of this volume).

The letter says that the Lithuanian Muslims prayed five times a day, but had no mosques for their prayers on Fridays and feast days (in fact, written sources from the period indicate that there were 13 mosques in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at this time). The sultan declares that he gives protection to the Tatars, and says that the king should not forbid prayers or the construction of mosques. But he does not issue any threat

if the Muslims are not allowed to do as they wish, and simply expresses the wish that when the Lithuanian Muslims performed their prayers on Fridays and festivals they should always pray 'for the stability of the state and for our majesty [himself]'.

The original of the letter is kept in the Central Archive of Historical Records (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych) in Warsaw (Dział turecki, karton 71, teczka 269, no. 500). In the 1640s, Samuel Otwinowski added a short explanation about its contents, while the mistaken date of 1587 is inserted in someone else's hand. The letter did not feature in later registers of the Crown Office, and it could have been kept separately (a practice corroborated by other cases), or been overlooked because of the singular nature of its contents. In 1789, Antoni Crutta, an Albanian in the Polish diplomatic service, translated the letter into French. The fair copy of the translation on two sheets has been preserved, together with the document. Stanisław Szachno-Romanowicz, a staff member of the Central Archive in the 1930s, wrote a complete description of the document and translated it into Polish. It was to be published in 1939, but the outbreak of the Second World War prevented this. It was finally published by Jan Tyszkiewicz only in 1987, together with an extensive archival and historical commentary.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is a very unusual document in which the ruler of one country extends his protection over Muslims living under a Christian ruler in another. The Tatars were exaggerating their difficulties, although it can be surmised that they feared the same fate as other non-Catholics in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, when the Counter-Reformation was gathering pace, especially after the election of Sigismund Vasa as king of Poland in 1587. The early years of his rule were characterised by an escalation of tensions between various factions in the country and between religious groups, especially the different Christian communities. It appears that the Tatars were wanting to pre-empt any threat to their community by approaching the Ottoman sultan, who was the Defender of Islam.

As matters turned out, the sultan's support did not help the Tatars much, as acts restricting the freedom of the Tatars were passed by the Polish parliament at the beginning of the 17th century. There was no reaction on the part of the Ottomans, and in all probability from the Ottoman Porte's perspective these Tatars living in Lithuania were only 'an ethnographic curiosity', and their fate did not count much when it came to making political decisions.

Nevertheless, the letter is a virtually unique phenomenon in Christian-Muslim relations. For a very long time, the document was confined to the archives, and even since its publication and presentation by Tyszkiewicz in 1987 it has not attracted much attention.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Warsaw, Central Archive of Historical Records (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych) – Dział turecki, karton 71, teczka 269, no. 500 (1591)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce. Studia z dziejów XIII-XVIII wieku*, Warsaw, 1989 (annex 3, pp. 304-5, contains the Polish trans. from Tyszkiewicz, 'Pismo sułtana')

J. Tyszkiewicz, 'Pismo sułtana Murada III do Zygmunta III z roku 1591 w sprawie Tatarów litewskich', *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 30 (1987), 79-97 (Polish trans. with a facsimile of the document and two pages of its late 18th-century French trans.)

STUDIES

A. Konopacki, *Życie religijne Tatarów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XIX wieku*, Warsaw, 2010

Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce*

Artur Konopacki

Âşık Mehmed

Mehmed ibn Ömer ibn Bayezid el-Âşık

DATE OF BIRTH Presumably 1556/7
PLACE OF BIRTH Trabzon
DATE OF DEATH After 1598
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; presumably Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

The son of a teacher at the Qur'an elementary school, Âşık Mehmed grew up in Trabzon. He was familiar with the Greek language as a result of living alongside Christians in his neighbourhood. He also learned Arabic and Persian at the local *madrassa* (*Menâzirü'l-avâlim*, ed. Ak, p. xli). In 1576, aged 20, he left his native town and travelled to Anatolia and Thrace. In 1581-4, he took part in Osman Paşa's campaigns to the Caucasus and the Russian steppe and then spent several years in Salonica, travelling in the nearby areas. In 1593, he went to Egypt and in 1593-4 participated in Koca Sinan Paşa's campaign in Hungary. After 1596, he lived in Damascus. The date of his death is unknown.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Âşık Mehmed, *Menâzirü'l-avâlim*, ed. M. Ak, 3 vols, Ankara, 2007
Kâtip Çelebi (Hajjî Khalîfa), *Kashf al-zunûn 'an asâmi l-kutub wa-l-funûn*, ed. Ş. Yaltkaya and K.R. Bilge, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1941-3, p. 1833
Kâtip Çelebi (Hajjî Khalîfa), *Cihânnümâ*, ed. Ibrahim Müteferrika, Istanbul [1732/3], p. 14

Secondary

- M. Ak, 'Aynı Adı Taşıyan İki Osmanlı Müellifi (Âşık Mehmed b. Ömer)', *İlmî Araştırmalar. Dil, Edebiyat, Tarih İncelemeleri* 1 (2014) 9-14
M. Ak (ed.), *Âşık Mehmed. Menâzirü'l-avâlim*, 3 vols, Ankara, 2007, pp. xxxvii-cclxxv
G. Hagen, 'Afterword', in R. Dankoff (ed.), *An Ottoman mentality. The world of Evliya Çelebi*, Leiden, 2004, 215-56, pp. 224-6
G. Hagen, 'Das Fremde im Eigenen. Mehmed 'Aşık Reisen über den osmanischen Balkan', in G. Schubert and W. Dahmen (eds), *Bilder vom Eigenen und Fremden aus dem Donau-Balkan-Raum. Analysen literarischer und anderer Texte. Südosteuropa – Studien 71*, Munich, 2003, 121-41

- C. Kafescioğlu, ‘“In the image of Rûm”. Ottoman architectural patronage in sixteenth-century Aleppo and Damascus’, *Muqarnas* 16 (1999) 70-96
- G. Hagen, ‘The traveller Mehmed Aşık’, in *Essays on Ottoman civilization. Proceedings of the XIIth Congress of CIEPO, Praha 1996*, *Archív Orientální Supplementa VIII*, Prague, 1998, 145-54
- R. Kreutel, ‘Ein Kirchenraub in Selânîk’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 69 (1977) 73-90
- F. Taeschner, art. ‘Djuġhrāfiyā, VI. The Ottoman geographers’, in *El2*
- F. Taeschner, art. ‘Âşîk, Muġammad b. ‘Uthmān b. Bāyezîd’, in *El2*
- F. Taeschner, ‘Ankara nach Mehmed Ashik’, in *Zeki Velidi Toġan Armaġanu*, Istanbul, 1950-5, 147-56
- F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 138-9
- F. Taeschner, ‘Die Geographische Literatur der Osmanen’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 77 (1923) 31-80, pp. 48-56

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Menâzurü'l-avâlim, ‘Perspectives of the worlds’

DATE April-May 1598

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Âşık Mehmed’s *Menâzurü'l-avâlim* is a traditional universal geography, a huge compilation, consisting of 1,866 pages in Ak’s 2007 edition, derived mainly from Arabic and Persian sources, but with some additions on Anatolia and the Balkans by the author himself, presumably based on his extensive travels in these regions. Following the tradition of pre-Ottoman cosmographies, it consists of two parts. The first describes the creation of the world, the heavens and stars, hell and heaven, and their inhabitants, while the second concentrates on the earth, with specific sections on mountains, rivers, lakes, towns, and other things, arranged according to the Ptolemaic climates. Following a systematic description of minerals, plants and animals, the last section of the book is an excursus on humans and their particular qualities. Some glimpses of Âşık Mehmed’s views about Christians may be found in the relevant parts, especially when he refers to places of Christian worship. These consist of his description of Mount Athos (*cezîre-i Aynoroz*) or the Holy Mountain, (ed. Ak, pp. 248-50), and of the monasteries of Meteora (*cebel-i Kalabak Kaya*) in Thessaly (ed. Ak, pp. 407-8).

In the description of Mount Athos, Âşik Mehmed notes that there are 'twenty-five Christian abbeys or monasteries', with places of worship, workshops, storehouses, and rooms for the monks, who come from all 'the seventy-two kinds of Christian nations'. He does not seem to distinguish between the Orthodox and the Catholics, as he includes 'Franks', Hungarians, Croats and Austrians, as well as Armenians; and he appears to assume that the number of nations corresponds to the number of Christian sects given in the Hadith of Muḥammad (ed. Ak, p. 249). Âşik Mehmed defines monastic life predominantly in terms of abstaining from marriage. He further adds that all kinds of Christian clerics, including patriarchs and monks, gather at Mount Athos in order 'to increase their blasphemy, error and rebellion, and to augment their ignorance, polytheism and frustration' (*iştîdâd-ı küfr ü dalâl ü tuğyân ve izdiyâd-i cehl ü şirk ü hüsrân*) (ed. Ak, p. 249). He also notes that Christian magnates and their sons come as well in order to learn blasphemy, polytheism and asceticism (*riyâzât*), eating pork and other filth. The Christians, Âşik Mehmed writes, greatly respect these monasteries and make significant donations to them every year. The monks themselves regularly travel to the Frankish countries and Hungary to gather funds, in addition to owning wealthy farms in the vicinity, whose produce they use in the monasteries. He also takes note of the monastic fortifications against pirates, as well as of the flora and other special features of the mountain.

The account of the monasteries of Meteora is even less concerned with religious matters related to the monastic community. It simply mentions its creation in older times and then emphasizes the natural and architectural characteristics of the Meteora hills and monasteries.

Among the cities and towns of special interest with regard to Muslim-Christian relations, are Âşik Mehmed's comments about Rome (ed. Ak, pp. 973-82), Thessaloniki (pp. 983-92) and Istanbul (pp. 1054-96). Drawing from Arabic sources, he describes Rome as the pope's seat. He mentions the tomb of Peter (*Batris*), 'one of the disciples (*havârî*) of Jesus, peace be upon him', as well as that of Paul (*Bûlus*) (ed. Ak, p. 974). He also notes that, according to the Franks, the pope is similar to an imam and must be obeyed above all others (*Frenç katında Pâp bilâ teşbîh vâcibü't-tâ'at imâm menzilesindedür*) (ed. Ak, p. 975). Âşik Mehmed further asserts that in all the bazaars of the city, people leave their occupations from Saturday afternoon until sunset on Sunday, as is the custom with Christians (ed. Ak, p. 977). He speaks of a church that contains marvellous statues

of all the prophets from Adam to Jesus, a statue of Mary, and other religious objects that can tell whenever a nation (*ümmet*) starts a Holy War (*gazâ*) against the city (ed. Ak, p. 978). He describes another tradition, that when Simon Peter (*Sem'ünü's-safâ*) and Jesus's other disciples invited people to embrace Christianity, first they rejected the apostles and shaved the apostles' beards for scorn, but once they discovered the truth of the apostles' words they started to shave their own beards in sympathy (ed. Ak, p. 980).

Describing Thessaloniki, where he had resided for many years, Âşik Mehmed mentions that he once went on an excursion to a Christian church (the Rotunda of St George) and wished that it could be turned into a mosque, a wish that became a reality soon after, when it was converted into a mosque by Sinan Paşa and Şeyh Süleyman Hortacı Efendi in 1590/1 (ed. Ak, p. 986-7).

SIGNIFICANCE

Âşik Mehmed's *Menâzirü'l-avâlim* is perhaps the most comprehensive compendium of Ottoman cosmographical and geographical knowledge before the 'scientific turn' of the 17th century, representing the *Weltanschauung* of an Islamicate scholar still based on previous tradition. P. MacKay ('Evliya Çelebi's use of Ottoman geographers in the *Seyahat-name*', in H. Karateke and H. Aynur (eds), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nin yazılı kaynakları*, Ankara, 2012, pp. 92-103) has recently shown that Evliya Çelebi, the great Ottoman traveller of the 17th century, used Âşik Mehmed's work without explicitly acknowledging it, while Âşik Mehmed's description of the Mount Athos monasteries resembles that of the famous Ottoman admiral and cartographer Piri Reis (d. 1553).

Although Âşik Mehmed uses various formulaic phrases in describing Christian holy places and shrines, and, unlike many of his predecessors, does not describe the various Christian peoples separately, his descriptions are illuminated by some personal observations, as in the case of the Mount Athos monasteries. Ottoman literature of the 'classical' era is surprisingly silent about the Christian subjects of the empire, their religion, rites and customs. Thus, Âşik Mehmed's remarks, although formulaic in general, and mostly commonplace in Islamic literature, are some of the rare specimens of an Ottoman Muslim visiting a Christian religious place within the empire and describing his fellow Ottomans of Christian faith.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Halet Efendi 616 (an autograph and the basis of the modern transcription; for the description of the MS, see Ak (ed.), *Menâzirü'l-avâlim*, pp. xx-xxi)

The following MSS are copies of the autograph:

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 4180, 252 fols (1626)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Nuruosmaniye 3033, 611 fols (1678)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Ayasofya 4319, 489 fols (1691)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 2421, 573 fols (1759)

For other extant MSS, see Ak (ed.), *Menâzirü'l-avâlim*, pp. xc-xcv

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ak, *Âşık Mehmed. Menâzirü'l-avâlim* (full transcription of the whole text)

Taeschner, 'Ankara'

STUDIES

Ak, *Âşık Mehmed. Menâzirü'l-avâlim*, pp. xxxvii-cclxxv

Hagen, 'Afterword', pp. 224-6

Hagen, 'Das Fremde im Eigenen'

Hagen, 'The traveller Mehmed Aşık'

Kreutel, 'Ein Kirchenraub in Selânîk'

Taeschner, 'Djuğhrâfiyâ, VI. The Ottoman geographers'

Taeschner, '‘Âshık, Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmân b. Bâyezîd'

Taeschner, 'Ankara'

Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, pp. 138-9

Taeschner, 'Die Geographische Literatur der Osmanen', pp. 48-56

Marinos Sariyannis

A Dialogue between a monk and a Muslim elder about Jesus (peace be upon him)

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; Ottoman Empire
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; presumably the 16th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The identity of the author of this work cannot be ascertained. He was probably a Sufi who had a great deal of knowledge about Christianity and was familiar with earlier Muslim polemical literature.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Bir râhib ile bir pîr-i Müslim arasında İsa (a.s.) hakkında mükâleme, 'A Dialogue between a monk and a Muslim elder about Jesus (peace be upon him)'

DATE Unknown; presumably 16th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

The work narrates a theological conversation between a former monk who had converted to Islam, and a Muslim scholar, most probably a Sufi shaykh. In the single extant manuscript, the opening is missing. The surviving 11 folios begin with a passage on the Paraclete. A note on the cover page, a recent addition by a librarian, wrongly identifies the work as *Makâlât-ı Şeyh-i Ekber*, wrongly attributing it to the great Sufi Ibn al-‘Arabî (d. 1240), known as *al-shaykh al-akbar*. This is probably because of the appearance of the word *şeyh* repeatedly in the text, resulting in the assumption that it was written by him.

The text provides no information about the identity of either the shaykh or the monk. Throughout the story, the shaykh addresses his interlocutor as *râhib-i müslim*, 'Muslim monk', suggesting that he had already converted to Islam, but still had some reservations. These were

to disappear by the end of the conversation, when the monk declares he has become a true believer with no more doubts or suspicions left in his heart (fol. 11v). Each time the shaykh explains the wrongness of the Christian creed, the monk recites the Muslim declaration of faith that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is his messenger (fols 1v, 4v, 11v).

Overall, the narrative is intended to strengthen a convert's belief in his new religion. It takes the form of a *meclis*, with an audience of important Muslims looking on, and has two objectives: to prove that Muḥammad is the fulfilment of Jesus's prophecy, and to demonstrate the absurdity of Jesus's divine sonship and the Incarnation. First, the shaykh presents biblical evidence from the Gospel of John (paraphrases from 14:26 and 16:7-14) in order to establish the authenticity of Muḥammad's prophetic mission (fols 1r-v). Then he asks the monk questions regarding the Christian perception of the triune God and the image of Christ as the Son of God. Here, the shaykh is concerned with proving the oneness and uniqueness of God. He then rejects the divinity of Jesus, drawing on the Gospel passages that describe him in human terms (fols 2r-3v), and refutes the Crucifixion (fols 4r-v) and the Trinity, using various arguments based on logic and scriptures (fols 5r-7r). The miracles of Jesus do not prove his divinity, according to the shaykh, because other prophets also performed miracles, some of which were more extraordinary than those performed by Jesus. Moses' miracle of turning the staff into a snake was greater than Jesus's miracle of bringing the dead back to life, since the dead were once alive, whereas the staff was an inanimate object. The shaykh concludes that Moses therefore deserves a higher status than Jesus, yet nobody has ever claimed that Moses was divine (fols 7v-10v).

Upon hearing this explanation, the monk affirms that he has truly become 'a believer, a monotheist, and a Muslim free from any doubts or suspicions', and declares once again that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is his messenger. Addressing the shaykh as 'one of the most noble friends (*evliyâ*) of God', he seeks forgiveness. The story finishes with praise, appreciation and prayers for the shaykh from the notables who were present in the *meclis* (fol. 11r-v).

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is one of the few surviving examples of early anti-Christian polemics in Ottoman Turkish. Its references to the Gospels and its use of traditional arguments developed by earlier polemicists indicate the author's familiarity with biblical and polemical literature. The simplicity

of the language shows that the text was intended for a general readership. The Sufi imagery provides insights into the ways the Ottomans adopted the classical methods of argumentation and reapplied them to their new contexts. A careful analysis of the work and its comparison with other Ottoman writings of the same genre, including Gospel translations into Ottoman Turkish, would add to our understanding of Muslim perceptions of Christianity in the early centuries of the Ottoman Empire.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Konya, Koyunoğlu Museum Library – 10812, fols 1-11 (date unknown)

STUDIES

T. Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam. Narratives of religious change in the early modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford CA, 2011, p. 71

Mehmet Kahveci

Asia, Africa and South America

King Manuel I of Portugal

DATE OF BIRTH 31 May 1469
PLACE OF BIRTH Alcochete, Portugal
DATE OF DEATH 13 December 1521
PLACE OF DEATH Lisbon

BIOGRAPHY

Manuel was the son of Prince Fernando (1433-70) and grandson of King Duarte of Portugal (1391-1438). He succeeded to the throne on the death of his cousin, King João II, in 1495. During his reign, he initiated a number of reforms, among them the *Leitura nova* (updating of central and local administration), and the *Ordenações Manuelinas* (a new code of laws), published between 1512 and 1521. His marriage in 1497 to Isabella of Aragón, daughter of Ferdinand II of Aragón and Isabella I of Castile, led to his ordering the entire non-Christian population to convert, forcing them either to abandon rival faiths or go into exile.

It was during his reign that Vasco da Gama sailed into the Indian Ocean in 1492, linking Europe to Asia through a sea route, and Portugal began to enjoy extraordinary economic growth through trade with Asia. The Portuguese presence was established all around the world, including North Africa, East Africa, Brazil (discovered in 1500 by the armada of Pedro Álvares Cabral), the Arabian Gulf, India and Southeast Asia. However, the importance he placed on overseas activities did not mean he neglected affairs nearer home. He was involved in Castilian politics and in responding to the presence of Mamluks and Ottomans in the eastern Mediterranean. He died unexpectedly when preparing for a new series of conquests to expand the Portuguese Empire.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

A.B. Bragança Pereira, *Arquivo português oriental*, Bastora, 1936-40, vols 1 and 4
Damião de Góis, *Crónica do felicíssimo rei D. Manuel*, Coimbra, 1949-55, vols 1-4
João de Barros, *Décadas da Ásia*, Lisbon, 1973, vols 1-8
Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, Oporto, 1975, vols 1-2
Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*, Oporto, 1979, vol. 1

Secondary

- J.P. Oliveira e Costa, *D. Manuel I, um príncipe do Renascimento*, Lisbon, 2007
- J. Aubin, *Le latin et l'astrolabe. Recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales*, vol. 3, *Études inédites sur le règne de D. Manuel. 1495-1521*, Lisbon, 2006
- L.F. Thomaz, 'L'idée impériale manueline', in Jean Aubin (ed.), *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe. Actes du colloque*, Paris, 1990, 35-103

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Regimento de D. Manuel I para o vice-rei D. Francisco de Almeida, 'Instructions from King Manuel I to the Viceroy Francisco de Almeida'

DATE 5 March 1505

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

This is the first set of instructions for the Viceroy Francisco de Almeida and can be considered as one of the major documents that created the structure of the Portuguese Estado da Índia. All new viceroys and governors received instructions at the outset of their command, and these are some of the few that are extant. The document was probably drafted by the king and formulated in detail with the help of his council.

In approximately 100 pages, the document details the main orders sent to the viceroy in order to strengthen the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean. It not only regulates the sailing of the fleet from Lisbon to Goa, but also establishes the guidelines for Almeida's rule. The instructions it contains resulted from the experience of the first Portuguese fleets sent to the Indian Ocean, and from the form of relations established between Portuguese and Indian Muslims.

The policy on Muslims was clear: as rivals in faith and commerce, they should be defeated and overthrown in order to secure Portuguese trade and movement. Complete expulsion or replacement of these rivals was, of course, too ambitious and was never achieved.

SIGNIFICANCE

The instructions to Francisco de Almeida cover two main areas of Manuel's policy in the Indian Ocean: commerce and religion. He sought to monopolise the trade in spices to Europe, and may also have had

a messianic plan, influenced by his Franciscan education with its pronounced millenarian beliefs, to create an eastern empire, which, together with the conquered parts of North Africa, would enable him to lead a crusade to regain the Holy Land.

He sent emissaries to several European rulers to gain support for this endeavour, and his instructions to Francisco de Almeida show how he intended to implement it. He ordered fortresses to be constructed on the coast of East Africa (Sofala and Kilwa Kisiwani), at the entrance to the Red Sea, and in India (Kollan and Angediva), in order to prevent 'unauthorised trade', which was essentially trade carried on by Muslims. He believed that the fortress on the Red Sea route would prohibit the entry of spices to Egypt, and 'all of India would lose the fantasy of trading with another apart from us' (fol. 31v), and it could also be used to establish contact with Prester John, the mythical Christian king of Ethiopia, who was a possible ally against the Mamluks in Egypt (fol. 32). Accordingly, trade in weapons and other items forbidden by the pope to 'Muslims and infidels' was to be severely punished (fol. 16v).

The instructions also required the submission of local rulers, such as the sultans of Gujarat and Ahmadnagar, and even the king of Hormuz; the main condition for a treaty with a local ruler would be the prohibition of trade with Hormuz, Aden or any other location in the Red Sea (fol. 37v).

In Francisco de Almeida King Manuel had an agent who could answer directly to him. He truly believed that the victory of Christendom over the Muslims was dependent on his representative's activities in the Indian Ocean, and that this would help his much-desired crusade.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Lisbon, National Archive of Torre do Tombo – Leis e Ordenações, Coleção de Leis 3, maço 2, no. 13 (1505)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J.C. Silva, *O fundador do 'Estado Português da Índia', D. Francisco de Almeida. 1457(?)–1510*, Lisbon, 1996, pp. 261–99

A. da Silva Rego, *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central. Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa (1497–1840)*, Lisbon, 1962, vol. 1, pp. 156–261 (selected passages in Portuguese, with English trans.)

R.A. Bulhão Pato, *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam*, Lisbon, 1898, vol. 2, pp. 272–334

STUDIES

Silva, *O fundador do 'Estado Português da Índia'*

Oliveira e Costa, *D. Manuel I*

V.L. Gaspar Rodrigues, *A evolução da arte da guerra dos portugueses no Oriente (1498-1622)*, Lisbon, 1998, vol. 1

Roger Lee de Jesus

Duarte Pacheco Pereira

DATE OF BIRTH 1460
PLACE OF BIRTH Lisbon
DATE OF DEATH 1533
PLACE OF DEATH Portugal

BIOGRAPHY

Duarte Pacheco Pereira was a Portuguese captain, explorer and cartographer. Born in 1460 in Lisbon to João Pacheco and Isabel Pereira, he served in his youth as personal squire to King João II of Portugal. As an adult, he gained fame as an explorer.

Pereira made extensive explorations of the west coast of Africa. In 1488, his ship sank near the island of Principe but he was rescued by Bartolomew Dias, with whom he returned to Portugal. Because of his expertise, he was appointed to the post of official royal geographer; in that capacity, he was one of the signatories of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. Notwithstanding his appointment, Pereira continued his explorations.

In 1498, Pereira possibly made a voyage to the coast of Brazil, but this is a subject of much debate. If he actually reached Brazil in 1498, this would mean that he 'discovered' Brazil two years before Pedro Álvares Cabral, to whom its 'discovery' is usually attributed. In 1503, Pereira commanded a ship in the fleet of Afonso de Albuquerque, bound for India, where for five months in 1504 he defended Cochin against attacks from Calicut.

On his return to Portugal in 1505, Pereira began composing his major work *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*, which he completed in 1508. In that same year, he was sent out to capture the French privateer Mondragon, a mission he completed successfully, taking Mondragon prisoner near the peninsula of Cape Finisterre.

Later in life, around 1519, he was appointed governor of the Portuguese castle at São Jorge de Mina, but was recalled in 1522 and briefly imprisoned following allegations of corruption and theft. Though he was exonerated, the incident had damaged his reputation. He died in 1533 in relatively obscurity.

Duarte Pacheco Pereira was married to Antonia de Albuquerque and had eight children and one illegitimate son.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- D. Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*, ed. and trans. G.H.T. Kimble, London, 1937 (repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1967; Farnham, 2010)
- D. Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis. Edição comemorativa da descoberta da America por Christovão Colombo no seu quarto centenário*, ed. R.E. de Azevedo Basto, Lisbon, 1892

Secondary

- W.G.L. Randles, *Geography, cartography and nautical science in the Renaissance. The impact of the great discoveries*, Aldershot, 2000
- D.P. Gamble and P.E.H. Hair (eds), *The discovery of River Gambia (1623) by Richard Jobson*, London, 1999
- J. Couto, *A construção do Brasil: Ameríndios, Portugueses e Africanos no início do povoamento a finais de quinhentos*, Lisbon, 1995
- P.E.H. Hair, 'Discovery and discoveries. The Portuguese in Guinea 1444-1650', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 69 (1992) 11-28
- A. Teixeira da Mota, 'Duarte Pacheco Pereira capitão e governador de S. Joge da Mina', *Mare Liberum* 1 (1992) 1-27
- M.E.M. Santos, *Rotas atlânticas, o caso da carreira de S. Tomé*, Lisbon, 1990
- L.F. Barreto, *Descobrimientos e renascimento. Formas de ser e pensar nos séculos XV e XVI*, Lisbon, 1983
- J. Barradas de Carvalho, *À la recherche de la spécificité de la Renaissance portugaise*, Paris, 1983
- J. Barradas de Carvalho, *As fontes de Duarte Pacheco Pereira no 'Esmeraldo de situ orbis'*, Lisbon, 1982
- M. Barradas de Carvalho, 'Nature et naturalisme dans l'*Esmeraldo de situ orbis* de Duarte Pacheco Pereira', *História e Sociedade* 8/9 (1981) 65-9
- J.D. Fage, 'A commentary on Duarte Pacheco Pereira's account of the Lower Guinea coastlands in his *Esmeraldo de situ orbis* and some other early accounts', *History in Africa* 7 (1980) 47-80
- D. Peres (ed.), *Os mais antigos roteiros da Guiné*, Lisbon, 1952
- J. de Castro Osório, *A revolução da experiência. Duarte Pacheco Pereira, D. João de Castro*, Lisbon, 1947
- C. Parreira, *Duarte Pacheco Pereira. 'O Aquiles lusitano'*, Lisbon, 1943
- A.Z. Cortesão, 'Subsídios para a história do descobrimento de Cabo Verde e Guiné', *Boletim da Agencia Geral das Colonias* 75 (1931) 3-9 (repr. Coimbra, 1975)
- R. Ricard, 'La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVI^e siècle d'après des instructions nautiques portugaises', *Hespéris* 7 (1927) 231-58
- A. Bell, *Portuguese portraits*, Oxford, 1917
- E. de Noronha, *Duarte Pacheco Pereira um homem de caracter*, Porto, 1913

J. de Andrade Corvo, *Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa por Dom João de Castro*, Lisbon, 1882

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Esmeraldo de situ orbis

DATE Written between 1505 and 1508; not published until 1892

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

Duarte Pacheco Pereira wrote his *Esmeraldo in situ orbis* between 1505 and 1508. The work consists of a Prologue and four Books (*livros*), each comprising chapters which deal primarily with geographical and navigational information. However, there are also references to historical events, especially the Portuguese capture of Moroccan sea ports, and to trade relations. The book contains a large number of limited references to Muslim-Christian relations, usually confined to hostile comments about Islam and its influence. It also touches on Islamic influence in black Africa.

The original manuscript with its illustrations is lost. Copies were made in the 18th century, though there is some indication that it was known before this time. The work was first published in 1892, when Raphael Eduardo de Azevedo Basto prepared an edition. The book is highly esteemed by modern scholars of Renaissance science and discovery. No other works by this author are known.

The greater part of the book describes the coastlands (and some inland areas) of Morocco, the Sahara and the Senegambia region, where the Portuguese encountered peoples who practised Islam. Pereira makes numerous references to the Islamic peoples with whom the Portuguese had contact, but his attitudes are the conventional ones of a soldier in the service of a Christian monarchy that still promoted the ideology and language of the crusades. For example, a lengthy aside deals with the battle of Salado (1340), in which the forces of Castile and Portugal combined against the Moors but which took place long before the events described in the book (ed. Kimble, pp. 44-45).

The premise of all Pereira writes is the superiority of Christian Europe not only over Islam but also over the rest of the world. With a reference to Pliny, he asserts 'nor may we doubt that in cities, towns, walled fortresses and other stately and beautiful buildings Europe excels Asia and

Africa, as also in her larger and better fleets . . . nor can the inhabitants of Asia and Africa deny that Europe possesses great abundance of arms and skill in them and much artillery, besides the most excellent scholars of all the world in every science, and that in many other respects it excels all the rest of the world' (p. 20).

Describing the Moroccan towns of Ceuta, Tangiers, Arzila and Alcazer, which had been captured by the Portuguese Kings João I and Afonso V, Pereira comments that 'they waged fierce warfare against these enemies of our holy catholic faith, which your Highness [D. Manuel] ever spreads and increases by your many victories' (p. 39). This hostility is reciprocated. In describing an anchorage where ships could be certain of obtaining water, he warns that 'he who lands there should set a man to keep watch, for the Arabs when they see a Christian endeavour to kill him' (p. 49).

On the other hand, he records many instances of peaceful trade. For example in Safi, captured by the Portuguese in 1506, the inhabitants pay tribute to the king of Portugal and there is extensive trade in horses, foodstuffs, gold from Guinea, 'hides of all kinds, honey and wax, as well as other merchandise, on which a good profit is made' (p. 50). As for Agadir, known to the Portuguese as Santa Cruz de Guer, 'it is a notable thing that your Highness should have ordered the construction of this fortress . . . in a land of barbarians, enemies of our holy catholic faith, who came in countless multitudes to oppose its construction . . .' (p. 50).

Inland lay the kingdom of Fez, with which extensive trade was conducted, though the trade in arms which 'they would willingly buy, for they have great lack of them . . . is forbidden by the Holy Fathers in Rome and by the laws of your kingdom'. Here, the author embarks on a denunciation of Islam, the essence of which is that the religion encourages 'lust, greed and rapine' (*luxúria, gula e rapina*). 'The fortune of this people is to believe in the error of the sect of Mahomet who, they consider, was truly a messenger of God sent to this ignorant people for the remission of their sins; but he taught them all the vices and abuses of the body (*vícios e desonestidades pera o corpo*) and nothing at all of virtue, for his primary intention was to destroy all that is difficult to believe or irksome to perform. In his complacency he granted them those things to which vicious and miserable men are inclined, especially in Arabia, where Mahomet was born, for its inhabitants make lust and greed and rapine their continual pursuit' (p. 57).

As the author follows the coast southwards, he never omits to say whether the people to be met are Muslim. Thus, the Azenegi of the

desert town of Hoden belong to 'the mistaken sect of Mahomet' (p. 74), and the Wolof of the Senegal region, 'as those of the great kingdom of Mandingua and of Tucorol and other negroes, are all circumcised and worship the false sect of Mahomet. They are given to vice and are rarely at peace with one another, and are very great thieves and liars, great drunkards and very ungrateful and shameless in their perpetual begging' (p. 80).

As his report moves further southwards, he attempts to describe the peoples encountered on the coast. His main concern is the extent to which Islam has influenced their customs – and this is measured by whether or not they have adopted circumcision. For example, he writes of the coastal peoples between the Rio Grande and Sierre Leone, 'All the negroes of this country are idolaters, and although they are ignorant of the law, they are circumcised.' This he attributes to the fact that they are neighbours of the Mandinguas and other peoples who are 'Mohammedans' (pp. 96-7).

Book 4 looks at the discoveries that took place under Dom Manuel after 1495. Chapter 3 of this Book is concerned with activities in the Indian Ocean, where the king 'has conquered, and daily conquers, the Indian seas and the shores of Asia, killing destroying and burning the Moors of Cairo, of Arabia and of Mecca and other inhabitants of the same India' (p. 167). He destroyed their fleets, with which they controlled the trade in spices, and built five fortresses and made many converts with the result that 'the evil sect of Mahomet is daily being destroyed and diminished' (p. 167). However, this is not merely a matter of religion: 'The Moors and their fleet are so confounded that the Venetians, who were accustomed to obtain spices and other merchandise from them and furnish Europe and Africa and part of Asia, are now totally deprived of this trade' (pp. 167-8).

SIGNIFICANCE

Duarte Pacheco Pereira's *Esmeraldo de situ orbis* is difficult to classify. At one level it is a description of the coast of western Africa as it was known to the Portuguese in the early part of the 16th century. It includes a lot of detail about navigation and has been called a *roteiro*, or rutter, one of the earliest to have survived. However, it also gives a detailed account of the story of the Portuguese 'discoveries' in the 15th century and, on another level entirely, tries to graft the new knowledge the Portuguese obtained onto the corpus of knowledge that had been passed down by writers from classical times, in particular the works of Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder.

MANUSCRIPTS

The two extant MSS are copies of a lost original.

MS Évora, Biblioteca Pública – Codex CXV, 1-3 (early 18th century; before 1750)

MS Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional – Codex B-17.7 (after 1750)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A. de Oliveira, *A viagem do Gama nas crónicas do reino. Reproduções facsimiladas*, Porto, 1998 (includes facsimile reproduction of the 1892 edition of *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*)

J. Barrados, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis (édition critique et commentée)*, Lisbon, 1991

J. Barrados de Carvalho, *La traduction espagnole du De situ orbis de Pomponius Mela par maître Joan Faras et les notes marginales de Duarte Pacheco Pereira*, Lisbon, 1974

R. Mauny, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis: Côte occidentale d'Afrique du Sud marocain au Gabon par Duarte Pacheco Pereira (vers 1506-1508)*, Bissau, 1956

D. Peres and J.F. Machado, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*, Lisbon, 1954-5 (repr. Lisbon, 1988)

J. de Castro Osório, *A revolução da experiência*, Lisbon, 1947 (includes parts of *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*)

G.H.T. Kimble, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*, London, 1937 (repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1967; Farnham, 2010)

Esmeraldo de situ orbis, ed. A.E. da Silva Dias, Lisbon, 1905 (repr. Lisbon, 1975)

R.E. de Azevedo Basto, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis. Edição comemorativa da descoberta da America por Christovão Colombo no seu quarto centenário*, Lisbon, 1892

STUDIES

F.C. Domingues, *A travessia do mar oceanico. A viagem de Duarte Pacheco Pereira ao Brasil em 1498*, Lisbon, 2011

Randles, *Geography, cartography and nautical science in the Renaissance*
Gamble and Hair, *The discovery of River Gambia (1623)* (includes additional material)

Couto, *A construção do Brasil*

Hair, 'Discovery and discoveries'

A. Teixeira da Mota, 'Duarte Pacheco Pereira capitão e governador de S. Joge da Mina', *Mare Liberum* 1 (1992) 1-27

Barreto, *Descobrimientos e renascimento*

- Barradas de Carvalho, *À la recherche de la spécificité de la Renaissance portugaise*
- Barradas de Carvalho, *As fontes de Duarte Pacheco Pereira no 'Esmeraldo de situ orbis'*
- Barradas de Carvalho, 'Nature et naturalisme dans l'*Esmeraldo de situ orbis*'
- L. de Albuquerque, art. 'Duarte Pacheco Pereira', in *Dicionário de história de Portugal*, ed. J. Serrão, Porto, 1981, vol. 2, 880-3
- Fage, 'A commentary on Duarte Pacheco Pereira's account'
- Ryder, 'The Benin missions'
- Peres, *Os mais antigos roteiros da Guiné*
- Parreira, *Duarte Pacheco Pereira. 'O Aquiles lusitano'*
- Cortesão, *Subsídios para a história do descobrimento de Cabo Verde e Guiné*
- Ricard, 'La côte atlantique du Maroc'
- Bell, *Portuguese portraits*
- Noronha, *Duarte Pacheco Pereira*
- De Andrade Corvo, *Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa*

Malyn Newitt

Tomé Pires

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1468
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly Lisbon, Portugal
DATE OF DEATH	Possibly 1540
PLACE OF DEATH	Possibly Sampitay (Hsin-P'ei chou, Sinpichou or Pihsein), China

BIOGRAPHY

According to Armando Cortesão, the translator of the Paris manuscript of his work into English, Tomé Pires was born in Lisbon about 1468. His father was reportedly an apothecary to King João II and he himself was 'an apothecary to Prince Afonso, son of King João II'. Cortesão suggests that it was as a widower that he left Portugal in April 1511, arriving in India in September of the same year. His appointment in India was as a 'factor of drugs'.

After about eight or nine months, he was sent to Malacca 'to make inquiry about some irregularities and also as controller of drugs, scrivener and accountant of the factory'. He arrived there in either June or July 1512. Then, from March to July 1513, he went to Java as 'factor of the fleet'. It was in Malacca that he wrote most of the *Suma oriental*, though he finished it in India. He left Malacca possibly in January 1515, arriving in Cochin about a month later. It would seem that his plan was to return to Portugal, but the then governor chose to send him to China as ambassador there.

He left India about the end of February 1516, went to Malacca and from there sailed to China on 12 August. However, due to adverse weather, he returned to Malacca and finally sailed from there for China in June 1517, arriving off Canton in September of that year. The Portuguese were not well received by the Chinese, and this ultimately led to Pires' imprisonment and death. Cortesão considers that while in China he had a daughter by a Chinese woman.

There is some disagreement about the dating of Pires' death. One suggestion is that it might have been as early as 1524, though Cortesão argues for the later date. He was considered '[a]n eager observer, a keen and inquisitive student, and a faithful, accurate and indefatigable describer, though his literary style is poor'.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Armando Cortesão (trans.), *The Suma oriental of Tome Pires. An account of the East, from the Red Sea to China, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515; and, the book of Francisco Rodrigues: Pilot-Major of the armada that discovered Banda and the Moluccas: rutter of a voyage in the Red Sea, nautical rules, almanack, and maps, written and drawn in the east before 1515*, London, 1944

Secondary

- Wan Kamal Mujani, 'A note on Western travellers' observations on Mamluk economy', *Advances in Natural and Applied Sciences* 6 (2012) 296-8
- Hussain Othman, 'Malay Muslim history as seen by Western colonialist', *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization* 1 (2011) 117-29
- S. Subrahmanyam, 'Commerce and conflict. Two views of Portuguese Melaka in the 1620s', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19 (1988) 62-79
- J. Noorduyn, 'Concerning the reliability of Tomé Pires' data on Java', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 132 (1976) 467-71
- C.H. Wake, 'Malacca's early kings and the reception of Islam', *Journal of South-east Asian History* 5 (1964) 104-28
- H.J. de Graaf, 'Tomé Pires' "Suma oriental" en het tijdperk van godsdienstovergang op Java', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 108 (1952) 132-71
- Visconde de Santarém, *Estudos de cartografia antiga*, 2 vols, Lisbon, 1919

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Suma oriental que trata do Mar Roxo até aos Chins,
 'The Suma oriental, from the Red Sea to China'

DATE 1512-15

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

The *Suma oriental* as it exists in the MS Paris is an imperfectly copied and poorly bound version from about 1611. The work appears to have been written as a report to King Manuel of Portugal, though according to Cortesão, its translator and editor, it may have appeared in shorter versions. The English translation is some 290 pages long and includes an introduction by Cortesão. The *Suma* reports on what Tomé Pires had both seen and experienced on his travels from the Red Sea to China. While the volume of Pires' writing is considered modest in comparison with

other great Portuguese writers of the period, his work is also distinctive, informative and detailed.

The *Suma* is divided into six books, of different lengths, and includes a preface. The area covered by each book is as follows: 1. Egypt to Cambay, 2. Cambay to Ceylon, 3. Bengal to Indochina, 4. China to Borneo, 5. Indian Archipelago, 6. Malacca. Book 6 is the most detailed in terms of describing local context. Each of the books deals with a number of places which it appears Pires visited himself and about which he made his own enquiries. Pires' work is essentially concerned with trade – that is the quality and quantity of goods being brought to the port and from where and how they arrived there, as well as the type of goods available for sale from the country itself and their quality and destinations. He also notes the type of currency being used and what 'customs or port' costs have to be paid, and who collected them. Where necessary he describes the harbour, mentioning the various types of sailing vessels and the frequency of their visits. Usually, he sets this trading detail within the context of the country concerned, referring to the ruler at the time and the impact of his reign. He also comments on aspects of culture and customs that are significantly different from his own.

Throughout the books, he notes which people were Christians, heathen or Moors. He appears to use the terms 'Moors' and 'Mohammedans' interchangeably, though he distinguishes the 'Mohammedans' from the followers of 'Ali.

There are times when he offers praise, noting their skills in accounting and cartography. Of their sailing skills, especially in the East Indies region, he is less than complimentary, noting that their ships are mainly manned by slaves. He also shows a sense of humour, reflected in his description of the women of Shiraz, about whom he comments: 'The Moors say that Mohammad would never go to the province of Shiraz lest he should like it so much that he would never go to Paradise when he died' (Cortese, *The Suma oriental*, p. 22; all references below are to this edition). In book 6, where he details the fall of Malacca, he indicates that the advice given to the Moorish ruler was to withstand the 'infidel' who had already taken over India.

Significantly, Pires also provides an account of the progress of Islam in the areas he describes. He notes which rulers are 'Moors' and when they converted, and in some instances the degree of their devotion. On occasions, he outlines how Islam arrived and spread and by what method, in several cases asserting that it was by cunning and deception. He also notes the role played by trade. In the East Indies region he says that,

although the Portuguese were giving good returns for goods purchased (as opposed to the Moors who only paid 'straw'), the people were still discontented. He refers to the countries that are hostile towards the 'Moors'. Regarding Ceylon, he writes: 'They are ill-disposed towards the Moors and worse towards us' (p. 87). In terms of the progress of Islam in the (East) Indies area, Pires' Book 5 includes a significant amount of detail.

On a number of occasions, Pires' writing takes on a moral tone. He describes the Moors in India as honourable men while of the men in the Ormuz region he writes: 'The Moors in general are all jealous men and thus for all their good looks most of them are sodomites, including the Persians and the people of Ormuz. They do not consider this to be unsuitable to their condition, nor are they punished for it, and there are even public places where they practise this for money. And those who suffer this are beardless and go about dressed like women, and the Moors laugh at us when we point out to them the turpitude of their sin' (p. 23).

In Book 6, his comments regarding the Moors are less complimentary, especially in terms of the Malays and his concerns for the future of Malacca.

In several instances Pires goes into long explanations. The first is in Book 1, where he describes the circumstances surrounding Sheikh Ismael's rise to power. He says that the Sheikh had a Christian mother, and was brought up and advised by his Christian uncles. Another extended account is in Book 6, where he details the fall of Malacca and the events surrounding it. Obviously, the forced circumcision of Portuguese captives (in Malacca) was not well accepted by their fellow Portuguese, neither was the killing of the (Portuguese) governor. Towards the end of Book 6, his tone almost becomes one of despair as he notes the death of one of the most trusted allies of the Portuguese and expresses his fears for the future.

In terms of trade and how it operated, Pires indicates that international trade in the area is considerable. He usually comments on the various races found in the ports. While trade was limited by the size of the sailing vessels (of which he notes there are different kinds), the type of harbours and the blowing of the monsoons, there seemed to be no place that was not involved in some sort of 'international' trade and had not been visited by traders from some other country. Pires points out that Arabs were among those who took advantage of this, while at the same time bringing with them their teachers, mosques and religion.

SIGNIFICANCE

Pires was a man of his times and his writings reflect his attitudes as a Portuguese Catholic who saw his country's territorial expansion in terms of the expansion of the Christian faith and the actions of the captains as a 'fight against the Mohammedans'. When the Portuguese win, he considers that it is God at work, often as an act of justice in bringing retribution. He also suggests that the Portuguese triumphs were causing fear and concern among the 'Mohammedans'. At the same time, however, he rues the treatment the Portuguese meted out at some of the ports, indicating that it had done them no favour and they needed to act more honourably. Thus, regarding the 1511 fall of Malacca (to the Portuguese), Pires speaks of the disruption to trading that resulted and the negative impact on those areas that had sent support to Malacca. He writes of this more by way of condemning the 'Moors' than in terms of the economic and social consequences, at least in the short term.

In his preface, which is addressed in part to the king, he strongly denounces the Moors, and throughout his work he points out their perceived weaknesses (evils). This is particularly the case in Book 6, where he refers to their cunning and deviousness as well as to their raids and pillage.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, *Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés* – 1248, fols 117-178v (c. 1611)

MS Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal – codex 299 (date unknown; incomplete)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J.M. Gullick (comp.), *Adventures and encounters. Europeans in South-east Asia*, Kuala Lumpur, 1995 (partial trans.)

Armando Cortesão, *A Suma oriental de Tomé Pires e o Livro de Francisco Rodrigues*, Coimbra, 1978

Tomé Pires, *Travel accounts of the islands (1513-1787)* (Publications of the Filipiniana Book Guild 19), Manila, 1971 (partial trans.)

H.J. Benda and J.A. Larkin (eds), *The world of Southeast Asia. Selected historical readings*, New York, 1967 (partial trans.)

R. Manuel Loureiro, *O Manuscrito de Lisboa da 'Suma oriental' de Tomé Pires*, Macau, 1966

Cortesão, *Suma oriental of Tome Pires*

Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Primo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Venetia, 1550 (partial trans. into Italian)

STUDIES

Wan Kamal Mujani, 'Note on western travellers' observations'

Hussain Othman, 'Malay Muslim history'

Subrahmanyam, 'Commerce and conflict'

Noorduyn, 'Concerning the reliability of Tomé Pires' data'

Wake, 'Malacca's early kings'

De Graaf, 'Tomé Pires' "Suma oriental"'

Visconde de Santarém, *Estudos de cartografia antiga*

Ruth J. Nicholls

Valentim Fernandes

Valentim de Morávia, Valentim Fernandes Alemão

DATE OF BIRTH	Mid-15 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably Moravia
DATE OF DEATH	Between 1518 and May 1519
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably in or near Lisbon

BIOGRAPHY

Valentim Fernandes was a printer and publisher of German descent who lived and worked in Portugal for most of his life. Few details of his early life, including his original name and date of birth, are known. He is thought to have been born to a German family living in Moravia (Schmeller, *Ueber Valenti Fernandez Alema*, pp. 8-12; Hendrich, *Valentim Fernandes*, p. 35). Yvonne Hendrich (*Valentim Fernandes*, p. 37) estimates his date of birth to have been in the mid-15th century, possibly in the 1450s or early 1460s.

Fernandes lived and worked for some time in the German cities of Nürnberg and Augsburg, where he possibly learned the art of book-printing (Hendrich, *Valentim Fernandes*, pp. 39-40). Probably in the early 1490s, he travelled to the Iberian Peninsula, where he joined the German community in Seville, working as a printer and commercial agent (Heinrich, *Valentim Fernandes*, p. 58). By November 1494, he had arrived in Lisbon, serving as interpreter for the German physician Hieronymus Münzer, when the latter visited the Portuguese royal court (Kunstmann, *Valentin Ferdinand*, p. 224; Hendrich, *Valentim Fernandes*, p. 46).

Fernandes remained in Lisbon for the rest of his life, working as a printer, editor, publisher and courtier at the Portuguese court, whilst also acting as notary, interpreter and commercial agent for the German community (Kunstmann, *Valentin Fernandes*, p. 224; Cenival and Monod, 'Introduction', p. 2). His precise date of death is unknown, but it is estimated between the second half of 1518 and May 1519. A document from 4 May 1519 mentions his heirs (Hendrich, *Valentim Fernandes*, pp. 37-8).

Fernandes printed a variety of books, among them a collection of poems, a catechism, a grammar and a book on astrology. He was also active as an editor and publisher, and at times he even translated books, as is evidenced by his Portuguese translation of Marco Polo's travels.

Valentim Fernandes is best known for printing the four volume *Vita Christi* together with Nicolau de Saxónia in 1495 (Heinrich, *Valentim Fernandes*, p. 37). He also gained fame by ‘mass’ printing the *Ordenações Manuelinas* in 1512 and 1513; each of the five volumes had a circulation of 1,000 copies (Heinrich, *Valentim Fernandes*, p. 26). The other work Valentim Fernandes is known for, the *Codex Valentim Fernandes*, was never published and has been transmitted in manuscript form only.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

P. de Cenival and T. Monod, *Description de la Côte d’Afrique de Ceuta au Sénégal par Valentim Fernandes (1506-1507)*, Paris, 1938, ‘Introduction’, pp. 1-15

Secondary

Y. Hendrich, *Valentim Fernandes. Ein deutscher Buchdrucker in Portugal um die Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert und sein Umkreis*, Frankfurt am Main, 2007

G. Seibert, ‘500 years of the manuscript of Valentim Fernandes, a Moravian book printer in Lisbon’, in B.E. Ciszynska (ed.), *Iberian and Slavonic cultures. Contact and comparison*, Lisbon, 2007, 79-88

F. Kunstmann, *Valentin Ferdinand’s Beschreibung der Westküste Afrika’s bis zum Senegal*, Munich, 1854, pp. 223-38

J.A. Schmeller, *Ueber Valenti Fernandez Alema und seine Sammlung von Nachrichten über die Entdeckungen und Besitzungen der Portugiesen in Afrika und Asien bis zum Jahre 1508, enthalten in einer gleichzeitigen portugiesischen Handschrift der Königlichen Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek zu München*, Munich, 1847, pp. 3-18

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Codex Valentim Fernandes; De insulis et peregrinatione Lusitanorum, ‘On islands and the exploration of the Portuguese’

DATE Between 1505 and 1518

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Codex Valentim Fernandes is a collection of manuscripts and maps that document the Portuguese explorations of Africa and Asia up to the 16th century. The materials were collected, compiled and edited by

Valentim Fernandes. All the manuscripts in the codex, except one, are in Portuguese. Considering the number of blank pages in the collection, which is about 350 folios long, and the perfunctory editing of some of the texts, Cenival and Monod and also Hendrich assume that Fernandes was still in the process of collecting and editing materials for the codex when he died (Cenival and Monod, 'Introduction', p. 3; Hendrich, *Valentim Fernandes*, p. 197).

Konrad Peypus of Augsburg had the manuscripts bound into a book, and called the collection *De insulis et peregrinatione Lusitanorum*. Most scholars assume that the materials were sent to Peutingger after Fernandes died, though no details as to how and why the documents came into his possession are known (Schmeller, *Ueber Valenti Fernandez*, p. 7; Cenival and Monod, 'Introduction', p. 3). After the dispersal of the Peutingger library in 1715, the manuscript was transferred to the Jesuit College in Augsburg. In 1807, the National Library of Bayern in Munich acquired the codex for its collection, where it is kept under the title Codex Hispanicus 27 (Cenival and Monod, 'Introduction', p. 3).

The contents of the codex are as follows:

Da viagem de D. Francisco de Almeida (the journal of Hans Mayr about de Almeida's voyage to India in 1505-6, followed by a series of 19 maps of islands in the Atlantic Ocean), fols 2-14

India das Ilhas de Dye (description of the Maldives), fols 36-44

Descripçam de Cepta por sa costa de Mauritania e Ethiopia pellos nomes modernos prosegunda as vezes algũas cousas do sartão da terra firme. Scrito no anno de 1507 (description of the western coast of the African continent from Ceuta to Senegal), fols 45-140

Das Ilhas do mar oceano (description and maps of the Canary Islands, Madeira, Porto Santo, Azores, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Ano Bom/Pagalu), fols 141-96

Report by Gonçalo Piriz about São Tomé and Annobom (Pagalu), followed by maps, fols 197-212

A summary of *Chronica do descobrimento de Guiné* by Gomes Eannes de Zurara, fols 216-69

De prima inventione Guinea de Diogo Gomes (Diogo Gomes' exploration of the west coast of Africa) and *De insulis prima inuentis in mari oceano et primo de insulis fortunatis quae nunc de Canaria vocatur* (explorations by Gomes of the Canary Islands, Madeira and the Azores), fols 270-91

Roteiro (navigation guidelines from Cape Finisterre to Cape Formosa),
fols 292-315

SIGNIFICANCE

India das Ilhas de Dyve, on fols 36-44, contains a description of Islam in the Maldives at the beginning of the 16th century. The document attributes the conversion of the Buddhist Maldivians to Islam to an increase of Arab influence from the early 14th century onwards.

Several of the other texts included in the *Codex* (fols 90-214, 216-69 and 270-91) give elaborate descriptions of Islam among the Wolof, the Serer and the Mandinka in West Africa, discussing its spread and ritual practice (e.g. circumcision, prayer, fasting). The texts indicate that Islam in West Africa was propagated by preachers from North Africa and testify to the continued influence of these so-called 'white Moorish preachers' among Muslims in West Africa in the 15th and 16th centuries. (Two of these texts, *Crónica da Guiné* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara, and *De primo inuentione Guinee* by Diogo Gomes, have separate entries in *CMR* 5 pp. 415-18; 596-600)

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Codex monacensis hispanicus 27 (1518; digitised version available via *Collection of manuscripts in different European languages*)

MS Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional – Manuscritos Iluminados [IL] 154 (1848 reproduction, copied from the original)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J. Pereira da Costa, *Códice Valentim Fernandes*, Lisbon, 1997

D. Peres, *Os mais antigos roteiros da Guiné, publicados com notícia explicativa. (Livro de rotear, compilado por Valentim Fernandes. Livro das rotas, por João de Lisboa. Esmeraldo de situ orbis, por Duarte Pacheco Pereira)*, Lisbon, 1952 (fols 292-315)

T. Monod, A. Teixeira da Mota and R. Mauny, *Description de la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique (Sénégal au Cap de Monte, Archipels) par Valentim Fernandes (1506-1510)*, Bissau, 1951 (French trans. of fols 90-140, 184-215)

A. Baião, *O manuscrito Valentim Fernandes*, Lisbon, 1940

Cenival and Monod, *Description de la côte d'Afrique* (edition and French trans.)

H. Fritzler, 'Die Maldiven im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 10 (1935-6) 215-56, pp. 249-55 (edition of *India das Ilhas de Dyve*)

- G. Pereira, 'Noticias antiga de Ceuta e Tanger', *O Archeólogo português* 4 (1898) 46-7 (fragmentary translations into Portuguese)
- F. Kunstmann, 'Valentin Ferdinand's Beschreibung der Serra Leoa mit einer Einleitung über die Seefahrten nach der Westküste Afrika's im vierzehnten Jahrhunderte', *Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe (III. Cl.) der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, IX, 1. Abth.*, Munich, 1862, 111-42 (edition and German trans.)
- F. Kunstmann, 'Valentin Ferdinand's Beschreibung der Westküste Afrika's vom Senegal bis zur Serra Leoa', *Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe (III. Cl.) der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, VIII, 3. Abth.*, Munich, 1860, 784-824 (edition and German trans.)
- F. Kunstmann, 'Valentin Ferdinand's Beschreibung der Westküste Afrika's bis zum Senegal mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen von Friedrich Kunstmann', *Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe (III. Cl.) der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, VIII, 1. Abth.*, 1856, 221-85 (edition and German trans.)
- Schmeller, *Ueber Valenti Fernandez Alema*, pp. 18-73

STUDIES

- A. Massing, 'Valentim Fernandes' five maps and the early history and geography of São Tomé', *History in Africa* 36 (2009) 367-86
- P. Štěpánek, *Valentim Fernandes de Morávia. Notas sobre a vida de um tipógrafo Moravo e da obra que desenvolveu em Lisboa, na viragem do século XV para XVI*, Prague, 2009
- E. Westermann, 'Auftakt zur Globalisierung. Die "Novos Mundos" Portugals und Valentim Fernandes als ihr Mittler nach Nürnberg und Augsburg', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 96 (2009) 44-58
- Hendrich, *Valentim Fernandes*
- Seibert, '500 years of the manuscript of Valentim Fernandes', pp. 81-5
- P. Štěpánek, *Valentim Fernandes de Morávia. Poznámky k životu a dílu významného moravského knihtiskaře v Lisabonu na přelomu 15. a 16. století*, Brno, 2006
- M.J. Ferriera, 'A lexicon of selected works printed by Valentim Fernandes, 1496-1502', Madison, 2001 (Diss. University of Wisconsin – Madison)
- A. Anselmo, *L'activité typographique de Valentim Fernandes au Portugal (1495-1518)*, Paris, 1984

- R. Rainero, *La scoperta della costa occidentale d'Africa. Nelle relazioni di Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Diogo Gomes, Eustache de la Fosse, Valentim Fernandes e Duarte Pacheco Pereira*, Milan, 1970
- J.B. de Carvalho, 'A metalidade, o tempo e os grupos sociais (Um exemplo português da época das descobertas. Gomes Eanes de Zurara e Valentin Fernandes)', *Revista de História* 7/15 (1953) 37-68

Martha Frederiks

Malik Ayāz

Malik Ayāz-i Khāṣṣ-i Sulṭānī, Meliqueaz

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Probably 1522
PLACE OF DEATH	Junagadh

BIOGRAPHY

Malik Ayāz was a royal slave (*ghulām-i khāṣṣ*) in the Gujarat Sultanate (c. 1407-1573). He rose to be a semi-independent ruler of Diu, a port-city on the southern edge of the Kathiawar peninsula in Gujarat. There is no unanimity among scholars regarding his exact origins. Several contemporary and later sources written in Persian, Arabic and Portuguese identify him variously as Russian, Armenian, Turkish, Persian (Gilani) and even Javanese. For instance, the mid 16th-century Portuguese chronicler João de Barros identified him as a Russian from a heretical Christian sect, brought first to Constantinople as a captive by Turks and later sold as a slave to the Gujarat sultan. On the other hand, the early 17th-century chronicler Ferishta regarded him as a slave born in the sultan's household.

Malik Ayāz was probably in the service of the Gujarat sultans by at least 1484, as he participated in the battles against the Rajput chieftains of Champaner in that year (Ferishta, *Tārīkh*). He impressed the sultan with his military skills and subsequently became one of the leading figures in Gujarat under the rule of Sultan Maḥmūd Begarha (r. 1458-1511). According to one legend, when a passing hawk defecated on the sultan's head, a bad omen, Malik Ayāz brought the bird down with his arrow, thus gaining the sultan's admiration and reward. Sultan Maḥmūd Begarha manumitted Malik Ayāz and appointed him governor of Junagadh (Sorath) and Diu. He soon transformed Diu from an insignificant port into one of the main entrepôts for ships trading with East Africa, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf region, as well as those that sailed along the west coast of India on to Southeast Asia. While Malik Ayāz ostensibly remained an official of the Gujarat sultan, no more than a 'fiscal official of the king of Cambay', he acquired considerable wealth and power in his own right. He kept his own fleet of armed patrol boats (*atalaias*) and

a well-trained and well-equipped body of guards. The material wealth and military strength he enjoyed in Diu are noted by several Portuguese authors and Persian chroniclers.

Malik Ayāz is most notable for his role in the politics and alliances of the western Indian Ocean maritime world, which included the Mamluks of Egypt, the Ottomans, the Portuguese and the Gujarat sultans. Once it was developed by Malik Ayāz as an important maritime city with fortifications, Diu offered considerable strategic value to a naval power. Thus, its acquisition became an important goal for the Portuguese in the early 16th century. Malik Ayāz allied with Amīr Ḥusayn al-Kurdī Bash al-‘Askar, the commander of a naval fleet sent by the Mamluk sultans of Egypt to the Indian Ocean to deal with the presence of the Portuguese. This alliance led to the defeat of the Portuguese in a battle at the port of Chaul in March 1508. The Portuguese viceroy’s son Dom Lourenço de Almeida, the commander of the Portuguese fleet, was killed in this naval confrontation and many other Portuguese were captured. However, Malik Ayāz’s growing anxiety over Amīr Ḥusayn’s excessively harsh and severe ways, for which he had already acquired some reputation as the governor of Jedda, as well as the prestige and military superiority of the Egyptians, caused Malik Ayāz to soon distance himself from the recent alliance (Aubin, ‘Albuquerque et les négociations’; Alam and Subrahman-yam, ‘Letters’). In order to maintain his political and military position, Malik Ayāz now secretly allied himself with the viceroy, D. Francisco de Almeida; Almeida’s fleet landed off Diu in February 1509 and struck at Amīr Ḥusayn’s fleet, defeating it and forcing Amīr Ḥusayn to flee.

We do not hear of any expeditions against the Portuguese by Malik Ayāz until 1518, when he wrote to the Ottoman sultan Selim I – who had recently gained rapid military victories in the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Egypt, Syria and Aleppo – proposing a joint Ottoman-Gujarat offensive. Written in response to a letter by the Ottoman sultan (who also wrote to the Gujarat sultan Muẓaffar Shah II), Malik Ayāz’s letter displayed his knowledge of the activities of the Portuguese in various ports of the western Indian Ocean. It also included a detailed plan for the expulsion of the Portuguese. In a letter written from Kerala in January 1519, D. Aires da Gama warned the Portuguese king that Malik Ayāz was busy constructing armed ships in the Portuguese style (*navios e artelharia à vossa usança*). In 1520-21, the Portuguese then sent several fleets to attack the ships of Diu. Malik Ayāz, however, died before a joint anti-Portuguese expedition with the Ottomans could materialise, though he had successfully

prevented the Portuguese from gaining a stronghold in Diu during his lifetime. According to Ulughkhānī, Malik Ayāz was buried next to his spiritual master, Ghiyas al-Dīn Maulānā Quṭb al-‘Ārifin Shāh Shams al-Dīn, in Unna, north of Diu. He was succeeded by his eldest son Ishāq as the governor of Diu.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – 3333, fols 108r-110r (Sari ‘Abdullah Efendi, *Münşeat-i Fārsī*; Letter from Sultan Selim I to Sultan Muẓaffar Shāh II; available as a microfilm in the Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Middle Eastern Collection)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – 3333, fols 149v-151r (Sari ‘Abdullah Efendi, *Münşeat-i Fārsī*; Letter from Malik Ayāz to Sultan Selim I [part 2])
- João de Barros, *Décadas da Ásia*, Decada II, part I, Lisbon, 1778, vol. 3, pp. 207-18, 282-321, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433082328885;view=2up;seq=1>
- Muḥammad Qāsim Ferishta, *Tārīkh-i Firishta or Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, trans. J. Briggs, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India till the year 1612*, New Delhi, 1829, vol. 4, pp. 40-5, 55-7
- ‘Letter from Sultan Muẓaffar Shāh II to Sultan Selim I’, in Feridun Ahmed (ed.), *Mecmu’a-i Münşeat-i Feridun Bey*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1848, vol. 1, pp. 447-9
- ‘Letter from Malik Ayāz to Sultan Selim I (part 1)’, in Ahmed, *Mecmu’a-i Münşeat-i Feridun Bey*, vol. 1, p. 449
- ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Makkī l-Āṣafi Ulughkhānī Ḥājī l-Dabīr, *Zafar al-wālih bi Muẓaffar wa-ālih*, in E. Denison Ross, *An Arabic history of Gujarat*, London, 1910, vol. 1, pp. 37-8, 113-77
- M. Longworth Dames (trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, London, vol. 1, 1918, 128-34, pp. 130-4
- Sikandar ibn Muḥammad *alias* Manjhū ibn Akbar, *Mir’āt-i-Sikandarī*, ed. S.C. Misra and M.L. Rahman, Baroda, 1961, pp. 147, 162-5

Secondary

- M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, ‘Letters from a sinking sultan’, in M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal world. Studies on culture and politics*, New York, 2012, 33-87, pp. 39-50
- M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and rulers in Gujarat. The response to the Portuguese in the sixteenth century*, Berkeley CA, 1976, pp. 67-73
- J. Aubin, ‘Albuquerque et les négociations de Cambaye’, *Mare Luso-Indicum* 1 (1971) 3-63 (repr. in J. Aubin, *Le Latin et l’Astrolabe*, vol. 2, Paris, 2000, pp. 197-250)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Letter to the Ottoman Sultan Selim I about the
Christians controlling the coasts of India

DATE 23 November 1518

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

Malik Ayāz's letter to Sultan Selim I was in response to the latter's letter to him, which unfortunately is untraceable. Malik Ayāz's letter, however, can be found in Feridun Bey's *Münşeat* and in the *Münşeat-i Fārsī* of 'Abdullah Efendi. The only extensive discussion of this letter occurs in a recent article by Alam and Subrahmanyam.

The first part of the letter is a formal reply to the Ottoman sultan, in which Malik Ayāz says he is honoured to have received the sultan's letter. Malik Ayāz addresses the sultan using a variety of elaborate titles, comparing him to Iranian and Turkish heroes of the pre-Islamic past. He also says that the sultan is, among other things, the most benevolent of the rulers of the time, the pillar of Islam and the Muslims, the protector of the lands of Allah and a warrior (*mujāhid*) in the path of Allah. Quoting Qur'anic verses, Malik Ayāz alludes to the recent military victories of the Ottomans and confirms his own prayers for the sultan's continuing rule and success.

The second part of the letter reads like a report on the activities of the Portuguese in the western Indian Ocean (Alam and Subrahmanyam, 'Letters') and includes a request for a joint Ottoman-Gujarat offensive against the Portuguese. Malik Ayāz in fact offers strategic details on how and where the joint operation should proceed, displaying a great deal of familiarity with the activities of the Portuguese in the western Indian Ocean. The practical matter-of-fact tone of this part of the letter contrasts with the more rhetorical response that the Gujarat sultan Muẓaffar Shāh II (r. 1511-26) had sent to the Ottoman sultan around the same time, detailing his own victories in central India (Mandu) and showing solidarity with the Ottomans in enhancing the prestige of Islam.

Malik Ayāz's letter highlights several aspects of Christian-Muslim relations in the early 16th century, particularly in the context of the Portuguese involvement in trade in the western Indian Ocean. Malik Ayāz points to the subjugation of large parts of the coasts of 'Arab, 'Ajam, and Hind by the community of white Christians (*tā'ifa-yi sumra-yi Naṣāra*)

and expresses his dismay at the suffering of the people of the coast at the hands of the Christians. He also notes the destruction of ships and ports in several battles with the Portuguese in Aden and the neighbouring area and laments the response of the Egyptians, who sent an army ostensibly to fight the infidels (*tā'ifa-yi kafara*) but instead looted the property of the Muslims of Aden and captured Yemen. He appeals to the Ottoman sultan to send his victorious army in order to defeat 'this damned community, drowning and burning them'. Malik Ayāz observes that only the Ottomans have the wealth, army and firearms to take on the huge task (*ghazā'-yi akbar*) of ousting the infidels from the ocean. He notes that the rulers in India are weak and unable to summon up huge resources, and that in the absence of their support against the Christians, Malik Ayāz has been obliged to make peace with the Franks. With the support of the Ottoman sultan, Malik Ayāz now expresses his enthusiasm to work for the benefit of the faith and defeat the Portuguese.

Hopeful of Ottoman support against the Portuguese, Malik Ayāz includes in the letter an ingenious plan for the Ottoman sultan and his army to dislodge the Portuguese from the various ports. The letter thus includes recommendations for the Ottoman troops to move from Aden to Hormuz and to Dabhol and Diu to confront the Franks. Malik Ayāz also promises to act as a guide (*dalīl-o-rāhnumā*) for the Ottoman troops and to add his own troops and ships to the Ottoman forces. Among several details in his proposed joint expedition against the Portuguese, he recommends the dispatch of the Ottoman commander Selman Re'is, who had previously fought the Portuguese at Jeddah and was personally acquainted with Malik Ayāz. Later, an Ottoman expedition under Selman Re'is did appear in 1527-28, though by then both Malik Ayāz and Sultan Selim had died.

SIGNIFICANCE

The contents of the letter not only show Malik Ayāz's familiarity with the activities of the Portuguese in various ports of the Indian Ocean but also highlight the threat their presence represented in the maritime region in the early 16th century. The petition to the Ottoman sultan for a joint offensive further points to the significance of recent Ottoman military victories for the politics of the maritime world. While the religious rhetoric in the letter indicates the suspicion and hatred that characterised inter-religious relations, religious difference did not prevent alliances between Christians and Muslims to advance political, military and economic interests. Malik Ayāz ingeniously re-crafts his role in

the defeat of the Egyptian forces by the Portuguese, obscuring his own secret negotiations with the latter. Similarly, the use of religion as a rallying point to join forces against the Portuguese obscures the strategic and commercial competition between Malik Ayāz and the Ottomans. Both sought to control trade in the western Indian Ocean. But on the whole, the communication between Malik Ayāz and the Ottoman sultan highlights a paradigmatic moment in the relationship between Christians and Muslims in the early modern period. Although suspicion and competition dominated the discourse, relations between the Portuguese – and later other Europeans who struggled to establish themselves in the Indian subcontinent – and the Mughals, who came to dominate the region, including Gujarat, by the late 16th century, grew more complex and multi-faceted.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – 3333, fols 149v-151r (Sari ‘Abdullah Efendi, *Münşeat-i Fārsī*; Letter from Malik Ayāz to Sultan Selim I [part 2])

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

‘Letter from Malik Ayāz to Sultan Selim I (part 1)’, in Ahmed, *Mecmu’ā-i Münşeat-i Feridun Bey*, vol. 1, p. 449

STUDIES

Alam and Subrahmanyam, ‘Letters from a sinking sultan’, pp. 47-50
 Ghulam Muhammad Nizamuddin Maghrebi, ‘The Ottoman-Gujarat relations’, in P.M. Joshi (ed.), *Studies in the foreign relations of India. From the earliest times to 1947*, Hyderabad, 1975, 184-93, pp. 186-7

Jyoti Gulati Balachandran

Diogo Lopes

Diogo Lopes de Sequeira

DATE OF BIRTH 1466
PLACE OF BIRTH Alandroal, Portugal
DATE OF DEATH 14 October 1530
PLACE OF DEATH Alandroal, Portugal

BIOGRAPHY

Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was of noble birth and a supporter of King Manuel I of Portugal (r. 1495-1521). In 1508, he was sent by the king to Madagascar in order to assess its commercial potential. He continued on eastwards and he landed at Malacca in 1509, leaving when a plot by the local sultan, Mahmud Shah, to assassinate him was uncovered in 1510.

He was appointed as the fourth governor of India by King Manuel in 1518 and held the post until late in 1521. On arrival in Goa in 1518, he took command of a fleet, which sailed in 1520 for the Red Sea with the intention of attacking Jedda, to further the king's plans for a crusade against Islam. However, in 1520 the fleet landed in Massawa on the African coast and Lopes de Sequeira sent an embassy led by Rodrigo da Cunha da Lima to the court of 'Prester John', as the ruler of the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia was known to the Portuguese.

A report of the embassy's arrival was sent to Portugal, where it was published as *Carta das Novas. Que vieram a el rei nossi senhor do descobrimento do Preste João*, together with a copy of a letter sent to King Manuel in 1514 by Queen Helena, the Regent of the young king Ləbnä Dəngəl.

Following the death of Manuel in 1521, Lopes de Sequeira was replaced as governor of India. Danvers (*Portuguese in India*, p. 352) reports that a petition was sent for Lopes de Sequeira to be recalled home because he was preventing local traders from conducting business. Thomaz sees Lopes de Sequeira as a faithful servant of King Manuel ('Portugal'). It can be considered that, when his son John succeeded him, all ideas of a crusade were immediately abandoned.

Lopes de Sequeira returned to Portugal, and in 1524 he attended the Conference of Elvas and Badajoz in which Portugal disputed with Castile the 'ownership' of the Moluccas, as they were to the east of the demarcation line agreed at the Treaty of Tordesillas. He died in Alandroal in 1530.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Carta das Novas. Que vieram a el rey nosso senhor do descobrimento do Preste Joham*, Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1521
- F. Álvares, *Verdadera informação das terras do Preste Joam das Indias*, Lisbon, 1540
- A. Cortesão and H. Thomas, *Carta das Novas. Que vieram a el rei nossi senhor do descobrimento do Preste João (Lisboa, 1521)*, Lisbon, 1938
- H. Thomas and A. Cortesão, *The discovery of Abyssinia by the Portuguese in 1520*, London, 1938 (English trans. and transcription into modern Portuguese of *Carta das Novas. Que vieram a el rei nossi senhor do descobrimento do Preste João*, Lisbon, 1521)
- C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford (eds), *The Prester John of the Indies. A true relation of the lands of the Prester John, being the narrative of the Portuguese embassy to Ethiopia in 1520, written by Father Francisco Alvares*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1961

Secondary

- C. Baldrige, *Prisoners of Prester John. The Portuguese mission in Ethiopia in search of the mythical king, 1520-1526*, Jefferson NC, 2012
- L.F. Thomaz, art. 'Portugal, relations with', in S. Uhlig and A. Gorri (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 2010, vol. 4 O-X, pp. 180-1
- A. Disney, *A history of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, Cambridge, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 131, 138
- A. Martínez, art. 'Lima, Rodrigo da', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 2007, vol. 3 He-N, 569-70
- E. Sanceau, *Portugal in quest of Prester John*, London, 1943, pp. 42-50
- P. Esteves and R. Guilherme (eds), *Diccionario historico, chorographico, biographico, bibliographico, heraldico, numismatico e artistico*, Lisbon, 1904-15, vol. 3, I 515, 2-8; II 518, 287-95
- S. Viterbo, art. 'LXX. – Lopes de Sequeira (Diogo)', *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, Lisbon, 1900, vol. 2, 211-18
- R.S. Whiteway, *The rise of Portuguese power in India 1497-1550*, Westminster, 1899, pp. 189-98
- F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, London, 1894, vol. 1, pp. 342-52

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Regimento dado por Diogo Lopes a D. Rodrigo da Cunha, enviado como embaixador à corte do Preste João, 'Instructions given by Diogo Lopes to D. Rodrigo da Cunha, sent as ambassador to the court of Prester John'

DATE 25 April 1520

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

This document, six pages long (Rego, 'Regimento', pp. 20-33), was written by Lopes de Sequeira in the port of Massawa on the African coast of the Red Sea. It gives instructions to Rodrigo da Cunha de Lima about the conduct of an embassy to the Abyssinian court to meet with 'Prester John'. It consists of 19 itemised paragraphs, several of which make specific mention of 'Moors' (Muslims).

Paragraph 3 includes a request that the Portuguese be allowed to build a fortress in Prester John's territory, 'and enable us to go from here in search of our enemies nearer than we do from India' ('Regimento', p. 23). It goes on to explain that the kings of Portugal have 'always conquered the Moors', and to emphasise that Portugal had not only captured more cities in Africa than had Prester John, but had also discovered India and conquered states from 'Sofala as far as the Chinamen' ('Regimento', p. 23).

Paragraph 4 seeks to know Prester John's relationship with the sultan, or other ruler, and the distance from Cairo, and paragraph 6 seeks to ascertain what support Prester John would give in an attack on Cairo. Paragraph 7 instructs the embassy to present the same reports to Queen Helena (Æleni) and the patriarch of Abyssinia, seeking to get the latter to persuade Prester John to 'make war against the Moors' ('Regimento', pp. 23, 25, 27). Paragraph 7 also offers Portuguese support for Prester John, if he wishes to make war against Muslims in the interior, by capturing the key port city of Zeila in northern Somalia ('Regimento', p. 27).

Paragraph 4, together with paragraph 14, instructs the embassy to ascertain the numbers of Christians, Moors and Jews under Prester John's rule and how they are treated, whether they live together, and the nature of their clothes and food ('Regimento', pp. 23, 25, 29).

SIGNIFICANCE

The letter shows the belligerent attitude of the Portuguese under King Manuel, with his desire to make allies in order to fight against Muslim rulers, and especially to attack Cairo.

It reflects not only Manuel's religious desire to continue the crusades sanctioned by the pope, but also a more practical economic intention to gain a monopoly over trade with India, free from competition from Muslim traders.

With the death of King Manuel in 1521, the embassy was 'abandoned' in Abyssinia until 1527. The very full description of the embassy and of Prester John and Abyssinia that is found in *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste Joam* written by Francisco Álvares in 1531, led to later interaction with Abyssinia.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Corpo Cronológico, I.26-10 (1520)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A. da Silva Rego (ed.), 'Regimento dado por Diogo Lopes a D. Rodrigo da Cunha, enviado como embaixador à corte do Preste João', in *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa 1497-1840*, vol. vi. 1519-1537, Lisbon, 1969, 20-33 (Portuguese, with English trans.)

STUDIES

Sanceau, *Portugal in quest of Prester John*, pp. 42-50

Carta das Novas. Que vieram a el rey nosso senhor do descobrimento do Preste Joham, 'Letter of news, which was sent to the our lord the king, concerning the discovery of Prester John', 'The discovery of Abyssinia by the Portuguese in 1520'

DATE 1521

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

Carta das novas. Que vieram a el rei nossi senhor do descobrimento do Preste João is a thin folio of 14 leaves in two quires, signed A (eight leaves)

and B (six leaves), which was probably published by Germão Galharde in Lisbon in 1521 (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, p. xiv). Its contents are based on the report received by King Manuel in April 1521, sent by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, about the embassy to Abyssinia that he had commissioned. This was published, together with a Portuguese translation of a 'Letter which the Prester John sent to the king our lord by his Ambassador Matthew in the year fifteen hundred and fourteen'. The report begins at fol. A2r and continues to fol. B5v, with the appended 'Letter of Prester John' taking up fol. B6r-B6v.

The only known copy of *Carta das novas* was discovered in London in 1935. As it is not referred to in other contemporary sources about Prester John, it is considered possible that other copies were suppressed following King Manuel's death in December 1521, as Manuel's successor, John III (1502-57) did not continue with his father's policy of crusade against Muslims.

Carta das novas begins (A1) with an explanation of the origins of the news, and the purpose of publishing the report. It states that the contact with Prester John will lead to 'the increase of his holy faith and the destruction of the evil sect of Mohamet, in those parts and in all others' and expresses the desire that 'the expense of his fleets, and the labours and deaths of his subjects and vassals which have hitherto been made in this holy enterprise, may be deemed the better employed' (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, p. 63). Diogo Lopes de Sequeira is referred to as the Captain-major throughout the report.

The first section (A2r-A3v) describes the departure of the fleet from India on 13 February 1520, and the voyage to Massawa, where they arrived on 10 April 1520 (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, pp. 64-67). The second section (A3v-A7r) relates the situation in Massawa and the presence of Christians and Moors, and the negotiations with the 'captain of Harkiko', the local administrator, to summon the *Barnegaes* (lord of the sea), which is explained as a title meaning 'constable, marshal, or warden-in-chief of the marches', responsible for the protection of the frontier as far as north as Suakin. (Sanceau gives the title as 'Bahr Nagach', and explains that he was the governor of the sea-coast; Sanceau, *Quest for Prester John*, p. 43). It also relates the reception of Matthew, the Abyssinian ambassador who had been sent to the Portuguese in 1514 and was only now returning (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, pp. 67-76). The next section (A7a-B1a) describes a visit to a monastery by the Auditor, Pero Gomes de Teixeira (*Discovery of Abyssinia*, 76-81). The final section of the report (B2r-B5r) deals with the meeting between the *Barnegaes* and the Captain-major (Diogo Lopes).

The suspicions of the Muslim community about the partnership between Abyssinia and Portugal is made explicit: 'Some Moors... were there, to see if they could break this friendship [between the Portuguese and the Captain of Harkikko] and hinder so great a service to God' (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, p. 82).

When Diogo Lopes and the *Barnegaes* met, Lopes stated that 'the former kings of Portugal had always made war against the Moors, winning their lands from them in the parts of Africa' (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, p. 83), and that the king of Portugal had ordered war against Muslims in India and in the strait (of Mecca). He also stated that he was seeking an alliance to 'make war against the enemies of our faith' (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, p. 84). The response of the *Barnegaes* is given: 'As with clearing of the Moors out of the land, with nothing would the Prester John be better pleased' (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, p. 85).

The departure of the embassy to Prester John, led by Rodrigo de Lima and accompanied by Matthew, and the subsequent departure of Diogo Lopes and the fleet to India is then related (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, pp. 86-87).

The report concludes (B5v) that 'the Moors in those parts were thrown into great confusion' at the appearance of such a show of force. It then states that the alliance between Prester John and Portugal showed the 'desire for peace and friendship, that both uniting in one will against the enemies of the faith, all increase of it and the universal destruction of the evil sect of Mohamet might be achieved' (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, p. 89).

The appended letter from the court of Prester John (B6r-B6v) was caused to be drawn up by Queen Helena (Éleni), regent to the young king, who was 12 years old. The original was written in Arabic and Persian (the text in Portuguese is also given by F. Álvares in *Ho Preste Joam das Indias* (1531), Fernão Lopes de Castanheda in *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* (1551-61), and Damião de Góis in *Legatio magni Indorum imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis ad Emanuele Lusitaniae regem, anno Domini M.D.XIII* (1532)). In it, King Manuel is called 'knight of the seas, subduer and despoiler of the unbelieving Caffres and Moors' (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, p. 90). It calls for help from the king in supplies and men, warns that the 'Lord of Cairo is building a fleet of ships to send against your fleets' (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, p. 91), and makes an offer of support in the Strait of Mecca and further south in the Bab el-Mandeb in order to cause the Moors to be wiped of the face of the earth.

The letter recalls the 'promise made by Christ and Saint Mary His mother, Who said that in the last times the King of the parts of the Franks would rise up and put an end to the Moors' (Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*, p. 91).

SIGNIFICANCE

The apparent suppression of this document following the death of the king and the subsequent change in policy under King John, when all thoughts of a 'crusade' against the Moor were abandoned, means that the document had little impact. The report of the embassy led by Rodrigo da Cunha, *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste Joam*, written by Francisco Álvares in 1531, was far more influential.

The rediscovery of *Carta novas* allowed a reassessment of the attitudes of the Portuguese towards Islam under King Manuel, and the desire to seek an alliance with Abyssinia against 'enemies of the faith'. Establishing an alliance with 'Prester John', the fabled ruler of a large Christian kingdom in the East, had been a longstanding ambition of the Portuguese. Included in this ambition was the hope that their combined forces could successfully vanquish the Muslims. With the Portuguese expansion along the coast of Africa and into the Indian Ocean, 'Prester John' had been identified with the ruler of Abyssinia. The embassy commissioned by Sequeira was the first successful official contact with the *Nəguś*, or king, of Abyssinia by the Portuguese crown.

The appended letter from Queen Helena, which had been sent by the hand of her ambassador Matthew, demonstrates that the Abyssinians had a similar ambition to link up with a powerful European monarch, also for the purpose of defeating the Muslims.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*

Cortesão and Thomas, *Carta das novas*

Carta das novas. Que vieram a el rey nosso senhor do descobrimento do Preste Joham, Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1521

STUDIES

Baldrige, *Prisoners of Prester John*

Sanceau, *Portugal in quest of Prester John*, pp. 42-50

Thomas and Cortesão, *Discovery of Abyssinia*

Cortesão and Thomas, *Carta das Novas*

John Chesworth

Francisco Álvares

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1470
PLACE OF BIRTH	Coimbra
DATE OF DEATH	Approximately 1540
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably in Rome

BIOGRAPHY

Francisco Álvares (also Álvarez) was a chaplain, writer and ambassador, well-known for his work on 16th-century Ethiopia, *Verdadeira informação das terras do Prese Joam das Índias*. Neither the date nor the place of his birth is known with certainty. The preface to one of the versions of the *Verdadeira informação* (Vatican Library, Codex Ottobonianus Lat. 1104; see Beckingham and Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies*, p. 33) says that he was born in the castle of a place called 'Franchosa', but it is widely assumed that he was born in or near Coimbra (Beckingham and Hungerford, *The Prester John of the Indies*, 33; Cortesão and Thomas, *Carta*, p. 92; de Andrade, 'Francisco Álvares', p. 299).

Álvares appears first in the historical record as the chaplain in the embassy of Duarte Galvão, envoy of the Portuguese King Manuel I to Christian Ethiopia. The embassy was sent in response to an earlier visit to Portugal by Abraham 'Mateus', the Armenian envoy of Solomonid Ethiopia's Dowager Queen ʾĪlāni (see Aubin, 'L'ambassade'). The party left Lisbon on 7 April 1515 and, after a long halt in India, reached the Red Sea in 1517 (Cortesão and Thomas, *Carta*, p. 93). However, the embassy suffered a series of setbacks, including the death of its leader, Duarte Galvão on Kamaran Island, and the mission had to be aborted. The details of this embassy were recounted by Álvares himself in a letter addressed to King Manuel dated 9 January 1518 (see de Andrade, 'Francisco Álvares', pp. 322-7).

In early 1520, a new expedition and embassy for the Red Sea was organised in Portuguese India under Governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. The Portuguese fleet left Goa on 8 February and reached Massawa on 17 April. The embassy to Christian Ethiopia was headed by Dom Rodrigo da Lima and the Armenian Mateus. It was made up of over 16 Portuguese officials and servants, including a surgeon-doctor, João Bermudes ('mestre João' in Álvares's narrative), an interpreter, João Gonçalves,

a painter, Lazaro d'Andrade, and a musician, Manoel de Mares (*Verdadeira informação*, 1889, p. 4). There, Álvares again acted as chaplain to the Portuguese party (see Cortesão and Thomas, *Carta*, p. 119). The embassy set off on their journey towards the Eritrean highlands on 30 April.

The diplomatic mission was supplied with animals and military protection by the *baḥər nāgaš*, the regional lord who had his seat in Dəbarwa. First, it headed south-west, towards Däbrä Bizan, where Mateus died on 23 May (*Verdadeira informação*, 1889, p. 8). Then it reached the provinces of Ḥamasen and Säraye ('Addi Baro and Dəbarwa) and Təgray, where the Portuguese visited the ancient city of Aksum. The embassy then headed eastwards, reaching Amba Sännayti and 'Agamä. Turning south, the party went to Wag and Lasta and proceeded to Šäwa, where they visited Däbrä Libanos and, towards November 1520, they reached their final destination in Tägulät, the site of the *kätäma* (royal camp) of Ləbnä Dəngəl. There Álvares had several interviews with the ruler. He showed to the court objects from the Catholic liturgy and told them about European religious traditions (*Verdadeira informação*, 1889, pp. 90-1, 98-100, 107-8, 119-20). On 24 December, Álvares allegedly said Mass before the ruler (*Verdadeira informação*, 1889, pp. 105-7). In January 1521, he met the metropolitan, *abunä* Marqos (*Verdadeira informação*, 1889, pp. 117-18). After a three-month stay at Tägulät, the Portuguese party reportedly followed Ləbnä Dəngəl to another royal camp in the province of Gurage (*Verdadeira informação*, 1889, pp. 140-1). The Portuguese made a first attempt to leave the country in 1521, but they missed the vessel that had come from Portuguese India to pick them up and they did not finally manage to leave till 1526. The embassy took letters from Ləbnä Dəngəl to his Portuguese counterpart and to the pope, and now included an Ethiopian ambassador to Portugal, the cleric Šägga Zä'ab (see M. Kleiner, art. 'Šägga Zä'ab', in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 2010, vol. 4, pp. 455-6). They reached Lisbon around 24 June 1527.

Back in Europe, Álvares stayed at the Portuguese court, where he met the humanist and royal agent Damião de Góis. It was probably during his stay in Portugal that he finished his narrative. In 1532, King Dom João gave him permission to bring to the pope the letters sent by Ləbnä Dəngəl (de Andrade, 'Francisco Álvares', pp. 294-5). On 16 November 1532 Álvares went to Genoa, and in Italy he met the humanist Paolo Giovio, who translated the missives into Latin (Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores*, vol. 10, p. 465). On 29 January 1533, he was received in Bologna

by Clement VII, to whom he delivered the letters of King Gälawdewos (both published in Raineri, *Lettere*, docs 11 and 12). The encounter took place in the presence of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, and Álvares was accompanied by the Portuguese ambassador, Archbishop Dom Martinho de Portugal (Anonymous 1533; de Góis, *Fides*, p. 19). Gälawdewos's letters to the pope had a profound impact in Europe. Shortly after being handed to Clement VII, they were published in Bologna in two booklets (one in Latin and another in Italian) about the embassy, both probably the work of Paolo Giovio and the Flemish editor Giacombo Keymolen (see de Andrade, 'Francisco Álvares', p. 314; Lefèvre, *L'Étiopia*, pp. 53-71). In Rome, the letters were interpreted as genuine offers of obedience by the Ethiopian *nəguś* and came to be used as crucial argument in support of a religious mission to Christian Ethiopia (see, e.g. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores*, vol. 10, pp. 455, 459; vol. 6, p. 119).

Álvares probably died in Rome around 1540 (de Andrade, 'Francisco Álvares', p. 301).

Written evidence indicates that *Verdadeira informação das terras do Prese Joam das Indias* was not Álvares' only work. He reportedly wrote a major treatise, now lost, divided into five books, on Ethiopian history, traditions and life, and flora and fauna (Beckingham and Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies*, p. 5 *et passim*; Almagià, *Contributi*; Ramusio, 'Viaggio fatto nella Ethiopia', 204r; Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores*, vol. 10, p. 464). Álvares also wrote a long letter to King Dom Manuel I, dated 9 January 1518, on the failed embassy of Duarte Galvão (published in Andrade, 'Francisco Álvares', pp. 322-7; see also Cortesão and Thomas, *Carta*, p. 38). The letter contains a handful of historical details on the Dahlak Archipelago and Kamaran Island. Last but not least, he was probably also instrumental in writing the letters of Ləbnä Dəngəl to the Portuguese kings and the pope (published on several occasions in *Verdadeira informação*, 1889; Anonymous 1533; de Góis, *Fides*; and Raineri, *Lettere*, docs 11 and 12; on the process of their composition see *Verdadeira informação*, 1889, p. 130).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

[G. Keymolen and P. Giovio], *Legatio David Aethiopiae regis ad Sanctissimum D.N. Clementem papa VII, Bononiae [Bologna]: Jacobum Kernolen Alostensem, 1533*

- [G. Keymolen], *L'ambascieria di David Re dell'Etiopia al Santissimo S.N. Clemente papa VII . . .*, Bologna: Giacobbo Keymolen Alostese, 1533
- [G. Keymolen], *Legatio David Aethiopiae Regis, ad Sanctissimum D.N. Clementem Papam VII. unà cum obedientia . . .*, Antuerpiae: Guilelmm Vorstermannum, 1533
- Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste Joam*, Lisbon, 1540
- D. de Góis, *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopvm svb imperio Pretiosi Ioannis (quem vulgo Presbyterum Ioannem vocant) degentivm*, Lovanii: Rutgeri Resci, 1540
- Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João*, Lisbon, 1889
- C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford (eds), *The Prester John of the Indies. A true relation of the lands of the Prester John; being the narrative of the Portuguese embassy to Ethiopia in 1520, written by Father Francisco Alvarez*, trans. H.E.J. Stanley, Cambridge, 1961 (revised from 1881 edition)
- C. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, 15 vols, Rome, 1903-17
- A. Cortesão and H. Thomas (eds), *Carta das novas que vieram a el Rei nosso senhor do descobrimento do Preste João*, Lisbon, 1938
- O. Raineri, *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici (sec. XII-XX). Versioni e integrazioni*, Vatican City, 2005

Secondary

- M. Kleiner, art. 'Şägga Zä'ab', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 2010, vol. 4, pp. 455-6
- M. Kleiner, art. 'Ləbnä Dəngəl', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 2007, vol. 3, pp. 535-7
- M. Kleiner, art. 'Álvares, Francisco', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 2003, vol. 1, pp. 213-15
- J. Aubin (ed.), *Le latin et l'astrolabe. Recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales*, Lisbon, 1996
- J. Aubin, 'Duarte Galvão', in Aubin (ed.), *Le latin et l'astrolabe*, 11-48
- J. Aubin, 'Le prêtre Jean devant la censure portugaise', in Aubin (ed.), *Le latin et l'astrolabe*, 183-210
- A.A. Banha de Andrade, 'Francisco Álvares e o êxito europeu da verdadeira informação sobre a Etiópia', in *Presença de Portugal no mundo. Actas do Colóquio sobre a Presença de Portugal no Mundo*, Lisbon, 1982, 285-339
- J. Aubin, 'L'ambassade du Prêtre Jean à D. Manuel', *Mare Luso-Indicum* 3 (1976) 1-56
- R. Lefèvre, *L'Etiopia nella stampa del Primo Cinquecento*, Como, 1966
- C.F. Beckingham, 'Notes on an unpublished manuscript of Francisco Álvares. Verdadera informação das terras do Preste Joam das Indias', *Annales d'Ethiopie* 4 (1961) 139-54
- C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford, 'Introduction', in Beckingham and Huntingford (eds), *The Prester John of the Indies*, pp. 1-30

- R. Almagià, *Contributi alla storia della conoscenza dell'Etiopia*, Padua, 1941
- A. Cortesão and H. Thomas, 'Introduction', in Cortesão and Thomas (eds), *Carta das novas que vieram a el Rei nosso senhor do descobrimento do Preste João*, Lisbon, 1938, 11-93
- D.B. Machado, art. 'Francisco Alvares', in D.B. Machado (ed.), *Bibliotheca Lusitana. Historica, critica, e cronologica . . .*, Lisbon, 1741-59, vol. 2, pp. 101-2

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ho Preste Joam das Indias, 'Prester John of the Indies'

DATE 1531 (published in 1540)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

Ho Preste Joam das Indias (in full, *Ho Preste Joam das Indias. Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam, segundo vio & escreueo ho padre Francisco Aluarez capellã del Rey nosso senhor*) is a travelogue written by the Portuguese chaplain Francisco Álvares. The book was first published in Lisbon in 1540, and in 1550 the Venetian scholar Giovanni Battista Ramusio published a second version, which included chapters that had been omitted from the 1540 edition. The work soon reached a wide audience, with translations into the main European languages. It was reportedly originally part of a longer treatise in five books, now lost, dealing with the geography, traditions, political life, religion and flora and fauna of the Solomonid Ethiopian Kingdom and its neighbouring regions (Anonymous, 1533; Almagià, *Contributi*; Beckingham and Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies*, p. 5 *et passim*; Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores*, vol. 10, p. 464).

The narrative of the *Ho Preste Joam das Indias* uses plain Portuguese, without scholarly comments or literary embellishments. In the 1540 edition, it contains 150 chapters, divided into two parts, the first of 141 chapters and the second of nine, amounting to 197 pages. It describes the journey of the embassy of King Dom Manuel I of Portugal to the Ethiopian *Nəguś Ləbnä Dəngəl*. The embassy was led by Dom Rodrigo da Lima and lasted from 1520 to 1526. It included at least 16 Portuguese officials and servants.

In part 1, chs 1-68 describe the embassy's journey from the port of Massawa on the Red Sea to the province of Šäwa, which lasted seven months. The author describes the regions they passed through and the

local people they met. Chs 69-116 focus on meetings with Ləbnä Dəngəl and important figures close to the court such as Pêro da Covilhã and Metropolitan Marqos. Chs 117-141 then give descriptions of neighbouring regions, including the Muslim dominated territories of 'Adal, Gurage, Damot, Balaw and Nubia. The nine chapters of part 2 cover the return to Portugal.

Francisco Álvares probably started writing the treatise during the journey to Ethiopia. Details from the narrative suggest that he kept notes as he travelled, and that he also gathered information from interviews with locals. Thus, a Syrian from Tripoli named Joam reportedly informed Álvares about Christian Nubia (*Verdadeira informação*, 1889, ch. 137; see also Beckingham and Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies*, p. 39). Álvares appears to have used the long journey home to prepare the final draft of the text, which must have been ready by the end of 1531, when the Portuguese king gave Álvares permission to take it to Italy and present it to the pope (Anonymous, 1533).

SIGNIFICANCE

Ho Preste Joam das Indias is one of the most important sources for 16th-century Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. It is also a paramount and late example of a type of 'topographical' travel writing that from the 16th century onwards was to be replaced by a new genre of 'cosmographical' narratives (see Lestringant, *L'atelier*, p. 44). The book describes Christian Ethiopia at the beginning of conflicts with 'Adal under its ruler Maḥfūz ibn Muḥammad. Thus, it serves as a prologue to the devastating *jihād* led by Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī.

Ho Preste Joam das Indias, however, was not the first narrative on the Horn of Africa published in Europe, nor the first to report on Rodrigo da Lima's embassy. Before 1540, at least three texts had appeared in print: a letter of Andrea Corsali to Lorenzo II de' Medici, Duke of Urbino (published c. 1517 and republished in Ramusio, 'Viaggio fatto nella Ethiopia'); Diogo Lopes' *Carta das novas* (1521; see Cortesão and Thomas, *Carta*); and Damião de Góis's *Legatio magni Indorum imperatoris* (1532). Additionally, in 1540 de Góis's famous *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopyum* also appeared.

The value of Álvares' narrative is manifold. Written in plain language, without the erudite and moralistic rhetoric of other contemporary narratives, it provides lengthy descriptions of the history, geography and social life in the highlands of the Horn of Africa, and accounts of the places seen by the embassy as it moved south, among them Aksum (*Aquaxumo*;

Verdadeira informação, 1889, chs 36-9) and Lalibäla (*Verdadeira informação*, 1889, chs 53-4; in Ramusio's Italian edition some of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibäla are depicted: 'Viaggio fatto nella Ethiopia', fols 228r-232r).

The scope of the work, however, goes beyond Christian Ethiopia to include valuable insights into neighbouring Muslim kingdoms. In ch. 113, Álvares describes the fighting that broke out between Ethiopia and the sultanate of 'Adal, and the death in battle of its ruler, Maḥfūz ibn Muḥammad (*Mafudi*) in July 1517. He also reports on raids carried out by Muslims into Christian territory during Lent, when the Christians were weak from fasting, and the frequent defections between the two sides during the *jihād* of Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī (these are also mentioned by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Qādir 'Arabfaqīh in *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha*). In ch. 130, Álvares deals further with 'Adal and hints at its military ties with Arabia, while in ch. 131 he describes the sultanate of Hadiyya (*Adea*), and in ch. 137 the Sudanese regions, including Nubia (*Nobijs*), and the port of Sawakin (*Çuaquem*).

Álvares' narrative was read widely in its first edition, and even more when it was included in Ramusio's *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550; see Machado, vol. 2 pp. 101-2). From this time, it became the most reliable source on the Horn of Africa for European readers. The Italian Paolo Giovio drew upon it for his descriptions of Ethiopia (*Historie del suo tempo*, 1555), as did later editions of Leo Africanus's *La descrittione dell'Africa* (*A geographical histoire of Africa, written in Arabicke and Italian by John Leo a More... with the assistance of John Pory*, London: Georg. Bishop, 1600), Jean Bodin (*Les six livres de la république*, 1576), Samuel Purchas (*Purchas, his pilgrimes*, 1625) and Iob Ludolf (*Historia aethiopica*, 1681). Similarly, European cartography on the Horn of Africa up to at least the 17th century relied on its geographical descriptions (e.g. Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 1579; Mercator, *Atlas*, 1595), and the Jesuit missionaries who were active in Ethiopia between 1557 and 1632 quoted it frequently in their letters and treatises (e.g. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, vol. 2, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv, 138, 490-91; vol. 5, pp. lx-lxi).

Together with the works of the Jesuit missionaries, Álvares' narrative continues to be the most widely used among the historical sources for the Horn of Africa.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Beckingham and Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies*, pp. 7-9, for details of the seven or more recensions of the text, including two printed and two lost.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Verdadeira informação sobre a Terra do preste Joã das Índias (I),
Lisbon, 1989

Verdadera informação das terras do Preste João das Índias, Sintra,
1989

Ethiopia ōkokushi Aruwaresu, Tokyo, 1980 (Japanese trans.)

*Ityopya Portugezočč Āndayuwat (JEA 1520-1526 'AM): Yāşafāw: Fransišku
Alvarəš*, Lisbon, 1966 (Ethiopian trans.)

Beckingham and Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies*

Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João das Índias, Lisbon,
1943

Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João das Índias, Lisbon,
1883

H.E.J. Stanley (ed. and trans.), *Narrative of the Portuguese embassy to
Abyssinia during the years 1520-1527*, London, 1881 (repr. New York,
1970; English trans.)

S. Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrims*, London, 1625

*Historia de las cosas de Ethiopia en la qual se muy copiosamente, el
estado y potencia del Emperador della, (que es el que muchos has
pensado ser el preste Iuan) con otras infinitas particularidades
asside la religion de aquella géte, como de sus cerimonias, segun que
de todo ello fue testigo de vista Francisco Aluarez, capellan del Rey
don Manuel de Portugal, traduzida por Miguel de Selues*, Toledo:
Casa de P. Rodriguez, 1588

*Historia de las cosas de Ethiopia: en la qual se cuenta muy copiopsa-
mente*, Toledo: en casa de Pedro Rodriguez, a costa de Blas Perez,
1588

*General Chronicen: das ist Warhaffte eigentliche und kurtze Bes-
chreibung vieler namhaffter und zum theil bis daher unbekannter
Landtschafften, Erstlich deß... Priester Johannis, Königs in Moren-
landts, Königreichen... (Pauli Orosij)...*, Franckfurt am Mayn: Fey-
erabend, 1576 (German trans.)

*Kurtze / vnd warhafftige beschreibung aller gründlichen erfarnus von
den landen des mechtigen königs in Ethiopien / den wir Priester
Johañ nennen / Auch von seinem geistlichen vnd weltlichen regi-
ment... [Eisleben]: Heller, 1567*

Warhafftiger Bericht von den Landen auch geistlichem vnd weltlichem Regiment des mechtigen Königs in Ethiopien den wir Priester Johan nennen wie solches durch die Kron Portugal mit besondern vleis erkündiget worden beschrieben durch Herrn Franciscum Aluares so derhalben sechs Jahr lang an gedachts Priester Johans Hoffe verharren müssen aus der portugallischen vnd italianischen Sprach in das Deutsche gebracht vnd zuuorn nie im Druck ausgangen, Eißleben: Heller, 1566

Historia de las cosas de Ethiopia, en la qual se cuenta muy copiosamente, el estado y potēcia del emperador della, (que es el q̄ muchos han pensado ser el preste Juan) . . . segun que de todo ello fue testigo de vista Frācisco Aluarez . . ., Zaragoza: [Agostin Millan], 1561

Historiale description de l'Ethiopie, contenant vraye relation des terres, & païs du grand Roy, & Empereur Prete-Ian, l'assiette de ses royaumes & prouinces, leurs coutumes, loix, & religion, avec les pourtraits de leurs temples & autres singularites, cy deuant non cogneues, Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1558 (French trans.)

Historia de las cosas de Etiopia, en la qval se cventa muy copiosamente, el estado y pot[e]cia del Emperador della, . . . segun que todo ello fue testigo de vista Francisco Aluarez, capellan del rey Don Manuel de Portugal, agora nuevamente traduzido de Portugues en castellano por el Padre Fray Thomas de Padilla, Antwerp: Iuan Steelsio, 1557

G. Ramusio (ed.), 'Viaggio fatto nella Ethiopia per don Francesco Alvarez Portoghese', in G. Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi*, Venetia: Heredi di Lucantonio Givnti, 1550, 204v-274v

Verdadeira informaçam das terras do Preste Joam, Lisboa: Luis Rodriguez, 1540

STUDIES

Kleiner, 'Alvares, Francisco'

Aubin, 'Duarte Galvão'

Aubin, 'Le prêtre Jean devant la censure portugaise'

F. Lestringant, *L'atelier du cosmographe ou l'image du monde à la Renaissance*, Paris, 1991

C.F. Beckingham, 'European sources for Ethiopian history before 1634', *Paideuma* 33 (1987) 167-78

C.F. Beckingham, 'Francisco Alvarez and his book on Ethiopia', in C.F. Beckingham (ed.), *Between Islam and Christendom. Travellers, facts, and legends in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, London, 1983, 1-12

- Banha de Andrade, 'Francisco Álvares'
Aubin, 'L'ambassade du Prêtre Jean à D. Manuel'
Beckingham, 'Notes'
Beckingham and Huntingford, 'Introduction'
Almagià, *Contributi*
Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores*
Machado, art. 'Francisco Alvares', in Machado (ed.), *Bibliotheca Lusitana*

Andreu Martinez

Francisco de Sousa Tavares

DATE OF BIRTH About 1495

PLACE OF BIRTH Portugal

DATE OF DEATH 1567

PLACE OF DEATH Portugal

BIOGRAPHY

Francisco de Sousa Tavares was the fourth son of Gonçalo de Sousa Tavares, lord of Mira, a small coastal town. During the reign of King Manuel I (1495-1521), Tavares grew up in and around the court, where he was probably educated in the humanist and the military arts. His older brother was later a key figure in the household of the king's son Fernando.

Like many other sons of landed nobility, Tavares travelled to the Portuguese Asian territories in the king's service. This would have been around 1513, since he says in his letters that he knew Afonso de Albuquerque, who was in India between 1505 and 1515. Tavares was under the tutelage of his uncle, Cristóvão de Sousa, a high-ranking soldier in the Estado da Índia during the 1520s and captain of Chaul around 1527. He accompanied his uncle in numerous fleets patrolling the western parts of the Indian Ocean, the entry to the Persian Gulf and the coast of Gujarat, taking charge of his own ship.

In 1527, there was disagreement about the succession of the governorship of the Estado da Índia. Tavares and his uncle sided with the loser in the contest, and it is highly likely that he returned to Portugal at the end of 1527. However, he returned to India in 1530, taking with him a letter of appointment to the captaincy of the fortress of Cannanore (present-day Kannur), which he held from 1533 to 1536. He returned to Portugal after this, though he was back in India in 1540.

Having amassed considerable wealth, Tavares married Maria da Silva and probably settled in Lisbon or the surrounding area. The couple became known for their pious works and religious devotion. Tavares spent the final years of his life writing religious works, among them the *Livro de doutrina espiritual* published in 1564. He died in 1567.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

A. Galvão, *A treatise on the Moluccas (c. 1544)*, ed. H. Jacobs, Rome, 1971

M. Martins, 'A obra mística de Francisco de Sousa Tavares', *Brotéria* 40 (1945) 533-43

S. Viterbo, 'Manuel de Sousa Coutinho (Fr. Luis de Sousa) e a família de sua mulher D. Magdalena Tavares de Vilhena', in *Historia e Memórias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, Nova serie, II classe, vol. 9, pt 1, Lisbon, 1902, 1-27

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carta de Francisco de Sousa Tavares ao rei, 'Letter of Francisco de Sousa Tavares to the king'

DATE 14 January 1535

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

This letter, which consists of five folios, was written between 1533 and 1536, when Tavares was in Cannanore as captain of the fortress. It was sent together with several others as a part of the annual correspondence from officials in India to the king in Lisbon, comprising reports and commentaries on Portuguese activities in Asia.

The first two folios cover relations between the Portuguese and the ruling house of Hormuz, and include a copy of a letter from Tavares to Nuno da Cunha, the governor of Estado da Índia, on 22 October 1534. That year, the king, Muhammad Shah II (r. 1521-34), died of unknown causes, leaving only a small child as his heir. Tavares says he thought that the governor should go in person to Hormuz to consolidate Portuguese rule and officially recognise the young heir as king, because he would be easier to control than his adult relatives exiled in Goa. The child was disposed of soon after, however, making way for the return from Goa of one of his uncles, Salghur Shah II (r. 1534-43).

SIGNIFICANCE

The letter shows the state of affairs in Hormuz as viewed by a connoisseur of local politics. As Tavares himself says at the beginning, he had served in India for 22 years, by which time Hormuz had been under Portuguese domination for 20 years.

Tavares supported peaceful co-existence between the Portuguese and the Muslims in Hormuz, and advised treating the local ruler in such a way as to make him look independent. But he also advised gaining complete control of the competing political parties by sending some leading figures into exile, a strategy attempted previously.

He expresses a low opinion of the Muslim community at several points, though his comments are directly related to the political situation and are not linked to religious differences, which his letter does not mention. His main concerns are with the balance of power between the factions in the Hormuz court, divided between the Portuguese and the Safavid Shah Ismail. While the bland attitude towards the Muslims he expresses here must not be generalised to an overall attitude towards Islam, it is nevertheless surprising in view of the deep Christian piety he showed in later life and his involvement with the Portuguese spiritualist movement.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – *Gavetas*, gaveta XX, maço 7, no. 9, 5 fols (c. 1536)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A. da S. Rego (ed.), *As gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, 1974, vol. 10, pp. 573-89

STUDIES

D. Couto and R. Loureiro, *Revisiting Hormuz. Portuguese interactions in the Persian Gulf region in the Early Modern period*, Wiesbaden, 2008

S. Subrahmanyam, *The career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, Cambridge, 1998

Andreia Carvalho

‘Ĕnbāqom

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; about 1470
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; Yemen
DATE OF DEATH	1560 or 1561
PLACE OF DEATH	Däbrä Libanos, Ethiopia

BIOGRAPHY

‘Ĕnbāqom (or according to a more correct transliteration ‘Ĕnbaqom) was a Yemeni Muslim (the former hypothesis of a Near Eastern origin has now been definitively dismissed) who converted to Christianity and became the eleventh abbot of the Ethiopian Orthodox monastery of Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa, perhaps the most important monastic establishment in the country. He authored the *Anqašä amin*, a polemical treatise in Gə‘əz (Classical Ethiopic, basically the language of the Ethiopian Christian literary tradition) against Islam, and translated from Arabic into Gə‘əz of the *Book of Barlaam and Josaphat*. He is also credited with the translation into Gə‘əz of the Arabic Chronology of Abū Shākir (together with an otherwise unknown Salik) and of some Christian Arabic religious books.

The main landmarks in the biography of ‘Ĕnbaqom can be gleaned from his hagiography, which is, however, full of historically untenable data. He was born at an unknown date in Yemen (around 1470) as Abū l-Fatḥ to a Muslim father and a Jewish mother. He left Yemen for Ethiopia probably in 1489 at an uncertain age (possibly between 16 and 25). In 1492, he entered the court of the Ethiopian King Ĕskəndər, where he stayed until the king died in 1494. Stricken by a deep religious crisis, he then moved to the monastery of Däbrä Libanos, where he was baptised with the name of ‘Ĕnbaqom (the Ethiopic form of Habakkuk) probably by the metropolitan of the Ethiopian Church, *abunä* Marqos (or, according to other sources, by his predecessor *abunä* Peṭros). He took the monk's habit and was ordained priest, and subsequently became a close assistant of the metropolitan. The abbot of Däbrä Libanos, Peṭros wanted him back at the monastery, however, so the Ethiopian King Ləbnä Dəngəl personally summoned a council and ordered him to rejoin his monastic home. In 1508, ‘Ĕnbaqom eventually went back to Däbrä Libanos.

In 1523, when Peṭros died, ‘Ĕnbaqom was elected and succeeded him as the head of the Monastery of Däbrä Libanos. He was the only foreigner

ever to be given the highest rank in the hierarchy of Ethiopian monasticism (*Ḥččäge*). In 1527 or 1528, ‘Ĕnbaqom was accused of *lèse-majesté*, and first sentenced to death then to exile in the area of Gunç on the southern shore of Lake Ṭana, a region inhabited by Muslims. One year later, Ləbnä Dəngəl forgave him and offered him back his post. ‘Ĕnbaqom refused and decided to seclude himself in the hermitage of Wārāb (District of ʾĔndägābṭan) in the basin of the River Gudär. The Muslim jihad leader Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm attacked this area in 1535-36, compelling ‘Ĕnbaqom to seek refuge among the Gafat people, who were at that time still pagans. From there, he proceeded to Bizamo where, despite the threats of the local inhabitants, he managed to write his main work, *Anqaša amin*, which was directly addressed to Aḥmad. In 1540, when the new King Gälawdewos started his reign, ‘Ĕnbaqom was recalled to the royal court. There he remained until 1559, when he decided to retire to the property that the king had granted him. In that same year, Gälawdewos died and was succeeded by Minas, who re-appointed ‘Ĕnbaqom as abbot of Däbrä Libanos, but he did not remain so for long: according to his hagiography, he died on 16 April 1560, at the age of 137.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- E. Cerulli, ‘Gli abbati di Dabra Libanos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la “lista rimata” (sec. XIV-XVIII)’, *Orientalia* 13 (1944) 137-82
- The Prester John of the Indies. A true relation of the lands of the Prester John. being the narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520, Written by Father Francisco Alvarez, translated by Lord Stanley of Alderley (1881)*, ed. C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2 114, 115), Cambridge, 1961 vol. 1, pp. 13-16, 262-3
- E.J. van Donzel (ed. and trans.), *‘Ĕnbāqom, Anqaša amin (La porte de la foi), apologie éthiopienne du christianisme contre l’islam à partir du Coran*, Leiden, 1969

Secondary

- E.J. van Donzel, art. “‘Ĕnbaqom”, in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden, 2005, 280-2
- L. Ricci, ‘Review of E.J. van Donzel (ed. and trans.), *‘Ĕnbāqom, Anqaša amin (La porte de la foi), apologie éthiopienne du christianisme contre l’islam à partir du Coran*’, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 28 (1971) 240-57
- L. Ricci, ‘La “Vita” di Enbāqom e l’“Anqasa amin”’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 24 (1969-70 [1971]) 233-41

- E.J. van Donzel (ed. and trans.), *‘Ĕnbāqom, Anqasa amin (La porte de la foi), apologie éthiopienne du christianisme contre l’islam à partir du Coran*, Leiden, 1969, introduction
- L. Ricci, ‘Le vite di ‘Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥannēs, abbati di Dabra Libanos di Scioa’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 23 (1967-8 [1969]) 79-219
- E. Cerulli, *La letteratura etiopica*, Milan, 1968³, pp. 125-30
- L. Ricci, ‘Le vite di ‘Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥannēs, abbati di Dabra Libanos di Scioa’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 22 (1966) 75-102
- L. Ricci, ‘Le vite di ‘Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥannēs, abbati di Dabra Libanos di Scioa’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 14 (1955-8) 69-107
- L. Ricci, ‘Le vite di ‘Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥannēs, abbati di Dabra Libanos di Scioa’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 13 (1954) 91-120
- E. Cerulli, ‘L’Islam nell’Africa Orientale’, in *Aspetti e problem attuali del mondo musulmano*, Rome, 1941, 74-93, pp. 75-81 (repr. in E. Cerulli, *L’Islam di ieri e di oggi*, Rome, 1971, 99-111, pp. 100-3)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Anqasä amin, ‘The gate of the faith’

DATE 1540

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ge’ez

DESCRIPTION

‘Ĕnbāqom wrote *Anqasä amin* in 1540. The work is essentially a polemical treatise against Islam, which ‘Ĕnbāqom says he purposely wrote for Imām Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm (c. 1506-43), the leader of a Muslim expansionist movement against the Christian Ethiopian Empire between 1528 and 1543. In the short introduction to the text (ed. van Donzel, pp. 169-71), ‘Ĕnbāqom recounts that the place where he was seeking refuge from the war raging between Christians and Muslims was surrounded by Muslim fighters. He decided to send a message to Imām Aḥmad in which he demonstrated Mary’s virginal conception of Jesus, the Son of God, using the Qur’an as a proof. The Muslim leader was apparently struck by ‘Ĕnbāqom’s insightful interpretation and asked him to explain for him the principles of Christianity taking the Qur’an as a basis: *Anqasä amin* is the fulfilment of this wish.

Scholars currently accept the reliability of this explanation and agree that the work really was addressed to Imām Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm to convince him of the truthfulness of the Christian faith (Ricci ‘La “Vita” di Enbāqom e l’“Anqasa amin”’, 244, but see also the apparently more cautious position of van Donzel, *Anqasa amin*, p. 278). However, if Imām

Aḥmad was the first and principal recipient of *Anqaṣā amin*, it is difficult to explain why the text was written in Gəʿəz, which must have been totally unknown to the Muslim leader.

Van Donzel explains this difficulty by postulating that *Anqaṣā amin* was originally written in Arabic for the Imām and then translated into Gəʿəz for the benefit of Christian readers (ed. van Donzel, pp. 39-42). Ricci (‘La “Vita” di Enbāqom e l’“Anqasa amin”’, pp. 244-46) strongly criticises this hypothesis, judging the linguistic data that van Donzel lists to support his conjecture not sufficiently convincing. Ricci concludes that the work was written in Gəʿəz (with a highly hypothetical later second version – not translation – in Arabic) for Imām Aḥmad. He suggests that the Imām could have made use of interpreters to understand the text: Christian clergy and clerics who had converted to Islam were surely present among the Muslim fighters and could have helped their leader to read the work.

A third hypothesis can be now proposed: the writing of *Anqaṣā amin* for Imām Aḥmad and probably also the correspondence between ‘Ēnbaqom and the Muslim leader are nothing but literary inventions of the author to frame the work against a cultural and political background. Moreover, presenting *Anqaṣā amin* as an answer to a specific request of the Imām could be seen as a ploy used by ‘Ēnbaqom to justify his method of dealing directly with the text of the Qur’an, a demonic book that Christians were forbidden to read.

If these assumptions are correct, ‘Ēnbaqom would have written *Anqaṣā amin* for educated Christians who were facing the Muslim invasion, as is explicitly stated in the very last paragraph of the text (ed. van Donzel, pp. 262-3). The purpose of *Anqaṣā amin* is thus probably fourfold: first, to acquaint Christians with the main errors of Islam; second, to present the Qur’an to the Christian intelligentsia, analysing it from a strictly Christian (and thus theologically acceptable) perspective; third, to unequivocally reaffirm the superiority of Christianity over Islam, proving this not only through direct comparison of the teachings of the two religions but also by quotations of many ‘correctly interpreted’ passages from the Qur’an; and fourth, to give Christians a powerful polemical tool, which is at the same time helpful to foster the conversion of open-minded Muslims. It is not by chance that ‘Ēnbaqom affirms that he himself embraced Christianity after meditating on Q 3:55, which, according to his interpretation, demonstrates the superiority of Christians over Muslims.

Anqaṣā amin was thus conceived on the basis that the Qur’an contains traces of Christian truth, and that many elements of the Qur’an, if rightly

interpreted, contain decisive proofs to support fundamental Christian teachings. The work does not explain how Christian elements could have entered the text, and while the influence of the Nestorian monk Baḥīrā on Muḥammad is mentioned to explain a few elements (ed. van Donzel, pp. 78-80, 142-8), this matter is not resolved. Interestingly enough, a kind of reverse *tahrīf* theory is used to explain the way Muslims changed the name of Jesus from Yasūʿ (which is still traceable at the beginning of *Sūrat Yasin*) to ʿĪsā. This idea creates the impression that ʿĒnbaqom was inclined to think that human intervention (of Muḥammad himself and/or of Muslim scholars after him) produced contradictions in the Qurʿan and made the whole book more corrupted than it was originally.

Anqaṣā amin discusses many Christian dogmas that are proved to be true and right thanks to the textual support of the Qurʿan. The qurʿanic excerpts can be placed in three categories: direct quotations translated into Gəʿəz and interpreted as demonstrating Christian principles: e.g. Q 66:12 proves that the son of Mary is the Son of God; Q 97:1-5 praises the night of Christmas; Q 2:2 refers to the Gospel, calling it 'the book containing no doubt'. In all these passages, the Arabic original is quite faithfully reproduced in Gəʿəz, though the interpretation of the text is 'Christianized'; citations of the Qurʿan, where the original text is more or less modified or even distorted in the Gəʿəz translation so that it can be used to support Christian views on specific theological questions: e.g. Q 24:35, 'the verse of light', is discussed at length on the basis of a Gəʿəz version that only vaguely resembles the original Arabic text, to prove several Christian teachings (ed. van Donzel, pp. 81-5; Gori, 'Esgesi testuale e polemica religiosa'); indirect references that are analysed as supporting proofs for Christianity: e.g. many opening lines of qurʿanic suras hide some Christian truth in their numerical value (ed. van Donzel, pp. 63-8).

ʿĒnbaqom affirms that he did not have the text of the Qurʿan before him when he was writing *Anqaṣā amin* (though since he was a former Muslim scholar, it might be possible that he knew the sacred text by heart). The distortions of the Arabic original in his translations usually suit his interpretation, and they must be considered as intentional and not the consequences of memory lapse.

In addition to these detailed exegeses, *Anqaṣā amin* also contains more stereotypical descriptions of Muslims, who are presented as lovers of the pleasures of life, attached to earthly possessions, and impenitent womanizers. Their fasting is essentially false and spiritually empty (ed. van Donzel, pp. 94-6).

Finally, it is worth mentioning that *Anqaṣä amin* has particular linguistic importance because of its extensive excerpts from the Qur’an translated into Gə‘əz. More or less accurate quotations of short passages of the Qur’an can be found scattered through various Old Ethiopic Christian works, but *Anqaṣä amin* must surely contain the widest selection from the Qur’an in Gə‘əz translation. It is thus a valuable witness of the intriguing multilingual and intercultural experience of its author.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of *Anqaṣä amin* in the overall context of Ethiopian Christian literature is difficult to assess. It remained an eccentric literary product created by the peculiar personality of its author and by the specific historical circumstances in which he lived, and it was soon overwhelmed by a much vaster output of works on intra-Christian polemics (Orthodox and Catholic, but also intra-Orthodox) that proliferated after the arrival and later expulsion of Jesuit missionaries. The scant attention it received is proved by the limited number of its manuscripts. This is presumably connected with the fact that Christians and Muslims in Ethiopia lived separately for most of the time (often at war but also experiencing long periods of peace), and their scholars were apparently not greatly interested in discussing the faith of the other. This situation changed at the end of the 19th century, when Mənilək II conquered Harar and other predominantly Muslim regions and absorbed them into the Christian state. From that point, Muslims and Christians started living in the same state and, willingly or not, their relationships grew closer, with consequent increased interest in knowing something of the other’s religion. This relatively recent change in the general attitude is also evidenced by the fact that the great majority of the manuscripts of *Anqaṣä amin* were copied in the 19th and 20th centuries.

‘Ēnbaqom’s work eventually found its way into the core of the Ethiopian Church: two of the most recent manuscripts of the work at the *Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library* (EMML 1116 and EMML 1145) are kept in the Holy Trinity Cathedral Library in Addis Ababa. Moreover, EMML 1158 (housed in the same institution) was specifically copied for *liqä səlṭanat* Habtä Maryam Wärqñäh, head of the Cathedral, eminent representative of the Ethiopian Orthodox clergy, and close religious counsellor of Emperor Ḥaylā Səllase. This was a real, though late, success for the Yemeni-Ethiopian author.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Vienna, Nationalbibliothek – Aeth. 16 (Müller I), fols 10d-12b (16th century; excerpt)
- MS London, BL – Or. 11601, fols 41c-12d (17th century; numbering from right to left)
- MS London, BL – Or. 808 (catalogue Wright, p. 371), fols 169a-170b (1769-70; excerpt)
- MS Addis Ababa, EMMML – 1924, fols 3a-61b (1898-9)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ethiopien d’Abbadie 152, fols 71r-87v (19th century)
- MS Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) – 2333 (14) fol. 140a (c. 1916; excerpt)
- MS Vat – Cerulli Etiopico 182, fols 7r-62v (1932-3)
- MS Addis Ababa, EMMML – 116, (v) 1, fols 4ab, 12ab, 17b-18b, 39b, 53b, 89b-90b, 169a-170a and 2b-3a (19th-20th century)
- MS Addis Ababa, EMMML – 1145, fols 3a-55b (colophon 13 June 1967)
- MS Addis Ababa, EMMML – 1158 (1), fols 1a-38b; EMMML – 1535, 8, fols 50a-70b (colophon 17 October 1969)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- E.J. van Donzel (ed. and trans.), *Ānbāqom, Anqāsa amin (La porte de la foi), apologie éthiopienne du christianisme contre l’islam à partir du Coran*

STUDIES

- Van Donzel, *Anqāsa amin*
- A. Gori, ‘Esegesi testuale e polemica religiosa in Etiopia. Il Versetto della Luce nell’ “Anqasa Amin” e nella “Silloge” di šāh Zākkarāyas’, *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 53 (1993) 353-74
- Ricci, ‘La “Vita” di Enbāqom e l’“Anqasa amin”’
- Cerulli, ‘L’Islam nell’Africa Orientale’, pp. 75-81

Alessandro Gori

Francis Xavier

DATE OF BIRTH 1506
PLACE OF BIRTH Javier, Navarre
DATE OF DEATH 1552
PLACE OF DEATH Shangchuan Island, off mainland China

BIOGRAPHY

A founding member of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), and honoured in the Catholic Church as patron saint of missions, Francis Xavier (1506-52) was a Spanish priest who laboured as a missionary in Asia. He worked in India and Japan, then died as he was about to enter mainland China.

His connection with Africa was incidental to his journey to Asia. As he travelled by ship around Africa, Francis stopped in Mozambique for six months, August 1541 to February 1542, then at Malindi on the coast of today's Kenya for about three to five days in early March 1542, before he proceeded to Goa. It was in Malindi that he encountered Muslims (whom he simply called 'Moors') and conversed with them, and he later wrote a brief account of the experience.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu. Monumenta Xaveriana, Madrid, 1899-1914
J. Costelloe, *The letters and instructions of Francis Xavier*, Gujarat: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1993 (English trans.)

Secondary

G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier. His life, his times*, trans. J. Costelloe, Rome, 1977
J. Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier (1506-1552)*, London, 1952

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Epistola S. Francisci Xavier sociis Romae
degentibus, Goa 20 Septembris 1542, 'Letter of
S. Francis Xavier, to his companions living in
Rome, Goa 20 September, 1542'*

DATE 1542

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

This is a small part of a much longer letter that Francis wrote from Goa to his companions in Rome, dated 20 September 1542. It tells of an encounter that took place between Francis and some Muslims in the town of Malindi in East Africa, where he had stopped off on his journey east. The Spanish original occupies ten pages in the *Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu. Monumenta Xavieriana* (vol. 2, pp. 250-60).

Francis describes Malindi as 'a great city of noble buildings', one that was 'surrounded by walls' and entered through 'a green palm grove and a forest of other fruit trees'. It was a Muslim city 'of peaceful Moors', governed by a shaykh, and it contained up to 17 mosques with 'slender minarets' that were visible from the shore (Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, pp. 106-7). It is traditionally held that Malindi developed under strong Persian influence, so the population would have been Shi'ite.

Following the first visit of Vasco da Gama (d. 1524) in 1498, the city built up a strong relationship with Portugal, partly fuelled by a shared enmity towards Mombasa. By the time Francis arrived, Christianity was already well known to its Muslim inhabitants. Its tolerance of Christians could be discerned in the number of crosses, with a beautiful gilded cross still visible on top of a pillar erected by da Gama to signify Portugal's right of patronage over the city. 'God our Lord knows how much consolation we received from the sight of it', wrote Francis, 'knowing its great efficacy and seeing it there so alone and so victorious among so many Moors'. A number of Portuguese merchants lived in Malindi, and when any died they were buried in large tombs, said Francis, 'adorned with crosses'.

It was to bury a dead fellow voyager in this Portuguese cemetery (still visible today) that Francis came ashore, and the service he conducted drew Muslim attention to his person. 'The Moors were edified on seeing how we Christians conduct ourselves when we bury our dead', he said.

After the burial service, two Muslims came to converse with Francis on matters of religion. The first, with whom he had a long discussion, is simply described as ‘one of the most distinguished Moors’ of Malindi. The second was a ‘very learned Moor of the sect of Muḥammad’, further described as ‘a *caciz*’ (teacher). The Muslims had two things in common. First, they were concerned about the decline of religious practice in Malindi. As the first one told Francis, out of the 17 mosques only three were being used, and even they by very few people. Second, both men stand out as friendly, learned and committed Muslims. In this sense alone, they were a Muslim match for the Christian Francis, which made their discussion one between equals. However, unlike Francis, who hardly noticed anything positive in Islam, they admired Christian piety and candidly sought advice from across the religious divide.

The first man wanted, in Francis’s words, to know ‘whether the churches in which we are accustomed to pray are much frequented by us, and whether we are fervent in prayer’. Evidently, he wished to compare notes, to find out whether Christians in Europe experienced a decline in devotion similar to what he witnessed among Muslims in Malindi. He was ‘greatly confused’ by the situation in his home city because he could not account for it and, fearing that ‘so great an evil . . . could only come from some great sin’, he was open to new ideas, even from a Christian. The second man had almost given up hope. ‘If Muḥammad [possibly the Mahdī expected by Shi’ites rather than the founder of Islam] did not come to visit them within two years’, he told Francis, ‘he would no longer believe in him or in his sect.’

Francis, whose mission was to convert to Christianity anyone who believed in anything else, was ill-prepared for this interreligious encounter. His response was a dialogue blocker. To the first man he said: ‘God our Lord, being most faithful in all his works, is not pleased with infidels and still less with their prayers, and this was the reason why God wanted their prayers to cease.’ His counterpart found him utterly unconvincing. ‘After we had conversed for a long time,’ he reported, ‘we still retained our own opinions.’ That they never exchanged blows is probably more a testimony to the civility of the participants than to the nature of the dialogue itself.

SIGNIFICANCE

This rich text remains largely unknown. There is no Muslim commentary on it, and among Christians only Jesuits have referred to it at any length. It raised a sort of debate between the two Jesuits, James

Brodrick, Francis's biographer, and Georg Schurhammer, probably the most prominent authority on Francis. Brodrick is scathing about Francis's unsympathetic attitude towards Islam, adhering stiffly to the principle, 'the Christians are right, the pagans are wrong' (Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*, pp. 108-9). But Schurhammer defends Francis, pointing out that he spoke of God's displeasure with forms of false religion in general, as is abundantly clear from the Old Testament, not with the prayer of one innocent follower of a false religion offered in good faith (Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, p. 112). Today, few would admire Francis's attitude, however it is interpreted.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- M. Sievernich, *Briefe und Dokumente 1535-1552*, Regensburg, 2006 (German trans. of the Schurhammer and Wicki edition)
- A. Caboni, *Dalle terre dove sorge il sole. Lettere e documenti dall'Oriente, 1535-1552*, Rome, 2002 (Italian trans.)
- Castelloe, *Letters and instructions of Francis Xavier*, pp. 45-51
- A. Caboni, *Le lettere e altri documenti*, Rome, 1991 (Italian trans. of the Schurhammer and Wicki edition)
- Y. Kōno, *Sei Furanshisuko Zabieru zenshokan*, Tokyo, 1986, 1994² (Japanese trans. of the Schurhammer and Wicki edition)
- 'St. Francis Xavier. A visit to Malindi and Socotra in 1542', trans. W.E. Allen, in G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville (ed.), *The East African coast. Select documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century*, Oxford, 1960, London, 1975² pp. 134-36 (contains an English trans. of the relevant parts of the letter)
- G. Schurhammer and J. Wicki (eds), *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*, Rome, 1944-45, vol. 1, pp. 116-28 (edition)
- Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu. Monumenta Xaveriana*, Madrid, 1899-1914, vol. 2, pp. 250-60
- Epistolae*, Hong Kong, 1888-90
- S. Francisci Xaverii, . . . Epistolae novae XVIII, nunc primum ex autographis, partim hispanicis, partim lusitanicis, latinitate et luce donatae a Petro Possino*, ed. P. Poussines et. al., Paris, 1661, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1692²

STUDIES

- Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*
- Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*

João de Castro

DATE OF BIRTH 27 February 1500
PLACE OF BIRTH Lisbon
DATE OF DEATH 6 June 1548
PLACE OF DEATH Goa

BIOGRAPHY

João de Castro was the second son of Álvaro de Castro, governor of the Casa do Cível (one of the main tribunals of Portugal). In 1518, he enlisted in the company of the Portuguese fortress of Tangiers, where he remained for six years. He returned to Portugal around 1524 and married Leonor Coutinho. It is believed that in the following years he served in a number of military expeditions to North Africa, since he received several rewards for his services. In 1535, he participated in the conquest of Tunis, as part of the expedition led by the Emperor Charles V.

Castro left for India in 1538 with his eldest son, Álvaro, with the fleet commanded by his brother-in-law, the new viceroy Garcia de Noronha. He took part in several military operations in India, such as the mission to relieve a Portuguese fortress in Diu that had been besieged by an Ottoman fleet, and the expedition to Suez in 1541 commanded by the governor Estêvão da Gama, son of Vasco da Gama. It is during his various sea journeys that he wrote his famous *Roteiros*, pilot books.

Castro returned to Portugal in 1542. Then, in February 1545, King João III appointed him governor of the Estado da Índia. During his governorship, between September 1545 and June 1548, he dealt with repeated crises between the Portuguese and neighbouring Muslim sultanates. His main difficulties were caused by the demand of Ibrahim Adil Shah I of Bijapur for the return of Bardez and Salcete, near Goa, the demand of Mahmud Shah III of Gujarat for the fortress of Diu, and the Ottoman conquest of Basra at the end of 1546, which weakened the Portuguese presence in the Arabian Gulf. Castro responded to each of these threats, with the result that he was appointed for a further three years, this time as viceroy. He died just three weeks after receiving this honour.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- MS Lisbon, National Archives of Torre do Tombo – Coleção de São Lourenço, 4 vols (documents compiled by Castro and his son; three volumes have been published: Lisbon, 1973, 1975, 1983)
- MS Lisbon, National Archives of Torre do Tombo – Cartas a D. João de Castro (collection of letters written by and on behalf of Castro and his son)
- E. Sanceau, (ed.), *Cartas de D. João de Castro*, Lisbon, 1955
- A. de Cortesão and L. de Albuquerque (eds), *Obras completas de D. João de Castro*, 4 vols, Coimbra, 1968-82

Secondary

- F. de Castro, *Crónica do Vice-Rei D. João de Castro*, Tomar, 1995
- L. Nunes, *Crónica de Dom João de Castro*, Cambridge, 1936
- G. Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, Porto, 1866, vol. 4
- J.F. de Andrade, *Vida de Dom João de Castro quarto visorrey da India*, Lisbon, 1651

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carta do Governador D. João de Castro ao Sultão Mahmud Shah III do Guzerate, 'Letter from Governor João de Castro to Sultan Mahmud Shah III of Gujarat'

DATE 7 November 1547

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

João de Castro's correspondence is one of the largest of all the Portuguese viceroys and governors from the first half of the 16th century. Some of his letters, such as this one, are intended for local rulers. Like those of other governors, such as the letter from Francisco Mascarenhas to Sultan Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar after he besieged the Portuguese fortress of Chaul in 1571, its aim is make it appear that the enemy is bowing before the superiority of the Portuguese.

The letter, one handwritten page written near Bharuch, was sent to the sultan of Gujarat after his retreat before a battle against the Portuguese. Castro sarcastically complains of not having the opportunity to fight against the sultan's army and defeat it, remarking, 'I return very upset but still with some hope someday to accomplish my desire.' And

he also implies that Mahmud Shah is a coward: 'I remind your highness that it is not worthy of kings to flee from danger.'

SIGNIFICANCE

With its provocative tone and evident aim of intimidating the sultan into a military confrontation, the letter represents a high point of military tension between the Estado da Índia and the sultanate of Gujarat. It formed part of a campaign to secure the Portuguese presence in North India and to ensure that no other Portuguese fortress was besieged by Indian forces.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Lisbon, National Archives of Torre do Tombo – Coleção São Lourenço, vol. 4, fol. 454 (1547)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Cortêsão and Albuquerque, *Obras completas de D. João de Castro*, vol. 3, p. 468

Sanceau, *Cartas de D. João de Castro*, pp. 359-60

STUDIES

F. Paulino (ed.), *Tapeçarias de D. João de Castro*, Lisbon, 1995

L. de Albuquerque, *Alguns casos da Índia Portuguesa no tempo de D. João de Castro*, 2 vols, Lisbon, 1989

J.B. Aquarone, *D. João de Castro, gouverneur et vice-roi des Indes orientales, 1500-1548. Contribution à l'histoire de la domination portugaise en Asie et à l'étude de l'astronautique, de la géographie et de l'humanisme au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 2 vols, 1968

E. Sanceau, *D. João de Castro. Soldier, sailor, scientist, and Viceroy of India, 1500-1548*, London, 1950

Roger Lee de Jesus

Kilwa Chronicle

Kitāb al-sulwa fī akhbār Kulwa, ‘Book of consolation on the history of Kilwa’

DATE Approximately 1520-50

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In 1872, a copy of an Arabic manuscript entitled *Kitāb al-sulwa fī akhbār Kulwa* (‘Book of consolation on the history of Kilwa’), about the island of Kilwa Kisiwani off the East African coast, was presented by Barghash Saʿīd, the Sultan of Zanzibar, to Sir John Kirk, the British Administrator. The manuscript from which this copy was made had been found among the papers of Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn, qadi for the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* in Zanzibar from 1837 to 1870. The manuscript, which itself has apparently been lost, was dated 1867 and was itself an abbreviated copy of a lost original that can be dated to the first half of the 16th century. The 19th-century copy, which has come to be called the *Kilwa chronicle*, is now held in the British Museum (Freeman-Grenville, *East African coast*, p. 34).

The author of the 16th-century *Chronicle* says that he was writing at the request of a sultan whom he names as Muḥammad. Bod (*A new history*, p. 180) argues that he would have been writing between 1520 and 1530, the information he uses having previously been transmitted through oral tradition. Freeman-Grenville (*East African coast*, p. 34) dates this original to about 1520, whilst Saad (‘Kilwa dynastic historiography’, p. 194) posits that the anonymous author was born in 1499 and would have been very young for such an early date of writing, so proposes a date as late as 1550.

Similarities in the text of the surviving 19th-century copy show that the 16th-century Portuguese historian João de Barros had access to the *Chronicle*, or something very like it, for the account he gives of the sultans of Kilwa in the first volume of his *Décadas da Ásia* (Chittick, ‘“Shirazi” colonization’, pp. 277-82), which was published in 1552.

The 1867 copy is only 17 folios long (Strong, ‘*The history of Kilwa*’, p. 386), coming to 26 pages in Strong’s edition (‘*The history of Kilwa*’, pp. 405-30). The name of the author is not given, although the final sentence says that his maternal uncles were Faqīh Ayyūb and Faqīh ʿUmar, the sons of Faqīh Muflah al-Malindī. Faqīh Ayyūb had been one of the keepers of

the Kilwa treasury in the time of the Amīr Muḥammad Kiwābi in the 15th century (Freeman-Grenville, *East African coast*, p. 49).

The text is divided into ten sections, which relate the history of the rulers of Kilwa from the arrival of Persians from Shiraz (in the 12th century according to Chittick, ‘“Shirazi” colonization’, p. 277, although some traditions place this event as early as the 10th century) until the arrival of the Portuguese and the imposition of a puppet ruler by Francisco de Almeida in 1505. The final section records the first news of the arrival of *Ifranj* (‘Franks’) in Mozambique and the earliest Portuguese fleets to travel along the coast of East Africa. The chronicler sees these Franks as ‘corrupt and dishonest persons’, who were spying out the land in order to seize it, and in several places he calls God’s curse down on them (Freeman-Grenville, *East African coast*, pp. 47-9) There are reports of the Portuguese contacts with Mafia and Malindi, whose assistance to the Portuguese ships of both Vasco da Gama and Pedro Cabral are portrayed as being out of fear, and there is also a report of seven people converting to Christianity during Pedro Cabral’s voyage (1500-1). Four of these were sent to Gujarat in India, where it is reported they were circumcised and became Muslims, two more remained in Malindi, and one was sent to Kilwa, where he was cared for out of fear that the Portuguese would return and demand him back.

Chittick (‘“Shirazi” colonization’, pp. 277-82) argues that João de Barros omits sections of the *Chronicle* that are extant in the 19th-century Arabic copy, while Freeman-Grenville (*East African coast*, p. 34) takes the view that the 19th-century copy was itself an abbreviated version of the 16th-century original, while Saad (‘Kilwa dynastic historiography’, p. 191) considers that the version used by de Barros was based on an ‘impromptu composition’ given to Francisco de Almeida during the Portuguese occupation between 1505 and 1512. This differed from the original Arabic, particularly in its account of the succession of rulers, which Saad views as showing a bias towards the puppet rulers installed by the Portuguese. The pretext to tell the history of Kilwa was the appointment of a king by Almeida with the proviso that this king would be at the service of the Portuguese King Manuel II.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Kilwa chronicle* is the earliest account written from a Muslim perspective of the first arrival of Christians from Europe in Eastern Africa. The appearance of the term ‘Frank’ for Europeans reveals the Muslim community’s use of stereotypical language from the time of the crusades

in the Middle East. They see the Portuguese, because they are Christians, following ways that are war-like and corrupt (Freeman-Grenville, *East African coast*, p. 48).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS London, BM – Or. 2666 (1867)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville (ed.), *East African coast. Select documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century*, London, 1972², pp. 34-49 (English trans.; also includes a translation of João de Barros's summary of the *Kilwa chronicle*, pp. 89-93)

G.M. Theal, *Records of south-eastern Africa*, London, 1900, vol. 6, pp. 225-47, 273-4 (trans. of João de Barros, *Décadas da Ásia*, Decade 1, Part 2, Book 8, chs 3-8, and Book 9, part of ch. 2)

A. Strong, 'The history of Kilwa, edited from an Arabic MS', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1895) 385-430 (Arabic text, pp. 405-30)

João de Barros, *Décadas da Ásia de João de Barros. Dos feitos que os portugueses fizeram no descobrimento dos mares e terras do Oriente*, Década 1, part 2, Lisbon, 1777, pp. 223-35

STUDIES

R. Bod, *A new history of the humanities. The search for principles and patterns from Antiquity to the present*, Oxford, 2013, p. 180

E. Saad, 'Kilwa dynastic historiography. A critical study', *History in Africa* 6 (1979) 177-207

H.N. Chittick, 'The "Shirazi" colonization of East Africa', *Journal of African History* 6 (1965) 275-94

Strong, 'The history of Kilwa', pp. 385-404

João Furtado Martins

‘Arab Faqīh

Shihab al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Sālim
ibn ‘Uthmān

DATE OF BIRTH Late 15th/early 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Yemen/Ethiopia
DATE OF DEATH After 1559
PLACE OF DEATH Yemen/Ethiopia

BIOGRAPHY

The biography of Shihāb al-Dīn cannot be reconstructed in any detail, since the only source of information is his *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha*, about the Ethiopian *jihād* of Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 1543). His nickname, ‘*Arab faqīh*’, ‘Arab doctor of law’, is mentioned on the title page of most of the manuscripts of the work. It could refer either to an Ethiopian who was a Muslim and was knowledgeable in Islamic law, or to an Arab scholar living in Ethiopia (Cerulli, ‘Arabfaḳīh’). Equally, the reference to *al-sākin fī Jīzān* (‘living in [the town of] Jīzān’, nowadays in Saudi Arabia on the border with Yemen), which can be found on the title pages and some colophons of the *Futūḥ*, could mean either that Shihāb al-Dīn was living in Jīzān when he was writing his *Futūḥ* (Cerulli, ‘Arabfaḳīh’, Muth, ‘Futūḥ’), or that he lived there while pursuing part of his education (Chekroun, *Le Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, pp. 27-32).

It seems certain that Shihāb al-Dīn was in Ethiopia at the time of Aḥmad’s *jihād*, though it is unclear whether he was an eye-witness of the events he describes, and possibly a participant, or whether he collected his information from others, Aḥmad included.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- R. Basset, *Histoire de la conquête de l’Abyssinie (XVI^e siècle) par Chihab Eddin Aḥmed ben ‘Abd el-Qāder, surnommé Arab-Faqih*, vol. 1, Paris, 1897 (Arabic text); vol. 2, Paris, 1909 (French trans. with notes)
- A. d’Abbadie and P. Paulitschke (eds and trans.), *Futūḥ el-Hábacha. Des conquêtes faites en Abyssinie au XVI^e siècle par l’Imam Muhammad Ahmad dit Gragne. Version française de la chronique arabe du Chahâb ad-Dīn Aḥmad*, Paris, 1898

Secondary

- A. Chekroun, ‘Le *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*. Écriture de l’histoire, guerre et société dans le Bar Sa’ad ad-din (Éthiopie, XVI^e siècle)’, Paris, 2013 (PhD Diss. Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne)
- F.-T. Muth, art. ‘Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša’, in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden, 2005, 593-94
- E. Cerulli, art. ‘Arabfaḳīh’, in *El2*

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha; Tuḥfat al-zamān; Bahjat al-zamān, ‘The conquest of Abyssinia’

DATE Mid-16th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha is a historical work in the style of classical Arabic *futūḥ*, *maghāzī* and *sīra* works. The Arabic text was published together with a French translation by René Basset in Algiers in 1897, running to 348 pages.

The work contains no sustained criticisms of Christians or Christianity. When Shihāb al-Dīn mentions Christians, he usually does so simply to discredit them as the enemies of the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm. He refers to them as though they were pre-Islamic polytheists whose religion is based on empty reverence for idols, paintings and statues, and he describes their churches and monasteries as though they were pagan temples. He mentions that they contain richly adorned sculptures, vividly coloured images, and enormous candleholders in order to impress the minds of the simple faithful, while in Aksum, the most sacred city of Ethiopia, the people venerate a white rock encrusted in gold. Churches contain silk, brocade, precious stones, gold and silver, and they are sometimes so magnificent that Muslims are compelled to admire them.

Shihāb al-Dīn has little time for the clergy, who are an uncultured group obeying a patriarch who rules them despotically and periodically threatens to divorce them forcibly from their wives and to prohibit them from drinking wine. On the other hand, he acknowledges that the king plays an important role in keeping the people united.

Shihāb al-Dīn expresses as much contempt for converts to Islam as for Christians. Converts are unreliable and insincere opportunists who

embrace Islam only to keep their positions (or to escape death), and are ready to betray the Muslims as soon as the situation changes.

His view is that the rift between Islam and Christianity created by this conquest was impossible to heal.

SIGNIFICANCE

Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha remains an isolated work among both Ethiopian Muslim writings and Arabic writings outside the region. It is impossible to ascertain why Shihāb al-Dīn wrote it, or for whom (see Chekroun, ‘Le *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*’, pp. 99-108, for various suggestions). A second part whose existence can be inferred from the colophons of the manuscripts has not been discovered, and was possibly never written.

The circulation of the text of the *Futūḥ* seems relatively limited. It was known early on in India, where it was quoted in al-Ulughānī’s (d. after 1620) *Ẓafar al-wālīh bi-muẓaffar wa-ālīh*, the so-called Arabic Chronicle of Gujrat. The manuscript tradition gives the impression of a text that did not have wide circulation until the 19th century. As modern Ethiopia was born and Muslims became part of the new state, Christians in the country, who considered Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm’s *jihād* an attack on the very existence of Ethiopia itself, became interested in the *Futūḥ*. The Emperor Mənilək (r. 1889-1913) ordered it to be translated into Amharic. In contemporary Ethiopia, especially after the fall of the Dārg Marxist-Leninist regime in 1991, the changed political atmosphere fostered a second Amharic version and also a Harari translation, which can be considered a cultural novelty.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Algiers, Bibliothèque Nationale d’Algérie – 1628 (formerly 1732), fols 1-99 (possibly 17th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Arabe 6118, fols 1-133 (1779-80)

MS Riyadh, King Saud University Library – 350, 962/ba ‘ayn, fols 1-128 (24 *Dhū l-ḥijja*, 1227 [29 December 1812]; <http://makhtota.ksu.edu.sa/makhtota/554/1>)

MS Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies – 2069, fols 1-54 (22 *Rabī‘ al-awwal* 1252 [7 July 1836]; photocopy)

MS Algiers, Bibliothèque National d’Algérie – 1629 (formerly 1732 a.), fols 1-99 (1883; copy of MS Algiers, Bibliothèque Nationale d’Algérie – 1628)

MS Paris, BNF – Arabe 6628 (Collection Mondon Vidailhet), fols 1-94 (9 *Jumādā l-awwal* 1310 [29 November 1892])

- MS Paris, BNF – d’Abbadie 104, fols 3r-32r (19th century)
 MS London, BL – Oriental 2409, fols 1-113 (19th century)
 Ms Yale, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library – Landberg
 546, fols. 1-192 (19th century; microfilmed copy, 556/mim/fa/mim,
 at the al-Assad National Library, Damascus)
 MS Riyadh, King Saud University Library – 2146, 963 ba ‘ayn, fols 1-54
 (possibly 19th century, <http://makhtota.ksu.edu.sa/makhtota/2400/4>)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Aadan Xasan Aadan and Maxamad Cabdillaahi Riiraash (trans.),
Shihaabud-Diin Axmad Cabdulqaadir Saalim Cismaan al-Jiisaani
(Fiqi Carab), Futuux Al-Xabasha, Mahadho-Reebka Sooyaalka
(Qarnigii 16 aad), Djibouti, 2008 (Somali trans.)
 P.L. Stenhouse and R. Pankhurst, (trans.), *Futuḥ al-Ḥabasha. The con-*
quest of Abyssinia (16th century), Hollywood CA: Tsehai, 2003 (Eng-
 lish trans.)
 ‘Abd al-Karīm Aḥmad Yūsuf, *Warēg zamān Futuḥ Al Ḥabash,*
‘Arabfaqih-bē, itāwaqa Shahābaddin Abdulqādirbē zitekatoba
zifērasa Abdulkarim Aḥmad Yusuf, Addis Ababa, 1995
 Mässälä Mäk^wännən (ed.), *Abāshan yāmaqnat zāmāčča (Futuḥ*
Alḥabāsh), Addis Ababa, 1995, Book 1/2
 ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ‘Alī (trans.), *Abāshan yāmaqnat zāmāčča*
(Futuḥ Alḥabāsh), Addis Ababa, 1994, Book 1/1 (Ethiopian trans.)
 Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (ed.), *Tuḥfat al-zamān aw Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha.*
Al-širā‘ al-Ṣūmālī l-Ḥabashī fi l-qarn al-sādis ‘ashar al-milādī, Cairo:
 al-Hay’a al-Miṣriyya al-‘Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1974
 Muhammad Fateh Lokhandwala, *Zafar ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Ālihi.*
An Arabic history of Gujarat, 2 vols, Baroda, 1970-4 (English trans.)
 E. Denison Ross, *An Arabic history of Gujarat, Zafar ul-wālih bi-Muzaffar*
wa ālih, 3 vols, London, 1910-28 (repr. Frankfurt, 1997)
 Basset, *Histoire de la conquête de l’Abyssinie* (French trans.)
 d’Abbadie and Paulitschke (eds and trans), *Futuḥ el-Hābacha* (Arabic
 and French trans.)
 S.A. Strong (ed.), *Futuḥ al-Ḥabashah, or the Conquest of Abyssinia by*
Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Arabfaqih, Part 1, London,
 1894 (English trans. of first part only)
 C. Nerazzini, *La conquista mussulmana dell’Etiopia nel secolo XVI*,
 Rome, 1891 (Italian trans.)

STUDIES

Chekroun, ‘Le *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*’

A. Chekroun, ‘Manuscrits, éditions et traductions du *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*. État des lieux’, *Annales Islamologiques* 46 (2012) 293-322

Muth, ‘*Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha*’

H. Ahmed, ‘A 19th century Amharic translation of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*’, in S. Uhlig et al. (eds), *Proceedings of the XVth international conference of Ethiopian studies, Hamburg, July 20-25, 2003*, Wiesbaden, 2006, 598-603

Cerulli, ‘Arabfaqīh’

Alessandro Gori

Manuel da Nóbrega

DATE OF BIRTH 18 October 1517
PLACE OF BIRTH Minho, Portugal
DATE OF DEATH 18 October 1570
PLACE OF DEATH Rio de Janeiro

BIOGRAPHY

Manuel da Nóbrega was born in Minho, north of Porto, Portugal, in 1517, the son of a judge, Baltasar da Nóbrega. He studied canon law in Coimbra (1538-41) and humanities in Salamanca. In 1544, he joined the Society of Jesus, and he was appointed to head the first group of Jesuits in South America. He travelled to Brazil, and established his headquarters in the newly founded city of Salvador on 29 March 1549, remaining in the country until his death. He played a leading role in evangelisation and in developing the Portuguese colonisation of the country, giving advice to the authorities, taking part in battles, brokering peace agreements between the Portuguese and indigenous people, and participating in the founding of the city of São Paulo. He died in Rio de Janeiro on his 53rd birthday, 18 October 1570

Between 1549 and 1560, Nóbrega wrote a remarkable series of letters to his fellow Jesuits back home, in which he detailed the work of his mission and gave important information about the ways in which he approached the matter of educating and converting the indigenous people. In addition to these, he also wrote *Informação da terra do Brasil* ('Information about the land of Brazil'), 1549; *Informação das coisas da terra e necessidade que há para bem proceder nela* ('Information about the features of the land and the need to proceed well in it'), 1558; *Tratado contra a antropofagia* ('Treatise against cannibalism'), 1559; *Diálogo sobre a conversação do gentio* ('Dialogue on conversion of the gentile'), 1559; and *Caso de consciência sobre a liberdade dos Índios* ('The matter of conscience concerning freedom of the Indians'), 1567.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

V. Cabral and A. Franco (eds), *Manoel da Nóbrega, Cartas do Brasil, 1549-1560*, Rio de Janeiro, 1886, 1931²

- M.R. de Faria, 'Tópicos em educação nas cartas de Manuel da Nóbrega; entre práticas e representações (1549-1559)', *Revista HISTEDBR On line, campinas* 24 (2006) 64-78
- M.F.C. Branco, 'As cartas jesuíticas e o legado de Nóbrega na consolidação da Companhia de Jesus (1549-1599)', in R.B. Monteiro (ed.), *Espelhos deformantes. Fontes, problemas e pesquisas em história moderna*, São Paulo, 2008, 49-74
- J.A. Hansen, *Manuel da Nóbrega*, Recife, 2010
- K.V. Silva, 'O padre Manuel da Nóbrega, os Jesuítas e o nascimento da cultura Barroca na sociedade açucareira (século XVI)', *Revista Clío, Revista de Pesquisa Histórica* 28 (2010) 1-18

Secondary

- C.A.A. Toledo and F.M. Ornellas, 'A educação retratada nas Cartas do padre Manuel da Nóbrega', *E-hum* 5 (2012) 221-37, www.unibh.br/revistas/ehum
- S.M. Hue, *Primeiras cartas do Brasil, 1551-1555*, Rio de Janeiro, 2006
- J. Vaz de Carvalho, art. 'Nóbrega, Manuel da', in C.E. O'Neill and J.M. Domínguez (eds), *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, biográfico-temático*, Madrid, 2001, vol. 3, pp. 2826-7
- T.L. Ferreira, *Padre M. da Nóbrega, Fundador de São Paulo*, Sao Paulo, 1957
- S. Leite, *Breve itinerário para um biografia do P.M. da N*, Lisbon, 1955

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Diálogo do Padre Nóbrega sobre a conversão do gentio, 'Dialogue of Father Nóbrega about the conversion of the unbelievers'

DATE 1559

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

Nóbrega wrote *Diálogo do Padre Nobrega sobre a conversão do Gentio. Interlocutors Goçal' Alvares e Matheus Nuguera* in 1559 (Dourado, *Diálogo*, p. 40). The single manuscript is 8 folios long, whilst the text is 16 pages long in the 1931 edition.

The *Diálogo* takes the form of a discussion between Brother Gonçalo Álvares, 'whom God gave grace and talent to be the trumpet of his word in the captaincy of Spiritu Sancto', and Brother Matthew Nogueira, 'blacksmith of Jesus Christ, who although he does not preach with words, he works by hammering' (Dourado, *Diálogo*, p. 181). These were companions of Nóbrega, Álvares holding the captaincy of Spiritu Sancto in 1556, and

Nogueira the captaincy of São Vicente from 1553 to 1556. They discuss the conversion of the indigenous people, with Álvares representing the differing views prevalent among Jesuit missionaries and showing scepticism about the final results, and Nogueira believing in the viability of the project.

In one brief section of the *Diálogo*, a comparison is made between the religions of the 'old world' and also Judaism and Islam on the one hand, and the beliefs of the 'Indians' of Brazil on the other. The Greeks, Romans and Indians adopted the wrong gods and worshipped animals and foul things; the Jews sacrificed their own children, in spite of their covenant with God and their scriptures; and the 'Moors' were converted to Islam by Mafamede (Muhammad), even though they had previously been Christians. Islam is described as a 'bestial sect', and Muhammad is called 'a vicious man' who liked women and used sorcery to convert people (Dourado, *Diálogo*, pp. 204-5).

SIGNIFICANCE

This whole dialogue is a defence of the Jesuits' approach to their missionary activities, explaining the methods employed in the Jesuit schools and the problems encountered during the early years of colonisation.

The ways in which Muhammad and Islam are portrayed reflect the attitudes prevailing in Portugal in the 16th century.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora – Codice CXVI/ 1-33, fols 208r-215r (1559)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

M. Dourado (ed.), *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio*, Rio de Janeiro, 1968 (repr. of Leite's edition, pp. 181-216; includes introduction and critical analysis)

S. Leite (ed.), *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio*, Lisbon, 1954 (original text, pp. 53-70; modern Portuguese edition, pp. 73-102; includes introduction and analysis)

Cabral and Franco, *Cartas do Brasil 1549-1560* (text pp. 229-45), <http://www.brasiliana.usp.br/bbd/handle/1918/00381610>

'Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio. Interlocutors Gonçalo Alvares e Matheus Nuguera', *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 43 (1880) 133-52

STUDIES

Dourado, *Diálogo*, pp. 37-56

Leite, *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio*, pp. 1-52

Cabral and Franco, *Cartas do Brasil 1549-1560*, Prefacio, pp. 11-19; Vida do Padre Manuel da Nóbrega, pp. 21-69

Eneida Ribeiro

Dom Gonçalo da Silveira

DATE OF BIRTH 23 February 1526
PLACE OF BIRTH Almeirim, Portugal
DATE OF DEATH 15-16 March 1561
PLACE OF DEATH Monomotapa, Zimbabwe

BIOGRAPHY

Dom Gonçalo da Silveira was a Jesuit missionary who served as Provincial of India between 1556 and 1559. He was born on 23 February 1526 in Almeirim, near Lisbon. He took orders in the Society of Jesus on 1 November 1544, at Coimbra, where he spent the best part of his studies and work as a Jesuit priest prior to his departure for India in 1556. Dom Gonçalo gained his Doctorate of Theology at the University in Gandia, starting in March 1550.

In 1556 Dom Gonçalo was appointed as Provincial of India, and he set off from Lisbon on 30 March 1556 to take his post. He and the other Jesuits travelling to India were spread among a group of four vessels that separated during the journey around the Cape of Good Hope. Three vessels arrived in Mozambique on the same day, while Dom Gonçalo's vessel arrived the next day, 25 July 1556. The ships stayed 18 days in Mozambique. Another Jesuit, Andre Guldamez, wrote that during the stopover Dom Gonçalo went to debate with the Muslims, 'who acknowledged that they could not answer him' (Letter from Andre Guldamez, p. 391). The ships then departed from Mozambique and arrived in Goa on 6 September 1556.

Dom Gonçalo's work as Provincial of India involved him immediately in Goa among his own countrymen. 'The Portuguese in India had for the most part grown effeminate and immoral', writes Chadwick (*Life of the Venerable Gonçalo da Silveira*, pp. 35-36). Dom Gonçalo also worked to improve the situation of Indian converts to Christianity in Goa. At the time there were around 100 Jesuits in the East, of which 60 were in Goa.

In early November Dom Gonçalo went to Bassein, 200 miles to the north, to accompany a military campaign (Letter from Andres Guldamez, p. 393). On the way he met, baptized, and preached to converts in Chaul and Thana. On 1 January 1557, Dom Gonçalo travelled south to Cochin, where he remained until September of that year. His work there seems

to have included dealing with the incursions of other Christian groups, and a book attacking the teachings of Abyssinian Christians has been attributed to him (Chadwick, *Life*, p. 40, n. 1).

Around November 1557, the Portuguese Viceroy Dom Francisco Barreto fought and defeated the forces of Ali Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur. After his return to Goa, Dom Francisco decreed that the public offices of the state should be given to Christians in preference to Brahmans or Muslims. There followed a marked increase in conversions between 1557 and 1559 (Chadwick, *Life*, p. 42).

During 1559, the last year of his period as Provincial, Dom Gonçalo accompanied a military expedition against Daman, 70 miles north of Bassein, led by the new Viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança. Daman was held by a Muslim or Abyssinian garrison. The viceroy was able to conquer the town 'without the need of a single blow' (Chadwick, *Life*, p. 44). Dom Gonçalo set up crosses in the squares of the town. 'Using the privilege granted to the Indian missionaries, he purified and consecrated the chief mosque of the town; and then, with the whole army as congregation, offered up the most holy Sacrifice of the Altar' (Chadwick, *Life*, p. 44). The victorious viceroy presented this new 'church' to Dom Gonçalo.

In 1559 Gonçalo was replaced with another Provincial. Writing from Goa in November 1559, Dom Gonçalo told about an anticipated mission to south-eastern Africa, to a kingdom he calls Inhambane (Letter to Portugal, p. 423). Dom Gonçalo did indeed make the journey to south-eastern Africa, which he reported in his second letter. He left India for Mozambique on 13 January 1560. The mission to Tonge (Otongue), which he made with Jesuit colleagues Andre Fernandez and Andre da Costa, was both safe and successful, though plagued with disease that brought them near death.

Around the beginning of August 1560 Dom Gonçalo left his colleagues in Tonge to continue the work there and returned to Mozambique. From there, he went on a new mission to make contact with the chief of a region he knew as Monomotapa, in present-day Zimbabwe. He left Mozambique in September 1560, travelled up the Zambezi River and was able to reach the chief in December 1560. Whilst he was in Monomotapa, the young king Chisamharu Nogomo and his mother both professed Christianity and were baptized as Sebastian and Donna Maria (Rea, 'Dom Gonçalo da Silveira', pp. 31-2). There were Muslim traders already in Monomotapa and it appears that they were fearful of Dom Gonçalo's influence and

the potential loss of trade to the Portuguese, so they persuaded the king to have him killed (Rea, 'Dom Gonçalo da Silveira', p. 32). Dom Gonçalo was aware of the danger to his life, yet refused to leave. He told one of his Portuguese companions, António Caiado, 'It is certain that I am more than ready to die than the Mohammedans are to kill me. I forgive the king who is young, and his mother because the Moors have deceived them' (Rea, 'Dom Gonçalo da Silveira', p. 33). He was held captive and killed at some point during 15-16 March 1561.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- 'Carta do Padre André Gualdamez para os padres e irmãos de Coimbra, Goa, 4 November, 1556: Letter from Father André Gualdamez to the Fathers and Brothers of Coimbra, Goa, 1556 November 4', *Documentos sobre os portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central, 1497-1840: Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa, 1497-1840*, ed. A. da Silva Rego and T.W. Baxter, Salisbury (Harare), 1962-75, vol. 7, 383-95
- N. Godignus, *Vita Patris Gonzali Sylveriae, S.J. Sacerdotis in urbe Monomotapa Martyrium passi*, Lyons, 1612

Secondary

- S.S.G. Carreira, 'O outro pé da sereia. O diálogo entre história e ficção na representação da África contemporânea', *Revista Eletrônica do Instituto de Humanidades* 6 (2008) 67-77
- J.N. Tylenda, art. 'Silveira, Gonçalo da', in C.E. O'Neill and J.M. Domínguez (eds), *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, Biográfico-Temático*, Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001, vol. 4, 3576-7
- A.M.V. Branco, 'Ensaio de portugalidade em terras africanas durante a governação d'el-rei D. Sebastião D. Francisco Barreto em Moçambique e na região do Monomotapa', *Revista Millenium* 5 (1997) 1-9
- W.F. Rea, 'Dom Gonçalo da Silveira', *Rhodesiana* 6 (1961) 1-40
- Diocese of Cataquese, *Dom Goncalo da Silveira. pioneiro da evangelizacao e proto-mártir da Fé em terras de Africa*, Beira, Mozambique, 1961
- D.P. Abraham, 'The Monomotapa dynasty', *Nada, Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs Department Annual* 53 (1959) 59-84
- B. Leite, *Gonçalo da Silveira*, Lisbon, 1946
- L. Demony, *Dom Gonçalo da Silveira, primeiro mártir pela cristandade em terras de Moçambique*, Lisbon, 1940
- E. Axelson, *South East Africa*, Johannesburg, 1940
- H. Chadwick, S.J., *Life of the Venerable Gonçalo da Silveira, pioneer missionary and proto-martyr of South Africa*, New York, 1910

- A. Paiva e Pona, *A Dos primeiros trabalhos dos Portuguezes no Monomotapa, o padre Dom Goncalo da Silveira*, Lisbon, 1892
- V.J. Courtois, *Notes chronologiques sur les anciennes missions catholiques au Zambèze*, Lisbon, 1889

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carta do Padre D. Gonçalo para os irmãos da Companhia de Jesus de Portugal, 'Letter from Father D. Gonçalo to the brothers of the Society of Jesus of Portugal'

DATE November 1559

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

This letter runs to three printed pages in Portuguese. Writing from Goa in November 1559, Don Gonçalo describes an anticipated mission to South Africa, to a kingdom he calls Inhambane (in his second letter he explains that actually this is the name of a port, or a place just inland from the port). The people to whom the mission is sent, he writes, are more ready and prepared to receive the faith of Jesus Christ 'than all the other Gentile nations to be found in these parts, most of which are corrupted by the infernal sect of Mohamed and even mixed with the pestilential Jews, but this nation is quite free from them because, except for the sea coast and some parts of it, it is a marvel if a Moor can enter it' (Letter to Portugal, p. 423).

The mission has been prompted, Dom Gonçalo says, by a report that a son of the king of Inhambane has been converted. The report further gives hope that the other sons of the king can be converted and that there is an opportunity to travel safely to Inhambane and baptize the sons there. 'I believe that this might happen not only to his sons but to himself and to all his household and also to the whole kingdom', he writes (Letter to Portugal, p. 425). The letter continues full of hope that many other kingdoms in southern Africa might be open to 'receiving the light of Jesus Christ'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Dom Gonçalo's letter comes from a time when very little was known in Europe about the south-eastern coast of Africa. He seems to have no

good word for the influence of what he calls the 'Moors'. His letters represent great optimism about the success of Christian mission among the peoples of south-eastern Africa.

His subsequent death led to the Portuguese asserting their right to spread the Gospel in the region, and to the expedition to Monomotapa led by Francisco Barreto in 1569.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Lisbon, National Library of Portugal – Fundo Geral, No 4534, fol. 127 (1559)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Carta do Padre D. Gonçalo para os irmãos da Companhia de Jesus de Portugal', in A. da Silva Rego and T.W. Baxter (eds), *Documentos sobre os portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central, 1497-1840. Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa, 1497-1840*, Salisbury (Harare), 1962-1975, vol. 7, 421-7 (parallel Portuguese text with English trans.)

STUDIES

Carreira, 'O outro pé da sereia'
Rea, 'Dom Gonçalo da Silveira'

Carta do Padre D. Gonçalo para os padres e irmãos do Colégia da Companhia de Jesus de Goa,
'Letter from Father Dom Gonçalo to the Fathers and Brothers of the College of the Society of Jesus in Goa'

DATE 9 August 1560

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

The letter was written on 9 August 1560, later in the year of Dom Gonçalo's arrival in Africa. It is five printed pages in length. Dom Gonçalo opens the letter with thanksgiving that the king and queen of Tonge (Otongue) have received baptism, along with many relatives, including all the king's sons and daughters, as well as many noblemen and 'nearly the whole village' where the king lives (Letter to Goa, p. 503). Dom Gonçalo writes that as he made his way from Tonge to the port where he embarked

for Mozambique, he baptized 'nearly four hundred and fifty Christians'; 'I baptized sheiks, who are as headmen of the villages' (p. 503).

Accompanying Dom Gonçalo on the mission were Andre Fernandez and Andre da Costa. Dom Gonçalo wrote extensively about the fevers and other afflictions that overtook all three of them after arriving in Africa and before they could manage to reach Tonge. A couple of times, Dom Gonçalo prepared himself to die, and Andre Fernandez was similarly close to death. Dom Gonçalo left the two priests in Tonge when he returned around the beginning of August 1560 to Mozambique, from where he wrote the letter.

Dom Gonçalo wrote about five 'errors' he found among the people of Tonge (pp. 503-5). Among them the fifth error is that the Botongas 'practice circumcision which they say they inherited from an eminent Moor who came there some time ago, but they follow no other Moorish laws' (p. 505). In general Dom Gonçalo found the Africans of the region free of the inclination toward idols and ready to receive the faith, unlike the 'Kaffir Moors' who, he wrote, 'deal in the cult of idols' (p. 505).

The letter also tells of Dom Gonçalo's delight with Inhambane, which he discovered was a port rather than the name of the country. He described the place as 'gloriously beautiful', healthy, strewn with the most beautiful trees and citrous and other fresh fruits, 'the most appropriate place for devotion that I have seen' (p. 505).

Dom Gonçalo wrote that in his return from Tonge he brought along the son of another king, 'greater than the one who was converted', to become a Christian in Mozambique. He was hopeful that in the following year this 'greater' king would also become a Christian (p. 503).

SIGNIFICANCE

Dom Gonçalo's letter comes from a time when, as he himself remarks (p. 505), very little was known in Europe about the south-eastern coast of Africa. His observations and comments about the beliefs and practices of the people in Tonge are interesting and generally positive, though he seems to have no good word for the influence of what he calls the 'Moors'. His letters represent a great optimism about the success of Christian mission among the peoples of south-eastern Africa.

His subsequent killing led to the Portuguese asserting their right to spread the Gospel, and to the expedition to Monomotapa led by Francisco Barreto in 1569.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a list of MSS of the work, see Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 4, p. 588.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Carta (Cópia) do Padre D. Gonçalo para os padres e irmãos do Colégio da Companhia de Jesus de Goa', in da Silva Rego and Baxter (eds), *Documentos Sobre os Portugueses em Moçambique*

B. Leite, *D. Gonçalo da Silveira*, Lisbon, 1946, pp. 337-8, 344-8

J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vol. 4, 588-95

M.G. Theal, *Records of south-eastern Africa*, London, 1898-1903, vol. 2, 88-92 (Portuguese with English trans.)

A.P. de Paiva e Pona, *Dos primeiros trabalhos dos Portuguezes no Monomotapa. O Padre D. Gonçalo da Silveira*, Lisbon, 1892, pp. 42-8

A. Franco, *Imagem da virtude em o noviciado da Companhia de Jesus no Real Collegio de Jesus de Coimbra em Portugal. Na qual se contem as vidas, & sanctas morted de muitos homens de grande virtude, que naquella Sancta caza se criaram*, Evora, 1719, vol. 2, 49-50 (excerpts)

STUDIES

Carreira, 'O outro pé da sereia'

Branco, 'Ensaio de portugalidade em terras africanas'

Rea, 'Dom Gonçalo da Silveira'

Gordon Nickel

Miguel de Castanhoso

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; early 16 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Santarem, Portugal
DATE OF DEATH	Possibly 1565
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Miguel de Castanhoso was a soldier and writer. He is known as the author of the official Portuguese account of the military expedition to Christian Ethiopia in 1541-43, *Dos feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia*.

Castanhoso was probably of noble Spanish origin (*Dos feitos*, ed. Esteves Pereira, p. xxxviii). In early 1541, he went on the armada under Estevão da Gama, governor of Portuguese India, to the Red Sea, landing in Eritrea on 9 June as part of a military expedition led by Christovão da Gama to rescue the *Nəguś* Gälawdewos. According to recension B of *Dos feitos*, the Dowager Queen Säblä Wängel put him in command of a company of 50 'musketeers' (*espingardeiros*) (Castanhoso, *Historia das cousas*, p. 7; Diogo do Couto, *Décadas da Ásia, Década V*, Book 7, ch. 9; also Castanhoso, *História das cousas*, ed. de Lima, pp. vi-vii). During a second encounter with the enemy somewhere in Təgray, he was hit on his left arm; he recovered, but he was no longer able to fight (Castanhoso, *Dos feitos*, ed. Esteves Pereira, p. xxxix).

The most reliable source for Castanhoso's participation in this campaign is his own narrative (*Dos feitos*, ed. Esteves Pereira, p. 1 *et passim*), though there are also a few scattered references elsewhere (thus a letter from Gälawdewos to King João III, where he appears as Mika'el Kästäñoso; see *Dos feitos*, ed. Esteves Pereira, pp. 127-9, 131-2).

In mid-1543, once the most important military campaign was over, Castanhoso requested permission to leave the country along with a few fellow soldiers. He reached India on 19 April, and returned to Portugal in the same year. In Lisbon, he delivered to King João III a letter from Gälawdewos requesting help (*Dos feitos*, ed. Esteves Pereira, p. 129), and also his own *Tratado*, the narrative of the military expedition. In 1548, as a reward for his achievements, he was made Knight of the Ordem de Christo and given an estate.

In 1554, Castanhoso went back to India, but at some point he returned to Portugal, where he was granted a pension from the king until his death around 1565 (*Dos feitos*, ed. Esteves Pereira, pp. xli-xlii).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Miguel de Castanhoso, *Historia das cousas que o muy esforçado capitão Dom Christouão da Gama fez nos Reynos do Preste Ioão com quatroce[n]tos portugueses que consigo leuou*, [Lisbon]: Ioã de Barreyra, 1564

Diogo do Couto, *Décadas da Ásia, Década V*, Lisbon, 1777

Miguel de Castanhoso, *Dos feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia*, ed. F.M. Esteves Pereira, Lisbon, 1898

Miguel de Castanhoso, *História das cousas que o mui esforçado capitão Dom Cristóvão da Gama fêz nos reinos do Preste João com quatrocentos Portugueses que consigo levou*, ed. A.C.P. de Lima, Porto, 1936

Secondary

L. Cohen, art. 'Castanhoso, Miguel de', in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. S. Uhlig, Wiesbaden, 2003, vol. 1, pp. 694-5

D. Barbosa Machado, art. 'Miguel de Castanhoso', in *Bibliotheca Lusitana. Historica, critica, e cronologica . . .*, ed. D. Barbosa Machado, Lisbon, 1741-59, vol. 3, p. 471

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dos feitos de D. Christovão da Gama em Etiopia; Historia das cousas que o muy esforçado capitão Dom Christouão da Gama fez nos Reynos do Preste Ioão com quatroce[n]tos portugueses que consigo leuou, 'The accomplishments of Christovão da Gama in Ethiopia'

DATE About 1560

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

Miguel de Castanhoso's *Dos feitos de D. Christovao da Gama em Etiopia* (also known as *Historia das cousas que o muy esforçado capitão . . .*) is the official chronicle of the Portuguese military expedition to the Ethiopian highlands between 1541 and 1543. Written in Portuguese, the book

comprises 28 chapters in recension A (29 in recension B) following a simple chronological order.

The work opens with a short preface (ch. 1 in recension B), which describes the arrival of Estevão da Gama's fleet off Massawa on the Red Sea coast in May 1541, their aim being to support the *Nəguś* Gālawdewos in his defence of his country against Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī of the Somali Sultanate of 'Adal ('Rey de Zeyla', as he is called). It goes on to describe the march inland of the 400-strong company, with Christovão da Gama, Estevão da Gama's brother, in overall command. They continue south, meeting the dowager queen Säblā Wängel at Däbrä Damo, and meet the Somalis in a series of battles, in one of which Christovão da Gama is captured by the Muslims and executed, or martyred as Castanhoso sees it. There is a final battle at Zäntära, Wäyna Däga, in 1543, in which they kill the Muslim leader.

SIGNIFICANCE

Castanhoso's chronicle is an important source for 16th-century Ethiopian history and the fighting between the Ethiopian and Somali forces, particularly since the most important Muslim account of the jihad led by Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha*, stops in 1537. Since it is primarily a military work, it goes into detail about the army, the tactics employed in the campaigns and the part played by the Portuguese company, and also gives details about Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm's forces. It is less informative about Ethiopia as a country, though it casts light on important figures such as the dowager queen, and obliquely on the religious differences between the Christian Ethiopians and their Muslim enemies.

Richard Whiteway, who translated the text into English, describes it as the most truthful among the accounts of the Portuguese military expedition, and more reliable than most others (*Portuguese expedition*, p. xlv).

Dos feitos proved both popular and influential, particularly in its 1564 edition (see *Dos feitos* ed. Esteves Pereira, p. xlv; Machado, 'Miguel de Castanhoso', p. 471). The Portuguese chroniclers Gaspar Correia (in *Lendas da Índia*) and Diogo do Couto (in *Décadas da Ásia*) both used it extensively, while Couto also used it in his work on the da Gama family (Couto, *Tratado*, chs 13, 18-24). Moreover, Pedro Páez (d. 1622) transcribed extensive excerpts from the book in his *História da Etiópia* (see Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, p. 295 *et passim*), while Miguel Botello de Carvalho's *Rimas varias y tragicomedia del martir d'Ethiopia* (Ruan: Lorenço Maurry, 1646) was inspired by it.

MANUSCRIPTS

There are two recensions of *Dos feitos*, called by R.S. Whiteway A and B. Recension B was published in 1564 by João de Barreira as *Historia das cousas que o muy esforçado capitão*, while recension A was not published until 1898, in an edition by F.M. Esteves Pereira.

Both recensions are derived from MS Ajuda, Biblioteca Real – 10005/14, fols 34r-84v (*Dos feitos*, ed. Esteves Pereira, p. xlvi). In Esteves Pereira's view, recension A is based on this MS while recension B is the result of João de Barreira's editorial work (*Dos feitos*, ed. Esteves Pereira, p. xlvi). However, Augusto César Pires de Lima, editor of the 1936 edition, argues that the 1564 publication was the original (Castanhoso, *História das cousas*, ed. de Lima, pp. vi-vii).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

História das cousas que o mui esforçado capitão Dom Cristóvão da Gama fez nos reinos do Preste João com quatrocentos Portugueses que consigo levou, ed. Neves Aguas, Mems-Martins, Lisbon, 1988

História das cousas que o mui esforçado capitão Dom Cristóvão da Gama, ed. Pires de Lima

E. Littmann (trans.), *Die Heldentaten des Dom Christoph da Gama in Abessinien*, Berlin, 1907 (German trans.)

R.S. Whiteway (ed. and trans.), *The Portuguese expedition to Abyssinia in 1541-1543 as narrated by Castanhoso, with some contemporary letters, the short account of Bermudez, and certain extracts from Corrêa*, London, 1902 (English trans.; repr. 1967)

Dos feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia, ed. Esteves Pereira
Storia della spedizione portoghese in Abissinia nel secolo XVI, Rome, 1888

Historia das cousas que o muy esforçado capitão Dom Cristovão da Gama fez nos Reynos do Preste João, com quatrocentos Portugeses que consigo leuou, Lisbon, 1855

Historia das cousas que o muy esforçado capitão Dom Christouão da Gama, 1564

STUDIES

A. Martínez d'Alòs-Moner, art. 'Gama, Christovão da', in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 2, ed. S. Uhlig, Hamburg, 2005

Cohen, 'Castanhoso, Miguel de'

D. do Couto, *Tratado dos feitos de Vasco da Gama e de seus filhos na Índia*, ed. J.M. dos Santos, Lisbon, 1998

Dos feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia, ed. Esteves Pereira,
pp. v-xlvii

C. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales*, Rome, 1905,
vol. 2

Whiteway, *Portuguese expedition*, pp. xxi-ciii

Andreu Martinez

Chronicle of Emperor Gälawdewos

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1470
PLACE OF BIRTH	Yemen
DATE OF DEATH	About 1563
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The identity of the author of the *Chronicle of Emperor Gälawdewos* is not given in the text or in any other contemporary document, though the *Chronicle* does contain some clues about him. First, he had an outstanding command of Arabic (Conzelman, *Chronique*; Nöldeke, review, pp. 164-8; Guidi, 'La Cronaca', pp. 114-15; see also Kropp, 'Arabisch-äthiopische Übersetzungstechnik', p. 329) and was intimate with the Qur'an. In fact, Guidi suggests that he originally wrote the *Chronicle* in Arabic and then translated it into Gə'əz (Guidi, 'La Cronaca', p. 115). Second, he appears to have been very close to the king: in one scene Gälawdewos speaks to him in confidence (Conzelman, *Chronique*, ch. 58). Third, he may also have been the author of the chronicle of Gälawdewos's successor, Minas (Pereira, *Zēnā Minās*): in this later chronicle, the author says, *bākāmä aqdämnä zenahu* ('as we have written it before in the chronicle [of Gälawdewos]') (Nöldeke, review, p. 164; Pereira does not refer to this). Fourth, he uses a number of calendar systems, including Hebrew, Coptic, Arabic, Syrian and Roman, which suggests that he was familiar with the book known as *Abušakər*, which was translated from Arabic by *abba* 'Ənbaqom (Uhlig, 'Abušakər'). So, there is a possibility that the *Chronicle* was written by the well-known scholar 'Ənbaqom, who spent many years at the court of Gälawdewos.

'Ənbaqom was indeed one of the most outstanding personalities of 16th-century Ethiopia. Born in Yemen, he went to the court of King Āskändər (1478-94) in the last decade of the 15th century, when still a young man. He followed a monastic life, and reached the highest position of the Ethiopian Church as *əččäge* of the Monastery of Däbrä Libanos in 1523 (*əččäge* is also the title used to designate the administrative head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church). During Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī's attacks on Ethiopia, he fled from the monastery when it was sacked by the Muslims, and spent some years moving from one place to another (Van Donzel, 'Ənbaqom', p. 280). When Gälawdewos succeeded

his father in 1540, he called ‘Īnbaqom to his court, where the monk served Gālawdewos as a counsellor until the king’s death. ‘Īnbaqom died in 1563, and a sign of the veneration in which he was held is that a *gādl* (‘saint’s life’) was dedicated to him (Ricci, ‘Le vite di Enbaqom’). This text, though hagiographical in nature, is the source of most information about him.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- F.M. Pereira, *Zēnā Minās*, Lisbon, 1888
 L. Ricci, ‘Le vite di Enbaqom e di Yohannes, abbati di Dabra Libanos di Scioa’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 13 (1954) 91-120
 E. van Donzel, *Anqa, Amin. Apologie éthiopienne du christianisme contre l’islam à partir du Coran*, Leiden, 1969

Secondary

- E. van Donzel, art. ‘‘Īnbaqom’, in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 2005, vol. 2, 280-2
 S. Uhlig, art. ‘Abušakər’, in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, 2003, vol. 1, 56-7
 M. Kropp (ed.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna Dengel, Claudius und Minas*, Louvain, 1988
 M. Kropp, ‘Arabisch-äthiopische Übersetzungstechnik am Beispiel der Zena Ayhud (Yosippon) und des Tarikā Wāldä-‘Amid’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 136 (1986) 314-46
 B.A. Turaev, *Abissinikie Broniki XIV-XVI*, ed. I. Krackovskij, Leningrad, 1936 (Abyssinian chronicles of 14th-16th centuries)
 I. Guidi, ‘La Cronaca di Galāwdēwos o Claudio re di Abissinia (1540-1559)’, in *Atti del XII Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti. Roma 1899*, Florence, 1902, vol. 3/2, pp. 111-15
 T. Nöldeke, review, ‘*Chronique de Galwdewos (Claudius), Roi d’Ethiopie*’, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 2 (1896) 164-73

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronique de Galawdewos, roi d’Ethiopie,
 ‘Chronicle of Galawdewos, King of Ethiopia’
Zena mäwa’al, ‘Chronicle’

DATE March 1561

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ge’ez

DESCRIPTION

The *Chronicle* consists of 97 short chapters, running to 120 pages in Conzelman's 1895 edition. (References in what follows are to this edition.) Its date of completion, as reported in the colophon, is March 1561, just two years after the king's death.

The *Chronicle* covers the whole period of Gālawdewos's (Claudius's) rule, which lasted 19 years. It opens by recalling the names of Gālawdewos's parents, Ləbnä Dəngəl and Säblä Wängel, and then goes on to focus on the wars between the Christian kingdom and the Muslim sultanate of 'Adal, which started in the time of Ləbnä Dəngəl and continued in the reign of his son Gālawdewos. Although it is clearly an apology for the king, it does not ignore the fact that the advance of the Muslim army between 1529 and 1543 almost led to the complete demise of the Christian state. The narrative includes dramatic scenes about the burning of important churches and monasteries and the forceful conversion to Islam of numerous Christians (p. 5). It also refers to the arrival of a force of Portuguese fighting men, poetically called 'sons of Tubal' (*däqiqätöbal*) (ch. 12), and 'soldiers of Yoan' (*mästäqatelanihu Yo'an*), referring to the Portuguese King João III (p. 135 n. 3). The author stresses their bravery, though he denies them the glory of victory. As the text says, it was one of Gālawdewos's close soldiers who killed the Muslim leader Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī (called 'Imam Ahmad' in the text) in early 1543 (chs 12, 19).

The *Chronicle* narrates the revival of the Christian state following the killing of Aḥmad and the rebellion of his nephew, 'Abbās ibn Abūn ibn Ibrāhīm ('*wāzīr Abbas*', chs 23-5) and also mentions the religious policies implemented by Gālawdewos, which were primarily aimed at reviving a Christian state that had been badly shattered by a decade of wars. These policies included the reconstruction of churches, particularly the Royal Church of Tädabä Maryam (ch. 50), the production of religious texts and conduct of campaigns against groups that had recently been made subjects of the Christian empire.

There follow accounts of other challenges faced by the king: the northward expansion of the Oromo, the Ottoman colonisation of the coast around Massawa in 1557, and the revival of the Muslim sultanate of 'Adal under its new leader Nūr ibn Mujāhid, who seized the southern part of the empire. Gālawdewos confronted the Muslim leader but he killed by Nūr's forces; his head was cut off and taken to Harär as a trophy. In his lament for the king, the author paraphrases parts of the Old Testament *Book of Lamentations*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Chronicle* is an important source for the history of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa in the 16th century, and relations between Christians and Muslims in the region. It shows vividly that from the late 1520s to the early 1540s the balance of power in the Horn was in the hands of the Muslims, and it was the Christian Gälawdewos who regained the upper hand. It also refers to wider political interests involving the Portuguese and Ottomans.

The writing is hagiographical in style, and exaggerates the personality of the king, who is compared to the angels and saints. In consequence, it accentuates the part that he and his supporters played in events, and downplays the Portuguese contribution in the fighting against Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī, including any mention that he was killed by a Portuguese musketeer (see Bermudez, *Breve relação*, p. 64; Castanhoso, *Dos Feitos*, pp. 60-61).

In spite of this and other shortcomings, the work is supremely important for an understanding of Christian-Muslim relations in the 16th century. It stands alongside two other narratives of the period, Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Arabfaḡih’s *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* and Castanhoso’s *Dos Feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia*.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Bruce 88, fols 43r-54v (1592)
- MS Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek – Ruppel 16, fols 113-140v (1833)
- MS Paris, BNF – Éth. 143, fols 95v-117v (1842)
- MS London, BL – Or. 821, fols 118r-145 (1852)
- MS Paris, BNF – d’Abbadie 118, fols 52v-63r (1852)
- MS Tädbabä, Maryam Church (date unknown)

In the early 17th century, Pedro Páez quoted parts of the *Chronicle* in his *Historia da Etiopia* (Páez, *Pedro Páez’s History of Ethiopia*, 1622, pp. 15-16, 35 [English trans.]). These were paraphrased a few years later by Manoel de Almeida (book 3, ch. 7).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- I. Boavida, H. Pennec and M. João Ramos (eds), C.J. Tribe (trans.), *Pedro Páez’s History of Ethiopia*, 1622, Farnham, 2011 (English trans.)
- Alämu Hayäle, *Yä Aše Gälawdewos zena mäwa’el*, Addis Ababa, 2006 (Amharic trans.)
- Turaev, *Abbissinikie Broniki*

W. Conzelman (ed. and trans.), *Chronique de Galāwdēwos (Claudius), roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris, 1895 (French trans.)

STUDIES

Boavida et al. (eds and trans), *Pedro Páez's history of Ethiopia, 1622*, introduction

M. Kropp, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däğğazmač Ḥaylu*, Frankfurt am Main, 1989

Turaev, *Abbyssinikie Broniki*

R. Basset and Chihab Eddin Aḥmed Ben 'Abd El Qâder Arab-Faqih, *Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie (XVI^e siècle)*, Paris, 1897

M. de Castanhoso, *Dos Feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia*, ed. F.M. Esteves Pereira, Lisbon, 1898

J. Bermudez, *Breve relação da embaixada que o Patriarcha D. João Bermudez trouxe do Imperador da Ethiopia vulgarmente chamado Preste João dirigida a el-Rei D. Sebastião*, Lisbon, 1875, vol. 1/4

Solomon Gebreyes Beyene

Gonçalo Rodrigues

DATE OF BIRTH 1523
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; Portugal
DATE OF DEATH After 1561
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Gonçalo Rodrigues was a Jesuit priest who played a part in the tumultuous first century of Portuguese involvement in India. After 1551, Francis Xavier sent him to work in Thāna, near modern-day Mumbai, where he became the Superior of the Jesuits. Rodrigues carried out mission work in Sālsette, and also established a Christian settlement not far from Thāna.

In 1555, Gonçalo Rodrigues and Diogo Dias were sent from Goa to Ethiopia to try to persuade the Ethiopian emperor to give his allegiance to the Catholic pope in Rome rather than to the Coptic patriarch in Alexandria. Their attempt failed, though the attempts of other Catholics to persuade the Ethiopian emperor continued for some years.

Further information about Gonçalo Rodrigues is contained in two letters he wrote from Belgaum and Bijapur, South India, in March and April 1561. He was again called from Thāna to join a team that was to visit the court of a Muslim ruler to the south. Sultan Ali Adil Shah I requested the Archbishop of Goa, Dom Gaspar de Leão Pereira, to send him a learned padre, saying he was interested in knowing the tenets of the Christian faith. The archbishop sent Gonçalo Rodrigues, António Pegado, who was a Dominican, another unnamed priest, and Francisco Lopes, a merchant. They left Goa for Belgaum on 17 March 1561.

Rodriguez climbed the Western Ghats with the other two priests and at Belgaum they were received by the governor. The trio then travelled to Bijapur to the court of Ali Adil Shah, where they had a brief religious conversation with the sultan. Although in Rodrigues' opinion the conversation was not significant, the sultan appeared satisfied and he honoured the Portuguese visitors with silk robes. One source reports that Rodrigues gave his robe to the college of Bassein (Cunha, *Origin of Bombay*, p. 149), after which he returned to his work in Thāna.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

'Luís Fróis at Goa to the Society in Portugal, 1 December 1561', in J. Wicki and J. Gomes (eds), *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vol. 5, p. 280

Secondary

M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal world. Studies on culture and politics*, New York, 2012

J.J. Hespeler-Boulton, *A story in stones. Portugal's influence on culture and architecture in the highlands of Ethiopia 1493-1634*, Sooke, British Columbia: CCB Publishing, 2011

M. Salvadore, 'The Jesuit mission to Ethiopia (1555-1634) and the death of Prester John', in A.B. Kavey (ed.), *World-building and the early modern imagination*, New York, 2010, 141-72

M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, 'Frank disputations. Catholics and Muslims in the court of Jahangir (1608-11)', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 46 (2009) 457-511

M.T. Titus, *Indian Islam. A religious history of Islam in India*, London, 1930, pp. 85-6

H. Heras, 'Three Catholic padres at the court of Ali Adil Shah I', *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* 1 (1928) 158-63

J.G. Cunha, *The origin of Bombay. The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Extra Number*, Bombay, 1900

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

P. Gundisalvus Rodrigues S.I. Sociis Goanis, Belgaum 23 Martii 1561, 'Letter of Gonçalo Rodrigues to Goa from Belgaum, 23 March 1561'

P. Gundisalvus Rodrigues S.I. P. Antonio de Quadros S.I., Goam, Bijâpur 7 Aprilis 1561, 'Letter of Gonçalo Rodrigues to P. Antonio de Quadros in Goa from Bijapur, 7 April 1561'

DATE 23 March and 7 April 1561

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

In two letters written in 1561, Gonçalo Rodrigues reports the visit he made with two fellow priests to Muslim territory in southern India, to

Belgaum and Bijapur. In the first letter, written from Belgaum on 23 March 1561, Rodrigues writes that he set out from Goa with Antonio Pegado, a Dominican, a third unnamed priest, and Francisco Lopes, a merchant, on 17 March 1561. They first had to climb the Western Ghats and they arrived at Belgaum on 21 March, where the governor received them.

In the second letter, Rodrigues writes that the three priests stayed in Belgaum for three or four days before continuing their journey. They arrived at Shahpur, within two miles of Bijapur, on 30 March. The governor of Bijapur sent a retinue of elephants and people to bring them the rest of the way. On their arrival at the court, several courtiers told the priests that Sultan Ali Adil Shah had invited them in order to foster friendship with the archbishop in Goa. However, when after three days the sultan sent for them, he did not meet them that day and even made them wait several hours on the next day. Rodrigues writes: 'We were already losing our temper and much annoyed.' Finally, on the second evening the priests entered the sultan's court and saw three nobles sitting with him ('Letter from Bijapur', p. 142).

Rodrigues relates that the sultan asked the priests for the 'books of the Law', so they presented him with a Bible bound in crimson velvet and a copy of the *Summa contra gentiles* of Thomas Aquinas. Antonio Pegado also gave a short sermon. The sultan said that he enjoyed the presence of the priests and was a great friend of the Portuguese, particularly the archbishop, and he had called for the priests in order to procure the friendship of the archbishop.

The sultan asked the priests not to be angry if his questions seemed insignificant to them. His questions were: whether Christ ordered people to put on clothing, and how; whether Christ forbade people to drink wine and whether he allowed them to eat elephant flesh; and whether people could drink urine without committing a sin. 'We replied to these foolish questions', wrote Rodrigues ('Letter from Bijapur', p. 142), and the sultan appeared to be satisfied with the answers and put robes of honour (*cabaías*) on the three. He then sent them away, saying he would call them a second time to have a long conversation.

Rodrigues promises towards the end of this second letter to give a separate account to his Goan friend of this second audience. However, a third letter from Rodrigues is not known to exist. Whether the audience took place, what happened at that meeting, and whether Rodrigues reported it, are left to silence.

SIGNIFICANCE

The letters tell of the peaceful journey of three Christian priests to make contact with a Muslim sovereign in southern India in 1561. This was one of the first such encounters, and it was well before the first visits of the Jesuits to the Mughal court of Akbar in 1580. The conversation with Ali Adil Shah reported by Rodrigues does not seem to indicate that the sultan was deeply interested in the teachings contained in the Christian 'books of the Law'. Subsequent political developments suggest that he was seeking, through the invitation to the priests, to gain some advantage with the Portuguese (Heras, 'Three Catholic padres', pp. 162-3).

However, in the minds of the priests the reason for the visit was matters of faith, and they went with that expectation. The questions of the sultan may have been trivial or 'foolish', as Rodrigues writes, but Alam and Subrahmanyam suggest that the questions were possibly designed to make the priests look unsophisticated or clumsy in the area of fine legal questions ('Frank disputations', p. 462). That the priests responded to the sultan's request for books of law by presenting Aquinas's *Summa contra Gentiles* along with a Bible indicates both their readiness to engage him in a theological or philosophical discussion and their relative lack of awareness of the central importance of legal reasoning in Muslim religious thought. This use of Aquinas's works in religious disputations with Muslims continued with the Jesuits in the court of the Mughal ruler Akbar a few decades later.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a list of MSS of the two letters, see Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 130, 137.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'P. Gundisalvus Rodrigues S.I. to Socii Goanis, Belgaum, 23 March 1561', in J. Wicki and J. Gomes (eds), *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vol. 5, pp. 129-36

'P. Gundisalvus Rodrigues S.I. to Antonio de Quadros S.I., Goam, Bijâpur, 7 April 1561', in Wicki and Gomes, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 136-45

A. da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a história das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Índia*, Lisbon, 1947-55, vol 8, 351-6, 357-63
Nuovi avisi dell'Indie di Portogallo ricevuti dalli Reverendi Padri della Compagnia di Gesù, tradotti della lingua spagnuola nell'Italiana, Venice, 1565, fols 120v-124v

STUDIES

Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal world*

Alam and Subrahmanyam, 'Frank disputations'

Heras, 'Three Catholic padres at the court of Ali Adil Shah I'

Gordon Nickel

António Caiado

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly eastern Africa
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1561
PLACE OF DEATH	Possibly eastern Africa

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about António Caiado (sometimes spelt Cayado), apart from the fact that he was living in eastern Africa during the second half of the 16th century. He seems to have been a trader. Contemporary references from Luís Fróis (da Silva Rego, *Documents*, p. 43) say that he was Portuguese and a good friend of the King of Monomotapa, and that he acted as intermediary and interpreter for Dom Gonçalo de Silveira. His own letter to a friend describing the events leading to the death of Dom Gonçalo includes the detail that he was a Christian (da Silva Rego, *Documents*, p. 7), and had been 'shriven by the priest'. His contacts with the king show that he clearly had a position within the community in Monomotapa.

Later accounts of the death of Dom Gonçalo add a little to this. Chadwick describes him as a 'white negro', suggesting that he had a Portuguese father and an African mother, and states that he was based at Masapa as Captain of the Gates for the King of Monomotapa, with a duty to report the arrival of any Portuguese to the king and to not allow them to proceed further until they received permission (Chadwick, *Life of the Venerable Gonçalo da Silveira*, p. 80). Rea states that 'António Caiado was much trusted by the Monomotapa, who used him as an intermediary with the Portuguese' (Rea, 'Dom Gonçalo da Silveira', p. 29).

Nothing further is known of his life or death.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

A. da Silva Rego, *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa 1497-1840*, vol. 8. 1561-1588, Lisbon, 1975

'P.L. Frois S.I. ex comm. Sociis Europaeis, Goa 15 Decembris 1561', in J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vol. 5. 333-53, pp. 340-7

Secondary

W.F. Rea, 'Dom Gonçalo da Silveira', *Rhodesiana* 6 (1961) 1-40, pp. 28-33

H. Chadwick, *Life of the Venerable Gonçalo da Silveira, pioneer missionary and proto-martyr of South Africa*, New York, 1910, pp. 80-97

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carta de António Caiado para cum amigo, 'Letter from António Caiado to a friend'

DATE 22 March 1561

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

Carta de António Caiado para cum amigo is a letter from Caiado to an unknown friend who was also living in eastern Africa. It contains a first-hand account of the death of Dom Gonçalo de Silveira, a Jesuit killed during his mission to Monomotapa on 15-16 March 1561, and the events leading up to it. The letter is 93 lines long, and in the edition by da Silva Rego it takes up three pages. There are nine known manuscript copies.

Caiado consistently refers to the Muslims as Moors, and describes Gonçalo's death as the result of their malice and their intrigues with the king (da Silva Rego, *Documents*, p. 3). He states that the Moorish *enganças*, whom he describes as witch-doctors, had predicted the future and seen that Dom Gonçalo was a spy. They also warned the King of Monomotapa that Dom Gonçalo would take possession of the land by pouring water over the people's heads and speaking words over them, and said that he was able to cast spells through a dead man's bone to bring sun and famine in order to possess the land and to kill the king (da Silva Rego, *Documents*, p. 5).

Caiado reports that, on the day that the king decided to kill Dom Gonçalo, the priest had made 50 converts and had given them gifts; these were subsequently confiscated by the king (da Silva Rego, *Documents*, p. 7). Caiado then gives a description of his last meeting with Dom Gonçalo, and of the priest's death (da Silva Rego, *Documents*, pp. 7-8).

SIGNIFICANCE

The existence of nine manuscript copies, many in collections held by the Society of Jesus, reveals the letter's importance among the Jesuits, for whom Dom Gonçalo is the proto-martyr of Africa. The Society of Jesus had a low opinion of Portuguese settlers and traders such as António Caiado.

Francis Xavier had said much about their bad example and opposition to his work (Rea, 'Dom Gonçalo da Silveira', p. 26). Despite this, Caiado's report was copied and disseminated to many Jesuit colleges.

The description given in the letter is the basis of fuller contemporary accounts given by Luís Fróis, Pedro de Arboleda and others. Fróis made marginal annotations on the letter (Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, p. 127). These reports led to an expeditionary force to Monomotapa under Francisco Barretto in 1571-3. Francisco de Monclaro wrote an account of this force.

The description in Caiado's letter of the Muslims as Moors, who are seen as malicious and use intrigue to manipulate the king, as well as their use of witch-doctors, reveals a negative view of Muslims and Islam prevalent amongst the Portuguese in eastern Africa during the 16th century.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda – 49-IV-50, fols 366v-367 (1561)

Several copies of the MS are held in Society of Jesus archives; these are listed in J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vol. 5, p. 125

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

da Silva Rego, *Documents*, vol. 8, 1561-1588, Lisbon, 1975, pp. 2-9 (Portuguese, with English trans.)

Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 125-9 (includes footnotes and references to marginal annotations by Fróis)

B. Leite, *D. Gonçalo da Silveira*, Lisbon, 1946, pp. 364-6

M.G. Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, London, 1898-1903, vol. 2, pp. 99-104 (Portuguese, with English trans.)

A.P. de Paiva e Pona, *Dos primeiros trabalhos dos Portuguezes no Monomotapa. O Padre D. Gonçalo da Silveira*, Lisbon, 1892, pp. 70-5

STUDIES

Rea, 'Dom Gonçalo da Silveira', pp. 28-33

Chadwick, *Life of the Venerable Gonçalo da Silveira*, pp. 80-97

John Chesworth

Gaspar Correia

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1492
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; Portugal
DATE OF DEATH	Later 16 th century; probably before 1583
PLACE OF DEATH	Goa

BIOGRAPHY

Gaspar Correia may have been born in 1492. By 1506 he may have been a member of King Manuel's court.

On 12 March 1512, he sailed to India and arrived at Goa on 15 August. Between 1512 and 1513, he worked as Afonso de Albuquerque's secretary, accompanying him on the reconquest of Hormuz in September 1514, and witnessing his death on the return journey to Goa. In 1521, he followed Pêro Lopes de Sampaio in his voyage to the town of St Thomas of Meliapore in order to restore the chapel that had been erected at the place where St Thomas had reportedly lived. He remained there until 1524.

Between 1532 and 1534, Correia devoted his time to writing the *Chronicas dos reys de Portugal*, and in the following years he wrote *Lendas da Índia*, in which he described the Portuguese presence in Asia between 1497 and 1550.

Nothing is known about him after 1550, but he must have died before 1583, when Miguel da Gama, the grandson of Vasco da Gama, took the manuscript of *Lendas da Índia* back to Portugal.

In addition to his *Chronicas* and *Lendas da Índia*, Correia also made drawings of places and of governors. Still surviving are his drawings of Malacca, Calicut, Aden, Kollam, Hormuz, Judah, Ceylon, Cannanore, Chale, Bassein and Diu, and his portraits of Afonso de Albuquerque, Diogo Lopes Sequeira, Vasco da Gama, Pedro Mascarenhas, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, Nuno da Cunha, Garcia de Noronha, Estevão da Gama, Martim Afonso de Sousa, João de Castro, Garcia de Sá and Jorge Cabral.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Casa Porte 43.A

J. de Lima Felner (ed.), *Lendas da Índia*, 6 vols, Lisbon, 1858-63, <http://purl.pt/12121>

J. Pereira da Costa (ed.), *Crônicas de D. Manuel e de D. João III (até 1533). História do Livro Segundo da história descobrimento & conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, Lisbon, 1992

Secondary

- M.M. Pinto Soares Baptista, 'A emergência do discurso cronístico em Gaspar Correia e Diogo do Couto. Índícios de um (des)governo português na Índia quinhentista', Lisbon, 2014 (Diss. Universidade Aberta), <http://hdl.handle.net/10400.2/3442>
- A.P. Avelar, 'A "imagem" do Infante D. Henrique na cronística da expansão. Gomes Eanes de Zurara, João de Barros e António Galvão', in A.T. de Matos and J.P. Oliveira e Costa (eds), *A Herança do Infante*, Lisbon, 2011, 159-71
- M.J. Loução de Carvalho, 'Gaspar Correia e dois perfis de governador. Lopo Soares de Albergaria e Diogo Lopes de Sequeira: em busca de uma causalidade', Lisbon, 2009 (Diss. Universidade Aberta), <http://repositorio.aberto.uab.pt/handle/10400.2/1484>
- A.P. Avelar, *Visões do Oriente. Formas de sentir no Portugal de Quinhentos*, Lisbon, 2003
- A.P. Avelar, 'A cronística portuguesa da expansão – modelos e práticas discursivas. Narrativas de um Poder em questão', in *Actas do colóquio internacional 'Discursos de legitimação'*, Universidade Aberta, cd-rom, 2002
- A.P. Avelar, *Da ars historica. A cronística portuguesa da expansão no confronto com a alteridade (1ª metade do séc. XVI)*, Lisbon, 1999
- A.A. Banha de Andrade, *Gaspar Correia, o 1º historiador Português do Oriente?*, Lisbon, 1985
- A.A. Banha de Andrade, *Gaspar Correia. Inédito*, Coimbra, 1977
- F. Leite de Faria, *Estudos bibliográficos sobre Damião de Góis e a sua época*, Lisbon, 1977
- A. Bell, *Gaspar Corrêa*, Oxford, 1924

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Lendas da Índia, 'Legends of India'

DATE 1551-61

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

It is known that Gaspar Correia started on *Lendas da Índia* after he had completed the *Chronicas dos reys de Portugal*, in which he followed the history of the kings of Portugal up to 1533. He may have begun to gather material for *Lendas* after this, and brought it together by 1550. In the

Prologue, he mentions that his sources include 'some memoirs I found in the possession of Moors and gentiles, especially in Cananor' (Stanley, *Three voyages*, p. 4; all the references that follow are to this translation), though he does not specify these any further. *Lendas da Índia* resembles the *Chronicas* in content, though it differs in following a chronological structure based on the annual fleets that sailed from Portugal to India. Correia 'expressly intended his work to be a posthumous one, in order that he might speak the truth of all concerned' (p. ii).

After Correia's death the manuscript was purchased by Miguel da Gama, who brought it back to Portugal when he returned in 1583. An imperfect copy was made towards the end of the 17th century, and this is in the Royal Library of the Ajuda. The work was first published in 1858 in an edition by J. de Lima Felner, based on the manuscript in Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo.

Lendas is divided into 4 books. Book 1 describes the expeditions that sailed after 1497 and the rule of the first governor, Francisco de Almeida. References to encounters with Muslims, particularly during Vasco da Gama's first voyage (1497-99), are here largely concerned with trade, and Muslims are consistently referred to as Moors. No details are given of Muslim beliefs or practices, apart from a description of how Muslims gained converts in India:

The Moors . . . were more influential and respected than the natives themselves, so that the heathen became Moors . . . by a diabolical method which the Moors found; . . . only the low people turned Moors, . . . when they became Moors the Moors gave them clothes and robes with which to clothe themselves, and so many of them became Moors and were converted to the religion of Mohammed (pp. 155-6).

During the second voyage of Vasco do Gama (1502-3), the description focuses on trade and military matters. When the fleet reaches Quilwa (Kilwa) in East Africa, a large number of women seek refuge and ask to be baptised, 'as they would rather be captives of Christians than wives of Moors' (p. 300). Doubting their real motives for baptism, da Gama sends them back ashore, though 40 are rejected by their husbands as 'water had been poured on their heads' (p. 302), so they were taken to India and eventually to Portugal.

Book 2 covers the governorships of Afonso de Albuquerque, Lopo Soares, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Duarte de Meneses, Vasco da Gama and Henrique de Meneses; Book 3 the governorships of Pedro Mascarenhas, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio and Nuno da Cunha; and Book 4 the governorships

of Garcia de Noronha, Estevão da Gama, Martim Afonso de Sousa, João de Castro, Garcia de Sá and Jorge Cabral.

SIGNIFICANCE

After it was brought back to Portugal, *Lendas* became a source for other works, such as Francisco de Andrade's *Chronicle of King João III*, and Frei Luís de Sousa's *History of St Dominic*. However, the fact that it was not published till the 19th century means that its influence was limited.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Casa Porte 43.A
(before 1583), <http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt/viewer?id=4613881>

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Pereira da Costa, *Crónicas de D. Manuel e de D. João III*

H.E.J. Stanley (trans.), *The three voyages of Vasco da Gama, and his viceroyalty. From the Lendas da Índia of Gaspar Correa*, London, 1869 (partial English trans. of the sections concerned with Vasco da Gama; extensive notes compare the details of *Lendas da Índia* with both de Barros, *Decadas da Ásia*, and Camões, *Os Lusíadas*)

De Lima Felner, *Lendas da Índia*

STUDIES

Pinto Soares Baptista, 'A emergência do discurso cronístico'

Avelar, 'A "imagem" do Infante D. Henrique'

Loução de Carvalho, 'Gaspar Correia e dois perfis de governador'

Avelar, *Visões do Oriente*

Avelar, 'A cronística portuguesa da Expansão'

Avelar, *Da ars historica*

Banha de Andrade, *Gaspar Correia, o 1º historiador Português do Oriente?*

Leite de Faria, *Estudos bibliográficos sobre Damião de Góis e a sua época*

Bell, *Gaspar Corrêa*

Stanley, *Three voyages*

Ana Paula Avelar

Francisco Coutinho

DATE OF BIRTH 1507
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; Portugal
DATE OF DEATH 19 February 1564
PLACE OF DEATH Goa

BIOGRAPHY

Francisco Coutinho was a descendant of the line of the Coutinhos who had been marshals of Portugal in the 15th century. He distinguished himself in his captaincy of Arzila, North Africa, in which he followed his father, and when King João III decided to abandon the town, he led the retreat in 1549-50. The king rewarded him for this, and confirmed him as third Count of Redondo. He was an influential voice in the king's council, and in 1559, when King Sebastião was a minor, Francisco was appointed *regedor da casa da suplicação*, the head of one the most important courts in the country.

In January 1561, Francisco was appointed viceroy of India to succeed Constantino de Bragança (1558-61). At the time, there was a rumour that the Estado da Índia might secede from the crown with Constantino, who was of royal blood, as ruler. Francisco was appointed to ensure this did not happen.

During his time in India, Francisco followed a policy of peaceful co-existence. He made treaties with the Ottoman Empire and the Samorim of Calicut, and several times sent aid to the Moluccas and Ethiopia. His relationship with Muslim states was made difficult by the reintroduction of the system of *cartazes*, safe conducts sold to Asian merchants to allow them to sail in Portuguese-ruled waters. Tension with states such as Calicut, Gujarat, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar culminated in the slaughter of around 2,000 Muslims by Captain Domingos Mesquita, which would later contribute to the political and military crisis of 1565-75. There has been frequent debate about whether Francisco authorised the slaughter.

Francisco died while he was in India.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- 'Letter from friar João Régia to priest Jaime Lainez, Goa, 28.IX.1561', in J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vol. 5, pp. 204-7 (doc. 32)
- 'Letter from priest Francisco to his brothers of Portugal, Goa, 4.XI.1561', in J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 214-22 (doc. 34)
- 'Letter from João Baptista do Monte to priest Miguel de Torres, Goa, 12.XII.1561', in J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 329-31 (doc. 53)
- 'Report of Estêvão Vaz about the navigation of India to his brothers in Portugal, Goa, XII.1561', in J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 372-4 (doc. 60)

Secondary

- Duarte de Eça, *Relação dos governadores da Índia (1571)*, ed. R.O.W. Goertz, Calgary, 1979, p. 15
- Diogo do Couto, *Décadas da Ásia*, Lisbon, 1974, vol. 7/10, pp. 1-17
- Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa*, trans. M. Burquets de Aguiar, Porto, 1945, vol. 3/2, ch. 18

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carta de D. Francisco Coutinho a D. Sebastião,
 'Letter from Francisco Coutinho to King Sebastião'

DATE 20 December 1561

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

This letter is the only one that Francisco Coutinho is known to have written during the time he was viceroy of India, and is a commentary on parts of the 'regimento', or instruction, given by the regent, Catarina of Austria, to Francisco when he left Lisbon. It was part of the correspondence sent each year by viceroys, nobles and officials, reporting to the king the main events and decisions taken during that year.

The letter records that, on his way to India, Francisco stopped in Mozambique. There, he found *a terra revolta* ('the land in revolt') because a Franciscan friar had ordered a mosque to be demolished. In reprisal, the Muslims burnt crosses, stole guns, killed some Christians and abandoned their work in the fortress of Mozambique (fol. 1v). In order to quell the unrest, Francisco released some Muslims and paid others to resume work on the fortress. He then heard that the Muslim king of Quilon had

kidnapped some Portuguese, to which he responded by granting provisions that the king requested. Francisco also received a Moor of Cuama, who came to apologise for the killing of the priest Gonçalo da Silveira, and he says that he had to allay Muslim anxieties about the declaration made by Francisco Barreto, the previous governor of India, that when he returned to Portugal he would persuade the king to send an expedition against the Muslims (fol. 2).

The information given in the letter is corroborated by letters from Jesuits who were travelling with Francisco from Lisbon, and witnessed the events he describes.

SIGNIFICANCE

During the rule of the 'missionary viceroy' Constantino de Bragança the principles of the Counter-Reformation were strictly applied against Muslims and Hindus. The incident of the demolition of the mosque was just one among many that occurred in Mozambique and India that aggravated the tension between Christians and Muslims at this time, while the murder of Gonçalo da Silveira would form part of the justification for the expedition to Mutumatapa in 1569. Francisco's letter provides a commentary on these events, which exemplify the tension in relations between Christians and Muslims in Mozambique during the first years of Portuguese settlement in the region.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Corpo Cronológico, I-105-79 (1571)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J. Wicki, 'Duas cartas oficiais de vice-reis da Índia, escritas em 1561 e 1564', *Stvdia* 3 (1959) 41-68

STUDIES

These works refer to the letter's general context:

N. Vila-Santa, art. 'D. Francisco Coutinho, 3 conde de Redondo', in *Enciclopédia virtual da expansão portuguesa*, <http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/cham/eve/index.php>

Â. Barreto Xavier, *A invenção de Goa. Poder imperial e conversões culturais nos séculos XVI e XVII*, Lisbon, 2008

L.F. Oliveira, *A casa dos Coutinhos. Linhagem, espaço e poder (1360-1452)*, Cascais, 1999

L.F. Thomaz, 'A crise de 1565-1575 na história do Estado da Índia', *Mare Liberum* 9 (1995) 481-519

- A. Zúquete, *Tratado de todos os vice-reis e governadores da Índia*,
Lisbon, 1962
- B. Leite, *D. Gonçalo da Silveira*, Lisbon, 1946

Nuno Vila-Santa

Constantino de Bragança

DATE OF BIRTH 1528
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; Portugal
DATE OF DEATH 1575
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Born in 1528, Constantino de Bragança came from one of the two most powerful noble houses of Portugal (those of Bragança and Aveiro). He was the son of Jaime, 4th Duke of Bragança (1498-1532), and Joana de Mendonça. His half-brother Teodósio was the 5th Duke (1532-63).

Many details of Constantino's early life are unknown. In 1548, he was nominated as ambassador to the French court. In 1552, he married Maria de Melo, daughter of Rodrigo de Melo, 1st Count of Tentúgal. In May 1557, King João III appointed him to the office of chamberlain of his grandson Sebastian. However, Constantino never took up this position because of the political events that followed the death of King João. In 1558, Teodósio recommended Constantino to Queen Catarina for the office of viceroy of India.

Appointed viceroy in March 1558, Constantino left Lisbon with the instruction to inform Portuguese Asia of the death of King João III and the beginning of the reign of King Sebastian. Also included in his orders was a very clear Counter-Reformation agenda. His period in office (1558-61) became known for a wide variety of important events for the history of the Portuguese in India: the conquests of Daman (on the Gujarat coast) in 1559, and of Jafanapatan (Ceylon) in 1560; battles with the Ottomans in Bahrain in 1559; sending of representatives to Ethiopia; and the wars between the 'Samorim' of Calicut and the rajah of Cananor in 1560-61.

It was in Constantino's time that the Inquisition was introduced into India and the see of Goa was promoted to an archbishopric. In addition, bishoprics were created in Cochin and Malacca, both in 1560. Constantino was especially close to missionary projects, and supported a policy of political and religious harshness towards Muslims, Hindus, Jews and new Christians. He is known as the 'missionary viceroy'.

On his return to Portugal in 1562, Queen Catarina granted Constantino the captaincy of Cape Verde. Later, in 1571, King Sebastian wished

to appoint Constantino as perpetual viceroy of India with a special title, although Constantino refused the offer and died a few years later in 1575, without progeny.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vol. 4, pp. 821-2 (letter from the priest Belchior Carneiro to the priest Jaime Lainez, Goa, 9 December 1560)
- J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 110-18 (letter from the priest Marco Prancudo to his brothers in Goa, Daman, 28 February 1561)
- Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 131-6 (letter from the priest Gonçalo Rodrigues to his brothers in Goa, Bilgão, 23 March 1561)
- Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 138-45 (letter from the priest Gonçalo Rodrigues to the priest António de Quadros, Bijapur, 7 April 1561)
- M. de Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa*, vol. 3, ed. M. Burquets de Aguiar, Porto, 1945, pt 2, chs 14-17
- D. do Couto, *Décadas da Ásia*, vol. 7, pp. vi-ix, Lisbon, 1974
- D. de Eça, *Relação dos Governadores da Índia (1571)* [Codex Goa 38], ed. R.O.W. Goertz, Calgary, 1979, pp. 13-15

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carta do vice-rei D. Constantino de Bragança à rainha D. Catarina, 'Letter of the Viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança to Queen Catarina of Austria'

DATE 20 January 1561

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

This is the only known letter written by Constantino of Bragança during his period in office (1558-61), although it is very likely that he wrote other letters to Queen Catarina as part of his vice-regal duties. It is a long letter of 16 folios.

In one part (fols 32-35v) Constantino gives news about relations between the Portuguese and surrounding Muslim rulers. He comments on fighting between the rajas of Cochin and Cranganor, involving alliances

between the 'Samorim' of Calicut and various rajas of Malabar, with the result that there were difficulties for the Portuguese in shipping spices home.

There was also news from Antão de Noronha, captain of Hormuz, that the Ottoman governor of Basra was preparing galleys, and that the same was happening in Suez. Constantino felt that, although the Ottomans might again besiege Bahrain, he trusted that Hormuz was safe with its new fortifications. He suggested that the conversion of the Muslim king of Hormuz would prove very difficult, and that this should no longer be attempted (fol. 33).

Among the news received from Sofala and Mozambique, Constantino expressed hope that the Jesuit priest Gonçalo da Silveira would convert the king of Mutapa; Gonçalo had already converted a minor king of the region (fol. 33v).

Daman, which had been conquered with the help of Diogo de Noronha, captain of Diu, was calm, with the construction of various fortifications still going on. Constantino had received ambassadors from Chinguiz Khan and Itimad Khan, two Muslim warlords struggling for power with the ruler of Gujarat. They both assured Constantino of their peaceful intentions towards Daman. Concerning Goa, Constantino was content, since Ali Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur, had warned him of the Ottoman activities in Basra and had offered to help against them with money, men and ships. Due to the friendship the sultan showed to the Portuguese, Constantino intended to send an embassy to Bijapur (fol. 35v).

The information given by Constantino in this letter is confirmed in the chronicles of Diogo do Couto and Duarte de Eça, both eye-witnesses of many of the events referred to in it.

SIGNIFICANCE

Constantino's letter shows the ways in which he attempted to deal with various Muslim rulers and communities in the region. His policy of open war with the most powerful enemies of Portugal was complemented by a policy of offering incentives for conversion in the case of less powerful or undeclared enemies.

Constantino's concern with Cochin and Cranganor related to the intense pressure that the Muslims in Calicut brought to bear on the 'Samorim' to fight the Portuguese. They advised the 'Samorim' to attract vassals away from the raja of Cochin – a traditional ally of the Portuguese – in order to weaken him. This affected the Portuguese spice trade. Later, during the rule of Constantino's successor, Francisco Coutinho (1561-4),

the Muslims of Malabar persuaded the raja of Cananor formally to declare war against the Portuguese.

Constantino's hopes for Gonçalo da Silveira's mission in Mutapa (Monomotapa), and his total support for it, are connected with another aspect of Constantino's policies: absolute backing for missionary projects. This was not unrelated to his policies towards the Hindus of Goa and Ceylon, who were opposed throughout his period of rule.

Daman had been occupied by force in 1559, and Constantino feared that the Gujaratis would try to win it back. For this reason, he greeted the embassy from Chinguiz Khan and Itimad Khan, the two most powerful adversaries of the Gujarat sultanate, because it secured the safety not only of Daman but also of Bassein, the other Portuguese fortress bordering the Gujarat sultanate.

Finally, the action of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur in warning about the Ottoman menace and offering help was part of the peace treaty signed in 1557. In 1561, the priest Gonçalo Rodrigues was sent to Adil Shah to try to convert him. He failed, but the good reception he received became well-known among missionaries and church authorities.

In spite of his pragmatic approach in relationships with Muslims, the vice-regency of Constantino de Bragança became associated with the first important application of the Counter-Reformation in India, during the reign of King Sebastian. Although there had been signs of this under the previous viceroys Afonso de Noronha (1550-4) and Pedro Mascarenhas (1554-5), Constantino attempted to implement it with much greater zeal and intensity. This resulted in a deterioration in relations with Muslims, and led to the political and military crisis of 1565-75. This image also influenced, at least in part, the reputation of Constantino de Bragança, who is sometimes still portrayed as a fanatic.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – *Colecção Moreira*, caderno 1A, fols 23-39v (1561)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A. dos Santos Pereira, 'A Índia a preto e branco. Uma carta oportuna, escrita em Cochim, por D. Constantino de Bragança, à rainha D. Catarina', in J.P. Oliveira e Costa (ed.), *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, Lisbon, 2003, vol. 4, pp. 458-81

STUDIES

N. Vila-Santa, art. 'D. Constantino de Bragança', in *Enciclopédia Virtual da Expansão Portuguesa*, <http://www.cham.fcsh.unl.pt/eve>

- N. Vila-Santa, *D. Afonso de Noronha, Vice-Rei da Índia. Perspectivas do reino e do império em meados de quinhentos*, Lisbon, 2011
- Â. Barreto Xavier, *A Invenção de Goa. Poder imperial e conversões culturais nos séculos XVI e XVII*, Lisbon, 2008
- A.I. Buescu, *Catarina de Áustria. Infanta de Tordesilhas. Rainha de Portugal*, Lisbon, 2007
- M. Soares da Cunha, 'A Casa de Bragança e a expansão, séculos XV-XVII', in J.P. Oliveira e Costa and V. Rodrigues (eds), *A Alta Nobreza e a Fundação do Estado da Índia. Actas do Colóquio Internacional*, Lisbon, 2004, 303-19
- Santos Pereira, 'A Índia a preto e branco', 449-84
- S. Subrahmanyam, 'Palavras do Idalcão. Um encontro curioso em Bijapur no ano de 1561', *Cadernos do Noroeste* 15 (2001) 513-24
- M. Soares da Cunha, *A Casa de Bragança (1560-1640). Práticas senhoriais e redes clientelares*, Lisbon, 2000
- M. Soares da Cunha, *Linhagem, parentesco e poder. A casa de Bragança (1384-1483)*, Lisbon, 1990
- L.F. Thomaz, 'A crise de 1565-1575 na História do Estado da Índia', *Mare Liberum* 9 (1995) 481-519
- A. Ribeiro, *Constantino de Bragança VII Vizo-Rei da Índia*, Venda Nova, 1984
- A. Zúquete, *Tratado de todos os Vice-Reis e Governadores da Índia*, Lisbon, 1962
- B. Leite, *D. Gonçalo da Silveira*, Lisbon, 1946

Nuno Vila-Santa

Luís Fróis

DATE OF BIRTH 1532
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Lisbon
DATE OF DEATH 8 July 1597
PLACE OF DEATH Nagasaki

BIOGRAPHY

In his early teens, Luís Fróis found employment in the Royal Secretariat of Portugal, thus launching a career in writing that eventually produced many valuable materials about the work of the Jesuits in India, Africa and the Far East in the 16th century.

Luís joined the Society of Jesus in Lisbon in 1548 at the age of 16. One month later, he set out by ship for Goa, India. He arrived there on 9 October 1548, made his novitiate and pursued his higher studies at St Paul's College. His fellow students included Indian natives as well as Africans, Abyssinians, Malays and Chinese, and the first baptised Japanese – sent by Francis Xavier to St Paul's.

Luís accompanied the new Provincial, Melchior Nunez Barreto, on the first stages of his journey to Japan in 1554. However, he was left behind in Malacca and returned to India to continue his studies. He was ordained there in 1561. He was named secretary to both the rector and the provincial, and wrote letters for them carried by ships leaving Goa. At least 32 of the letters Luís wrote as secretary between 1554 and 1561 are still extant. They are typically long and observant accounts of the work of the Jesuit missionaries, and include details of geography and history, plant and animal life, wars, local customs and the religious beliefs of people in the newly discovered regions.

In 1562, at the age of 30, Luís was sent to Japan along with Giovanni Battista de Monte. They arrived on 6 July 1563 in Yokoseura. During the following years, Luís learned a great deal about Japanese language, culture and history. In 1579, when Alessandro Valignano visited Japan, he selected Luís to accompany him as interpreter. Valignano also appointed Luís to write the Annual Letters (also known as the Letters from India, the Edifying Letters or even the Curious Reports) until 1596.

Between 1583 and 1593, Luís wrote a history of the Jesuit mission in Japan from 1549 to 1593, known as the *History of Japan*. Later, he witnessed

the death of the 26 martyrs of Nagasaki on 5 February 1597. Luís died in Nagasaki on 8 July of the same year.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- D.T. Reff, 'Critical introduction. The *Tradato*, the Jesuits, and the governance of souls', in R.K. Danford, R.D. Gill and D.T. Reff (eds and trans), *The first European description of Japan, 1585. A critical English language edition of Striking contrasts of the customs of Europe and Japan by Luis Frois, S.J.*, Abingdon, 2014, 1-30
- M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal world. Studies on culture and politics*, New York, 2012
- M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, 'Frank disputations. Catholics and Muslims in the court of Jahangir (1608-11)', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 46 (2009) 457-511
- J. Ruiz-de-Medina, art. 'Fróis, Luís: Misionero, superior, historiador', in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. Biográfico-temático*, Rome, 2001, vol. 2, 1535-6
- S. Neill, *A history of Christianity in India. The beginnings to AD 1707*, Cambridge, 1984
- J. Wicki, 'A vida e a obra do P. Luis Frois', *Boletim Instituto Menezes Bragança* 105 (1974) 1-16
- G. Schurhammer, 'P. Luís Fróis, SI, ein Missionshistoriker des 16. Jahrhunderts in Indien und Japan', in *Gesammelte Studien*, vol. 2, Rome, 1963, 581-604
- H. Cieslik, 'Early Jesuit missionaries (IV). Father Louis Frois, historian of the mission', *Missionary Bulletin* (1954) 153-7, 176-83

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Fr. Ludovicus Frois S.I. Ex Comm. P. Francisci Rodrigues S.I., Rectoris, Sociis Lusitanias, 'Letter from Goa to Portugal regarding the conversion of the daughter of Meale Khān, the first conversion of an aristocratic Muslim'

DATE 12 December 1557

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

The main part of this letter, some 16 pages in the Portuguese edition, is an account of the conversion to Christianity of the daughter of Meale Khān, or Malle 'Ādil Shāh, eldest son and natural successor of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh of the Bijapur sultanate. Meale Khān lived next to the College of St Paul in Goa, and his daughter heard the Christian songs sung by the choirboys of the college. The girl became interested in the Christian faith, and this interest was strengthened by friendship with Maria Toscana, the wife of Diogo Pereira. The daughter wanted to become a Christian, but was afraid to tell her parents for fear of death. When Portuguese women came to try to take the girl from her father's house, her mother resisted them. The governor Francisco Barreto intervened personally, however, and the girl was moved to Diogo Pereira's house.

The girl's baptism took place in Goa on 15 August 1557. The governor and the patriarch of Ethiopia were her sponsors, and Maria Toscana and other Portuguese women were her godmothers. The patriarch baptised the girl and gave her the name Mary. This was the first occasion on which a Muslim female of such consequence had been baptised in Goa.

SIGNIFICANCE

The curious nature of the conversion of Meale Khān's daughter, and the amount of space that Luís Fróis gives to his narrative (12 pages) in this letter, signals that this was an important event both for the Portuguese in Goa and for their readers in Europe. The tale is certainly complicated by Meale Khān's residence in Goa as a kind of exile with royal claims, and the governor's use of force to take the girl out of her own home. The 'high tide of the Counter-Reformation' (Subrahmanyam, *Three ways*, p. 31) also seems to have played a part in the method of the girl's baptism and the manner of its reporting by Fróis.

MANUSCRIPTS

MSS are listed in J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vol. 3, pp. 732-3

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Fr. Ludovicus Frois S.I. Ex Comm. P. Francisci Rodrigues S.I., Rectoris, Socii Lusitaniae (Goa 12 December 1557)' (Document 113), in Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 3, pp. 732-50

Details of earlier editions are listed in Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 3, p. 733

STUDIES

- S. Subrahmanyam, *Three ways to be alien. Travels and encounters in the early modern world*, Waltham MA, 2001
 Neill, *History of Christianity in India*

P. Ludovicus Frois S.I. ex Comm. Sociis Lusitaniae et Europae, 'Letter from Luís Fróis in Goa to the Society of Jesus in Portugal regarding the visit of Jesuits to 'Alī 'Ādil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur, in 1561'

DATE 1 December 1561

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

In this year-end letter for 1561, Luís Fróis recounts the circumstances of the visit earlier in the year of a Jesuit delegation to the court of the 'Ādil Shah sultanate of Bijapur. Another account of this visit was also given by Gonçalo Rodrigues, one of the participants in the delegation (see the entry on him in this volume for a further discussion of this visit).

SIGNIFICANCE

The Jesuit delegation to the ruler of Bijapur predated similar delegations to Mughal rulers by at least 15 years, but followed a similar pattern. The recently appointed ruler of Bijapur, 'Alī 'Ādil Shah, had invited learned Jesuit priests to debate with Muslim religious authorities in his court about matters of religion, particularly religious law. The Jesuits accepted the invitation with high hopes of converting such an influential leader to Christianity. Like later delegations to Mughal rulers, they were frustrated in these hopes when the ruler was more interested in the debate than in accepting the teachings of Christianity.

MANUSCRIPTS

MSS are listed in Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vol. 5, pp. 270-1

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'P. Ludovicus Frois S.I. Ex Comm. Sociis Lusitaniae et Europae (Goa 1 December 1561)' (Document 43), in Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 270-88

Details of earlier editions are listed in Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, p. 271

STUDIES

Alam and Subrahmanyam, 'Catholics and Muslims in the court of Jahangir (1608-1611)', in Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal world*, pp. 249-310

Cartas do Padre Jesuita Luís Froís, 'Letters of the Jesuit Father Luís Froís'; Three letters of Father Luís Froís concerning the mission of Dom Gonçalo to Monomotapa

DATE 1 December 1560-15 December 1561

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

These three letters report the mission of Dom Gonçalo da Silveira to the kingdom of Monomotapa in south-eastern Africa in the 16th century, which became well known in Portugal and throughout Europe (for an account of this mission, see the entry on Dom Gonçalo). The main interest in the letters of Luís Froís is the portrayal of the Muslims involved in the story.

The 1 December 1560 letter of Luís to the Society of Jesus in Lisbon, Coimbra, Évora 'and the whole of Europe' is a kind of catalogue of news from Goa, and about a number of Jesuits working in the region. Amounting to some 19 pages in the Portuguese edition, the letter contains a number of items of interest to the history of Christian-Muslim relations.

Luís provides a report about the first part of Dom Gonçalo's mission, which he undertook with fellow Jesuits Andre Fernandez and Andre da Costa. He tells of their illnesses on the way to the kingdom of Inhambane and the conversion of the king of Inhambane, his wife, and many others in the kingdom. Dom Gonçalo left his Jesuit co-workers to continue the work in Inhambane and returned to Mozambique. At the time of this letter, Dom Gonçalo was preparing for the two and a half-month journey upriver to the kingdom of Monomotapa, where he hoped to convert the king (letter 1, pp. 542-5).

Luís's second short letter, to Bento Toscano of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, sent from Goa on 15 December 1561, contains a brief mention of the death of Dom Gonçalo. It deals with the question of whether the priest may have been able to escape from Monomotapa, 'having

foreknowledge of his death' (letter 2, pp. 26-7). Luís clarifies that running away was impossible.

The third letter, which concerns the mission and death of Dom Gonçalo from beginning to end, was written from Goa on the same date, 15 December 1561. The events had already been reported by others, but it appears that the Jesuit provincial in Goa had requested a new, true account based on some new sources (letter 3, pp. 34-7).

Luís picks up the account at the point where Dom Gonçalo left his Jesuit companions in Inhambane. He details Dom Gonçalo's journey from Mozambique to Monomotapa, including the river journey in a pinnace and the wait for an invitation from the king of Monomotapa. The mission turned out to be a success for the Jesuit, with the conversion of the king and many others about 25 days after Dom Gonçalo's arrival in Monomotapa. Luís describes the aftermath as a time of joy and great piety.

Luís continues that 'certain rich and wealthy Moors' then tried to convince the king that Dom Gonçalo was a great sorcerer and evil man who had been sent by the Portuguese in India to spy out the land so that they could come, kill the king, and take his kingdom away from him. The letter describes the Muslims as *engangas* – 'the greatest sorcerers in the land' – and singles out one individual in particular, a Muslim 'priest' from Mozambique named Mingame (pp. 48-9).

According to this letter, the Muslims convinced the king that Dom Gonçalo's sprinkling of water over the people and pronouncing 'Portuguese' words was a way of bringing the people under his spell through a chant and a spiritually-charged ointment. The Jesuit was a *moroo*, the Muslims said, 'which means a treacherous wizard, bringing sun and hunger and a dead man's bone and other evil objects to conquer the land and kill the king' (pp. 50-1). The king was convinced by what they said, and this letter assigns blame for Dom Gonçalo's death to the instigation of the Muslims. Luís also includes extensive material about Dom Gonçalo's preparation for death and his murder. Interestingly, the letter ends with mention of plans to send another Jesuit mission to Monomotapa after the coming of the monsoon.

The first two letters also contain some other passages relevant to Christian-Muslim encounters. Both mention the suffering of Fulgencio Friere, who was captured 'on the way to Prester John' and mistreated by his Muslim captors. Similar are the reports of the cruel treatment of a Christian Abyssinian by the Turks, and of the martyrdom of Afonso de Crasto at the hands of Muslims in Ternate in the Molucca islands.

SIGNIFICANCE

The story of the death of Dom Gonçalo da Silva in Monomotapa, given in a number of early accounts, achieved wide fame as a story of martyrdom. For his particular account of the event, Luís Fróis indicated that he was privy to several new sources not available to other writers. He blamed the death of Dom Gonçalo on the advice that the Muslims gave to the king of Monomotapa after his conversion, characterising them as liars and sorcerers, and claiming that the Devil (*Diablo*) was working through them. Despite this, his portrayal should not be seen as unthinking prejudice towards all Muslims: earlier in his account of the journey, Luís writes about the king of Guiloa, a Muslim named Mingoaxane, who gave the Portuguese a warm welcome and provided Dom Gonçalo with food (letter 3, pp. 36-9).

MANUSCRIPTS

See Wicki, *Documenta Indica* for lists of MSS of the letters: vol. 4, p. 721, for the first letter; vol. 5, pp. 333-4, for the second letter; vol. 5, pp. 349, for the third letter.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Carta (Copia) do Irmao Luis Frois para os Padres e Irmaos da Companhia de Jesus de Lisboa, Coimbram Evora e de toda a Europa (1 December 1560)', in A. da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa 1497-1840*, vol. 7. 1540-1560, Lisbon, 1971, pp. 518-55 (Portuguese with English trans.)

'Carta (Copia) do Irmao Luis Frois para o Irmao Bento Toscano da Companhia de Jesus de Portugal (15 December 1561)', in A. da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa 1497-1840*, vol. 8. 1561-1588, Lisbon, 1975, pp. 25-33 (Portuguese with English trans.)

'Carta (Copia) do Padre Jesuita Luis Frois (15 December 1561)', in A. da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa 1497-1840*, vol. 8. 1561-1588, Lisbon, 1975, pp. 34-59 (Portuguese with English trans.)

'P.L. Frois S.I. Ex Comm. Sociis Lusitaniae et Europae (Goa 1 December 1560)' (Document 94), in Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 4, pp. 721-45

'P.L. Frois S.I. Ex Comm. Sociis Lusitaniae et Europae (Goa 15 December 1561)' (Document 54), in Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 333-49

'P.L. Frois S.I. Fr. Benedicto Toscano S.I. in Lusitaniam (Goa 15 December 1561)' (Document 55), in Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 349-53

Details of earlier editions are listed in Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 4, p. 721; vol. 5, pp. 334-5, 349

STUDIES

A. Nicolaides, 'Early Portuguese imperialism. Using the Jesuits in the Mutapa Empire of Zimbabwe', *International Journal of Peace and Development Studies* 2 (2011) 132-7

E. Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1488-1600*, Capetown, 1973, pp. 145-51

F. de Sousa, *Oriente conquistador a Jesu Christo pelos padres da companhia de Jesu da Provincia de Goa*, Lisbon, 1710

Gordon Nickel

Pedro de Arboleda

DATE OF BIRTH	Possibly the late 1530s
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	1565
PLACE OF DEATH	S. Tomé de Meliapor (Costa do Coromandel), India

BIOGRAPHY

Not much is known about the Jesuit missionary Pedro de Arboleda. He was born in Spain, and it is known that he departed from Lisbon aboard the *Castelo* on 20 April 1560 for India, arriving in Cochin on 19 November 1560. News about him focuses on the period 1560-62, and comes from his own annual report letters and those of the Jesuits Luís Fróis, Belchior Dias, Francisco Lopes and Manuel Álvares, among others. According to these letters, he can be located in Cochin (1560 and 1561), Couião (1560), Tana (1560), Damão (1561), and Baçaim (1560/1). At the end of 1561, there is a reference to his planned departure for Japan, but this journey did not take place due to bad weather, leaving Arboleda stranded in India for an additional five or six months. It is known that he visited the island of Manar in 1562.

His correspondence is missionary in nature, focusing on his evangelistic work, the work of his colleagues, and his gifts as a preacher. It portrays a person committed to work in the East and restless for the conversion of souls, with a particular abhorrence of Hinduism and Islam.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

'Carta ânua dirigida aos padres e irmãos da Companhia, data de Cochim, 13 de Janeiro de 1561', in A. da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para história das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, Índia*, vol. 8, Lisbon, 1952, 271-97 (also in J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vol. 5, 271-94)

'Carta ânua dirigida ao Colégio de Évora, Goa, 27 Outubro', in A. da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central (1497-1840)*, Lisbon, 1975, vol. 8, 101-3 (an extract is also included in Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, 547-8)

Secondary

Da Silva Rego, *Documentação para história das Missões*, vol. 8, pp. 190, 202, 303, 327, 329 (references in letters written at the time from India)

Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 5, pp. 73, 259, 268, 289, 477, 619, 631 (references in letters and other documents written at the time in India)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Cartas ânuas de Pedro de Arboleda, 'Annual letters of Pedro de Arboleda'

DATE 13 January 1561 and 27 October 1562

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

Pedro de Arboleda's attitude towards the 'other' can best be seen in two of his annual letters, dated 13 January 1561 and 27 October 1562. In *Documenta Indica* they are 780 and 25 lines long, respectively. Like others sent by Jesuits from India to Europe, these letters were a means of disseminating news of the wider missionary work of the Church; parts of them were translated and published.

The first letter focuses mainly on the reasons for Arboleda's departure for the East, descriptions of his journey and life on board ship, and first impressions of the 'other'. The second refers to the killing of Dom Gonçalo Silveira by Muslims on the East African coast.

Arboleda arrived in India in 1560, during the vice-regency of Dom Constantino de Bragança (1558-61), a committed Catholic who directed his efforts at subordinating Hindu and Muslim powers to the Church. Dom Constantino had led a campaign to Jaffna (in present-day Sri Lanka) with the aim of bringing the Palk Strait under control and of helping the small community of local Christians there. Arboleda's general attitude is shown in his comments in the first letter about Dom Constantino's exploits: 'Because our Lord has determined for us to bring salvation to India, he arranged and provided for so many wonders and profitable things: given that this land we came to find was under the rule of a cruel and tyrant king who did nothing but rob the ships that passed by there etc., the Viceroy Dom Constantino was determined to take that land and place it under the Christians who were on the coast of Pesquaria' (ed. Wicki, p. 55). He also relates with approval that the Viceroy had had a tooth of the Buddha taken to Goa, where the bishop had ground it to powder.

In his second letter Arboleda comments on the death of the Jesuit Gonçalo Silveira, who had been killed by Muslims in East Africa in 1561: 'He went to the land of the negroes, which is called Kaffraria, the way thither being through Mozambique; whence the above-mentioned fathers, together with the Count Viceroy, brought us the report that he had been slain by the people of the land, the Devil not suffering so utterly devoted a servant of Our Lord as Father Dom Gonçalo was; and so the leaders and preachers of Mohammed's devilish and loathsome sect strove to kill him and indeed did so' (ed. Wicki, pp. 547-8).

SIGNIFICANCE

These comments and views are typical reflections of Catholic teaching and Jesuit ideals, which insisted that salvation was to be found within the Church alone. Arbodela was part of the endeavour to propagate the faith led by the Church and the Portuguese crown together.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu – Goa 8 I, fols 219r-227v
(letter of 13 January 1561)

MS Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda – Ulyssip. 2, fols 286r-294v (letter of
13 January 1561)

MS Lisbon, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa – Evora, Ebor. 2, fols
277r-284v (letter of 13 January 1561)

MS Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal – Conimb. 2, fols 234r-240v
(letter of 13 January 1561)

MS Lisbon, Academia das Ciências de Lisbon – Azul no. 12, fol. 347r-v
(letter of 27 October 1562)

MS Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Evora – Ebor. 2,
fol. 347r-v (letter of 27 October 1562)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Carta ânua dirigida aos padres e irmãos da Companhia, data de
Cochim, 13 de Janeiro de 1561'

'Carta ânua dirigida ao Colégio de Évora, Goa, 27 Outubro'

STUDIES

M. Lobato, 'Entre cafres e muzungos. Missionaçã, islamizaçã e
mudança de paradigma religioso no norte de Moçambique nos
séculos XV a XIX', in *Atas do congresso internacional saber tropical
em Moçambique. História, memória e ciência*, Lisbon, 2013, 1-14

M. de Deus Manso, *A Companhia de Jesus na Índia (1542-1622). Activi-
dades religiosas, poderes e contactos culturais*, Macau, 2009

- A. Strathern, *Kingship and conversion in Sri Lanka. Portuguese imperialism in a Buddhist Kingdom*, Cambridge, 2007
- J.M. Flores, *Os Portugueses e o Mar de Ceilão, 1498-1543. Trato, diplomacia e guerra*, Lisbon, 1998
- L.F. Thomaz, 'A carta que mandaram os Padres da Índia, da China e da Magna China. Um relato siríaco da chegada dos portugueses ao Malabar e seu primeiro encontro com a hierarquia cristã local', *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 36 (1991) 119-81
- J. Wicki, *As relações de viagens dos jesuítas na carreira das naus da Índia de 1541 a 1598*, Lisbon, 1985
- C.R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617-1638*, Colombo, 1972
- G.D. Winius, *The fatal history of Portuguese Ceylon. Transition to Dutch rule*, Cambridge MA, 1971

Maria de Deus Manso

Antão de Noronha

DATE OF BIRTH About 1520
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH 1569
PLACE OF DEATH East Africa

BIOGRAPHY

Born around 1520, Antão was the illegitimate son of João de Noronha. His father was captain of Ceuta between 1522 and 1524, and when he died fighting against the Moors Antão's education was entrusted to two uncles. He served in Ceuta with at least one of them, Afonso, and when this uncle was called back to Portugal in 1549, Antão succeeded him as captain. Then in 1550 he went to India with Afonso, who had been made viceroy, and served as captain of Hormuz.

During Afonso's viceregency (1550-4), Antão distinguished himself in battles against Malabar and even more so in the Persian Gulf, where he played a leading part in encounters with the Ottomans between 1551 and 1554. It is likely that Antão was named to succeed Afonso in the *sucessões* (letters only to be opened on the death of a viceroy) that were sent to India in 1553. At the end of his uncle's period of rule, he remained in India and again distinguished himself fighting under the viceroys Pedro Mascarenhas (1554-5), Francisco Barreto (1555-8) and Constantino de Bragança (1558-61). In 1562, he was forced to return to Portugal because of illness.

In 1564, Antão was made viceroy of India, and received a mandate to reduce expenses and implement the new political and religious policies set out by the Council of Trent. As soon as he arrived in Goa, he was faced with a series of problems: the war of Cananor and the increasing attacks of Muslim pirates and corsairs; the threats on Daman; the ever-present financial difficulties; and threats from Islamic states. But he opposed attempts to re-equip the Portuguese fleet and strengthen military defences, and met opposition for keeping decisions too much to himself and for not displaying the military mettle of his former years. He did nothing in response to the sieges laid by the Indian rulers. This task would fall to his successor Luís de Ataíde (1568-71). Antão died in East Africa on his way back to Portugal in 1569.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Muhammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astarābādī Firishta, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India, till the year a.d. 1612, translated from the original Persian of Mohamed Kasim Ferishta*, trans. J. Briggs, London, 1829, vol. 3, pp. 119-32
- M. de Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa*, trans. M. Burquets, Porto, 1945, vol. 4/1, chs 1-4
- D. de Eça, *Relação dos governadores da Índia (1571)*, ed. R.O. Goertz, Calgary, 1979, pp. 15-17
- M.A. Lima Cruz (ed.), *Diogo do Couto e a Década 8ª da Ásia*, Lisbon, 1993, vol. 1/1-4

Secondary

- N. Vila-Santa, *D. Afonso de Noronha, Vice-Rei da Índia. Perspectivas do reino e do império em meados de Quinhentos*, Lisbon, 2011
- N. Vila-Santa, 'O Vice-Reinado de D. Antão de Noronha (1564-1568) no contexto da crise do Estado da Índia de 1565-1575', *Anais de História de Além-Mar* 11 (2010) 63-101
- A. Van Wickeren, *Geschiedenis van Portugal en van de Portugeezen overzee DL 15 De Estado da India...1558-1600*, Heerhugowaard, Netherlands, 2006 (History of Portugal and the Portuguese overseas; vol. 15, *India 1558-1600*, includes section on Antão de Noronha)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carta do Vice-rei Antão de Noronha a D. Sebastião,
 'Letter of Viceroy Antão de Noronha to King
 Sebastião'

DATE 30 December 1564

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

This letter was sent by Antão de Noronha from India to the King in Portugal in 1564. It is just under ten folios long and, in addition to other details, it contains an account of political and military manoeuvres among Indian states, with some encouragement from Muslim agencies, that threatened the survival of the Portuguese in India.

Part of the problem arose from the seizure of ships belonging to Bijapur and Ahmadnagar by Captain Filipe de Meneses, even though they supposedly possessed *cartazes* (passes sold by the Portuguese to

Asian merchant vessels allowing them to sail and trade in waters under Portuguese control). Antão explains that, when he arrived in Goa to take up his post, he was met by envoys from Bijapur and Ahmadnagar who requested the return of the ships and their cargos. Antão requested the states to send formal embassies to petition him, though these did not arrive, and again private requests for the ships were made. Antão responded that he would give a decision when he had heard de Meneses's side, but again he received no response from the Indian states.

He goes on to describe how, after the recent war between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, and the peace through the double marriage of the young Sultan of Bijapur to a daughter of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, and the oldest son of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar to a sister of the Sultan of Bijapur, these sultans invited the sultans of Bidar and Golconda to form a league with them. Antão explains that this league was a response to appeals from Shah Ṭahmāsp I of Persia (r. 1524-76) to unite against the Hindu state of Vijayanagara (an ally of the Portuguese and buffer between them and the Muslim states), to propagate Islam and, significantly, to take revenge 'on those who had made them suffer'. The shah was referring to the spread of Christianity and the enforced conversions of Muslims by the Portuguese (fol. 6v). Influential Muslims in the courts of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar were constantly encouraging the sultans to attack the Portuguese, and as a result the sultans had sent messengers to urge the sultan of Gujarat to lay siege to the Portuguese settlements of Diu and Daman, while Ahmadnagar would besiege the settlements at Bassein and Chaul, and Bijapur would besiege Goa.

Antão recognises the validity of some of the complaints he received, though he expresses fears that the sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar will attack the Portuguese (fol. 7).

These details are among many more about other matters in the viceroy's letter.

SIGNIFICANCE

The letter vividly attests to the increased tensions between the Portuguese and Muslims in India in the mid-1560s. In addition to ongoing irritation at the *cartazes* system, Muslims were made to feel the harsh implementations of Counter-Reformation measures in the establishment of the Inquisition and of the strong missionary policy that had been followed by Antão de Noronha's predecessor, Constantino de Bragança. Antão recognised the signs of growing feeling against the Portuguese, urged on by Muslims within the sultanates and by the Persian shah, and

expressed his alarm as a warning to the king of Portugal. He also reinforced the fortresses at Goa, on the border with Bijapur, and Bassein, on the border with Ahmadnagar.

Bijapur and Ahmadnagar did, in fact, attack in 1570-1, only six years after he had warned about them. Thus, while peace of a kind continued under Antão's own rule, the unrest he discerned marked the beginning of the political and military crisis of 1565-75. He witnessed a new phase of increasing Islamic political activity in India, and saw that the point of no return had been reached in the course of increasing tensions between Muslims and Christians.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo – Corpo Cronológico, I-107-38, fols 1-9v (1564)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J. Wicki, 'Duas cartas oficiais de vice-reis da Índia, escritas em 1561 e 1564', *Stvdia* 3 (1959) 68-89

STUDIES

Vila-Santa, *D. Afonso de Noronha, Vice-Rei da Índia*

Vila-Santa, 'O Vice-Reinado de D. Antão de Noronha (1564-1568)'

A.B. Xavier, *A invenção de Goa. Poderi Imperial e conversões culturais nos séculos XVI e XVII*, Lisbon, 2008

S. Subrahmanyam, 'Notas sobre um rei congelado. O caso de Ali bin Yusuuf Adil Khan, chamado Maleação', in R. Loureiro and S. Gruzinski (eds), *Passar fronteiras. II colóquio internacional sobre mediações culturais, séculos XV-XVIII*, Lagos, 1999, 265-90

L.F. Thomaz, 'A crise de 1565-1575 na história do Estado da Índia', *Mare Liberum* 9 (1995) 481-519

R.O. Goertz, 'Attack and defense techniques in the siege of Chaul, 1570-1571', in *II seminário de história Indo-Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1985, 265-94

A. Zúquete, *Tratado de todos os vice-reis e governadores da Índia*, Lisbon, 1962

Nuno Vila-Santa

Relación del descubrimiento y conquista de la isla de Luzón y Mindoro

'Account of the discovery and conquest of the Island of Luzon and Mindoro'

DATE 20 April 1572

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

This 24-page anonymous manuscript was written by someone who participated in the conquest of the Philippine Archipelago. It is preserved together with a four-page *Relación* signed by Juan Pacheco Maldonado. The date appears on the last page, plus the legend *Relación de cosas de las Yslas del Poniente*.

The main concern of the author, who affirms that he has written the work under guidance from another person (*porque así me lo ha encargado una cierta persona que me lo mandó escribir*), is to relate what actually happened during the conquest, to describe the customs of the islanders, and to show that their religion was paganism and not Islam. During the early years of the Spanish presence, one of the most highly-disputed issues was the claim that the indigenous people were Muslims. This author rejects this idea, because he fears that this might be taken as a justification for fighting and enslaving them. His approach appears to conform to the policy of King Philip II, which was to treat conquered people peacefully. This attitude suggests that the work was written by someone who knew about the treatment of Muslims in Spain and North Africa, and sought to fight for the rights of the conquered people of the Philippines by resisting the claim that they were Muslims.

The work provides a unique record of Islam in the Philippines at the time the Spanish arrived. The author argues that the great majority of the local population know nothing about Muslim beliefs or rituals, although in coastal areas of southern Luzon some people who have been in contact with Muslims from Borneo avoid eating pork. He gives a clear description of indigenous religious rites, in which the main deity is called *Bat-hala*, a form of belief that could suggest incipient Islamization.

SIGNIFICANCE

The document is an invaluable statement about the first years of the Spanish conquest of the Philippines.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Seville, Archivo General de Indias – Filipinas, Patronato, 24, R. 25 (1572)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

P. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Los primeros de Filipinas. Crónicas de la conquista del Archipiélago*, Madrid, 1995, pp. 286-99

I. Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniense del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, Manila, 1978, vol. 14, doc. 45

W.E. Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino. Recopilación de documentos históricos, científicos, literarios y políticos y estudios bibliográficos*, Madrid, 1898, vol. 4, pp. 1-37

M. Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV*, Madrid, 1837, vol. 17, doc. 43

STUDIES

I. Donoso, *Islamic Far East. Ethnogenesis of Philippine Islam*, Quezon City, Manila, 2013, pp. 195-8

I. Donoso, 'Al-Andalus and Asia. Ibero-Asian relations before Magellan', in I. Donoso (ed.), *More Hispanic than we admit. Insights into Philippine cultural history*, Quezon City, Manila, 2008, 9-35

M. Ollé, *Estrategias Filipinas respecto a China. Alonso Sánchez y Domingo de Salazar en la empresa de China (1581-1593)*, Barcelona, 1999, p. 116

Isaac Donoso

Miguel López de Legazpi

DATE OF BIRTH About 1503
PLACE OF BIRTH Zumárraga, Spain
DATE OF DEATH 20 August 1572
PLACE OF DEATH Manila

BIOGRAPHY

Miguel López de Legazpi was born into a noble family in the Basque city of Zumárraga. His political career emerged and flourished in New Spain, where he gained prestige and fortune as an administrator and entrepreneur. Following the recommendation of the Augustinian friar Andrés de Urdaneta (1498-1568), Legazpi led the mission to incorporate the Philippine Archipelago into the Spanish possessions. He established Manila as its capital in 1571, and became the first Spanish governor of the new political entity named *Filipinas*. Legazpi died one year later, and his mausoleum is in San Agustín Church in Manila.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Miguel de Loarca, *Relación de las Yslas Filipinas. Tratado de las yslas Philipinas en que se contiene todas las yslas y poblaciones que están reducidas al servicio de la magestad Real del Rey Don Phelippe nuestro señor y las poblaciones que están fundadas de españoles y la Manera del gobierno de españoles y naturales con algunas condiciones de los yndios y moros destas yslas*, Arévalo, Spain, 1582

Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas y de lo que en ellas han trabajado los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, Rome, 1604

Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, Mexico City, 1609

Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas. La temporal, por las armas del señor Don Phelipe segundo el Prudente; y la espiritual, por los religiosos del Orden de Nuestro Padre San Agustín*, Madrid, 1698

Secondary

L. Cabrero (ed.), *España y el Pacífico. Legazpi*, Madrid, 2004

V. Benitez Licuanan and J. Llavador Mira (eds), *The Philippines under Spain, 1564-1573. The Legazpi expedition, conquest, and colonization*, Manila, 1990

J. de Arteche, *Legazpi. Historia de la conquista de Filipinas*, San Sebastián, 1972

- A. Sharp, *Adventurous armada. The story of Legazpi's expedition*, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1961
- J. Sanz y Díaz, *López de Legazpi. Primer adelantado y conquistador de Filipinas*, Madrid, 1950

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carta del Gobernador de Filipinas, Miguel López de Legazpi, al Virrey de Nueva España, 'Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, Miguel López de Legazpi, to the Viceroy of New Spain'

DATE 11 August 1572

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

Over the years he spent in the Philippines, Miguel López de Legazpi sent a number of accounts of the country, its people, and the activities of the Spanish as they conquered it, to King Philip and the authorities in New Spain (Mexico). In this last letter, which he wrote just days before his death, he gives an account of the conquest of Luzon and in particular of Manila, the capital of the Spanish in Asia, and describes the cultural practices of the Tagalog people, noting that most of them have little idea of Islamic practices beyond circumcision and the prohibition of pork. He also seeks guidance from the king about the treatment of the Muslims, though, unlike in his earlier letters, he does not strongly advocate enslaving them.

SIGNIFICANCE

This letter refers to the first cultural and religious changes in the Philippines, including the conversion of Rajá Matandá, former ruler of Manila, to Christianity. Legazpi shows that he is aware of the religious sensitivity of the indigenous Muslims, and seeks to balance this against the interests of the Spanish crown.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Seville, Archivo General de Indias – Filipinas, Patronato, L1-1-2/24, ramo 23 (1571)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

P.H. Nuchera, *Los primeros de Filipinas. Crónicas de la conquista del Archipiélago*, Madrid, 1995, pp. 304-12

- I. Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, Manila, 1978, xiv, doc. 48
- W.E. Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo Filipino. Recopilación de documentos históricos, científicos, literarios y políticos y estudios bibliográficos*, Madrid, 1898, vol. 5, pp. 458-77
- M.F. de Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV*, Madrid, 1837, vol. 17, doc. 44

STUDIES

- J. Wadi, 'Rajah Sulayman, Spain, and the transformation of Islamic Manila', in I. Donoso (ed.), *More Hispanic than we admit. Insights into Philippine cultural history*, Quezon City, 2008, 37-51
- E.-A. Valdepeñas, 'Miguel López de Legazpi. Writings and the colonization of the Philippines', Ann Arbor MI, 1996 (Diss. University of Michigan)
- N. Zafra, *The colonization of the Philippines and the beginnings of the Spanish city of Manila*, Manila, 1993
- R.R. Reed, *Colonial Manila. The context of Hispanic urbanism and process of morphogenesis*, Berkeley CA, 1978

Isaac Donoso

António Moniz Barreto

DATE OF BIRTH About 1520
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH About 1600
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Born in the early 1520s, António Moniz Barreto was the son of Henrique Moniz Barreto, *alcalde* of Silves, and of Maria de Mendonça, daughter of João de Mendonça, *alcalde* of Chaves and provisional governor of India in 1564. António travelled to India in 1529 with his father and eldest brother, both of whom he saw die, and invested his energy in a remarkable career of 30 years, starting with the defence of Diu in 1538 and again in 1546. He was sent on an embassy to Ceylon in 1547 and an expedition to Malabar in 1553, and he played a decisive part in the conquest of Daman in 1559. Shortly afterwards, he returned to Portugal and married Ana da Costa, daughter of Duarte da Costa, governor of Brazil. The couple had nine sons.

In 1571, King Sebastião separated Malacca from Goa, choosing Barreto as governor of Malacca and the Viceroy António de Noronha as governor of Goa. When de Noronha did not support him in his new position with supplies and men, he complained to the king, who dismissed de Noronha and made Barreto viceroy of Goa in his place. However, in this position, which he held from 1573 to 1577, Barreto was not particularly successful, mainly because his response to threats from Indian and Malay rulers was usually late and slow, and he never won over the loyalty of the Portuguese in India. In 1577, a new viceroy was appointed to succeed him but died before reaching India. Barreto refused to open the *sucessões* (the king's nomination of governor in the event of the viceroy's death), and almost provoked a civil war. As a result, when he returned to Portugal he was put in prison. He died in about 1600.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- M. de Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa*, trans. M. Burquets, Porto, 1945, vol. 4/1, ch. 14
D. do Couto, *Décadas da Ásia*, Lisbon, 1974, vol. 9, pp. 18, 24-32

Secondary

- N. Vila-Santa, art. 'António Moniz Barreto', in *Enciclopédia Virtual da Expansão Portuguesa*, 2005, <http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/cham/eve/index.php?lang=en>
- J.P. Marques, art. 'António Moniz Barreto', in L. de Albuquerque (ed.), *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, 1994, vol. 1, pp. 122-3
- J. de Lemos, 'História dos Cercos de Malaca', in Luís de Albuquerque (ed.), *Textos sobre o Estado da Índia*, Lisbon, 1989, 79-127

About António Moniz Barreto's period of government:

- N. Vila-Santa, 'Revisitando o Estado da Índia nos anos de 1571 a 1577', *Revista de Cultura* 36 (2010) 88-112
- N. Vila-Santa, 'A casa de Atouguia, os últimos avis e o império. Dinâmicas entrecruzadas na carreira de D. Luís de Ataíde (1516-1581)', Lisbon, 2013 (Diss. University of Lisbon)
- J. Flores, 'Firangistân e Hindustân. O Estado da Índia e os confins meridionais do Império Mogol (1572-1636)', Lisbon, 2004 (Diss. University of Lisbon)
- L.F. Thomaz, 'A crise de 1565-1575 na história do Estado da Índia, separata da revista', *Mare Liberum* 9 (1995) 481-519
- A. Zúquete, *Tratado de todos os vice-reis e governadores da Índia*, Lisbon, 1962

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Carta do Governador António Moniz Barreto ao
Idalcão, 'Letter from Governor António Moniz
Barreto to Sultan Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur'*

DATE 16 February 1574

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

This is the only surviving letter from António Moniz Barreto during the period of his rule in India. It is included in Diogo do Couto's chronicle, *Décadas da Ásia*. It is addressed to Sultan Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur (r. 1557-80), and forms part of a sequence of letters between the sultan and the Portuguese. Its main theme is the complaints from the sultan about the conduct of the viceroy, António de Noronha.

In August 1573, de Noronha ordered ships belonging to the Bijapur sultanate to be seized as they were returning from Mecca, because he suspected they did not have *cartazes* (licences sold by the Portuguese to Asian merchants allowing them to trade), and were therefore defying Portuguese control of shipping in the Indian Ocean. But the sultan took de Noronha's officers captive, and also imprisoned the envoy the

viceroys sent to apologise for this aggressive action. When de Noronha was deposed from his position, Barreto wrote to the sultan in December 1573 to blame his predecessor for all that had happened. Ali Adil Shah then sent his ambassador to Barreto to demand the return of his ships and the granting of more privileges than he had received in the peace treaty of 1571. Barreto replied with the surviving letter.

He begins by stating that the King of Portugal has always desired to maintain peace with rulers in India. Declaring himself the sultan's faithful servant, he tells the sultan that he has already ordered a ship to sail to Cochin to arrest the viceroy, and has also informed the king about his action. In response to the sultan's demands, he informs him that he has granted his ambassador special authorisation for Bijapur merchants to pay lower taxes in Goa, and has made available more *cartazes*. He requests the sultan to release the Portuguese prisoners in Bijapur, seeking a peaceful though just resolution to the differences between them, without resort to fighting. As long as the sultan continues to show his favour towards Portugal, Barreto assures him that he himself will 'remain captive, and servant of your highness, and obligated never to withdraw from your service'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although Barreto's strategy achieved the release of the Portuguese prisoners, he encountered strong opposition from Portuguese nobles in India who felt he had granted too many privileges to Bijapur. Not only did Barreto have to concede more annual *cartazes*, but he also had to grant more horses for purchase, boosting Ali Adil Shah's military strength. In the following years, the sultan took advantage of the unrest among the Portuguese, and moved against them. So Barreto's peaceful gesture had little effect.

The letter is an example of how relations with Muslims in Asia were not always favourable to the Christians, contrary to what Portuguese chroniclers often claim. Ali Adil Shah proved to have a capacity to adapt to new political circumstances, and was able to manipulate events in his own interests. This was a reversal of roles, because it had previously been the Portuguese and not Bijapur who had followed this policy. The letter and the circumstances in which it was written therefore provide an excellent example of the difficulties and challenges the Portuguese in Asia were facing during the crisis period of 1565-75, and of how the Muslims were refining their political resistance to the Christian presence.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

do Couto, *Décadas da Ásia*, vol. 9, pp. 19, 141-3

STUDIES

Vila-Santa, art. 'António Moniz Barreto'

Marques, art. 'António Moniz Barreto'

Nuno Vila-Santa

Al-Ma‘barī

Zayn al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Zayn al-Dīn al-Ma‘barī;
Zayn al-Dīn Makhdūm II

DATE OF BIRTH	Early 16 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Chombai, near Mahe, northern Malabar
DATE OF DEATH	Uncertain; after 1583
PLACE OF DEATH	Ponnani, Malabar

BIOGRAPHY

Zayn al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Zayn al-Dīn al-Ma‘barī was born in northern Malabar, on the south-west coast of India, to a Sunnī family from Yemen. They had emigrated to Ma‘bar on the east coast of India, and then in the early 16th century to Malabar. His grandfather, named Zayn al-Dīn Makhdūm (1467-1521; *makhdūm*, ‘the one who is served’, was an honorific title given to Sufi masters), was a well-known scholar (among his works is a poem against the Portuguese that his grandson may well have employed in his own diatribe). For this reason, Zayn al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz himself is known as Zayn al-Dīn Makhdūm II, in order to distinguish him. Born in the early 16th century, he began his education in Ponnani and later studied for ten years in Mecca and Medina, where he joined the Qādiriyya Sufi order. When he returned to India he settled in Ponnani and taught at the mosque there for the next 36 years. He probably died in the late 16th century (the year 1583 is often given, the latest date mentioned in *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*, though dates after 1600 are also quoted), and is thought to have been buried in Ponnani.

Al-Ma‘barī was close to the Ali Shah dynasty of Bijapur, even though he was Sunnī and its rulers were Ithnā ‘Asharī Shī‘ī. He wrote works on jurisprudence and Sufism, but he is mainly known for *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (trans.), *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn, a historical epic of the sixteenth century*, with notes by C. Hamza, Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2006 (English trans.; see the Introduction)

- R.E. Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala. A study in Islamic trends*, rev. ed., Madras: Orient Longman, 1992
- V.A. Ahmad Kabeer, *A history of Muslims in Kerala*, vol. 1, Trivandrum: Velavoor publishing house, 1989
- S.M. Ahmad, art. 'Al-Ma'barī', in *El2*
- S. Dale, *Islamic society on the South Asian frontier. The Mappilas of Malabar, 1498-1922*, Oxford, 1980
- R.S. Whiteway, *The rise of Portuguese power in India 1497-1550*, 2nd ed., London: Susil Gupta, 1967

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn, 'Gift to those fighting in the way of God'

DATE 1577

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Tuḥfat al-muhājīdīn fī ba'ḍ akhbār al-Burtughāliyyīn ('Gift to those fighting in the way of God, on elements of reports about the Portuguese'; this also appears as *Tuḥfat al-muhājīdīn fī ba'ḍ aḥwāl al-Burtughāliyyīn*, 'Gift to those fighting in the way of God, on elements of the circumstances of the Portuguese') is the earliest Muslim detailed account of the arrival and establishment of the Portuguese on the south-west coast of India in the 16th century. It comes to 84 pages in al-Ṭayyibī's edition. Al-Ma'barī dedicated it to Sultan Adil Ali Shah of Bijapur (r. 1557-80), and on the basis of internal references to events it can be dated to the years following the sultan's death; the last date it mentions is 991 AH (1583). As al-Ma'barī says in his introduction, he intended it 'to inspire the believers to fight against the cross-worshipping Portuguese' (Nainar, *Tuḥfat al-muhājīdīn* (2006), p. 5; all references that follow are to this translation), because the Muslims had grown lax, allowing the invaders to gain the upper hand and commit excesses against them and their faith.

The work is divided into four parts, together with an Introduction. It is this Introduction and Part 4 that are of particular interest here.

In the Introduction, al-Ma'barī sets out the situation as he sees it. In the first place, 'the Muslims [of Malabar] began to deviate into sinful living, forgetting the blessings of Allah and disobeying him, and then Allah sent the cruel and wicked Portuguese Europeans to dominate over them' (p. 5, and see also p. 56). This was partly because the rulers had

grown too worldly and 'would not struggle in the path of Allah and spend their wealth in his cause'. In the second place, a holy war is necessary because 'the Portuguese have occupied Muslim abodes, killed Muslims and forcibly converted them, [and] have raped Muslim women in order to produce Christian children' (p. 5, and see also p. 57). In this account, it is ironic that al-Ma'barī's rather commonplace explanation of the ascendancy of the Portuguese as divinely inflicted should echo explanations given by Middle Eastern Christians about the first Muslim Arab advances in the 7th century, and also those given at exactly this time by European Christian theologians about the successes of the Ottoman Turks.

Part 1 of the work lists the merits of jihad as these are specified in the Qur'an and Hadiths, Part 2 outlines the history of Islam in Malabar and the development of trade through seaports established by Muslims, and Part 3 gives an account of the customs of the local Hindus, and the treatment by Hindu rulers of their Muslim subjects.

Part 4 is by far the longest of the four, amounting to about half the work. In 14 chapters, it gives a history of the settlement of the Portuguese from their first arrival in 1498 to the year 1583, detailing the colonies they established in Malabar, the battles they fought with local rulers, and the negotiations they conducted in order to maintain and expand the territory they had seized. In the process, they deprived the Muslims of the leadership that they had enjoyed in the spice trade, and they also appear to have made a particular point of trying to turn rulers against their Muslim subjects.

With evident awareness of the ways in which they could insult Muslims most, the Portuguese trampled on and burnt the Qur'an and other religious books, 'publicly reviled the Prophet, defiled and polluted the places of worship', and forced Muslims to bow to the cross (p. 56). They also appealed to the ruler to expel the Muslims, though he did not. All this was with the permission of God, in order 'to put his servants to the test' (p. 80).

This fourth part of *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn* is a scathing exposée of Portuguese ill-treatment of Indians, and it appears that they targeted Muslims in particular. They seem to have wanted to eradicate Islam by acts of destruction and, even more seriously, by having Muslims expelled and by replacing the population with Christian children born through rape to Muslim mothers. If what al-Ma'barī describes is at all accurate, rather than polemical exaggeration, the call he makes is to defend the very survival of the community from which he comes.

It is maybe not a coincidence that about 60 years earlier, before 1521, al-Ma'barī's grandfather, Zayn al-Dīn Makhdūm I, had written a poem on the same general topic entitled *Tahrīd ahl īmān 'alā jihād 'abadat al-ṣulbān* ('Exhortation to the people of faith to fight against the cross-worshippers'). This contains allusions to many of the themes of *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*, maybe most strikingly:

They tyrannized in Malabar in ways more than one! . . .
 Like taking people captives so brutally,
 plundering and burning their mosques so harshly!
 Desecrating their Holy Book pitilessly!
 Then did they infringe the chastity of their women,
 no need to say, so heartlessly!

In addition, the poem makes a passionate call for jihad (*Tahreez Ahli-al-iman ala jihadi abdati al-sulban*, Calicut: Al-Huda books, 1996, pp. 92-6).

In his turn, al-Ma'barī develops the theme of jihad as a principle of Islam at length in Part 1 of his work, and he refers precisely to these atrocities in both his Introduction and Part 4. There must thus be a real likelihood that he was basing at least some of his ideas and also his accusations on his grandfather's composition.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Ma'barī sees clearly that the Portuguese regard the Muslims with particular antipathy (he says nothing about any atrocities they committed against Hindus), and he intimates that they know exactly how to insult Muslims and inflame their religious sensibilities. His words imply that the Europeans may well have brought to their new encounter with these Muslim communities in India the knowledge learnt from old encounters with Muslim communities back home. He leaves no uncertainty about the rivalry between the followers of the two faiths, and the necessity for his community to resist rather than tolerate or negotiate. There is no sure way of knowing whether he has reported events as they happened or heightened them for effect (the similarities with his grandfather's poem suggest that his descriptions were based at least as much on literary precedents as on actual occurrences he knew of), but either way he witnesses to unrelenting hostility with no prospect of change.

The work is generally thought to have been used by the 16th-century Persian historian Muhammad Qasim Ferishta in his *Tarikh*, translated into English by J. Briggs as *The history of the rise of the Mahometan power*

in *India* (London, 1829; see vol. 4, p. 531, though Nainar, *Tuḥfat*, p. xiv, counsels caution about this until further research is done). It was translated into English in the early 19th century, and the Arabic text, together with a Portuguese translation, was published in Lisbon in the late 19th century. Further translations have been made into a number of other languages.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Amīn Tawfīq al-Ṭayyibī (ed.), *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn, fī ba‘d akhbār al-Burtughālīyyīn*, Tripoli, Libya: Kulliyat al-Da‘wa al-Islāmiyya, 1987, pp. 34-6, for descriptions of the four MSS of the work.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

‘Abd al-Ghanī Fidā‘ī (trans.), *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*, Pishāvar: Maktaba-i Ghawsiyya, 1390 A.H. [2011 or 2012] (Persian trans.)

Nainar, *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*, 2006 (English trans.)

C. Hamza, *Tuḥphattul mujāhidīn*, Calicut, 1995 (Malayalam trans.)

al-Ṭayyibī, *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*

Velayudhan Panikkasserī (trans.), *Kēraḷam patinañcuṇ patināruṇ nūttāñṭukaḷil*, Kottayam, 1963 (Malayalam trans.)

Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn fī ba‘zī akhbār al-burtakālīn, Aligarh: Shirvānī Printing Press, 1942 (Urdu trans. of Nainar’s English trans.)

S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (trans.), *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn, a historical epic of the sixteenth century*, Madras: University of Madras, 1942

K. Moossan Kutty Moulavi (trans.), *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*, s.l., 1936 (Malayalam trans., omitting Part 1, on jihad)

Sayyid Shamsullāh Qādrī (ed.), *A history of the Portugues [sic] in Malabar. The original Arabic text of Tuḥfat-ul-Mujahideen*, Hyderabad: Tarikh Press, 1931

D. Lopez, *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar, por Zinadim, manuscripto arabe do seculo XVI puublicado e traducido*, Lisbon 1898 (edition of the Arabic text, and Portuguese trans.)

M.J. Rowlandson (trans.), *Tohfut-ul-mujahideen*, London, 1833 (English trans.)

STUDIES

J. Abraham, ‘Motivation for 16th-century Mappila Muslims’ *Jihād* against the Portuguese. Impact of *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn fī ba‘d akhbār al-Burtughālīyyīn*, paper given at the 40th Annual Conference on South Asia, Center for South Asia, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011, unpublished

E. Ho, 'Custom and conversion in Malabar. Zayn al-Din al-Malabari's *Gift of the Mujahidin*. Some accounts of the Portuguese', in B.D. Metcalf (ed.), *Islam in South Asia in practice*, Princeton NJ, 2009, pp. 403-8

Nainar, *Tuhfat al-mujāhidīn*, 2006, Introduction

David Thomas

Rodolfo Acquaviva

DATE OF BIRTH 2 October 1550
PLACE OF BIRTH Atri, Italy
DATE OF DEATH 25 July 1583
PLACE OF DEATH Cuncolim, Goa, India

BIOGRAPHY

The Italian Jesuit Rodolfo Acquaviva spent three years at the court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and wrote a series of letters from Akbar's capital, Fatehpur Sikri, describing his experiences in religious engagement with Muslims. His letters record one of the most significant early Christian-Muslim religious encounters, in which Europeans peacefully entered and lived in a Muslim context.

Rodolfo's uncle, Claudio Acquaviva, had joined the Jesuits in 1567, and later headed the Society between 1581 and 1615. Rodolfo seems to have been influenced by his uncle's choice: he became a novice on 2 April 1568, and pursued studies in Rome. After this, he was chosen for the India mission. He was ordained priest in 1577, and sailed for India from Lisbon in 1578.

On arrival in Goa, Rodolfo first taught philosophy at St Paul's College. Soon after, however, he was chosen for the mission to the court of the Emperor Akbar, which was sent at Akbar's request, in 1579. The embassy from Akbar had arrived in Goa in September 1579 (Goldie, *First Christian mission*, p. 54) with a letter from Akbar to the rulers in Goa, which said, '... I am sending Abdullah, my ambassador, and Dominic Perez with the request that you will send me two learned Fathers and the books of the Law, especially the Gospel, that I may know the Law and its excellence...' (Correia-Afonso, *Letters*, p. 6)

The Jesuit Provincial in Goa, Rui Vincente, chose two other priests along with Rodolfo for the mission, the Persian-born Francis Henriques, a convert from Islam, and Antony Monserrate. After a journey of more than three months, they arrived in Fatehpur Sikri, near Agra, on 28 February 1580. Rodolfo remained in Fatehpur Sikri for the next three years.

Akbar received the Jesuits with warmth and affection, and got them involved immediately in the inter-religious discussions already taking

place. The Jesuits presented Akbar with the seven-volume Royal Polyglot Bible, printed for King Philip II by Christophe Plantijn at Antwerp, 1569-72. This Bible became the object of Akbar's sympathetic personal attention.

During the course of his stay, Rodolfo wrote a series of letters about the Jesuits' experiences in their interactions with Akbar and with Muslim scholars. In a number of the letters, he wrote that he might well die a martyr among the Muslims, because his Christian teaching and his person were so despised by the general population. However, Akbar provided him with special protection as long as he was in the Mughal dominions.

Francis Henriques left Fatehpur Sikri in 1581, and Antony Monserrate returned to Goa in 1582, but Rodolfo stayed on, still hopeful that Akbar might yet convert to Christianity (Goldie, *First Christian mission*, p. 87). At that very time, however, Akbar, having returned victorious from battle in the north-west, was concentrating instead on creating his own eclectic religion, known as *Dīn-i-ilāhi*.

When Akbar agreed to Rodolfo's return to Goa on 24 February 1583, he wrote to the Father Provincial in Goa to request that Rodolfo be sent back with some other fathers. After returning to Goa, however, Rodolfo led a mission to a community of Hindu Kshatriyas in Salsette, to the south of Goa. The Hindus revolted, and Rodolfo and four other Jesuits were killed in the violence. He and his companions were beatified by Pope Leo XIII in 1893.

Monserrate later wrote that Akbar was deeply moved at the news of Rodolfo's death, and exclaimed in his grief: 'Alas, Father! Did I not tell you not to go away? But you would not listen to me' (Correia-Afonso, *Letters*, pp. 123-4).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

P. Daniello Bartoli, *Missione al Gran Mogor del padre Ridolfo Aquaviva della compagnia di Giesu. Sua vita e morte, e d'altri quattro compagni uccisi in odio della fede in Salsete di Goa*, Rome, 1714

Secondary

M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, 'Frank disputations. Catholics and Muslims in the court of Jahangir (1608-11)', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 46 (2009) 457-511

- H. Didier, 'Muslim heterodoxy, Persian *murtaddun* and Jesuit missionaries at the court of King Akbar (1580-1605)', *Heythrop Journal* 49 (2008) 898-939
- E.R. Hambye, 'The First Jesuit mission to Emperor Akbar', in C.W. Troll (ed.), *Islam in India. Studies and Commentaries*, New Delhi, 1982, 3-13
- J. Correia-Afonso, *Letters from the Mughal court. The first Jesuit mission to Akbar, 1580-1583*, Bombay, 1980
- E. MacLagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London, 1932
- V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford, 1926
- P. du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits. An account of the Jesuit missions to the court of Akbar*, London, 1926
- F. Goldie, *The first Christian mission to the Great Mogul*, Dublin, 1897

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nouveaux advis de l'estat du Christianisme, 'Fresh information about the condition of Christianity'

DATE 1582

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

Nouveaux advis de l'estat du Christianisme (in full *Nouveaux advis de l'estat du Christianisme es pay et royaumes des Indes Orientales et Jappon, envoyés au R.P. general de la Compagnie du Nom de Jesus*), a collection of writings published in Paris in 1582, contains passages from the letters of Rodolfo Acquaviva and his companion Jesuits in the first mission sent to the Mughal court. The book is a collection of various materials from the time, and the letters of Acquaviva and his fellow Jesuits at the court of Akbar are described on the first 8 pages (numbered pp. 1-4 in the 1582 edition), titled, 'Aucuns pointz tirez des letters du P. Rodolphe Aquaviva, & des autres Peres qui sont avec luy en la mission faite au Roy de Mogor'.

Other materials in the short book are from the *Annales* of Goa, October 1580, and from letters from Duarte Beiton (January 1581 from Cochín) and Alessandro Valignano (December 1579 from Japan).

The passages in the 'Aucuns pointz' do not indicate author or date. However, a number of the passages are quoted from Rodolfo's early letters from Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar's initial invitation to the priests to come to the Mughal court is described, along with Akbar's friendly reception of the priests and the religious debates into which Akbar introduced them.

Akbar offered the priests money, but the priests refused the gift, and he admired their way of life, which he found different from that of the Muslim leaders. The emperor visited the Jesuits' quarters and showed interest in the religious paintings they had brought with them. The Jesuits wrote that Akbar permitted those who wished to become Christians to do so. The Jesuits encouraged Akbar to show Christian virtues and to establish hospitals.

One of the more striking incidents described in these passages is the challenge by a Muslim leader to a trial by fire. The Muslim proposed that Rodolfo enter the flames with his Gospel in his hand and that the Muslim do the same with the Qur'an, in order to determine which scripture was true. Akbar later urged Rodolfo to accept the challenge, confiding that he did not like the Muslim and would require him to enter the flames first, then stop the contest immediately after. Rodolfo, however, refused to participate (*Nouveaux advis*, pp. 4-5).

'Among all the mysteries of our faith,' wrote the Jesuits, there were two with which Akbar had a lot of difficulty: the Trinity and the Incarnation. The Jesuits also disputed with the Muslim leaders about the death of Jesus and his identity as the Son of God.

The passages quoted from their letters also discuss the uncertainty of Akbar's conversion. On the one hand, the emperor considered Islam false, seemed inclined to reason freely, and showed love for Jesus and the Jesuits, even entrusting his sons to them for study. On the other, the Jesuits noted Akbar's curious and inconstant nature, and his dedication to pleasures, drink and women ('of which he maintains a great multitude in his house') (*Nouveaux advis*, p. 8).

SIGNIFICANCE

The comments about the significance of the 'Letters written during the first mission to Akbar's court' also apply to this short collection of excerpts from the letters of Rodolfo and his Jesuit colleagues.

Related to the *Nouveaux advis de l'estat du Christianisme* in particular, however, these passages from the Fatehpur Sikri letters were published in Europe very soon after the start of the mission to Akbar, in fact while Rodolfo was still in Fatehpur Sikri with the emperor. This meant that a wide readership was able to 'participate' in the experiences of the Jesuits, both in religious debate and in cultural exchange. This book was a popular source of information about Muslim faith from an authentic inter-religious encounter that was quite separate from the traditional medieval political hostilities between Islam and Christendom.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Nouveaux avis de l'estat du Christianisme es pay et royaumes des Indes Orientales et Japon, Envoyés au R.P. general de la Compagnie du Nom de Jesus, Paris, 1582, <http://shinku.nichibun.ac.jp/kichosho/new/books/35/suema000000074w.html>

STUDIES

Didier, 'Muslim heterodoxy, Persian *murtaddun* and Jesuit missionaries'
Hambye, 'The First Jesuit mission to Emperor Akbar'

MacLagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*

Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*

Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*

Letters written during the first mission to Akbar's court

DATE 1580-3

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

The letters written by Rodolfo Acquaviva from the court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar in Fatehpur Sikri, in the years 1580 to 1583, record the experiences of three Jesuits among Muslims at the heart of Mughal rule. Just before setting out on the journey from Goa to Fatehpur Sikri, Rodolfo wrote to his uncle Claudio on 17 November 1579 that he was already anticipating 'a chance of suffering something for Christ our Lord' (Goldie, *First Christian mission*, p. 58). Around the same time, he wrote to Laurence Petri of the 'joy and consolation' he felt in the mission, 'all that a Religious of the Society can desire' (Goldie, *First Christian mission*, p. 80).

Similarly, in one of his first letters from Fatehpur Sikri, Rodolfo wrote to the General of the Jesuits that he had joy at the prospect of martyrdom. In the concluding paragraph of the 18 July 1580 letter, he wrote, 'For "we have confessed and have not denied, we have confessed" that Muḥammad is not the prophet of God, and we have not denied that Christ is the Son of God' (Goldie, *First Christian mission*, p. 75).

The conversations and disputations with Akbar and the Muslim representatives at the court often concerned matters of basic religious loyalty. Later, in 1580, Rodolfo wrote of his displeasure at hearing so frequently the name of Islam's messenger, and his determination to speak

only of Jesus as the Son of God. 'In a word, Muḥammad is everything here, Antichrist reigns,' he wrote to Father Nuñez Rodriguez, Rector at Goa (Goldie, *First Christian mission*, p. 78), elsewhere commenting that many Muslims in Fatehpur Sikri already desired the death of the Jesuits, and that only the protection of Akbar prevented it.

In spite of discouragements and danger, the letters show that Rodolfo remained optimistic as late as 15 April 1582, when he wrote to his uncle Claudio, now head of the Jesuits. Among five reasons why Rodolfo felt he should stay on in Fatehpur Sikri, the first was the 'love and familiarity' of Akbar toward the Jesuits. Another fascinating reason was that 'where we are is the true and real India'. If the Jesuits could gain a footing at Fatehpur Sikri, he thought, they would have access to many parts of Asia, and could work for the conversion of the Indian mainland (Goldie, *First Christian mission*, p. 87).

Rodolfo's letter of 27 September 1582, toward the end of his stay in Fatehpur Sikri, reports in a chatty tone on the events at court. He wrote to Rui Vincente, the Provincial at Goa, about conversations with a Sufi from Bengal, friendly relations with Akbar at a Portuguese wedding, and the syncretistic religious 'novelties' that Akbar was introducing into the court.

Rodolfo wrote that Akbar did not want to give him permission to return to Goa. Rodolfo wanted to meet with the Provincial to discuss the mission because, he wrote, 'I have many things to communicate to you about this mission, which I have discovered since I learnt the language, and I am discovering more every day.' Rodolfo also proposed new seminaries in Goa, with teaching in Persian for Muslims and in Hindustani for Hindus, since Akbar had declared that every person might follow the religion that each preferred (Goldie, *First Christian mission*, pp. 102-3).

SIGNIFICANCE

The letters communicate an authentic attempt by European Christians to convince Akbar of the truth of Christianity and their hope that Akbar himself would become a Christian. 'That which I wished for I have been able to do,' wrote Rodolfo on 10 December 1580, 'to bear witness before the kings and rulers of this world to the name of Jesus Christ' (Goldie, *First Christian mission*, p. 76). Rodolfo connected this with his hope for a martyr's death.

Akbar's initial invitation came, according to the sources, because in 1576 two Jesuits in Bengal, Antony Vaz and Peter Dias, had rebuked some

Portuguese merchants there who had not paid their taxes to the Mughal treasury (Hambye, 'First Jesuit mission', p. 4). The mission was not related to political relations between the Mughals and the Portuguese, but rather to friendly intercultural relationships and religious discussion.

The eclectic religious views of Akbar had two sides for Rodolfo. It meant Akbar's openness and curiosity about Christian scriptures and views and his freedom to show such affection and protection towards the Jesuits, but, on the other hand, Akbar's eclecticism meant that in the end he would not commit to Christianity as the Jesuits hoped. Akbar was at that very time developing his own syncretistic religion, *Dīn-i-ilāhi*.

Though political force went together with missionary activity in many of the incursions of the Portuguese into South Asia in the 16th century, the letters of Acquaviva give no sense that Portuguese military power would back the efforts of the Jesuits at Fatehpur Sikri. In fact, the Jesuits were deep in the territory of a confident Mughal Empire, and Rodolfo was quite at the mercy of Akbar as far as his departure from the capital was concerned.

The first Jesuit mission to Akbar's court created the possibility of a pattern of normal relationships between scholars of different religious convictions: several other missions of Jesuit missionaries were well received by the Mughal court, in 1591 in Lahore, in 1595 (Jerome Xavier) in Lahore, and later, during the reign of Jahangir (1608-11).

The portrait of Akbar in these letters is of a Muslim monarch who showed tolerance that was in a sense ahead of his time for people of different religions to live together in peace and even to debate together. Though sometimes angered by the Jesuits' speeches, Akbar never harmed them for this reason, nor did he turn to violence, even on hearing the Jesuits' 'frank' judgments on the messenger of Islam.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS London, BL – Add. (Marsden) 9854, fols. 1-3 (Letter of 27 September 1582, from Rodolfo Acquaviva in Fatehpur Sikri to Ruy Vincente, Provincial at Goa)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Goldie, *The first Christian mission to the Great Mogul*

Correia-Afonso, *Letters from the Mughal court*

STUDIES

Didier, 'Muslim heterodoxy, Persian *murtaddun* and Jesuit missionaries'

Hambye, 'The First Jesuit mission to Emperor Akbar'

MacLagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*
Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*
Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*

Gordon Nickel

Melchor de Ávalos

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Spain
DATE OF DEATH 1590
PLACE OF DEATH Manila, Philippines

BIOGRAPHY

Very little is known about Melchor de Ávalos before he arrived in Manila from New Spain on 26 May 1584. He had been a member of the Inquisition in Mexico for 11 years, and an unyielding legal scholar for 40 more years. As the first judge (*oidor*) of Manila's *audiencia* court system, he applied his juridical rigour and Catholic dogmatism to an analysis of the legal status of Muslims in the Philippines.

In addition to *Carta y alegaciones de derecho*, Ávalos is also known to have written *Ordenanzas sobre idolatría y sodomía* ('Ordinances concerning idolatry and sodomy') in 1588, stipulating 36 actions to enforce Catholicism and punish infractions harshly. His recommendations for action against Muslims and pagans were rejected by King Philip II, who encouraged a policy of constructive engagement.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Seville, Archivo General de Indias – Filipinas, leg. 18A, R.3, N.19
Juan de la Concepción, *Historia general de Philipinas*, Manila, 1788, vol. 2, pp. 90-1
Actas del Cabildo de México, Mexico City, 1889-1916, vol. 7, p. 153
Documentos inéditos relativos a Hernán Cortés y su familia, vol. 27, Mexico City, 1935, pp. 111-14

Secondary

I. Donoso and F.F. Sánchez, 'Moriscos peninsulares, moros filipinos y el islam en el extremo oriental del imperio español, 1. Estudio y edición de la *Segunda cartapara la S.C.M.R. acerca de los mahometanos de las Philipinas* de Melchor de Ávalos (1585)', *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos* (in press)

- I. Donoso and F.F. Sánchez, 'Moriscos peninsulares, moros filipinos y el islam en el extremo oriental del imperio español, 2. Edición de la *Primera carta para la S.C.M.R. acerca de los mahometanos de las Philipinas* de Melchor de Ávalos (1585)', *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos* (in press)
- A.M.R. Rodríguez, 'La representación de las relaciones hispano-musulmanas en tres obras del siglo XVII. Topographia e historia general de Argel, Cautiverio y Trabajos de Diego Galán e Historia de Mindanao y Joló', Madison WI, 2007 (PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin – Madison), pp. 234-54

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carta y alegaciones de derecho del licenciado Melchor de Ávalos oidor de la real audiencia de Manila para la S.C.M.R. acerca de los mahometanos de las Philipinas y contra ellos, 'Letter and legal claims of the lawyer Melchor Avalos, judge of the Royal Court of Manila, concerning and against the Muslims of the Philippines',

DATE 20 June 1585

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish and Latin

DESCRIPTION

This is the earliest known Spanish historical document that deals exclusively with the Islamic presence in the Philippine Archipelago. Its main purpose is to argue for the connection of Muslims in the Philippines with the worldwide Islamic community and thus with Iberian Muslims.

It is composed of two long *memoriales* (treatises) bearing the same date, 20 June 1585, plus an introductory letter dated 3 July 1584. This preamble was sent to King Philip II of Spain as a signed 13-page letter describing conditions in Manila and expressing the author's views on Muslims. *Primera carta* is a meticulous 48-page document addressing the controversy resulting from the destruction of the great mosque of Brunei by Governor Sande. *Segunda carta* is a more polemical essay of 25 pages, justifying the legal authority of the Catholic king over Muslims and pagans in the archipelago.

Overall, the goal of Melchor de Ávalos was to persuade the Spanish king of the legitimacy of conquest by linking Muslims in the Philippine

Archipelago with Spanish Muslims. This was a political rather than a historical argument. The author cited Portuguese sources on the Islamic presence in the Indian Ocean, and even mentioned astonishing accounts of warriors from Lepanto fighting in Southeast Asia. Melchor de Ávalos considered political developments across the Islamic world in the 15th and 16th centuries, and emphasised the connections between Filipino *Moros* and Spanish *Moriscos*.

SIGNIFICANCE

Melchor de Ávalos was one of the first to point to international cooperation in the Islamisation of Southeast Asia, involving Egyptians controlling the Indian Ocean, Arabs preaching in eastern regions, Turks defeated in Lepanto, and even Muslims expelled from Spain, together with Malays from Patani, Aceh or Brunei. Consequently, given that there was an international Muslim link from Spain to eastern Asia, he argued that the Spanish Catholic king should feel compelled to fight Filipino Muslims. Although he recognised that indigenous people in the archipelago were barely Islamised, Melchor de Ávalos concluded that the military campaign was legal and justified. He represents the most radical position regarding the pacification of the region, linking the Philippine case with the Spanish one where the *Morisco* issue had caused huge controversies. His legal conclusion was that no dialogue was possible, only exile or open war. His ideas, addressed to the king, were not adopted, since the Spanish *Morisco* issue was not seen as equating with the Philippine *Moro* question.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Seville, Archivo General de Indias – Filipinas, leg. 18A, R.3, N.19 (1585; Spanish; two signed letters plus an introduction, and the exposition *Ordenanzas sobre idolatría y sodomía*, by the same author)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Donoso and Sánchez, 'Moriscos peninsulares: 1. Estudio y edición de la *Segunda carta*'

Donoso and Sánchez, 'Moriscos peninsulares: 2. Edición de la *Primera carta*' (most recent study and complete new edition of the letters)

W.H. Scott, *Looking for the prehispanic Filipino and other essays in Philippine history*, Quezon City, 1992, 34-6 (important study and partial English trans.)

- L. Hanke, 'Dos cartas al Rey contra los moros de las Filipinas', in L. Hanke and A.M. Carlo (eds), *Cuerpo de documentos del siglo XVI. Sobre los derechos de España en las Indias y las Filipinas*, Mexico, 1943, 65-115 (first study and edition of the two main letters)
- H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Cleveland OH, 1903-9, vol. 6, pp. 54-65 (English trans. of the introductory letter)

STUDIES

- I. Donoso, *Islamic Far East. Ethnogenesis of Philippine Islam*, Quezon City, 2013, pp. 184-7
- I. Donoso, 'Al-Andalus and Asia. Ibero-Asian relations before Magellan', in I. Donoso (ed.), *More Hispanic than we admit. Insights into Philippine cultural history*, Quezon City, 2008, 9-35
- Rodríguez, 'La representación de las relaciones hispano-musulmanas', pp. 234-54
- A.M.P. Lucena, *El contacto hispano-indígena en Filipinas según la historiografía de los siglos XVI y XVII*, Córdoba, 1993
- Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine islands*, vol. 6, pp. 14-15

Isaac Donoso

Philip II

King Felipe II of Spain

DATE OF BIRTH 21 May 1527
PLACE OF BIRTH Valladolid
DATE OF DEATH 13 September 1598
PLACE OF DEATH San Lorenzo de El Escorial

BIOGRAPHY

Philip II of Habsburg was born in Valladolid, on 21 May 1527. He was the firstborn son of Charles V, the ruler of the Spanish Empire (1516-56) and the Holy Roman Empire (1520-56), and his wife, Doña Isabel of Portugal, daughter of the Portuguese king, Manuel I (r. 1495-1521). He inherited a worldwide empire spread across five continents, the first empire on which it was said 'the sun never sets'. He was king of the Hispanic Monarchy, including Spain, Naples, Sicily, Milan, the Netherlands, and for a time Portugal (1581-98), and he also claimed England and Ireland (1554-8). The South-East Asian archipelago of the Philippines was named after him.

Between 1554 and 1557, Charles V gradually abdicated from all his possessions. In 1554, Philip became king of Naples; in 1555 he became sovereign of the Low Countries; and in 1556 he became king of Castile and Aragón, and consequently ruler of all the inherent territories, not only in Spain, but also in the Mediterranean (the Balearic Islands and Sicily), and some strongholds in northern Africa and America. The only title he did not inherit from his father was that of Holy Roman Emperor, which was inherited by Charles V's brother, Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary, in 1558 (Bouza, *Cartas de Felipe II a sus hijas*, 2005; Pérez, *Filipe II*). By inheriting the legacy of his grandparents, the Catholic Monarchs Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragón, he became the Catholic King himself and, throughout his long reign, he did justice to this title in both his internal and external politics. Faith occupied a central role in the politics of his rule, though this did not spare him from confrontations with the Papacy, the Protestant powers of Europe, or the most threatening representative of Islam, the Ottoman Empire. Despite the conflicts between the Catholic king and the several Popes who ruled the Church throughout his reign, it is believed that Philip II was unquestionably the central figure in whom the Papacy could trust, as is demonstrated

by the responsibilities laid upon him (Tellechea Idígoras, 'Felipe II y el Papado').

Philip II became Philip I of Portugal in 1580. The successive marriage arrangements between Castile and Portugal finally resulted in a dynastic union, when in 1578 the youthful king of Portugal, Sebastião, Philip's nephew, disappeared at the Battle of Alcácer-Quibir, also known as the Battle of the Three Kings. Since Sebastião had no direct successors, after the brief reign of the elderly Cardinal Henrique, Philip II inherited the crown and kingdom of Portugal, thus becoming Philip I, ruler of Portugal and of all Portuguese overseas territories. The geographical, political and economic complementarity between the Portuguese colonial territories and the Castilian overseas territories made the Portuguese Empire very important to the global stability and equilibrium of the Hispanic Monarchy. The dynamics of complementarity were evident in the Atlantic and in the Far East, but the Portuguese fortresses and territories in northern Africa, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian seas also became very important, particularly to Philip's Mediterranean strategy and anti-Muslim policies (Borges, 'Um império Ibérico integrado?').

His policy as a Catholic Monarch opposing religious reform and Protestantism resulted in a series of political conflicts in Europe. Regarding the Muslim minority in Spain, his strategy was to maintain the status quo in spite of pressures to expel the Moriscos. He promoted a policy of religious and political engagement with Muslims in the new possessions, which earned him the nickname *El Prudente*. He died in 1598 at El Escorial, the royal palace near Madrid.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- G. Conestaggio, *Dell'unione del regno di Portogallo alla Corona di Castiglia*, Venice, 1592
- L. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo Rey de España*, s.l., 1619
- J. de Mariana SJ, *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*, Moguntiae: Aubrii, 1619
- B. Porreno, *Dichos y hechos de Felipe II*, Cuenca, 1628
- L. Vander Hammen y León, *Don Filipe el prudente, Segundo deste nombre, rey de las Españas y Nuevo mundo*, Madrid, 1632
- Vida interior del rey Felipe II. Atribuida comunmente al Abad de San Real, y por algunos al celebre Español Antonio Perez, su Secretario de Estado. Da a luz D Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor*, Madrid, 1788
- C.R. García, *Correspondencia privada de Felipe II con su secretario Mateo Vázquez, 1567-1591*, Madrid, 1959

- J. Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Historia de Felipe II, Rey de España*, ed. B. Pozuelo Calero and J.I. Fortea Pérez, Pozoblanco, 1998 (critical edition)
- J. de Verzosa, *Annalium liber primus (Anales del reinado de Felipe II)*, ed. J.M. Maestre Maestre, Madrid, 2002 (critical edition)
- F. Bouza, *Cartas de Felipe II a sus hijas*, Madrid, 2008

Secondary

- G. Almeida Borges, 'Um império Ibérico integrado? A união Ibérica, o Golfo Pérsico e o império ultramarino português (1600-1625)', Florence, 2014 (PhD. Diss., European University Institute)
- G. Parker, *Felipe II. La biografía definitiva*, Barcelona, 2010
- J. Pérez, *Felipe II e o seu império*, Lisbon, 2007
- F. Bouza, *D. Filipe I, Coleção Reis de Portugal*, Rio de Mouro, 2005 (biography from the Portuguese perspective)
- I. Tellechea Idígoras, 'Felipe II y el Papado', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 25 (2000) 273-8
- J. Martínez Millán and C. de Carlos Morales, *Felipe II (1527-1598). La configuración de la Monarquía Hispana*, Valladolid, 1998 (reprint of L. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo Rey de España*, completed with a study by Martínez Millán and Carlos Morales)
- H. Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, New Haven CT, 1998
- F. Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda. Capítulos de historia cultural del reinado de Felipe II*, Madrid, 1998
- J.T. Cabot, *La vida y la época de Felipe II*, Barcelona, 1998
- M. Fernández Alvarez, *Felipe II y su tiempo*, Madrid, 1998
- G. Altadonna, 'Cartas de Felipe II a Carlos Manuel II Duque de Saboya (1583-1596)', *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica* 9 (1986) 137-90
- I. Clouas, *Philippe II*, Paris, 1992
- F. Bouza, 'La memoria del Rey Católico. Cien y más textos sobre Felipe II y su tempo', in *El Escorial. Biografía de una época. La Historia*, Madrid, 1986, 237-8
- H. Kamen and J. Pérez, *La imagen internacional de la España de Felipe II*, Valladolid, 1980
- G. Parker, *Philip II*, Boston MA, 1978
- O. Ferrara, *Philippe II*, Paris, 1961
- R. Altamira y Crevea, *Ensayo sobre Felipe II hombre de estado. Su psicología general y su individualidad humana*, Mexico City, 1950
- F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen a l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris, 1949
- A. Iniesta Corregidor, *La Educación de Felipe II*, Madrid, 1946
- L. Pfandl, *Philippe II*, Paris, 1942

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Real cédula en respuesta a Miguel López de Legazpi, 'Royal decree in response to Miguel Lopez de Legazpi'

DATE 16 November 1568

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

This document contains the reply sent by King Philip II to Miguel López de Legazpi's *Memoria de lo que se envió a pedir a su Majestad de merced, franquezas e libertades por los capitanes conquistadores oficiales que al presente en esta jornada e nuevo descubrimiento le sirven en las Yslas Filipinas*, which is dated 1567. After the initial settlement in the Philippine Archipelago, Miguel López de Legazpi, on behalf of the leaders of the Spanish force, sent a report to the king about the newly conquered territories, and requested his permission to undertake the complete conquest of the islands. This was the first of several letters sent over a period of years to seek authorisation for various actions.

In his letter, Legazpi proposes enslaving Muslims since they interfere with both evangelisation and trade. But Philip's answer, sent from the Escorial, is that, unless Muslims are actively engaged in spreading Islam or declaring open war, none should be enslaved. Rather, the Spanish in the Philippines should pursue a policy of cooperation with the *Moros*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The king's reply shows both an enlightened attitude towards Muslims as followers of a religion that was opposed to his own, and a politically pragmatic attitude towards the population that Legazpi was encountering in the Philippines.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Seville, Archivo General de Indias – Filipinas, 339, I, 1 (16 November 1568)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson (eds), *The Philippine Islands. 1493-1898*, Cleveland OH, 1903-19, vol. 34, p. 237 (English trans.)

Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar, Madrid, 1887, vol. 3/2, pp. 319-25 (edition of Miguel López de Legazpi's *Memoria*)

STUDIES

- I. Donoso and F. Franco-Sánchez, 'Moriscos peninsulares, moros filipinos y el islam en el extremo oriental del imperio español.
1. Estudio y edición de la *Segunda cartapara la S.C.M.R. acerca de los mahometanos de las Philipinas* de Melchor de Ávalos (1585)', *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos* (in press)
- I. Donoso and F. Franco-Sánchez, 'Moriscos peninsulares, moros filipinos y el islam en el extremo oriental del imperio español:
2. Edición de la *Primera cartapara la S.C.M.R. acerca de los mahometanos de las Philipinas* de Melchor de Ávalos (1585)', in *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos* (in press) (Melchor de Ávalos insisted that the Muslims should be enslaved)
- P.H. Nuchera, *La recta administración. Primeros tiempos de la colonización hispana en Filipinas. La situación de la población nativa*, Madrid, 2001, pp. 89-99 (general analysis of the topic)

Isaac Donoso

Cartas régias para os vice-reis e governadores da Índia, 'The royal correspondence with the viceroys and governors of India'

DATE 1580-98

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

Although the 1580s are said to have been a time when Philip was gradually re-focusing his politics from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic world (Braudel, *O Mediterrâneo*, pp. 38-39) and the North Sea, the Mediterranean was not completely removed from his main geo-strategic preoccupations (Bouza, *D. Filipe I*, p. 35; Costa and Rodrigues, 'La India portuguesa', p. 321). For a long time, the Ottoman Turks were one of the main threats to the integrity of the Habsburg Empire and the Christianity that Philip advocated (Braudel, *O Mediterrâneo*, pp. 343-521). The Mediterranean and the lands that bordered its Levantine margin were the Ottomans' gateway to Europe. From the early years of the 15th century, Portugal had conquered some fortresses in North Africa, turning them into commercial entrepôts and platforms for its war against the Muslims. By incorporating Portugal into the Catholic Monarchy in 1580,

Philip was able to integrate these fortresses into his realm, thus reinforcing his presence at the western end of the Mediterranean. He was also able to strengthen the security of his peninsular territory and exert more pressure on the North African Muslim territories, while at the same time providing a safer journey for the Castilian fleets on their way back from Spanish America, because these entrepôts helped to protect and defend the fleets from the Berber privateers (Bouza, *D. Filipe I*, pp. 40-3).

It was not only through the North African territories that the geography of the Portuguese overseas empire served the anti-Muslim strategy and politics of the Habsburgs in the Mediterranean. At the beginning of the 16th century, in 1515, the Portuguese built a fortress in Hormuz, on the Persian Gulf, which would become one of the most important strongholds of Estado da Índia, the Portuguese imperial structure in Asia. The Portuguese presence in the Persian Gulf and the establishment of cordial relations with the Persian shah allowed the Portuguese to act as a counterweight to the Ottoman power: on one hand, they were allies of Persia, the chief regional rival of the Ottomans and the main threat to the frontiers of their empire; on the other, they were able to obstruct and fight against the expected expansion of the Ottoman and Muslim power towards the Indian Ocean, as well as the spread of Islam. By integrating the Portuguese territories in the Persian Gulf into the Monarchy, Philip was able to ensure a strategic advantage over the Ottoman Empire through his eastern flank (Bouza, *D. Filipe I*, p. 43; Almeida Borges, *Um império ibérico integrado*, 2014). In addition, by becoming the ruler of Estado da Índia and the Portuguese imperial structure in the Asian seas (Thomaz, 'Estrutura política'), he was also able to fight against Muslim political powers such as the Achenese Sultanate, who were declared enemies of the Portuguese and close allies of the Ottomans.

Philip's rule in Estado da Índia was exercised by a viceroy or governor who was established in the capital, Goa. The viceroy or governor had jurisdiction over all Portuguese vassals who lived in or passed through Estado da Índia, and also over those local powers or forces that came under the crown of Portugal (Santos, '*Goa é a chave de toda a Índia*', p. 298). Although he exercised power with considerable autonomy (Cardim and Miranda, '*Virreyes y gobernadores*', p. 197), Philip, like the Portuguese rulers before and after him, maintained a close (official) correspondence. During his reign, Estado da Índia was governed by: Viceroy Dom Luís de Ataíde (r. 1578-81); Governor Fernão Teles de Menezes (r. 1581); Viceroy Dom Francisco Mascarenhas (r. 1581-4); viceroy Dom Duarte de Meneses (r. 1584-8); Governor Dom Manuel de

Sousa Coutinho (r. 1588-91); Viceroy Matias de Albuquerque (r. 1591-97); and Viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama (r. 1597-1600). The circulation of this official correspondence, which embodies the concept of 'political communication', through the several stages of the decision-making process of the monarchy, has been described by the Portuguese historian, Fernanda Olival (*D. Filipe II*, pp. 137-9).

It is important to note that this abundant documentation, mostly written in Spanish and Portuguese, is not concentrated in one single work, one single compilation or even one single archive. Various documents (letters, instructions, charters, decrees, etc.) were sent by Philip to the governor or viceroy of India continuously throughout his reign, by sea and also by land. This was a crucial part of the working of the Portuguese imperial structure in Asia. The documents are now dispersed across several archives and libraries mostly in Portugal, Spain and India, including those listed below. Printed collections also contain a large number of documents from this period, both from the king and from the many other actors and institutions involved in the life and administration of the empire, whether at the centre or in Estado da Índia; they include: *Arquivo Português Oriental* and *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português no Oriente*. Most of the documents remain unpublished, however, and because of their wide dispersal it is hard to know exactly how many documents Phillip sent annually to his viceroys and governors. It was certainly dozens, perhaps even hundreds.

SIGNIFICANCE

Philip II is said to have been a bureaucratic king, and the regular correspondence he maintained with Goa is one of the many extensions of this bureaucracy, although some of these letters were written by his secretaries on his behalf. The tone of his royal letters and other official documents was not at all similar to the intimate, personal tone he employed when writing to his daughters while he was in Portugal between 1581 and 1583 about minor aspects of his daily life in Portugal (Bouza, *D. Filipe I*). Philip's attitude towards Muslims, as mirrored in this correspondence, is closely connected to his political objectives with regard to Estado da Índia, and it reveals the objectivity and pragmatism with which he regarded his recent acquisitions in Asia. Furthermore, his perception was partially built upon the information that was constantly sent to him and the court by the many actors involved in the life of the empire, not only the Portuguese authorities of Estado da Índia, but also the merchants who traded in Asia, the ecclesiastical envoys who represented the king

throughout Asia, and many other individuals who spontaneously wrote to the court or the king about many aspects (political, economic, social, cultural, etc.) of Estado da Índia. It is generally believed that Philip's policy regarding Estado da Índia followed that initiated by his nephew, Dom Sebastião of Portugal (Costa and Rodrigues, 'La India portuguesa', p. 322; Subrahmanyam, *O império asiático português*, p. 62).

From a geo-political perspective, Estado da Índia offered Philip an extensive space where he could manage relations and balance power with three of the most powerful Muslim kingdoms, the Ottoman, the Safavid and the Mughal. Indeed, religion had always played a crucial role in the Portuguese enterprise in Asia. For a long time, the spread of Christianity and the conversion of non-Catholic peoples was the chief argument used by the architects of the Portuguese overseas expansion, even if this cannot be disconnected from its political and economic objectives. Their military and commercial endeavours were accompanied by ecclesiastical structures, and some of the main Portuguese actors in India were priests, friars and missionaries. For example, while the king was waiting for more information from the viceroy about the kingdom of Masolagua in north-western Madagascar and its commercial potential as a port-city, before ordering the building of a fortress and a factory, he ordered that the viceroy should send a few priests there 'to preach and spread the Gospel, which is what I chiefly intend for all my conquests' (Letter to the viceroy of India, Lisbon, 6 February 1589, in da Silva Rego and Baxter, *Documentos*, vol. 9, doc. 1, pp. 2-9). But although his perceptions and attitudes towards Muslims and Islam in the Indian Ocean were very much influenced by his strong religious beliefs, it is also true that his strategy involved political and commercial interests. The Ottoman expansion into the Asian seas, for example, threatened Portuguese control of Asian maritime trade, which was a principal *raison d'être* for the Portuguese enterprise beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Another example is the fact that many of Philip's particular policies in Estado da Índia consisted of imposing high taxes on Muslims for trade and navigation, and even some embargos (Boyajian, *Portuguese trade*).

Philip had information about virtually every corner of Estado da Índia and all its friendly and rival neighbours or competitors, but his attitude towards Muslims, the so-called 'Moors' and 'infidels', and towards Islam, as reflected in his 'Asian' policies, may be divided into three major pre-occupations. First, his attitude was conditioned by his fears of growing Ottoman strength in the Mediterranean with the consequent decline of Habsburg power in Europe, and of an Ottoman expansion towards the

Indian Ocean with the consequent spread and strengthening of Islam throughout the Asian seas (Braudel, *O Mediterrâneo*, pp. 54-56). The Indian Ocean had always been an 'Islamic lake' (Braudel, *O Mediterrâneo*, p. 554), and although the true nature of their intentions towards the Indian Ocean is subject to debate (Subrahmanyam, *Impérios em concorrência*, pp. 208-9), the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf and in Estado da Índia continually felt the threat of an Ottoman expansion (Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, p. 130), which had a decisive impact on their regional politics. The historian Giancarlo Casale believes that the Ottomans exercised a policy of 'soft empire' in the Indian Ocean, which entailed expanding their influence through ideological, commercial and diplomatic bonds with the Indian Ocean's several Muslim communities (Casale, 'Global politics', pp. 276-7). Hence, Philip frequently ordered the Portuguese authorities to maintain close surveillance over Asian powers and forces that were more vulnerable to the Islamic influence of the Ottomans or even the Achenese, themselves diplomatically and militarily connected with the Ottomans (Subrahmanyam, *Portuguese Empire*, pp. 141-5). Such was the case, for example, with the kingdom of Melinde (today's Malindi) on the east African coast, and the kingdom of Jor in the Moluccas. It was also Philip's anti-Ottoman policy that made him favour an alliance with the Ethiopian emperor (Oliveira e Costa and Gaspar Rodrigues, 'La India portuguesa', p. 322), like his Portuguese predecessors.

Second, Philip's attitude towards Muslims was influenced by his belief that the shahs of Persia, the chief regional rival of the Ottoman Empire, were tolerant towards Christianity, and even, according to some rumours, ready to convert to the Catholic king's religion or, at least, to allow conversions in their realm (Gil Fernández, *El imperio luso-español*, pp. 77, 86). He followed the policy of his father, Charles V, and his Portuguese predecessors in maintaining close diplomatic contacts with the Persian shahs, particularly Shah Abbas I (r. 1587-1629), much motivated by the possibility of a joint military action on two fronts against the Ottoman Empire (Oliveira e Costa and Gaspar Rodrigues, 'La India portuguesa', p. 322). The correspondence he had with Goa and with his many envoys to Persia, some of them Augustinian friars, repeatedly insisted on evangelising work throughout the Persian Empire. The Habsburg representatives often pictured Abbas as a curious and tolerant monarch, interested in deepening his knowledge about the Catholic king and his religion, and willingly allowing Portuguese clergy to practise their religion in his domain and even to build convents for that purpose. During the reign of Philip's son, Philip III, this perception of tolerance gradually altered

because the behaviour of Shah Abbas towards the Iberians changed with the arrival of new potential commercial and military partners, namely the English and the Dutch (see Gil Fernández, *El imperio luso-español*; Gil Fernández, *El imperio luso-español*).

And, third, Philip's attitude was shaped by his need to maintain relations with the expanding Mughal Empire, which bordered the Portuguese territories in the Indian sub-continent. According to Sanjay Subrahmanyan, soon after he became king of Portugal, he and Akbar, the Mughal emperor, established direct diplomatic contacts. When D. Francisco Mascarenhas, Philip II's first appointed viceroy of India, arrived in Goa, he was also greeted by a Mughal ambassador sent by Akbar (Subrahmanyan, 'A tale of three empires', p. 68).

These three matters were repeatedly addressed in Philip's correspondence with the governors and viceroys of India throughout his reign as king of Portugal. In addition, he was always wary of possible alliances between the three Muslim sovereigns, regularly ordering his envoys and representatives to prevent them from becoming established.

Estado da Índia opened a clear way for interaction – political, economic, social and cultural – between Christians and Muslims. This was partly the reason why it became important to the global strategy of Philip II and of the Catholic Monarchy. The king's correspondence with the viceroys and governors of India gives many details about these interactions, although mostly from a political perspective. Indeed, it should be clear that, more than a 'thought' or an 'attitude', this documentation reflects Philip II's 'politics' regarding Muslims, particularly the Muslim powers and communities of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean world.

MANUSCRIPTS

Main archives where the manuscripts are held:

- Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
- Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon
- Biblioteca do Palácio da Ajuda, Lisbon
- Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon
- Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas, Valladolid
- Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
- Archivo General de Indias, Seville
- Historical Archives of Goa, Goa

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- A. da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado Português no Oriente*, vol. 23. *Índia, 1572-1582*, Lisbon, 1996

- A. da Silva Rego and T.W. Baxter (eds), *Documentos sobre os portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central, 1497-1840*, vol. 9. 1589-1615, Lisbon, 1989 (contains an English trans. of each document)
- A. da Silva Rego and T.W. Baxter (eds), *Documentos sobre os portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central, 1497-1840*, vol. 8. 1561-1588, Lisbon, 1975 (contains an English trans. of each document)
- J.H. Cunha Rivara (ed.), *Arquivo Português-Oriental, Fascículo 3*, Nova Goa, 1857-77 (repr. New Delhi and Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1992)

STUDIES

- Almeida Borges, 'Um império ibérico integrado?'
- M.A. de Bunes Ibarra, 'El norte de África, el Mediterráneo oriental y la política con respecto a Persia (1560-1640)', in J.J. Ruiz Ibáñez (ed.), *Las vecindades de las Monarquías Ibéricas*, Madrid, 2013, 213-34
- P. Cardim and S. Münch Miranda, 'Virreyes y gobernadores de las posesiones portuguesas en el Atlántico y en el Índico (siglos XVI-XVII)', in P. Cardim and J.-L. Palos (eds), *El mundo de los virreyes en las monarquías de España y Portugal*, Madrid, 2012, 175-202
- S. Subrahmanyam, *Impérios em concorrência. Histórias conectadas nos séculos XVI e XVII*, Lisbon, 2012
- S. Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire Empire in Asia, 1500-1700*, Chichester, 2012
- E.G. Hernán, 'Persia en la acción conjunta del Papado y la Monarquía Hispánica. Aproximación a la actuación de la Compañía de Jesús (1549-1649)', *Hispania Sacra* 62 (2010) 213-41
- J.A. Martínez Torres, 'Entre la autonomía y la dependencia. Las posesiones de los Austrias en Asia, África y América (1580-1640): un balance', in Á. Alloza, M.Á. de Bunes and J.A. Martínez Torres (eds), *Sir Anthony Sherley. Peso de todo el mundo (1622) y discurso sobre el aumento de esta monarquía (1625)*, Madrid, 2010, 71-84
- L. Gil Fernández, *El imperio luso-español y la Persia Safávida, Tomo II: 1606-1622*, Madrid, 2009
- L. Gil Fernández, 'Ormuz pendant l'union dynastique du Portugal et de l'Espagne (1582-1622)', in D. Couto and R.M. Loureiro (eds), *Revisiting Hormuz. Portuguese interactions in the Persian Gulf region in the Early Modern period*, Wiesbaden, 2008, 177-90
- N. Melis, 'The importance of Hormuz for Luso-Ottoman Gulf-centred policies in the 16th century. Some observations based on contemporary sources', in D. Couto and R.M. Loureiro (eds), *Revisiting Hormuz. Portuguese interactions in the Persian Gulf region in the Early Modern period*, Wiesbaden, 2008, 107-20

- S. Soucek, 'The Portuguese and the Turks in the Persian Gulf', in D. Couto and R.M. Loureiro (eds), *Revisiting Hormuz. Portuguese interactions in the Persian Gulf region in the Early Modern period*, Wiesbaden, 2008, 29-56
- M.N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, London, 2008
- G. Casale, 'Global politics in the 1580s. One canal, twenty thousand cannibals, and an Ottoman plot to rule the world', *Journal of World History* 18 (2007) 267-97
- F. Olival, *D. Filipe II. De cognome 'o Pio'*, Lisbon, 2006
- L. Gil Fernández, *El imperio luso-español y la Persia Safávida, Tomo I: 1582-1605*, Madrid, 2006
- S. Subrahmanyam, 'A tale of three empires. Mughals, Ottomans, and Habsburgs in a comparative context', *Common Knowledge* 12 (2006) 66-92
- Bouza, *D. Filipe I*
- R. Valladares, *Castilla y Portugal en Asia (1580-1680). Declive imperial y adaptación*, Leuven, 2001
- C.M. Santos, '*Goa é a chave de toda a Índia*'. *Perfil político da capital do Estado da Índia (1505-1570)*, Lisbon, 1999
- J.I. Tellechea Idígoras (ed.), *El Papado y Felipe II. Colección de breves pontificios*, vol. 1. 1550-1572, Madrid, 1999
- F. Bethencourt, 'O Estado da Índia', in F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri (eds), *História da expansão portuguesa*, vol. 2. *Do Índico ao Atlântico (1570-1697)*, Lisbon, 1998, 284-314
- D. Couto, 'Les Ottomans et l'Inde portugaise', in *Vasco da Gama e a Índia. Conferência Internacional*, Paris, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 181-200
- L. Gil Fernández, 'La unión Ibérica y Persia. Contactos diplomáticos y choque de intereses', in M. da Graça Mateus Ventura (ed.), *A união Ibérica e o mundo Atlântico. Segundas jornadas de história Ibero-Americana*, Lisbon, 1997, 309-40
- F. Braudel, *O Mediterrâneo e o mundo mediterrânico na época de Filipe II*, Lisbon, 1995, vol. 2
- G. Parker, 'David or Goliath? Philip II and his world in the 1580s', in R. Kagan and G. Parker (eds), *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic world*, Cambridge, 1995, 245-65
- L.F.F.R. Thomaz, 'Estrutura política e administrativa do Estado da Índia no século XVI', in L.F.F.R. Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, Alges, Portugal, 1994, 207-43
- S. Subrahmanyam, *O império asiático português, 1500-1700. Uma história política e económica*, Linda-a-Velha, Portugal, 1993

- J.C. Boyajian, *Portuguese trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640*, Baltimore MD, 1993
- J.P. Oliveira e Costa and V.L. Gaspar Rodrigues, *Portugal y Oriente. El proyecto indiano del rey Juan*, Madrid, 1992, 'La India portuguesa en la política de Felipe II (1580-1600)'
- M. de Andrade Castelo Branco, 'Instruction given to your Majesty, that you may command that the ocean sea be fortified and defended against all enemy pirates, whether French or English, in all the navigations of your royal crown within the tropics', in P.E.H. Hair (ed.), *To defend your empire and faith. Advice offered to Philip, King of Spain and Portugal, c. 1590*, Liverpool, 1990
- L. Lockhart, 'European contacts with Persia, 1350-1736', in P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 6. *The Timurid and Safavid periods*, Cambridge, 1986, 373-411
- F.P. Mendes da Luz (ed.), *Livro das Cidades, e Fortalezas que a Coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da Índia, e das Capitánias, e mais cargos, que nelas há, e da importância deles*, Coimbra, 1952

Graça Almeida Borges

Antonio Monserrate

DATE OF BIRTH 1536
PLACE OF BIRTH Vic, Spain
DATE OF DEATH 1600
PLACE OF DEATH Goa, India

BIOGRAPHY

Antonio Monserrate was born at Vic in Catalonia, Spain, in 1536. He entered the Society of Jesus in Barcelona on 10 January 1556 and was ordained priest in 1561. Soon afterwards, he was appointed prefect of studies at the Jesuit house in Lisbon. He served in the Church of St Roque in the city and showed great zeal in helping the sick and orphaned during the plague that struck Lisbon in 1569. He had a strong missionary calling and in 1574 was part of the group sent to India under the direction of Alessandro Valignano. He was professed as a spiritual coadjutor in the Society of Jesus on 1 January 1579, and served as rector of the Salsete Jesuit mission in Goa in 1583. He was also socius to the provincial Rui Vicente.

Monserrate was part of the first mission to the Mughal court of Emperor Akbar under the direction of Rodolfo Acquaviva, in 1578. He was to have joined the ambassadors of the Mughal emperor on an embassy to King Philip of Portugal and Spain in 1582, but did not travel to Europe and remained in Goa. In 1589, he left for Abyssinia with his fellow Jesuit Pedro Páez, but the two fell into the hands of Arabs and remained in captivity for seven years, mostly in Sana'a, Yemen. Ransomed for 2,500 ducats, they returned to Goa in November 1596, where Monserrate remained till his death in 1600. A man of great virtue and prudence, he was responsible for having fashioned the mission to the Mughal court. The Mughal emperor was drawn to his ways and made him his own son's tutor. According to a contemporary historian, Antonio Franco, Monserrate was a humble person, of average health but very determined and apostolic in nature and a man of deep union with God.

Monserrate was part of the first Jesuit mission to the Muslim court of Emperor Akbar, the other members being Rodolfo Acquaviva and Francisco Henriques, from 28 February 1580 onwards. He remained there till April 1582 and then returned to Goa. In a letter dated December 1578

from Fatehpur Sikri, Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar had asked for two learned priests to come with the principal books of the Law and the Gospel so that he might learn the Law and what is most perfect in it. He assured them that they would be well treated and had nothing to fear since he would take them under his personal protection. The 43-day journey from Goa to the Mughal capital was tedious, and the Jesuits were hopeful of their plan to draw the emperor to the Christian faith as quickly as possible.

Monserrate is best known for his *Relaçam do Equebar* ('Account of Akbar'), written in Goa, and also for his later work, *Mongolicae legationis commentarius* (written while in captivity in Yemen). His *Relaçam* is important for its detail and exactness, and many believe that it was the best report by any European of the court and personality of Akbar. J.S. Hoyland has much to tell us about the work and its author. He believes Monserrate combined the earnestness of a missionary with the observant shrewdness of a historian. Monserrate's *Commentarius*, he observes, sheds new light upon the character and reign of Akbar, and about his profound interest in the spiritual world. In spite of the Jesuits' admonitions to the emperor, he was always friendly towards them (*Commentary*, pp. xii, xiv, 63). According to J.F. Richards (*Mughal Empire*, p. 35), 'Father Monserrate gives a vivid picture of a series of bitter disputations with the ulema at the Mughal court. On these occasions, from the Jesuit viewpoint at least, Akbar was noticeably sympathetic to the Christian point of view and impatient with the inability of the Muslim theologians to argue effectively against them.' As M.N. Pearson remarks, the Jesuits mistook Akbar's tolerance and inquiring mind for a sign that he was close to becoming Christian. Neither he nor his successors were converted, but the missions did play a political role through the useful information they provided for the Portuguese government in India (*Portuguese in India*, pp. 124-5).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- J. Wicki and J. Gomes (eds), *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vols 12, p. 64-77; 15, pp. 172, 573-4; 18, doc. 82, pp. 650, 698, 800
- A. Monserrate, *The commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J. on his journey to the court of Akbar*, trans. J.S. Hoyland with notes by S.N. Banerjee, London, 1922

Secondary

- J. Correia-Afonso, art. 'Monserrate, Antonio de', in *Diccionario historico de la Compania de Jesus (biografico-tematico)*, Rome, 2001, vol. 3, 2725
- J.F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire (The new Cambridge history of India 1.5)*, Cambridge, 1993
- J. Correia-Afonso, 'The second Jesuit mission to Akbar (1591)', *Indica* (Heras Institute: St. Xavier's College, Bombay) 28 (September 1991) 73-93
- M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India (The new Cambridge history of India 1.1)*, Cambridge, 1987
- J. Correia-Afonso, 'Documents of the first Jesuit mission from Goa to the Great Moghal', in *II Seminario internacional de historia Indo-Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1985, 293-9
- J. Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Letters from the Mughal court. The first Jesuit mission to Akbar (1580-1583)*, Anand: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1980
- E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the great Moghul*, London, 1932
- P. du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits. An account of the Jesuit missions to the court of Akbar*, trans. C.H. Payne, New York, 1926
- H. Hosten (ed.), '*Mongolicae legationis commentarius*, or, the first Jesuit mission to Akbar', *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 3 (1914) 518-704
- H. Hosten, 'List of Jesuit missionaries in Mogor (1580-1803)', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 6 (1910) 527-42

Charles Borges

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relaçam do Equebar Rei dos Mogores, 'Account of Akbar King of the Mogores'

DATE 26 November 1582

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

Having been given the task of recording the history of the first Jesuit mission to the court of Akbar, Monserrate wrote a daily chronicle in Portuguese, setting down his observations in detail. Upon his return to Goa, he was encouraged by his fellow priests to write out his history in full. After some delay, this task was completed in Latin as *Mongolicae legationis commentarius*. However, an excerpt from his diary relating to Akbar was written up in Portuguese immediately as *Relaçam do Equebar* and sent to Europe; it comes to 36 pages in Hosten's edition. Several copies of this manuscript were mentioned by writers in the nineteenth century,

though Hosten reported that they were no longer available when he produced his translation in 1912.

The account begins with the lineage of Akbar, together with a detailed description of his physical appearance, his personality, his pastimes, and his method of conducting the business of the court. Monserrate then provides details of Akbar's army and the revolts he was facing in various parts of his empire, paying special attention to the war elephants. He goes on to describe Akbar's initial encounter with Portuguese Christians, resulting in the invitation that brought the Jesuit delegation to his court. Monserrate mentions that Akbar was known to be wanting to abandon his faith, which prompted some of the rebellions he was facing. He treated the Jesuit priests with respect, bestowing many favours on them and listening to them frequently regarding their faith. He does, however, qualify these hopeful indications by stating that only God knew the ruler's true heart. His conclusion as to Akbar's religious inclinations was that the emperor was in a quandary: if he moved towards Christianity, the other Muslims would oppose him, while if he resisted declaring himself openly as a Christian, the priests would conclude he was being deceitful.

SIGNIFICANCE

Other early Jesuit histories, such as G.B. Peruschi's *Informatione* in 1597 and L. de Guzman's *Historia* in 1601, relied heavily on Monserrate's account for their own histories of the Mughals in India. These, in turn, influenced P. du Jarric's *Histoire*, completed in 1614. The English writer Samuel Purchas also included several passages from the account in his *Purchas his Pilgrimage*.

This account, then, was Europe's first exposure to the major Muslim empire and emperor in northern India. The impression was one of grandeur and military might. At the same time, the recurring theme of hope for the conversion of the ruler of this vast empire to Christianity makes its appearance. A glimpse of Akbar's eclectic approach to religion is given, but few details of the actual religious discussion were included in this account.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

H. Hosten (trans.), 'Father A. Monserrate's account of Akbar (26th Nov. 1582)', *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1912) 185-221

Wicki and Gomes, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 23, pp. 648-61

STUDIES

Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the great Mogul*

Hosten, '*Mongolicae legationis commentarius*', p. 521

Mongolicae legationis commentarius,
 'Account of the mission to the Mogul'
 'The first mission to Akbar'

DATE 7 January 1591

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Monserrate had written a detailed account of the first visit of the Jesuit delegation to the court of Akbar. Upon his return to Goa, he resolved to re-write his notes, this time in Latin. The process took a number of years, and was finally completed while he was still being held as a captive by Muslims in Sana'a, Yemen, in 1591. It is a work of 120 folios.

Monserrate's account begins with the invitation sent by Akbar and its positive reception by the Jesuits in Goa. This is followed by his chronicle of the journey to Fatehpur Sikri, including detailed descriptions of the peoples, cities and monuments they encountered along the way. The author displays a natural interest in the religion of the people they meet, and incorporates his views of Muslims' beliefs and practices into his account. He commends their reverence for the dead as evinced by elaborate tombs but repeatedly condemns Sufi practices, decrying the fact that 'countless tombs and little shrines of wicked and worthless Musalmans have been erected, in which these men are worshipped with vain superstition, as though they were saints' (Hoyland, *Commentary*, p. 27).

Upon their arrival in the Mughal capital, the priests were graciously received by the emperor. Their reception and discussions with Francis Julian Pereira, a priest from Bengal who had been in the Mughal court for some time, convinced them that 'these signs foretold the speedy conversion of the king to the true religion and the worship of Christ' (Hoyland, *Commentary*, pp. 28-29). After a description of the city and surrounding area, Monserrate recounts the giving of a Bible written in four languages and bound in seven volumes to Akbar, and the reverence with which the latter received it.

He then addresses a key concern, that of religious discussions with Muslim scholars. A prominent topic was a comparison of religious texts,

and Monserrate's account communicates his bias clearly. 'The priests met with religious teachers and doctors and debated keenly with them the question of the accuracy and authority of the Holy Scriptures on which the Christian religion is founded and that of the vanity and lies of the book in which the Musalmans put their faith, treating it as though it had been given by God – although (to disregard other points) Muhammad stuffed it with countless fables full of futility and extreme frivolity' (Hoyland, *Commentary*, p. 37). The Jesuit fathers relied on the argument that, while the Qur'an testified to the divine origin of the Gospels, there was no testimony to the truth of the Qur'an. Other topics of discussion were the nature of paradise, the character of Muḥammad, and such standard topics as 'the Trinity, God the Son, his death, Muḥammad, Alcoranus, the day of judgment, death, resurrection, and various philosophical and political subjects' (Hoyland, *Commentary*, p. 50). A trial by fire to test the claims of both sides was proposed several times, but ultimately rejected.

Aside from public disputations, the priests also had private audiences with the emperor, which Monserrate records in detail. He recounts an exhortation to Akbar to repent of past sins, to put away all wives and concubines besides his first wife, and to commit himself to prayer and fasting. In general, he reports a consistently favourable response from the emperor. He notes that the Jesuits were diligent in learning the Persian language and, after attaining some fluency, had begun translating portions of the Gospel and Christian teachings for Akbar, supplementing them with explanations of the points disputed by Muslims. In addition, he reports that the Muslim scholars were confounded by the priests' knowledge of the Qur'an used in debate, particularly when they raised the issue of its contradictory remarks about the death of Christ.

Monserrate had been appointed by Akbar to tutor his son, and he reports on the prince's favourable reception of Christian teaching. The emperor's vizir, Abu l-Fazl is also portrayed as embracing Christian teachings. Eventually, Akbar provided a room which the priests made into a small chapel complete with a nativity scene and a statue of the Virgin Mary, which began to attract crowds of Muslims as well as Hindus. He comments regarding the Muslim visitors, 'In other respects they may be no better than those Christian revolutionaries, the "iconoclasts"; but in this respect at least they are certainly their superiors' (Hoyland, *Commentary*, p. 60). Not all Muslims, however, approved of the presence of the Christian priests and Akbar's generosity towards them; Monserrate

attributes the cause of several rebellions to the dissatisfaction with Akbar's less than faithful Muslim practice.

The rebellion of Akbar's younger brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, ruler of Kabul, is recorded. In the process, Monserrate provides a detailed description of the emperor's army and battle strategy, paying special attention to the use of elephants in battle. As the prince's tutor, Monserrate accompanied the army in its progress north-west to Kabul, and recorded in detail the cities, peoples and religious practices encountered en route. At points in his narrative, he interjects religious questions asked by Akbar regarding Christ's death prompted by an account of Christ's Passion he had written, and how he replied to those questions. He also records his response to Akbar's questions regarding the celibacy of priests, marriage and the last judgment. In addition, the emperor questioned Monserrate regarding the mention of the coming of Muḥammad in the Christian Gospel, leading to a discussion of the application of the title of 'Paraclete' to Muḥammad. When asked what he considered the Qur'an to be, the priest responded by insisting that because the Qur'an was at variance with the Law, the Psalms and the Gospel, 'we must say that Alcoranus is profane, forged and lying, in order that we may regard the other three as sacred' (Hoyland, *Commentary*, p. 132). On another occasion, Monserrate expanded on the various sects of Christianity and their essential unity, with the exception of the Nestorians, on the doctrines of Christ. The campaign against Mirza ended with his flight from Kabul, Akbar's triumphal entry into the city unopposed, and his eventual return to Agra.

The Jesuit fathers were recalled to Goa after what they interpreted as treacherous attacks on the Portuguese commanded by Akbar. However, a reluctance to abandon the mission when there was a glimmer of hope that the emperor might convert led to one of the company, Rodolfo Acquaviva, remaining in the imperial court to continue religious discussions with him. Monserrate records religious disputes that Rodolfo then continued to have with the Muslims in the court, including a discussion of the statement in the second *sūra* of the Qur'an that each person would be saved by his own religious law, and a discussion of Jesus's titles of 'Spirit of God', 'Word of God' and 'Son of God'. At length, the priests ceased their efforts to educate the emperor in the doctrines of their faith, suspecting 'that he was intending to found a new religion' subsequently known as *Dīn-i-ilāhī* (Hoyland, *Commentary*, p. 184), and concluding that he may have been motivated simply 'by curiosity and too ardent an interest in hearing new things' (Hoyland, *Commentary*, p. 192).

Before Monserrate concludes his account, he provides information on the political relationship between the Mughals and the Portuguese, and the efforts to send an embassy to the Portuguese court in which he was to be included. The efforts ultimately failed. The description of Akbar and his court, which then bring his account to a close, were separately published as *Relaçam do Equebar*.

SIGNIFICANCE

Since this work was not published till the 20th century, its circulation was limited and it appears to have been overlooked by historians writing on Mughal rule in India and on Christian missionary work there. However, it does give a detailed record of the first encounter between Jesuit scholars and Muslim scholars of the Mughal court. The themes that emerge in these discussions and debates continued to be prominent in subsequent encounters between Christians and Muslims in South Asia, particularly the debate over the authority of their respective scriptures. Others, such as the discussions regarding the divinity of Jesus Christ and the prophethood of Muḥammad, reflect doctrinal disputes from earlier Christian-Muslim encounters in the Middle East.

Monserrate's description of the diversity of religious practices in Mughal India provide a valuable external account of not only Akbar's eclectic approach to religion, but also of Sufi and Shī'a practices. His account also bears implicit and explicit witness to Akbar's tolerance of criticism of Muḥammad and the Qur'an by the Christians, a tolerance and criticism that were both condemned by other Muslim scholars. While the Jesuits considered the mission a failure because Akbar did not convert to Christianity, the mission reaffirmed the place of religious debates and introduced some new themes in Christian-Muslim encounter. It also began a literary legacy of scripture translation and Christian apologetic writings in Persian, which were expanded in subsequent Jesuit missions to the Mughal court.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Calcutta, St Paul's Cathedral Library (Anglican) – XVI L 27, fols 1r-140v (1591; Latin – for a description see Hosten, '*Mongolicae legationis commentarius*', pp. 515-24)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Hoyland (ed.), *The commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J. on his journey to the court of Akbar*

Hosten, '*Mongolicae legationis commentarius*', pp. 534-676

STUDIES

- H. Bashir, '“Wisemen of the Franks”. Jesuit missionaries at the court of Indian Emperor Akbar the Great', in *Europe and the Eastern other. Comparative perspectives on politics, religion and culture before the Enlightenment*, Lanham MD, 2012
- A. Wink, *Akbar*, Oxford, 2009
- Correia-Afonso, *Letters from the Mughal court*
- Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the great Moghul*
- Hosten, 'Mongolicae legationis commentarius', pp. 515-33

Alan Guenther

Cristóbal de la Vega

Christoval de Vega, Christopher di Vega

DATE OF BIRTH 1561
PLACE OF BIRTH Osuna, Seville, Spain
DATE OF DEATH 1599
PLACE OF DEATH Malacca, Malaysia

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Osuna near Seville in the mid-16th century, Cristóbal de la Vega completed three years of legal studies before he joined the Society of Jesus. He went on to study philosophy for three years, and he also began his theological studies before departing for India. He arrived in Goa in 1583, and completed his studies in theology. In Goa, he was engaged in preaching and teaching theology, and served as the Superior at Daman from 1588 to 1590.

When the Mughal Emperor Akbar sent a letter to the Jesuits at Goa in 1590, requesting educated priests to debate with other religious leaders in his court, Vega was chosen to join the delegation led by Fr Duarte Leitão. The third member of the delegation was a lay brother, Estêvão Ribeiro.

The request had come by the hand of a Greek sub-deacon named Leo Grimon, who reported to the Jesuit provincial that the emperor was seeking to establish the truths of Christianity and had even celebrated the Assumption of the Virgin Mary with a public festival. Grimon had further stated that the Emperor Akbar had converted mosques into stables, destroyed minarets, adopted monogamy, and set restrictions on the age of circumcision in order to allow young men to choose the religion they wanted. All these were taken by the Jesuit leaders as signs that Akbar was turning from Islam to embrace the Christian Gospel.

Vega and the others arrived in Lahore via Ahmadabad, Bikaner and Multan in early 1591. They were given lodging in the palace itself, and a school was started in which the emperor's own son and grandsons, along with other sons of nobility, were taught to read and write Portuguese. When it became clear very quickly that the emperor had no intention of embracing Christianity, Vega went back to Goa but was ordered to

return to the emperor's court. He had apparently become a favourite of the emperor.

However, the Jesuit mission did end the following year, and Vega returned to Goa once again. He was subsequently charged with the care of churches in Vasai, north of Goa, and was eventually appointed as superior of the Jesuit house in Chaul from 1593 to 1595, also along the western Indian coast. It was from Chaul that Vega wrote his letter explaining why the mission to the Mughal court had ended.

In 1596, Vega was appointed rector of the college the Jesuits had established at Malacca on the Malay peninsula and it was there that he died in 1599.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- MS Goa, Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus – 47, fols 337-348v, 351-368v, 376-379v (1591; letters of Father Pedro Martinez)
- MS Goa, Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus – 14, fols 127-128v (2 December 1593; letter from Cristóbal de la Vega in Chaul to the Superior General Claudius Aquaviva)
- G. Spitilli, *Ragguaglio d'alcune missioni dell'Indie Orientali et Occidentali. Cavato da alcuni avvisi scritti gli anni 1590 et 1591. Da i R.P. Pietro Martinez Provinciale dell'India Orientale, Giovanni d'Atienza Provinciale del Perù, Pietro Diaz Provinciale del Messico. Al Rever. P. Generale della Compagnia di Gesù et raccolta dal Padre Gasparo Spitilli della medesima Compagnia*, Rome, 1592, pp. 3-31
- L. de Guzman, *Historia de las misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, para predicar el Sancto Evangelico en la India Oriental, y en los Reynos de la China y Japon*, Alcalá, 1601, Book 3, ch. 34
- P. du Jarric, *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales, que autres païs de la descouverte des Portugais, en l'establissement & progres de la foy chrestienne, & catholique: et principalement de ce que les religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus y ont fait, & enduré pour la mesme fin; depuis qu'ils y sont entrez jusques à l'an 1600*, Bourdeaux, 1608-14

Secondary

- E. Hambye, art. 'Vega, Cristóbal de la', *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. Biográfico-temático*, ed. C.E. O'Neal, et al., Rome, 2001, vol. 4, pp. 3915-16
- A. Camps, 'An unpublished letter of Father Christoval de Vega SJ. Its importance for the history of the second mission to the Mughal court and for the knowledge of the religion of the Emperor Akbar', in A. Camps, *Studies in Asian mission history 1956-1998*, Leiden, 2000, 47-59

- J. Richards, 'The formulation of imperial authority under Akbar and Jahangir', in M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam (eds), *The Mughal state 1526-1750*, Oxford, 1998, 126-67
- C. Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits. An account of the Jesuit missions to the court of Akbar by Father Pierre du Jarric, SJ*, London, 1926, pp. 44-50, 227-31 (notes)
- E. Maclagan, 'The Jesuit missions to the Emperor Akbar', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 65 (1896) 38-113 (an abbreviated version of the second mission is found in E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London, 1932)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Letter from Cristóbal de la Vega to the Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Chaul, 2 December 1593

DATE 1593

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

The letter, consisting of two folios, and of six pages in the *Documenta Indica*, was written by Cristóbal de la Vega to his superior to explain the reasons why the leader of the mission, Duarte Leitão, had decided to withdraw from the court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar the same year it had arrived. He states that the principal reason was the haughtiness of the emperor, who was proclaiming a new religious law, with himself as the new prophet. The delegation had arrived expecting the emperor to be ready to convert to Christianity. This expectation was disappointed, and the priests felt that their presence in the court was being used rather to endorse Akbar's new religious laws and practices.

In the letter, Vega describes the actions taken by Akbar affecting religious practice in the empire. He records the emperor as saying that the law of Muḥammad had come to an end, and since, therefore, the world was without true law, another prophet was needed, namely himself. Vega states that the people worshipped Akbar as a prophet and even referred to him as God. Vows and promises were made to him as to a saint, with his approval. Innovations were made in the law with regard to fastings, abstinences, rites of marriage and the calendar. Vega also comments that Akbar himself directed his adoration to the sun. And because the Jesuit priests were being lodged in the royal palace, those who were critical

of the emperor and his religion blamed the Christians as the source of the innovations. For these reasons the delegation had felt compelled to return to Goa.

SIGNIFICANCE

The only accounts of this second Jesuit mission to the court of Akbar come from Jesuit sources. This letter in particular presents the views of one of the participants in the mission, not only of the reasons for ending the mission shortly after it began, but also of the religious practices of the Mughal court, particularly of Emperor Akbar.

The interpretation Christóbal de la Vega gave to his observations was that Akbar was seeking to replace the law of Muḥammad with his own. Vega saw this basically as self-aggrandisement, with Akbar pursuing his own glory, setting himself up not only as another prophet but also as a saint who could grant health and success. Vega notes that Muslims were angry with the emperor and the innovations he was introducing into religious practice, thus contrasting his eclectic approach to Islam with that of more traditional Muslims. Vega's conclusion was that the kingdom thus divided would not be able to last, and that the emperor would be punished by God for his pride.

Vega's perception that Akbar was initiating a new religion is shared by the author of *Dabistān-i mazāhib*, written about 65 years later. The *Dabistān* devotes an entire chapter to the *dīn-i ilāhī*, the new religion supposedly founded by Akbar. Some contemporaneous Muslims did indeed criticise and condemn Akbar's innovations in religion, but others promoted his ideology. Subsequent historians have also been divided in their assessment of Akbar's actions and motives. Increasingly, however, scholars have seen his religious practice as consistent with Sufi practices, particularly interpreting his insistence that courtiers adopt his religion and swear allegiance to him personally as an expression of the *pūr-murīd* relationship in Sufism (Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, pp. 44-9; Pirbhai, *Reconsidering Islam*, pp. 71-91).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Goa, Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus – 14, fols 127-128v
(2 December 1593; letter from Cristóbal de la Vega in Chaul to the Superior General Claudius Aquaviva)

MS Goa, Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus – 47, fols 416-417v
(incomplete copy of the same letter)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- J. Wicki and J. Gomes (eds), *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-88, vol. 16, pp. 478-84
- J. Correia-Afonso, 'The second Jesuit mission to Akbar (1591)', *Indica* 28 (1991) 88-90 (also includes translations of other documents regarding the second mission)

STUDIES

- M. Alam and S. Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal world. Studies on culture and politics*, New York, 2012, pp. 256-63
- M. Pirbhai, *Reconsidering Islam in a South Asian context*, Leiden, 2009, pp. 71-91
- S. Subrahmanyam, 'Turning the stones over. Sixteenth-century millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges', *Indian Economic Social History Review* 40 (2003) 129-61
- Camps, 'An unpublished letter of Father Christoval de Vega S.J.'
- J. Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 34-52
- J. Correia-Afonso, 'The second Jesuit mission to Akbar (1591)', *Indica* 28 (1991) 73-93
- K.A. Nizami, *Akbar and religion*, Delhi, 1989, pp. 228-33

Alan Guenther

Heitor Furtado de Mendonça

DATE OF BIRTH	Between 1543 and 1568
PLACE OF BIRTH	Montemor, Portugal
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably before 1600
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Heitor Furtado de Mendonça was a Portuguese Inquisitor responsible for the first activities of the Portuguese Holy Office in Brazil. There is little information about his life, though something of his personality is shown in his relationships with the people of the Brazilian colony during the years 1591-5, when he was active in the north-eastern parts of the colony.

Heitor Furtado was born in Montemor, a small Portuguese village, sometime between 1543, when his parents married, and 1568-9, when his father died. In Portugal, he rose to become a 'royal magistrate', 'noble chaplain of the king', 'deputy of the Holy Office' and its *visitador*, the priest responsible for inquiring into the faith of Christians in places where the Inquisition did not have a court.

He arrived in Bahia, the capital of Brazil, on 9 June, 1591, and set about the work of examining the Christian converts there, following Inquisition procedure by encouraging people to betray anyone they thought unorthodox in their beliefs. As a result of his avidness, two attempts were made on his life, in July 1592 and September 1593.

In the next few years he continued his work in other parts of north-east Brazil, but in 1596 he was recalled to Lisbon under suspicion of exceeding his orders in the way he implemented the procedures laid down by the Inquisition. Nothing is known about him after this time, apart from the appearance of his signature on Inquisition documents in the years before 1600.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Primeira visitação do Santo Officio ás partes do Brasil. Confissões da Bahia, 1591-92, São Paulo, 1922 (repr. Rio de Janeiro, 1935)

Primeira visitação do Santo Offício às partes do Brasil. Denúncias da Bahia, 1591-1593, São Paulo, 1925

Primeira visitação do Santo Offício às partes do Brasil. Denúncias e confissões de Pernambuco, 1593-1595, São Paulo, 1929 (repr. Recife, 1970; Recife, 1984, with intro. by J.A. Gonsalves de Mello)

M.J.D. Farinha, 'O Atentado ao primeiro Visitador do Santo Offício no Brasil em 1592', in A.K.D. Novinsky (ed.), *Ibéria judaica. Roteiros da memória*, São Paulo, 1996, 233-54

Secondary

A. Novinsky and M.L.T. Carneiro, *Inquisição. Prisioneiros do Brasil*, São Paulo, 2002

A.J. Saraiva, *The Marrano factory. The Portuguese Inquisition and its new Christians 1536-1765*, Leiden, 2001

A. Vieira, 'Notícias recônditas de proceder da Inquisição com os presos', in A. Vieira (ed.), *De profecia e Inquisição*, Brasília, 1998

C.A.A. Murakawa, 'Inquisição portuguesa. Vocabulário do direito penal', in A.K.D. Novinsky (ed.), *Ibéria judaica. Roteiros da memória*, São Paulo, 1996, 151-63

N. Eymerich, *Manual dos Inquisidores. Rosa dos tempos*, Rio de Janeiro, 1993

A. Novinsky and M.L.T. Carneiro, *Inquisição. Ensaio sobre a mentalidade, heresias e arte*, São Paulo, 1992

R.J. Raminelli, 'Tempo de Visitação. Cultura e sociedade em Pernambuco e Bahia, 1591-1620', São Paulo, 1990 (MA Diss. Universidade de São Paulo)

R. Vainfas, *Trópico dos pecados, moral, sexualidade e Inquisição no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1989

A. Novinsky, *Cristãos novos na Bahia. A Inquisição*, São Paulo, 1972

A.J. Saraiva, *Inquisição e Cristãos novos*, Porto, 1969³

E. Lipiner, *Os judaizantes nas Capitanias de Cima*, São Paulo, 1968

C. Porto, *Nos tempos do Visitador*, Recife, 1968

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Primeira Visitação do Santo Offício às partes do Brasil, 'First visitation by the Holy Office to parts of Brazil'

DATE 1591-95

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

DESCRIPTION

Resulting from his visit as official *visitador* of the bishops of Brazil to the areas of Bahia in 1591-3 and Pernambuco in 1593-5, Heitor Furtado de Mendonça compiled nine books recording crimes against Catholic teaching and of a heretical nature that had been confessed by individuals themselves or denounced by others. These were intended to be used as the basis of inquisitorial trials. Only four of these books are now extant, one containing confessions made in Bahia, a second confessions in Pernambuco, and the remaining two containing denunciations in both areas.

A wide range of crimes and misdemeanours are listed, both sexual and religious. Accusations were made of leanings towards Lutheranism and of syncretistic sympathies with indigenous beliefs, while beliefs and practices that recalled Judaism, from which a number of individuals or families had converted in Portugal, were particularly prevalent, among them observances connected with the Jewish Sabbath.

Muslims and Islam are not mentioned frequently, though Mendonça states that he is interested in knowing whether anyone follows the 'sect of Muḥammad' and 'the rites and precepts of Muḥammad', and he says that he will be inquiring whether anyone had 'communion with the Moors', read their books or knew their customs (*Confissões da Bahia*, p. 42). One respondent admitted that he had known Moors back in his home town of Granada, though they had converted to Christianity.

The records make it clear that expressions in which Moors figured were part of the common language: local Christians would avow that the faith of the Moors was better than the Christianity of the Portuguese; someone might say that it was better to be a Moor than to be the thing the speaker disapproved of, or that a person was so bad that even Muslims were better. Apparently, some Christians in Brazil believed that Muslims could be saved by following the principles of their own religion (*Confissões da Bahia*, p. 43). Others suspected there were Muslims who tried to induce both long established Christians and newly converted ones to change to Islam or return to their former faith (*Confissões da Bahia*, p. 43), while others insisted that some new converts had reverted to their former faith under pressure from Muslims (*Confissões da Bahia*, p. 70).

SIGNIFICANCE

These confessions and denunciations were frequently exaggerated out of personal interest or animosity towards another. Nevertheless, it is evident that traces of Islam remained among people who called themselves

Christians and were far removed from the places with which Islam might be associated back in the Iberian Peninsula. At least as important as this, expressions associated with Islam remained current in the everyday language, and 'Moors' were regarded as the standards by which wrong could be judged.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Lisbon, Torre do Tombo

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Primeira visitaç o do Santo Of cio  s partes do Brasil. Denunciaç es e confiss es de Pernambuco, 1593-1595

Primeira visitaç o do Santo Of cio  s partes do Brasil. Denunciaç es da Bahia, 1591-1593

Primeira visitaç o do Santo Of cio  s partes do Brasil. Confiss es da Bahia, 1591-92

STUDIES

J.E. Wadsworth, 'Historiography of the structure and functioning of the Portuguese Inquisition in colonial Brazil', *History Compass* 8 (2010) 636-52

D.S. Sim es, 'Protestantismo e Inquisiç o no Brasil colonial. O "luteranismo" nas confiss es da primeira visitaç o do Santo Of cio ao Brasil (1591-1595)', *Saeculum. Revista de Hist ria* 21 (2009) 173-80

J.E. Wadsworth, 'In the name of the Inquisition. The Portuguese Inquisition and delegated authority in colonial Pernambuco, Brazil', *The Americas* 61 (2004) 19-52

M.C. Maio and C.E. Calaca, 'New Christians and Jews in Brazil. Migrations and antisemitism', *Shofar. An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 19 (2001) 73-85

L. Mott, 'Rela es raciais entre homossexuais no Brasil colonial', *Revis-tade Antropologia* 35 (1992) 169-89

Eneida Ribeiro

Index of Names

Numbers in italics indicate a main entry.

- Abbas I, Shah of Persia 666, 909-10
 'Abbās ibn Abūn ibn Ibrāhīm 834
 Abbot Eftimie 350-4, 468
 Abbot Macarie 313-20, 350, 351-3, 467
 'Abd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusī 711
 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī 639, 688, 691
 'Abdullāh al-Khatīb al-Timirtāshī
 al-Ghazzī 691
 Abel, Leonard, Maltese priest 727
 Abraham 'Mateus', envoy from
 Ethiopia 781-2
 Abraham, patriarch 67, 398, 535, 540, 572,
 658-9, 680
 Abū Bakr ibn 'Alī al-Ḥaddād 690
 Abū l-Faql al-Su'ūdī al-Mālīkī 639-43
 Abū l-Fath, *see* 'Ēnbāqom 794-800, 832-3
 Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī 629, 630
 Abū l-Su'ūd al-Jārihī 639, 641
 Abū Yūsuf, jurist 596, 629
 Abunā Marqos, Ethiopian
 metropolitan 782, 786, 794
 Abyssinia and Abyssinians, *see* Ethiopia
 8, 18, 651, 747, 774, 776-9, 780, 781-3,
 785-7, 794-9, 811, 812, 813, 821, 827, 828-9,
 832-5, 837, 849, 853, 858, 860, 863, 914
 Acem, preacher from Persia 618
 Acquaviva, Claudio 889, 893, 894, 925
 Acquaviva, Rodolfo 13, 889-96, 914, 920
 Acts of the Apostles 162, 390
 'Adal, Muslim sultanate of 786-7, 829, 834
 Adam, first human 288-9, 292, 302, 303,
 537, 540, 682, 738
 Aden 11-12, 18, 23, 747, 772, 845
 'Adil Shah sultanate of Bijapur, *see* Ali Shah
 dynasty of Bijapur 860, 861
 Adrian VI, Pope, *see also* Hadrian VI, Pope
 87, 115, 119-120, 123-4, 149-50, 499
 Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini, *see* Pius II,
 Pope 42, 52, 151, 185, 329, 444, 496, 519
 Aesop 119, 123
 Afonso V, King of Portugal 752
 Afonso, Prince, son of King João II of
 Portugal 756
 Africa and Africans 1, 8, 11, 164, 235, 396,
 439, 565, 566, 749, 751-2, 763, 774, 776,
 779-80, 801, 824-5, 842, 843, 858 *see also*
 East Africa, North Africa, West Africa
- Agra 14, 889, 920
 Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghāzī 786-7, 795,
 796-7, 811, 812, 813, 829, 832, 834, 835
 Ahmadabad 693, 923
 Ahmadnagar 19, 747, 806, 849, 871-2, 873
 Ahmed Pasha 337
 Akbar, Mughal emperor 13-14, 15, 24, 840,
 889-95, 910, 914-21, 923-6
 Aksum 782, 786, 812
 Al-Bayḍāwī 626, 632
 Albuquerque, Afonso de 8-9, 11, 21-2, 24,
 749, 791, 845, 847
 Al-Būṣīrī, poet 624, 639, 641
 Alcácer-Quibir, Battle of, *see* Battle of the
 Three Kings (1580) 902
 Alcoranus 919-20, *see* Qur'an
 Alexander the Great 43, 54, 165, 300, 384,
 585-6
 Alexander VI, Pope 96, 150, 174, 496, 678
 Alexandria 6, 46, 48, 139, 379, 382, 385,
 837
 Alexandru Lăpușneanul, Prince of
 Moldavia 313, 350, 351, 353
 Al-Fārābī 562
 Algeria 505, 565, 569, 576
 Al-Ḥallāj 609, 612, 702
 Ali Adil Shah I, sultan of Bijapur 24, 805,
 821, 837-40, 855, 856, 880-1, 884
 Ali Pasha, governor of Budun 337
 Ali Shah dynasty of Bijapur, *see* 'Adil Shah
 sultanate of Bijapur 860-1, 883
 Almeida, Francisco de, Portuguese
 viceroy 21-2, 746-8, 769, 809, 847
 Alt'amarç'i, Grigoris 599-607
 Álvares, Francisco 8, 777, 780, 781-90
 Álvares, Gonçalo 817-18
 Álvares, Manuel, Jesuit 866
 Amerbach, Bonifacius 236
 America 396, 712, 901, 906
 Amharic language 813
 Amid 585, 588-90, 608, 609, 611-12, 644
 Anatolia 36, 207, 346-7, 409, 574, 597, 615,
 622-3, 644, 704, 708-9, 735, 736
 Andrade, Francisco de 848
 Andrea Corsali 786
 Angels 288, 290, 310, 438, 558, 560, 632,
 708, 835

- Antichrist 119, 249, 424, 438, 440, 441, 560, 609, 613, 894
- Antiturcica 87, 97, 101, 116, 118, 124, 443-55, 491-515
- Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence 439, 552
- António Moniz Barreto 879-82
- Apocalypse/Apocalyptic 38, 165, 228, 248-52, 327, 336, 520, 613, 645, 703
- Apologetics 233, 683, 729, 921
- Apostles 31, 110, 137, 162, 390, 648, 682, 738
- Aqqoyunlu, Turkic federation 584, 585, 612
- ‘Arab Faqīh, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad 787, 811-15, 835
- Arabian Gulf 11, 22-3, 745, 768, 791, 805, 870, 906, 909-10, *see also* Persian Gulf
- Arboleda, Pedro de 844, 866-9
- Arius and Arians 92, 111, 138, 214, 386, 397, 462, 536, 541, 682, 685
- Armenia and Armenians 3, 7, 80, 221, 302, 318, 321, 384, 447, 572-5, 583-6, 588-90, 599, 601-3, 605, 608, 609, 611, 613, 644, 646-8, 669-71, 737, 768, 781
- Âşık Mehmed 735-9
- Askia al-Ḥāj Muḥammad of Gao 566-7
- Astuacatur Xat’ayec’i 599, 601-6
- Ataide, Luís de, Portuguese viceroy 870, 906
- Ávalos, Melchor de 897-900
- Azarie the monk 353, 467-71
- Azeri language 611-12
- Bagrat (I) Muxranbatoni, Georgian prince 653, 656-60
- Bagratids 657, 670
- Bahia, Brazil 928, 930
- Bahīrā, monk, *see* Sergius 92, 186, 241, 397-8, 798
- Bahrain 19, 853, 855
- Bakócz, Tamás, *see* Tamás Bakócz, Archbishop of Esztergom 71, 73, 127, 154
- Balkans 2, 5, 15, 53, 54, 79, 81, 92, 143, 170, 186, 219, 220, 348, 374, 736
- Barletius, Marinus 396
- Barreto, António Moniz 879-82
- Barreto, Francisco, Portuguese viceroy 821, 824, 825, 851, 860, 870
- Barros, João de 11, 768, 808-9
- Bashīr, disputant 682-3
- Bashkiria and Bashkirs 68, 543-6
- Bassein 820-1, 837, 845, 856, 872, 873
- Battle of the Three Kings, *see* Alcácer-Quibir, Battle of (1580) 902
- Bayezid II, Ottoman sultan 2, 52, 55, 118, 149-51, 482-3, 573, 592, 622, 623, 678, 685, 715
- Belarussian language 401, 535, 537, 539
- Belgrade, *see* Nándorfehérvár 4, 88, 91, 128, 143, 150, 154, 172, 185, 208-11, 263, 265, 317, 346-7, 416, 419, 457, 479, 498-9
- Belon, Pierre 329
- Benedict Curipeschitz 168-73, 522
- Benedictines 126, 147, 152, 456, 492
- Benja, Šimun Kožičić 174-88, 491, 497
- Beriszló, Petar, Croatian leader 62-4, 178, 492, 498
- Bernard of Clairvaux 439
- Bernardino of Siena 552
- Bible 43, 49, 85, 90, 91, 101, 161, 214, 225, 292, 411, 438-40, 537, 539-41, 604, 618, 659, 839, 840, 890, 918
- Bibliander, Theodore 234, 240, 242, 250-1, 345, 420, 423, 439
- Bielski, Marcin 393-403
- Biondo, Flavio 151, 439
- Birgivi Mehmed Efendi 705-14, 715
- Bodin, Jean 424, 787
- Bonfini, Antonio 158, 363, 415, 419, 477
- Bonifacius Amerbach 236
- Bragança, Constantino de, Portuguese viceroy 821, 849-51, 853-7, 867, 870, 872
- Brazil 10, 17, 745, 749, 816, 818, 879, 928-31
- Brenz, Johannes 166, 518
- Brodericus, Stephanus 144, 154-60, 499
- Brutus, Johannes Michael 152, 465, 476-80
- Bucer, Martin 236
- Budny, Szymon (Symon) 536, 540
- Budovec z Budova, Václav 214
- Byzantine Empire 186, 240, 285, 286, 288-91, 293, 299, 301-2, 304, 309, 310, 398, 682-3
- Cabral, Jorge 845, 848
- Cabral, Pedro Álvares 10, 20, 24, 745, 749, 809
- Caiado, António 822, 841-4
- Cambini, Andrea 151
- Canary Islands 764
- Canisius, Peter 201
- Cartazes* (safe conduct passes) 849, 871, 872, 880, 881
- Carvalho, Miguel Botello de 829
- Casaubon, Isaac 729

- Castanhoso, Miguel de 827-31, 835
 Castro, João de, Portuguese governor
 805-7, 845, 848
 Catarina of Austria, Queen 850, 853-4
 Catholic Monarchs 901-2
 Celâlzâde Mustafa Çelebi 616
 Celtis, Conrad 41, 141, 344
 Cem, Ottoman prince 149, 674-5, 676-87
 Centuriators of Magdeburg 433-42
 Chakavian (Croatian dialect) 185, 429
 Charles V, Holy Roman emperor 4, 119,
 155, 172, 185, 190, 445, 499-502, 517, 783,
 805, 901, 909
 Charles VIII, king of France 496, 685
 China 8, 10, 601, 603, 756-8, 801
 Chisamharu Nogomo, king of
 Monomotapa 821
 Choniates, Nicetas 345, 439
 Church Slavonic, language 76-7, 185, 217,
 313, 404
 Cipiko, Koriolan 33, 491, 503
 Ćipiko, Jerolim 92, 101
 Circumcision 10, 48, 67, 96, 397-8, 438-9,
 485, 537, 659, 680, 702, 753, 759, 765, 809,
 825, 877, 923
 Clement VII, Pope 92, 783
 Constantine XI Palaeologus, last Emperor
 of Byzantium 186, 280, 285-7, 291, 301
 Constantino de Bragança, Portuguese
 viceroys 821, 849-51, 853-7, 867, 870,
 872
 Converts 563, 566, 674, 698, 718, 753, 797,
 812, 820, 843, 847, 889, 928, 930
 Copts 384, 386, 691, 724-5, 837
 Copus, Martin 433
 Correia, Gaspar 829, 845-8
 Costa, Andre da, Jesuit 821, 825, 862
 Counter-Reformation 10, 400, 535, 541,
 733, 851, 853, 856, 860, 872
 Coutinho, Francisco, Portuguese
 viceroys 849-52, 855
 Couto, Diogo do 827, 829, 855, 880
 Cross 48, 96, 116, 218-19, 227, 376, 438,
 497, 533, 590, 599, 604, 680-1, 802, 821,
 850, 884-5
 Crucifixion 626, 641, 659, 682, 741
 Crusade(s) 8, 16-17, 42, 52, 71-73, 115, 144,
 177, 180-2, 218, 263, 337, 345, 396, 443,
 496, 502-3, 555, 685, 747, 751, 774, 777-8,
 780, 809
 Cunha da Lima, Rodrigo da 774, 776, 780
 Cunha, Nuno da, Portuguese
 governor 792, 845, 847
 Curipeschitz, Benedict 168-73, 522
 Cuspinianus, Johannes, *see also* Johannes
 Spiessheimer 51, 126, 154, 157, 141-6,
 345, 439
 Daniel, Book of 162, 164-7, 229, 248-51,
 390, 423-4, 518, 574
 Dante Alighieri 101, 108
 Dantyszek, Jan 445, 446
 Daughter of Meale Khân 859-61
 Dawit', martyr 572-5
 Dernschwam von Hradizcin,
 Johannes 344-9, 522
 Dervishes 36, 38, 348, 691
 Deuteronomy, Book of 289, 290, 642
 Dévai, Matthias 274, 276
 Devil 97, 165, 227, 251, 286, 317, 338, 348,
 352, 390, 438, 520, 864, 868
Devşirme 2, 170, 172, 299, 323
*Dhimmi*s 565-6, 568-9, 571, 579, 593-7,
 629, 630, 635-7, 688, 690
 Dias, Bartolomew 10, 749
Dîn-i-ilâhi 14, 890, 895, 920, 926
 Doge of Venice 119, 491, 497-8, 505, 662,
 666
 Dominicans 36, 37, 415, 837, 839
 Dózsa, György 71, 73
 Držić, Marin 270-3
 Dubrovnik (Ragusa) 32, 50, 56, 147-8, 152,
 189, 270, 271, 273, 355-7, 456-61, 459,
 489-90, 492, 496, 500, 504-6
 Dvorský, Bartoloměj 213-14
 East Africa 8, 11, 745, 747, 768, 802, 808-9,
 842-4, 847, 862, 868, 870, 909
 East Indies 758, 759
 Ebussuud Efendi 5, 598, 618, 715-23
 Ecclesiasticus, Book of 274, 540
 Eck, Valentinus 131-4
 Efdalzâde Hamîdüddin Efendi 592, 594
 Egidio da Viterbo, 235, 237
 Eliano, Giovanni Battista 724-31
 Elijah, prophet 682, 724
 'Ēnbâqom ('Ēnbaqom) 794-800, 832-3
 Enoch 682
 Erasmus 5, 155, 161, 189, 194, 201, 204, 246,
 248, 411
 Eritrea 782, 827
 Erpenius, Thomas 729
 Ėskändər, Emperor of Ethiopia 794, 832
 Estado da Índia 21, 746, 791, 792, 805, 807,
 849, 906-10
 Esztergom, Hungary 71, 72, 127, 201, 255,
 261, 262, 264, 321, 346, 362-3, 413, 462,
 491

- Ethiopia, *see* Abyssinia 8, 18, 651, 747, 774, 776-9, 780, 781-3, 785-7, 794-9, 811, 812, 813, 821, 827, 828-9, 832-5, 837, 849, 853, 858, 860, 863, 914
- Evangelisation 10, 24, 816, 866, 904, 909
- Evliya Çelebi 695, 738
- Exodus, Book of 289, 290, 310
- Ezekiel, Book of 249, 604
- Far East 11, 858, 902
- Fatehpur Sikri 13, 891-5, 915, 918
- Felipe II, King of Spain (also Felipe I of Portugal) 874, 877, 890, 897, 898, 901-13, 914
- Feodosii, Archbishop of Novgorod 308-12
- Ferdinand of Habsburg, Archduke, *see* Ferdinand I, King of Hungary 153, 168, 172, 189-90, 192, 194-5, 196-9, 201, 204, 207-9, 215, 236, 260, 264, 279, 332, 334-7, 344, 346, 362-3, 366, 368, 370, 409, 412-13, 416, 449, 462, 464, 472, 474, 478, 500-2, 901
- Ferdinand I, King of Hungary, *see* Ferdinand of Habsburg 153, 168, 172, 189-90, 192, 194-5, 196-9, 201, 204, 207-9, 215, 236, 260, 264, 279, 332, 334-7, 344, 346, 362-3, 366, 368, 370, 409, 412-13, 416, 449, 462, 464, 472, 474, 478, 500-2, 901
- Ferishta, chronicler 768, 886
- Fernandez, Andre, Jesuit 821, 825, 862
- Fifth Lateran Council 174, 177
- Filipino Muslims 899
- Firdawsi, Persian poet 654, 657
- Flemish language 112
- Forgách, Ferenc 152, 416, 462-6
- Franciscans 24, 112, 321, 491-2, 501, 504, 551, 619, 701, 747, 850
- Francisco de Almeida, Portuguese viceroy 746-8, 809, 847
- Francisco Álvares 8, 777, 780, 781-90
- Francisco Barreto, Portuguese viceroy 821, 824, 825, 851, 860, 870
- Francisco Coutinho, Portuguese viceroy 849-52, 855
- Francisco de Sousa Tavares 791-3
- Frankapan, Bernardin (Frankopan) 85-89, 499
- Franks, *see* Ifranĵ 573, 691, 737, 772, 780, 809
- Frederick III, the Wise, Elector of Saxony 225, 420, 481, 496
- Fróis, Luis, Jesuit 842, 844, 858-65, 866
- Fugger family 344, 346, 347
- Gabelmann, Nicolaus 129
- Gabriel, angel 560, 658
- Gabriel, superior of Mount Athos 76-84
- Gälawdewos, Emperor of Ethiopia 783, 795, 827, 829, 832-6
- Galharde, Germão 778
- Galvão, Duarte 781, 783
- Gama, Christovão da 827-9
- Gama, Aires da 769
- Gama, Estevão da, Portuguese governor 805, 827, 829, 845, 848
- Gama, Francisco da, viceroy 907
- Gama, Miguel da, grandson of Vasco da Gama 845, 847
- Gama, Vasco da 10, 15, 19-21, 745, 802, 805, 809, 845, 847
- Gaspar Correia 829, 845-8
- Gaudier, Johannes 482, 483, 485
- Gaulmin, Gilbert 729
- Gennadius Scholarius, Patriarch of Constantinople 80, 345
- Gə'əz, language 794, 797-9, 832-3
- Genesis, Book of 605, 642
- Gennady, Archdeacon 379, 380
- George of Hungary 36-40, 225, 230, 329, 520, 521
- Georgia, *see* Kartli 3, 653, 654, 656, 658-60
- Georgius, Bartholomaeo 321-30
- Gerlach, Stefan, Lutheran chaplain 421, 423, 698
- Ghiselin de Busbecq, Ogier, ambassador 7, 12, 346, 485, 522
- Giovio, Paolo, historian 151, 155, 166, 194, 345, 478, 782, 783, 787
- Glagolitic script 85, 174, 175
- Glycas, Michael 439
- Góis, Damião de 779, 782, 786
- Golâe, Ioan 467, 469
- Gomes, Diogo 9, 765
- Gonçalo Álvares 817
- Gospel of Luke 110, 290, 590, 613, 649, 679
- Gospel of Mark 290, 590, 649, 679
- Gospel of Matthew 290, 535, 537, 586, 590, 649, 679
- Grabovac, Filip 186
- Grand Duchy of Lithuania 68, 359, 360, 449, 535, 536, 537, 540, 541, 732
- Gregory XIII, Pope 727, 728
- Gritti, Andrea 662, 665, 666
- Gritti, Ludovico 189, 191, 192, 264, 474
- Gujarat 18, 19, 22, 23, 693-5, 747, 768-9, 771, 773, 791, 805-7, 849, 853, 855, 856, 872

- Gundulić, Ivan 186, 490
 Gutenberg Bible 43
 Gyöngyösi, Gergely 73
- Hadrian VI, Pope *see also* Adrian VI,
 Pope 115, 118, 119, 123
 Hagar 535-6, 602, 658
 Hagarenes, Hagarites, Hagarites 136, 137,
 291, 317, 352, 384, 397
 Hagia Sophia 150, 347
 Hagiographies 79, 81, 102, 659, 794, 795,
 833, 835
 Hanivald of Eckersdorf, Philip 482, 485
 Hasištejnský z Lobkovic, Jan 58-61
 Haunolth, Niclas 485, 486
 Haydar Bey (Haydar Çelebi) 676
 Hayreddin Barbarossa 265, 693
 Hebrew language 101, 235, 237, 537, 642,
 659, 674, 724, 832
 Helena (Āleni), Queen of Ethiopia 774,
 776, 779, 780
 Heltai, Gáspár 339
 Henry VIII, King of England 113
 Herman of Carinthia 240
 Higden, Ranulf 439
 Hindus 19, 22, 851, 853, 856, 867, 872, 885,
 886, 890, 894, 919
 Hindustani language 894
 Holy fire, miracle of 382
 Holy League 5, 150, 216, 500, 502, 517
 Holy Office, Portuguese, in Brazil, *see also*
 Inquisition 928, 929
 Holy war 12, 176, 263, 336, 337, 673, 738,
 885
 Hormuz (Ormuz) 11, 12, 18, 23, 666, 747,
 759, 772, 792, 793, 845, 855, 870, 906
 Hospitallers, *see* Knights of St John 678,
 892
 Hübmesihis 619
 Ĥurufis/Ĥurūfiyya 609, 612, 619
 Hus, Jan, and Hussites 197, 539
 Hüsâm Çelebi 592-8, 624
 Hüsâmeddin et-Tokâdî 592
 Hussowski, Mikołaj 445
 Huszthius, Georgius 409-12
 Hutten, Ulrich von 119, 129
- Iase, Georgian Muslim 660
 Ibn Nujaym al-Miṣrî 569, 688-92
 Ibn Taymiyya 561, 562, 708
 Ibn Ṭūlūn, Shams al-Dīn 650-2
 Ibrahim Adil Shah I of Bijapur 805
 Ibrahim Pasha, Ottoman grand
 vizier 192, 486, 615, 616
- Icons 352, 376, 386, 659
 Ifranĵ, *see* Franks 573, 691, 737, 772, 780,
 809
 Ignatius of Loyola 13, 237
 Igor, Russian prince 309, 310
 Illyricus, Matthias Flacius 274, 275, 433
 Incarnation of Christ 641, 660, 707, 741,
 892
 Indigenous people, of the Americas 816,
 818, 930
 Infidels 23, 32, 38, 108, 110, 119, 177, 182,
 186, 196, 211, 215, 219-20, 291, 299-301, 323,
 337, 357, 360, 383, 384-5, 490, 495, 520,
 533, 695, 721, 747, 758, 772, 803, 908
 Innocent IV, Pope 67
 Innocent VIII, Pope 678, 679
 Inquisition 487, 502, 853, 872, 897, 928
 Iran 15, 185, 317, 321, 574, 601, 603, 611,
 615, 618, 619, 654, 661, 662, 664, 666,
 693, 769, 771, 872, 906, 909 (*see also*
 Persia)
 Isaiah, prophet 310, 537, 539, 540
 Isidore of Seville 440
 Ismā'īl Ādil Shāh of Bijapur 860
 Ismā'īl 535, 540
 Ismail, Safavid Shah 15, 574, 583-6, 600,
 623, 661, 793
 Istvánffy, Miklós, historian and humanist
 poet 73, 399, 416, 465, 478, 479
 Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'a, *see* Twelver
 Shī'ism 661, 662, 664, 883
 Itineraries 171, 172, 345, 390, 526, 603
 Ivan III, Tsar of Russia 309
 Ivan IV, Tsar of Russia 279, 280, 285-6,
 290-2, 298, 308, 309-10, 376, 379, 382, 384,
 404, 405, 426, 544
 Ivan, martyr 373
- Jacobites 236, 386, 551, 552, 554, 727
 Al-Ja'farī, Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Ḥusayn 640, 685
 Jahangir, Mughal Emperor 13, 895
 Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī 681, 702
 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī 557-64, 566, 650
 James, Letter of 289
 João de Barros 11, 768, 808-9
 Japan 17, 801, 858, 866, 891
 Jesuits, *see* Society of Jesus 10, 13-15, 24,
 237, 724, 764, 787, 799, 801, 803-4, 816,
 818, 820, 821, 823, 824, 837, 840, 843, 844,
 850-1, 853, 855, 858, 861, 862-9, 889-95,
 914-27
 Jesus 42, 48, 67, 112, 139, 170, 214, 219, 251,
 266, 390, 396, 520, 535, 536, 537, 539-40,
 559-61, 574, 586, 590, 609, 613, 615, 617-20,

- 626, 630, 632, 633, 640, 641, 647, 649, 651, 652, 674, 679-85, 702-3, 708, 724, 727, 737, 738, 740-1, 796, 798, 817, 823, 892, 894, 914, 920-1
- Jews 7, 93, 138, 139, 165, 221, 235, 240-3, 290, 292, 301, 302, 359, 384-86, 389, 395, 397, 398, 438, 440, 535, 536, 541, 553, 555, 562, 564-71, 609, 619, 626, 641, 658, 673, 674, 681, 685, 690, 702, 709, 712, 713, 718-20, 724, 776, 794, 818, 823, 853, 930
- Jibrāyil ibn al-Qilā'ī 551-6
- Jihād 558, 563, 786, 787, 795, 811, 813, 829, 885, 886
- Jizya* 3, 568, 569, 570
- João I, King of Portugal 752
- João II, King of Portugal 745, 749, 756
- João III, King of Portugal 745, 749, 756, 805, 827, 834, 849, 853
- John I (János) Szapolyai (Zápolya), King of Hungary 4, 76, 154-5, 172, 189, 195-200, 207-9, 215, 260, 263-4, 266, 279, 285, 335, 362, 370, 409, 416, 464, 478, 502
- John the Baptist 574, 575, 582
- John Sigismund, King of Hungary 4, 264, 331-2, 335-6, 462, 478, 502
- Jonas, Justus 161-7
- Joshua, Book of 310
- Judaism 67, 68, 242-3, 251, 385, 423, 438, 563, 709, 818, 930
- Judas Iscariot 398, 574, 590
- Judex, Matthaëus 433, 434
- Judith, biblical figure 99-107, 334
- Julius Caesar 149, 185, 464, 476
- Julius II, Pope 71, 150, 174, 396
- Justus Jonas 161-7
- Justification, doctrine of 165, 438
- Kammermeister, Sebastian 41
- Karapet Bališec'i 582-7
- Karnarutić, Brne 93, 429-32, 492, 495, 505
- Kartli, *see* Georgia 3, 653, 654, 656, 658-60
- Kästānoso, Mikāel, *see* Christovão da Gama 827-9
- Kazan campaign 309-11, 372, 374-8
- Kazan 302, 308, 373
- Kemalpaşazâde 615-18, 620, 622-38, 772
- Khadija, wife of Muḥammad 241, 658
- Kilwa 11, 747, 808-10, 847
- Klis, fortress 457, 496, 500, 504, 506
- Knights of St John, *see* Hospitallers 678, 892
- Kochanowski, Jan 449, 450, 540
- Kolbec'i, Xaç'atur 588-91
- Konstantine II, King of Georgia 653, 656
- Kormilitsin, Nifont 372-8
- Kosovo Polje 172
- Kosovo, Battle of (1389) 52, 149, 186
- Kosovo, Battle of (1448) 495
- Kószeg, Battle of 4, 409
- Krbava Field, Battle of (1493) 91, 496, 503
- Krzycki, Andrzej 155, 445
- Kulikovo Field, Battle of, (1380) 279
- Ladislaus I, King of Hungary 128
- Ladislaus II Jagiellon, King of Hungary, *see* Vladislas II 50, 52-6, 63, 73, 127, 174, 177, 181, 201, 344
- Ladislaus V, King of Hungary 263
- Ladislaus, King of Poland 443
- Lantos, Sebestyén Tinódi 331-43, 416
- Latins 80, 292, 318, 386
- Ləbnā Dəngəl, Emperor of Ethiopia 774, 782, 783, 785, 786, 794, 795, 834
- Lehistan *see* Poland 1, 65, 66, 127, 131, 141, 144, 191, 194, 198, 215, 218, 220, 264, 294, 359, 393, 400, 401, 443-55, 462, 476, 478, 502, 503, 532, 573, 574, 701, 732, 733
- Leo Africanus 787
- Leo X, Pope 118, 124, 150, 174, 177, 180-1, 446, 497-8
- Leo XIII, Pope 890
- Lepanto, Battle of 5, 450, 505, 517, 899
- Lessing, Gottfried Ephraim 421
- Liechtenstein, Heinrich von 481, 486
- Lima, Rodrigo da 774, 779, 781, 785, 786
- Long war 216, 489, 490, 505, 525, 533
- Lopes de Sequeira, Diogo 774-80, 781, 786, 845, 847
- Lopes, Francisco, Jesuit 837, 839, 866
- López de Legazpi, Miguel 876-8, 904
- Louis II, King of Hungary and Bohemia 4, 73, 132-4, 143, 144, 154, 157, 207, 210, 260, 261, 262, 265, 321, 416, 498, 499, 504
- Löwenklau, Hans 329, 481-8, 522, 523
- Lubelczyk, Andrzej 446, 447, 448, 451
- Lucan 72, 126, 129
- Lucić, Hanibal 355-8, 492, 503, 504
- Ludolf, Iob 787
- Ludwig X, Duke of Bayern-Landshut 236, 239
- Luis de Ataíde, Portuguese viceroy 870, 906
- Luis Fróis, Jesuit 842, 844, 858-65, 866
- Lull, Raymond 552
- Lutfullah ibn Hasan, Ottoman scholar 595, 622

- Luther, Martin 5, 76, 88, 119, 144, 150-1, 161, 164, 166, 214, 225-34, 246-7, 248-9, 251, 277, 321, 339, 424, 439, 440, 518-19
- Lutherans 97, 112, 116, 242, 246-7, 249, 266, 274, 275-7, 292, 318, 329, 339, 433-4, 440, 469, 481, 518-20, 525, 698, 930
- Al-Ma'barī, *see* Zayn al-Dīn Makhdūm II 12, 883-8
- Machiavelli, Niccolò 293, 294
- Maciej Strykowski 449
- Maciej z Miechowa 65-70
- Madagascar 48, 774, 904
- Madeira 9, 764
- Al-Maghīlī 565-71
- Magno, Stefano 618
- Mahdī 560, 561, 803
- Maḥfūz ibn Muḥammad, ruler of 'Adal 786, 787
- Mahmud Shah III, Sultan of Gujarat 805, 806-7
- Malabar 10, 12, 19, 21, 855, 856, 870, 879, 883-6
- Malacca 12, 18, 23, 756, 758-60, 774, 845, 853, 858, 879, 924
- Malaya and Malays 12, 18, 759, 858, 879, 899, 924
- Maldives 11, 765
- Malik Ayāz 18, 22, 23, 768-73
- Mamluks 1, 3, 6-7, 9, 12, 18, 22-3, 48-9, 150, 385, 553, 557, 563-4, 597, 650, 691, 745, 747, 769
- Manasses, Konstantinos 316, 317, 468
- Manila 876, 877, 897, 898
- Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj 702
- Manuel I Comnenus, Emperor of Byzantium 310
- Manuel I, King of Portugal 21, 745-8, 753, 774, 777-81, 783, 785, 791, 845, 901
- Manuel II, King of Portugal 809
- Maronites 386, 551-6, 724, 725
- Marszewski, Sebastyan 446
- Martin V, Pope 176
- Martin Luther 5, 76, 88, 119, 144, 150-1, 161, 164, 166, 214, 225-34, 246-7, 248-9, 251, 277, 321, 339, 424, 439, 440, 518-19
- Martinus Thyrnavinus 73, 126-30
- Martyrs of Nagasaki 859
- Martyrs/martyrdom 3, 110, 210, 290, 374, 377, 385, 386, 437, 438, 520, 563, 572, 573, 574, 588-91, 602-6, 608-13, 619, 645-8, 659, 668-71, 728, 743, 829, 849, 859, 863, 864, 890, 893-4
- Marulus, Marcus 90-125
- Mary, mother of Jesus 97, 796, 798
- Mary, Queen of Hungary 144, 201
- Mascarenhas, Francisco, Portuguese viceroy 806, 906, 910
- Mascarenhas, Pedro, Maḥfūz ibn Muḥammad viceroy 845, 847, 856, 870
- Massawa 774, 776, 778, 781, 785, 829, 834
- Matias de Albuquerque, Portuguese viceroy 907
- Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary 50, 58, 71, 143, 149, 260, 265, 345, 415, 464, 477, 491, 495, 496
- Maverdin, martyr 150, 151
- Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor 127, 190, 194, 464, 498, 506, 519
- Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor 322, 363, 413, 462
- Maximus the Greek 135-40, 295
- Meale Khān (Malle 'Ādil Shāh), daughter of 859-61
- Mec Paron 668-72
- Mecca 9, 18, 20, 48, 241, 359, 397, 411, 427, 438, 485, 566, 610, 680, 695, 728, 753, 779, 880, 883
- Medicis 124, 271, 727, 786
- Medina 241, 397, 411, 427, 485, 695, 883
- Mehmed II, Ottoman Sultan 2, 4, 37, 52, 186, 285, 290, 294, 302, 558, 622, 678, 699
- Melanchthon, Philipp 161, 164-6, 243, 246-52, 274, 277, 322, 329, 424, 433, 447, 481
- Melchor de Ávalos 897-900
- Melkâ 681, 682
- Membré, Michele 662, 666
- Menaion 373, 656
- Menavino, Giovanni Antonio 151, 328-9, 521, 526
- Mendonça, Heitor Furtado de 10, 928-31
- Meneses, Duarte de 847, 906
- Mənilək II, Emperor of Ethiopia 799, 813
- Mexico (New Spain) 876, 877, 897
- Middle Bulgarian language 316, 468
- Miguel de Castanhoso 827-31, 835
- Milvian Bridge, Battle of (312) 310, 376
- Miracles 38, 42, 80, 138, 290, 310, 373, 385, 386, 437, 438, 609, 626, 632, 641, 682, 702, 728, 741
- Mkrtič' Abelay 608-14
- Mohács, Battle of (1526) 4, 60, 73, 131, 134, 141, 143, 144, 154, 156, 157, 172, 194, 198, 201, 202, 204, 207, 257, 260, 262-5, 317, 321, 334, 390, 416, 419, 457, 472, 474, 477, 478, 479, 499, 504, 624, 698, 704

- Mohammedans, Mohametanes,
 Muhammadans 56, 110, 119, 181, 242,
 506, 729, 753, 758, 760, 822
 Molla Kâbiz 615-21, 624, 629-33
 Moluccas 12, 774, 849, 863, 909
 Moniz Barreto, António, Portuguese
 viceroy 879-82
 Monogamy 360, 923
 Monomotapa, Mutapa,
 Mutumatapa 820, 821, 824, 825, 842,
 843, 851, 856, 862, 863, 864
 Monserrate, Antonio, Jesuit 13, 889, 890,
 914-22
 Moors 6, 10, 20-1, 751, 753, 758-60, 765,
 776, 778-80, 779, 780, 801-3, 818, 822, 823,
 824, 825, 843, 844, 847, 851, 863, 870, 908,
 930, 931
 Moravia 76, 126, 131, 344, 481, 762
 Morgay, János 210, 211
 Moriscos 899, 902
 Moses, prophet 67, 133, 310, 537, 626,
 632, 741
 Moses, Jacobite bishop of Tyre 727
 Moses of Mardin, Jacobite priest 236
 Mount Athos 76-81, 135, 659, 721, 736-38
 Mount Sinai 46, 379, 384, 385, 409
 Mozambique 11, 801, 809, 820-1, 825, 850,
 851, 855, 862-3, 868
 Mudejars 579
 Mughals 13-14, 15, 24, 603, 693, 773, 840,
 861, 890, 891, 893, 895, 908, 910, 914-15,
 917, 918, 921, 923-6
 Muḥammad, Machameth, Machmet,
 Machomet, Machumet, Mafamede,
 Mahomet, Mahometh, Mahumet,
 Maomethus, Mohamet, Mohammad,
 Mohammed 32-3, 42, 56, 92, 117, 119,
 137-9, 151, 165, 170, 177, 185, 186, 214, 234,
 239, 241-2, 251, 266, 317, 325, 348, 352,
 396-99, 401, 411, 438-41, 447, 496-8, 500,
 521, 537, 554, 560-1, 593, 604, 609-10, 613,
 615, 617-20, 624, 626, 630-3, 641, 651,
 658-9, 674, 679-80, 683, 684, 702-3, 708,
 712, 728, 737, 741, 778-9, 798, 803, 818, 823,
 847, 868, 893-4, 919-21, 925, 926, 930
 Muhammad Shah II, King of
 Hormuz 792
 Münster (Münzer), Sebastian, Franciscan
 and humanist 41, 102, 112, 345, 400
 Murad I, Ottoman Sultan 2, 52
 Murad II, Ottoman Sultan 2
 Murad III, Ottoman Sultan 421, 485, 487,
 732
 Murad ibn Abdullah (Balázs Somlyai)
 698-704
 Murtaza Nizam Shah, Sultan of
 Ahmadnagar 806
 Muscovy 216, 278, 303
 Mutapa, Monomotapa,
 Mutumatapa 820, 821, 824, 825, 842,
 843, 851, 856, 862, 863, 864
 Mutapa, King of 855
 Muxranbatoni 656
 Muxrani 656, 657
 Muẓaffar Shah II, Sultan of Gujarat 769,
 771
 Mxi'tar of Bitlis, merchant 601-5

 Nádasdy, Tamás 190, 332
 Nagasaki 858, 859
 Nagylak, Battle of 73
 Nakhchivan, Battle of (1501) 585
 Nándorfehérvár, *see* Belgrade 4, 88, 91,
 128, 143, 150, 154, 172, 185, 208-11, 263, 265,
 317, 346-7, 416, 419, 457, 479, 498-9
 Naṣr ibn Yahyā 685
 Nastūr 681
 Neagoe Basarab, Prince of Wallachia 76,
 79
 Neomartyrs 81, 619, 645, 671, 718
 Nêphôn II, Patriarch of Constantinople
 76, 80-84
 Neshri, Ottoman historian 482
 Nesimî, mystical poet 609, 702
 Nestorians 386, 397, 658, 798, 920
 Neuser, Adam 420-5, 698
 New Spain, *see* Mexico 876, 877, 897
 New World 396, 397
 Nicaea, Council of 679, 682
 Nicetas Choniates 345, 439
 Nicholas of Cusa 232, 240, 423
 Nicholas of Lyra 93
 Nicholas V, Pope 444, 495
 Nidbruck, Caspar von 433
 Niger, Toma, Bishop of Trogir 185, 491,
 495, 497-8
 Nóbrega, Manuel da, Jesuit 816-19
 Nogueira, Matthew 817-18
 Noronha, Afonso de, Portuguese
 viceroy 856
 Noronha, Antão de, Portuguese
 viceroy 855, 870-3, 879, 880-1
 Noronha, Garcia de, Portuguese
 viceroy 805, 845, 848
 North Africa 2, 9, 565-6, 570, 578-9, 745,
 747, 765, 805, 849, 874, 905-6

- Novosiltsev, Ivan Petrovich 426-8
 Nubia 786, 787
 Numbers, Book of 290
 Nuno da Cunha, Portuguese governor
 792, 845, 847

 Oaths and oath-breaking 5, 210, 287, 300,
 405, 719
 Olahus, Nicolaus (Miklós Oláh),
 Archbishop of Esztergom 155, 201-6,
 413, 462
 Old Russian language 136, 137, 139, 284,
 294, 298, 309, 373, 375, 380, 404, 427
 Old Testament 310-11, 385, 456, 535-6,
 539-40, 605, 613, 670, 804, 834
 Oporinus, Johannes, publisher 234, 243
 Oral tradition 338, 419, 544, 808
 Orations 54, 127, 154, 156-7, 190, 247, 459
 Orenburg Clerical Muslim Assembly
 (1788) 545
 Oriental studies 237
 Ormuz (Hormuz) 11, 12, 18, 23, 666, 747,
 759, 772, 792, 793, 845, 855, 870, 906
 Orzechowski, Stanisław 446, 447
 Osiander, Andreas 166
 Osman I, Ottoman Sultan 52, 55, 186
 Otto of Freising 439
 Otto, Johannes, printer 237, 239
 Ottoman Turkish 51, 217, 327, 482, 623-4,
 635, 642, 673, 677, 680, 683, 694, 698-9,
 701, 704, 707, 711, 717, 732, 736, 740-2
 Ottoman-Safavid warfare 3, 589, 600,
 603, 623, 644, 648, 670
 Ovid 32, 33, 73, 355, 429

 Pacheco Pereira, Duarte 11, 749-55
 Páez, Pedro, Jesuit 828, 914
 Paraclete 680, 740, 920
 Passion of Christ 500, 574, 613, 920
 Paul III, Pope 236, 256, 500
 Paul, Apostle 271, 276, 737, 858
 Pederasty, *see also* sodomy 635
 Pedro Álvares Cabral 10, 20, 24, 745, 749,
 809
 Pedro de Arboleda 844, 866-9
 Pegado, António, Dominican friar 837,
 839
 Pereira, Francis Julian, priest 918
 Peresvetov, Ivan 278-307
 Pernambuco, Brazil 930
 Persecution 3, 67, 80, 96, 108, 110, 139, 165,
 352, 377, 384-5, 437-8, 469, 497, 553, 567,
 647, 682

 Persia, *see* Iran 15, 185, 317, 321, 574, 601,
 603, 611, 615, 618, 619, 654, 661, 662, 664,
 666, 693, 769, 771, 872, 906, 909
 Persian Gulf, *see* Arabian Gulf 11, 22-3,
 745, 768, 791, 805, 870, 906, 909-10
 Pesel, Paul 485
 Petančić, Feliks 50-57, 491
 Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia 545, 546
 Peter the Lame, Prince 467, 468
 Peter the Venerable 240, 241, 439
 Pétervárad 143, 416
 Peutinger, Konrad 764
 Philip II, King of Spain (also Philip I of
 Portugal) 874, 890, 897, 898, 901-13
 Philip III, King of Spain, 909
 Philipp of Hesse, Landgrave 164-5
 Philippines 874-7, 897-9, 901, 904
 Philippopolis (Plovdiv) 366
 Philippus Foresti of Bergamo, Jacobus 43
 Pilate, Pontius 574, 590
 Pilgrim guides 322, 380-85, 390, 526, 551,
 917
 Pirates 737, 870
 Pires, Tomé 756-61
 Pius II, Pope, *see* Aeneas Silvio
 Piccolomini 42, 52, 151, 185, 329, 444,
 496, 519
 Pius IV, Pope 724
 Pius V, Pope 190, 502, 725
 Plays 270, 272, 279, 355-7, 394, 456, 489
 Pliny the Elder 751, 753
 Poems and poetry 31, 32-5, 62-4, 71-5, 87,
 91-2, 96, 99-102, 115, 117, 124-5, 127-9, 131-4,
 152, 155, 194-5, 204, 248, 273, 276, 332-43,
 355, 357, 363, 368-9, 394, 395, 413, 416-18,
 429-30, 445-6, 448-9, 456, 457-8, 459-61,
 464, 489-90, 491, 495-6, 498, 500, 504-6,
 552-6, 563, 572, 575, 582-3, 586, 599,
 601-6, 623-4, 639, 641, 644-5, 648, 654,
 657, 668-71, 716, 762, 883, 886
 Poland, *see* Lehistan 1, 65, 66, 96, 127, 131,
 141, 144, 177, 191, 194, 198, 215, 216, 218,
 220, 264, 294, 359, 393, 400, 401, 443-55,
 462, 476, 478, 491, 502, 503, 532, 573, 574,
 701, 732, 733
 Poland-Lithuania 279, 291, 292
 Polemics 135, 137, 138, 157, 190, 209, 213,
 214, 230, 232, 233, 241-3, 276, 285, 290,
 295, 325, 401, 434, 437, 440, 447, 535, 539,
 541, 561, 579, 609, 612, 640-1, 652, 658-9,
 673-4, 677, 679, 681, 683-5, 691, 699, 701-5,
 707, 712-13, 728, 729, 740, 741, 794, 796-9,
 885, 898

- Polish-Lithuanian state 279, 428, 443, 515
 Polygamy 42, 165, 728
 Polytheists 562, 568-9, 629, 737, 812
 Ponnani, Malabar 883
 Popescu, Radu 79
 Pork, eating of 33, 352, 398, 537, 680-1, 737, 874, 877
 Postel, Guillaume 236, 240
 Poznyakov, Vasily 379-87
 Praetorius, Gottschalk 433
 Prague 198, 263, 347, 388-90, 476, 481, 496, 539
 Préfat z Vlkanova, Oldřich 388-92
 Prester John 8, 16, 18-19, 397, 747, 774, 776-7, 777-80, 863
 Priest Yovhannēs 572-5
 Proverbs, Book of 290
 Przyłuski, Jakub 446
 Psalms, Book of 309, 540, 674, 680, 702, 920
 Psalter 112, 582, 584, 587
 Purchas, Samuel 787, 917
 Purgatory 242, 438
 Pussman, Krzysztof 540
 Putax, Saint 608-13
- Qādī Jahān 661-3
 Qādiriyya Sufi order 565, 883
 Qitai (Xat'ay), China 601, 603, 605
 Qizilbash 585, 646-8, 664
 Qur'an 33, 136, 165, 213-14, 232-6, 239-43, 250-1, 266, 348, 398-9, 420-1, 423, 438-40, 537, 563, 565, 569, 579, 602, 604, 615-18, 624, 626, 632, 642, 650, 659, 673-4, 680, 702, 705, 708, 711, 712, 727-8, 735, 771, 796-9, 832, 885, 892, 919-21
 commentaries on 557-8, 626-7, 642
 translations of 225, 243, 420
- Radziwiłł, Mikołaj 444
 Ragusa (Dubrovnik) 32, 50, 56, 147-8, 152, 189, 270, 271, 273, 355-7, 456-61, 459, 489-90, 492, 496, 500, 504-6
 Ramusio, Giovanni Battista 785
 Ransano, Pietro (Petrus Ransanus), Dominican friar 415
 Rareș family 313, 352
 Rareș, Iliăș, Prince of Moldavia 313, 317, 352, 353
 Rareș, Petru, son of Ștefan the Great of Moldavia 215-16, 219-21, 279, 285, 298, 313, 316-18
 Rareș, Ștefan, Prince of Moldavia 313, 353, 469
- 'Red apple' prophecy 327
 Red Sea 15, 18, 20, 22-23, 383, 747, 757, 768, 774, 776, 781, 785, 827, 829
 Reformation 112, 161-2, 164, 166, 194, 199, 201, 225, 318, 393, 433, 447, 541, 685
 Resurrection 397-8, 438, 574, 583, 632, 681, 919
 Reuchlin, Johannes, humanist 235, 246
 Revelation, Book of 249
 Rhineland 46
 Rhodes 5, 50, 177, 218, 317, 355, 357, 499, 503-4, 678, 684
 Ribeiro, Estêvão, Jesuit 923
 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce 225, 232, 440
 Rijeka 174, 409, 491
 Rio de Janeiro 816
 Rio Grande 753
 Ritter von Harff, Arnold 46-49
 Robert of Ketton 225, 234, 239-40, 439
 Robinja, dramatic character 355-8
 Rodrigues, Gonçalo, Jesuit 837-41, 856, 861
 Romania and Romanians 36, 79, 81, 126, 201, 279, 332, 339, 416, 462, 476, 698
 Romans, Letter to the 108, 301
 Royal Polyglot Bible 890
 Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor 476
 Rumelia 347, 615
 Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn 681, 702
 Russia 76, 135-9, 278-307, 308-12, 372-8, 379-87, 404-8, 503, 544-6, 735
 Russian language, *see also* Old Russian 76, 136, 137, 139, 280, 284, 285, 291, 292, 294, 295, 298, 309, 373, 375, 380, 381, 382, 401, 404, 427, 768
 Rustam, Persian hero 654
 Rustaveli, Georgian poet 653
 Rüstem Pasha, Ottoman grand vizier 359, 698, 701
 Ruth, biblical figure 535
- Sabashvili, Serapion 653-5, 657
 Säblä Wängel, Dowager Queen of Ethiopia 827, 829, 834
 Sa'dī, Persian poet 624, 702
 Safavids 3, 13, 15, 18, 428, 485, 573, 574, 584, 586, 612, 623, 644, 648, 661, 662, 664, 666, 693, 793, 908
 Sagundino, Niccolò, Greek scholar 51, 52
 Sahn-ı Semân madrasas, Istanbul 592, 595, 622-3
 Sa'īd ibn Ḥasan al-Iskandarī 641
 Salamanca, Franciscus 253, 256
 Šāliḥ ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ja'farī 640, 685

- Sallust 126, 149
 Salmān al-Fārisī, *see* Selmān the Persian
 674, 680
 Salonica 735
 Salvador, Brazil 816
 Sambucus, Johannes, *see* Zsámboky,
 János 157, 332, 369, 413-19, 472
 Sampitay, China 756, 853, 855
 Santiago de Compostela 46, 321, 388, 575
 São Paulo 816
 Saracens 5-6, 16, 67-8, 93, 186, 221, 399,
 439, 448, 659, 729
 Sasin, Antun Bratosaljić 489-90, 492, 505
 Satan 100, 317, 352, 604, 605
 Saxónia, Nicolau de 763
 Schedel, Hartmann 41-45
 Schesaesus, Christian 73, 129
 Schiltberger, Hans 329, 521
 Schmalkaldic War (1546-7) 162, 277, 332,
 334
 Scholarius, Gennadius, Patriarch of
 Constantinople 80, 345
 Schreyer, Sebald 41
 Schweigger, Salomon 243
 Sebastião (Sebastian), King of Portugal
 849, 850, 853, 856, 879, 871-3, 879, 902,
 908
 Second coming of Christ 139, 604, 645
 Second Ottoman-Venetian War 91, 92
 Segon, Martin, Bishop of Ulcinj 51, 54
 Selim I, Ottoman Sultan 2-3, 7, 23, 419,
 482, 597-8, 623, 676, 769, 771
 Selim II, Ottoman Sultan 363, 420-4, 426,
 427, 482, 715, 720
 Selmān the Persian, *see* Salmān al-Fārisī
 674, 680
 Serbs and Serbia 55, 62, 63, 76, 96, 172,
 260, 365-6, 416, 467, 468
 Sergius, *see* Baḥīrā, monk 92, 186, 241,
 397-8, 798
 Serrāc ibn Abdullah 673-5, 683
 Seydi Ali Reis 693-7
 Shādhilis 557-9
 Shāfi'is 557, 594, 703, 808
 Shangchuan Island, China 801
 Shī'a, Shī'ites 574, 584, 611, 659, 661-2,
 664, 802-3, 883, 921
 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, 'Arab Faqīh 787,
 811-15, 835
 Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī 642
 Shiraz 19, 758, 809
 Šibenik, Croatia 31-33, 91, 362, 491, 503
 Sibiu (Hermannstadt) 71-2, 201, 218, 532
 Sierre Leone 753
 Sigismund I, King of Poland 127, 144, 156,
 279, 393, 396, 445
 Sigismund III, King of Poland 732
 Sigismund, John, King of Hungary 4, 264,
 331-2, 335-6, 462, 478, 502
 Silveira, Gonçalo da, Jesuit 820-6, 842,
 843, 851, 855-6, 862-4, 867-8
 Sisak, Battle of (1593) 490, 503, 505-6
 Šišgorić, Juraj 31-35, 491
 Skanderbeg, George 186, 396-7, 401
 Slavonia 91, 192, 409, 472
 Slovenian language 168
 Society of Jesus *see* Jesuits 10, 13-15, 24,
 237, 724, 764, 787, 799, 801, 803-4, 816,
 818, 820, 821, 823, 824, 837, 840, 843, 844,
 850-1, 853, 855, 858, 861, 862-9, 889-95,
 914-27
 Sodomy, *see also* pederasty 5, 703, 759,
 897
 Sofala, Mozambique 11, 747, 776, 855
 Sofia 172, 366, 379
 Sohrab 654
 Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, Ottoman grand
 vizier 427, 695
 Somalia 776, 829
 Somlyai, Balázs (Murad ibn Abdallah)
 698-704
 Songhai Empire 565
 Sousa Coutinho, Manuel de, Portuguese
 viceroy 906-7
 Sousa, Frei Luís de 848
 Speeches 4, 31, 73, 85, 86-89, 119, 143, 149,
 151, 154, 157, 174, 177, 181, 186, 196, 198, 199,
 210, 302, 336, 363, 444-7, 465, 474, 491,
 492, 495-9, 501, 503, 519, 524, 670, 895
 Spiessheimer, Johannes, *see* Johannes
 Cuspinianus 51, 126, 154, 157, 141-6, 345,
 439
 Split, Croatia 32, 90-1, 99-102, 118, 355,
 457, 459, 491-2, 496-7, 500, 503-4
 Sremska Mitrovica, Battle of (1523) 263
 St Paul's College, Goa 858, 889
 St Thomas, Apostle 604, 845
 Ştefan the Great of Moldavia, Prince
 215-16, 316
 Ştefan the Younger, ruler of Moldavia 215,
 218, 219
 Stella, Guilielmus 255
 Stella, Ioannes Martinus 253-9
 Stella, Michael 255
 Stephen, first Christian martyr 613, 648
 Stern, Peter 253, 517
 Sufis 170, 557-8, 609, 611-12, 619, 623, 639,
 641, 664, 688, 699, 702-4, 705, 709, 711,

- 712, 715-16, 740, 742, 883, 894, 918, 921, 924, 926
- Süleyman I 'the Magnificent', Ottoman Sultan 3-4, 81, 150, 166, 168, 172, 190, 192, 198, 207, 209-11, 215, 225, 255-6, 260, 264-6, 285, 317, 331, 335-6, 346, 355, 359, 362, 368, 427, 430, 464, 474, 477, 500-1, 522, 600, 615, 623, 644, 648, 675, 676, 683, 685, 691, 694-5, 698, 703, 715-16
- Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn 557-64, 566, 650
- Sylvanus, Johannes 420, 423
- Szabatkai, Mihály 62-4
- Szerémi, György 260-9
- Szigetvár (Siget, Sziget) 93, 417, 429-30, 462, 474, 495, 504-6
- Szikszi Helopceus, Bálint 73
- Tacitus 149, 464
- Ṭahmāsp I, Shah of Persia 3, 644, 661-2, 664-7, 872
- Ṭahrif* 641, 674, 679, 702, 798
- Tajiks 664, 665
- Tamás Bakócz, Archbishop of Esztergom 71, 73, 127, 154
- Tarnowski, Jan, Grand Crown Hetman of Poland 191, 446
- Tatars 66-8, 219, 221, 292, 301, 309, 311, 359, 373-4, 376, 377, 393, 396-7, 405, 443-5, 449, 503, 535-8, 542, 603, 658, 732-3
- Taurinus, Stephanus 71-5, 129
- Tavares, Francisco de Sousa 791-3
- 'Third Rome' doctrine 383, 384
- Thomas Aquinas 440, 839
- Three Kings, Battle of the (1580) 902
- Thurzó, Alexius 131, 132-4
- Thyrnavinus, Martinus 73, 126-30
- Timișoara, Battle of 73, 416
- Toma Niger, Bishop of Trogir 185, 491, 495, 497-8
- Torah 289-90, 619, 640, 680
- Török de Enying, Bálint, Hungarian prince 331, 335
- Tranquillus, Andronicus 189-93, 492
- Transylvania 4, 36, 126, 152, 190, 192, 215-16, 218, 260, 263-4, 322, 334-6, 344, 350, 370, 413, 420, 423, 462, 464, 472, 476-8, 492, 532, 698-9, 701
- Travel narratives and reports 521-6, 757-61, 785-90, 838-41
- Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) 10, 749, 774
- Treaty of Țuțora (October 1595) 216
- Trinity 63, 136, 214, 424, 438, 539, 604, 641, 659, 660, 702, 707, 741, 892, 919
- Tuareg 566
- Tubero, Ludovicus Cervarius 147-53, 210, 491
- Turca* 5, 329, 330, 516-31
- Twelver Shī'ism, *see* Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'a 661, 662, 664, 883
- ʿUmar, Caliph 659, 691
- Ursinus Velius, Caspar 155, 194-200
- ʿUthmān, Caliph 242, 658
- Utraquists 58, 213, 388
- Uyghurs 603
- Uzbegs 603, 664
- Valentim, Fernandes 9, 762-7
- Valignano, Alessandro 858, 891, 914
- Vega, Cristóbal de la 923-7
- Venice and Venetians 5-7, 11, 15, 31, 33, 50, 87, 90-1, 100, 112, 118-19, 149-50, 174, 177, 218, 241, 264, 270, 328, 355, 365, 389, 429, 430, 476, 491, 495-7, 500-5, 516, 523, 551, 619, 662, 666, 699, 724, 753, 785
- Verantius, Antonius (Antun Vrančić) 190, 202, 346, 362-71, 482, 491, 522
- Vetranović, Mavro 356, 456-61, 492, 504, 506
- Vicente, Rui, Jesuit 889, 894, 914
- Vienna 51, 62, 71, 126-7, 129, 131, 141, 168, 189-90, 192, 194-5, 197, 198, 207, 225, 227, 236, 253, 257, 261, 344, 346, 368, 409, 413, 433, 476, 478, 482, 496, 501, 517, 522, 698
- Vienna, Ottoman siege of (1529) 4, 60, 164, 168, 204, 226-8, 248, 390, 391, 424, 446, 485, 499, 517, 519, 525, 676
- Vitez of Sredna, Ivan 87, 491, 495
- Vives, Juan Luis 248, 345
- Vladislas II, King of Hungary and Croatia, *see* Ladislaus II 50, 52-6, 63, 174, 177, 181, 201, 344
- Vramec, Antun 186
- Wallachia 76, 79-80, 189, 215-16, 218, 280, 298, 353, 379, 393, 396, 469, 532-4
- Al-Wansharīsi 576-81
- Warsaw 400, 733
- Wāṣil al-Dimashqī 683
- Wāyina Dāga, Battle of 828
- West Africa 9-10, 566, 570, 765
- Widmanstetter, Johann Albrecht 235-45
- Wigand, Johann 433, 434, 441
- Wisdom of Solomon 540
- Wolof, West African tribe 10, 753, 765
- Wroclaw 194, 240

- Xat'ayec'i, Astuacatur 599, 601-6
 Xavier, Francis, Jesuit 13, 24, 801-4, 837, 844, 858
 Xavier, Jerome, Jesuit 13, 24, 895
 Xətərşay, martyr 668-71
 Ximénez, Rodrigo 440
 Xinjiang 603

 Yemen 18, 772, 794, 811, 832, 883, 914-15, 918
 Yokoseura, Japan 858
 Yovasap' Sebastac'i 644-9
 Yunus Emre, mystical poet 702
 Yurmaty, Ural tribe 543, 544

 Zadar 31, 91, 93, 174-5, 429, 492, 496, 502
 Zagreb 91, 201, 409, 492, 503, 505, 506
 Al-Zamakhsharī 626, 632
 Zardasht 653

 Zay, Ferenc 207-12
 Zayn al-Dīn Makhdūm I 886
 Zayn al-Dīn Makhdūm II, *see* al-Ma'barī 883-8
 Zenbilli Ali Cemâli Efendi, Şeyhülislam 597, 598, 623
 Zermegh, János 472-5
 Zigerius, Emericus 274-7
 Zimbabwe 820, 821
 Zindīq 616, 624, 629-30
 Zizim, *see* Sultan Cem, Ottoman prince 149, 674-5, 676-87
 Zonaras, John 345, 439
 Zoranić, Petar, Croatian writer 93
 Zouenzonius, Raphael, poet 96
 Zrinski, Nikola Šubić 93, 430, 492, 504
 Zsámboky, János, *see* Sambucus, Johannes 157, 332, 369, 413-19, 472
 Zurara, Gomes Eannes de 765

Index of Titles

Numbers in italics indicate a main entry.

- About a holy martyr Ivan, who was tortured for Christ in the city of Kazan*, see *O sviatom muchenike, izhe za Khrista muchen vo grade Kazani* 373-5
- Abušakər* 832
- The accomplishments of Christovão da Gama in Ethiopia*, see *Dos feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia* 827, 828-31, 835
- Account of Akbar King of the Mogores*, see *Relaçam do Equebar Rei dos Mogores* 915, 916-18, 921
- An account of the beliefs of the ungodly Tatars, collated, and a refutation by Christians, uttered by Crown Prince Bagrat*, see *Mot'xrobay sjult'a uǰmrt'ot'a t'at'rist'a, gamokrebilni, da sitqws-geba k'ristianet'a mier, t'k'muli batonis švilis Bagratisa* 658-60
- Account of the discovery and conquest of the Island of Luzon and Mindoro*, see *Relación del descubrimiento y conquista de la isla de Luzón y Mindoro* 874-5
- An account of the great and glorious wonders that happened in the town of Kazan*, see *Skazanie velikago i slavnago chiudesi, ezhe byst' vo grade Kazani* 373-5
- Account of the mission to the Mogul*, see *Mongolicae legationis commentarius* 915, 916, 918-22
- Acta et res gesta Doctoris Martini Lutheri* 161
- Adam, Book of* 540
- Address on the devastation of Croatia delivered by Šimun Kožičić, Bishop of Modruš, to Pope Leo X on 5 November 1516*, see *Simonis Begnii, episcopi Modrusiensis, de Coruatiae desolatione oratio ad Leonem X, Pontificem Maximum, Naxis Nouembris habita MDXVI* 180-4
- Address by Simon Begnius, Bishop of Modruš, in the sixth session of the Lateran Council*, see *Simonis Begnii, episcopi Modrusiensis, oratio in sexta sessione Lateranensis concilii habita* 176-80
- Adon* 270
- Advice on singing a ganj song*, see *Xrat ganj ergeloy* 582
- Advice on singing a tal song*, see *Xrat tal ergeloy* 582
- De afflictione Christianorum* 323-4, 329, 400
- Against the discord among Christian rulers*, see *In discordiam principum Christianorum* 123-4
- Against the Qur'an*, see *Proti Alchoranu* 213-4
- Alexander romance* 599, 644
- Andronicus Tranquillus emlėkirata*, see *Tranquilli Andronici Dalmatae Traguriensis de rebus in Hungaria gestis ab illustrissimo et magnifico Ludovico Gritti deque eius obitu epistola* 191-3
- Annales Beccani* 482, 483, 485
- Annales ecclesiastici* 400
- Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum, a Turcis sua lingua scripti* 483, 484-6, 488
- Annals of the Ottoman sultans, written by the Turks in their own language*, see *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum, a Turcis sua lingua scripti* 483, 484-6, 488
- Annual letters of Pedro de Arboleda*, see *Cartas ānuas de Pedro de Arboleda* 867-9
- Anqašā amin* 794, 795, 796-800
- Answers of the Christians to the Hagarenes who revile our Orthodox Christian faith*, see *Otvety khristian protiv agařian, khul'ashchikh nashu pravoslavnuiu khristianskuui veru* 136-7
- Antiquitatum Iudaicarum* 390
- Ad Antonium Constantium* 129
- Anwār al-tanzīl* 626
- Appeal for prayer against the Turks*, see *Vermahnung zum Gebet wider den Türcken* 231-2
- Appendix de Ladislao et Ludouico regibus Ungarie* 419

- Appendix on Ladislaus and Louis, kings of Hungary*, see *Appendix de Ladislaio et Ludouico regibus Ungarie* 419
- Appendix to Ransanus's Epitome rerum Ungaricarum* 415-17
- Arba'ün ḥadīthan fī faḍl al-jihād* 558
- Arkulin* 270
- De arte versificandi opusculum* 131
- Al-ashbāh wa-l-nazā'ir* 689
- Atlas (Mercator)* 787
- Al-'awāmil al-jadīda* 705
- Az chazar Ellen walo conüracionak Ky Nylathkozzassa* 208
- Az János király árultatása* 208
- Az Landor Fejérvár elveszésének oka e vót és így esöttl* 208-12
- Barlaam and Josaphat, Book of* 794
- Al-badr al-munīr fī 'ulūm al-tafsīr* 567
- Bahjat al-zamān*, see *Futūḥ al-Habasha* 787, 811, 812-15, 829, 835
- Al-bahr al-rā'iq* 690
- Batrachomyomachia* 72
- The battle or the capture of Klis*, see *Boj ili vazetje od Klisa* 506
- The battle and the lament of the king of Hungary*, see *Razboj i tužba kralja ugarskoga* 504
- Battles with the Turks* see *Razboji od Turaka* 505
- Ad beatissimum Christianae religionis parentem maximumque fidei Romanae antistitem Sistum pontificem IIII. seraphici Francisci pientissimus hortatus in Turcas, per Tydeum Acciarinum Picentem* 496
- The betrayal of King János* see *Az János király árultatása* 208
- Belegerung der Statt Wienn* 517
- De bello Pannonico libri decem* (Caspar Ursinus Velius) 197-200
- Bellum Pannonicum* (Christian Schesaeus) 129
- Bellum theologicum ex armamentario omnipotentis adversus Turcas instructum ac ordinatum* 446-7, 447-8
- Biblia Latina* (Marcus Marulus) 92-3, 101, 111
- Bir râhib ile bir pîr-i Müslim arasında İsa (a.s.) hakkında mükâleme* 740-2
- Boj ili vazetje od Klisa* 506
- Bol'shaia chelobitnaia* 279, 298-307
- Book of Adam* 540
- Book of Barlaam and Josaphat* 794
- Book of chronicles with figures and images from the beginning of the world*, see *Buch der Croniken und geschichten mit figuren und pildnussen von anbeginn der welt bis auf dise unsere zeit* 41, 42-5
- Book of consolation on the history of Kilwa*, see *Kilwa chronicle* 11, 808-10
- The book of exile of Prince Cem*, see *Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem* 674-5, 676-7, 677-87
- Book of the ocean*, see *Kitâbü'l-muhîṭ* (Seydi Ali Reis) 694
- Book of travels see Seyahatnâme* (Evliya Çelebi) 695, 738
- Briefue description de la court du Grant Turc* 521
- Brother Riccoldo's refutation of the Qur'an*, see *Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi* 232-3
- Buch der Croniken und geschichten mit figuren und pildnussen von anbeginn der welt bis auf dise unsere zeit*, see *Liber cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi* 41, 42-5
- Buda vesztéséről és Török Bálint fogságáról* 335
- Bushrâ al-'âbis fī ḥukm al-biya' wa-l-diyur wa-l-kanâ'is* 564
- Ad caesarem Maximilianum* 502
- De Caesaribus libri III* (Giovanni Battista Cipelli) 185
- Call to lieutenants* see *Hadnagyoknak tanusag* 336-7
- Cancionale* (Tinodi) 339
- Cantio Petri Berislo* 62-4
- Canto V* (Jan Kochanowski) 449-50
- Captivity of Peter Prîni, István Majlát, and Bálint Török*, see *Prîni Péternek, Majlát Istvánnak és Török Bálintnak fogságáról* 335-6
- The capture of the town of Sziget*, see *Vazetje Sigeta grada* 93, 429-32, 505
- Ad Carolum Francorum regem concordia* 496
- Carta y alegaciones de derecho del licenciado Melchor de Ávalos* 897, 898-900
- Carta de António Caiado para cum amigo* 843-4
- Carta de D. Francisco Coutinho a D. Sebastião* 850-2
- Carta de Francisco de Sousa Tavares ao rei* 792-3

- Carta del Gobernador de Filipinas, Miguel López de Legazpi, al Virrey de Nueva España* 877-8
- Carta do governador António Moniz Barreto ao Idalcão* 880-2
- Carta do Governador D. João de Castro ao Sultão Mahmud Shah III do Guzerate* 806-7
- Carta das Novas. Que vieram a el rei nossi senhor do descobrimento do Preste João* 774, 777-80, 786
- Carta do Padre D. Gonçalo para os irmãos da Companhia de Jesus de Portugal* 823-4
- Carta do Padre D. Gonçalo para os padres e irmãos do Colégio da Companhia de Jesus de Goa* 824-6
- Carta do Vice-rei Antão de Noronha a D. Sebastião* 871-3
- Carta do vice-rei D. Constantino de Bragança à rainha D. Catarina* 854-7
- Cartas ánuas de Pedro de Arboleda* 867-9
- Cartas do Padre Jesuíta Luís Frois* 862-5
- Cartas régias para os vice-reis e governadores da Índia* 905-13
- Caso de consciência sobre a liberdade dos Índios* 816
- Catechismus minor (Peter Canisius)* 201
- Centuriae Magdeburgenses* see *Magdeburg centuries* 433, 434, 437-42
- A Cesare – Mirando Apollo da'l Leucadio colle* 501
- Cesta z Prahy* 389-92
- Ad Christum ut perdat Turcas* 96
- Chronica maiora (Isidore of Seville)* 440
- Chronica mendosa et ridicula Saracenorum* 241, 439
- Chronicas dos reys de Portugal* 845, 846
- Chronicle*, see *Cronica (Tinodi)* 332, 333-43
- Chronicle of the Bashkirs from the tribe of Yurmaty*, see *Shezhere Bashkir plemeni Jurnaty* 543-7
- Chronicle of the Cantacuzenus family* 79
- Chronicle of the entire world*, see *Kronika świata wszystkiego* 394, 395-403
- Chronicle of Galawdewos, King of Ethiopia*, see *Zena māwa'al* 833-6
- Chronicle of King João III* 848
- The Chronicle of Moldavia from 1504 to 1551* 313, 316-20
- The Chronicle of Moldavia from 1541 to 1554* 351-4
- The Chronicle of Moldavia from 1551 to 1574* 467, 468-71
- chronicles with figures and images from the beginning of the world, Book of*, see *Buch der Croniken und geschichten mit figuren und pildnussen von anbeginn der welt bis auf dise unsere zeit* 41, 42-5
- The Chronicles of the House of Osman*, see *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân* 623
- Chronicon breve regni Croatiae* 504
- Chronicorum Turcorum* 521
- Chronicum Saxonicum* 439
- Chronique universelle* 440
- I cinque libri (...) de' Turchi* 329
- City of copper* 599
- Clades in campo Mohacz*, see *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima* 144, 154, 156-60, 450
- Cladis Mohacsianae sub Ludovico II. Descriptio*, see *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima* 144, 154, 156-60, 450
- The clarifying yardstick and surpassing compiler*, see *Al-mi'yār al-mu'rib wa-l-jāmi' al-mughrib* 576, 578-81
- Ad Clementem VII. Pontificem Maximum* 124-5
- Codex Epistolaris*, see *Epistolae familiares N. Olahi ad amicos* 204-6
- Codex Hanivaldus* 482, 487, 699
- Codex Valentim Fernandes*, see *De insulis et peregrinatione Lusitanorum* 763-7
- Codex Verantius* 362-3, 482, 487
- Collectio Toletana* 240
- The collection of pleasantries*, see *Mecmûatü'l-letâif* 673-5, 683-4
- Collection of various outstanding writings of the revered master Hanibal Lucić, the lord of Hvar*, see *Skladanje izvarsnih pisan razlicih počtovanoga gospodina Hanibala Lucia vlastelina hvarskoga* 355
- Commemoration of St Xaç'atur who died at Amid*, see *Yişatak srboyn Xaç'atroy or i yAmit' katarec'aw* 588-91
- Commentarii de temporibus suis (Ludovicus Tubero)* 148-53
- Commentario de le cose de' Turchi (Paolo Giovio)* 345
- Commentary on the noble Qur'an*, see *Tafsîr al-Qur'an al-karîm* 626-8

- Commentary on the Prophet Daniel*,
see *In Daniele Prophetam*
commentarius 248-50, 251
- Compendium Alcorani* 236, 237, 239-45
- De conditione vitae Christianorum sub*
Turca 248
- De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano*
Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach
historia verissima 144, 154, 156-60,
450
- Confutatio Alcorani* 440
- The conquest of Abyssinia*, see *Futūḥ*
al-Ḥabasha 787, 811, 812-15, 829, 835
- Consilium rationis bellicae* 446
- consolation on the history of Kĩwa*, *Book of*,
see *Kĩwa chronicle* 11, 808-10
- Consultatio de bello Turcis inferendo*
248
- Contra legem Saracenorum* 225, 232
- Contra Sarracenos et Alcoranum* 440
- Controversia de excellentia instrumentorum*
Dominicae passionis 174
- Convivium poeticum* 189
- Corpus Islamolatinum* 240-1
- De Coruatiæ desolatione* 180-4
- Cosmographia universalis* 345, 400
- Cosmorama*, see *Jihān-nūmā* 482
- Cribratio Alcorani* 232, 240, 423
- Croatian anti-Turkish writings during the*
Renaissance 491-515
- Crónica da Guiné* 765
- Cronica* (Tinodi) 332, 333-43
- cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab*
inicio mundi, *Liber* 41, 42-5
- Croniken und geschichten mit figuren und*
pildnussen von anbeginn der welt bis auf
dise unsere zeit, see *Liber cronicarum*
cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio
mundi, *Buch der* 41, 42-5
- Décadas da Ásia* 808, 827, 829, 880
- Dabistān-i mazāhib* 926
- Das der Türck ein erbfeind aller Christen*
weder traw noch glauben halte 518
- Davidias* (Marcus Marulus) 102
- Al-ḡaw' al-lāmi'* 557
- A declaration of the conspiracy against*
the emperor, see *Az chazar Ellen walo*
coniuracionak Ky Nylathkozzassa 208
- The deeds of commander in chief Pietro*
Mocenigo, in three books, see *Petri*
Mocenigi imperatoris gestorum
libri III 503
- The descent of Jesus Son of Mary at the end*
of time, see *Nuzul 'Isā ibn Maryam ākhir*
al-zamān 559-61
- Descriptio et munitio urbis Viennae* 253
- Descriptio et munitioes Altemburgi*
Hungarici 253
- Descriptio peregrinationis Georgii*
Huszthii, see *Georgii Hwz peregrinatio*
Hierosolimitana 410-12
- Descriptio potentiae Turciae. Ordinatio belli*
contra illam 1514 446
- Descriptio proelii inter Ludovicum et*
Solymanum ad Mohazium gesti, see *De*
conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano
Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach
historia verissima 144, 154, 156-60, 450
- Description and fortification of the city of*
Vienna, see *Descriptio et munitio urbis*
Viennae 253
- Description and fortifications of Altenburg*
in Hungary, see *Descriptio et munitioes*
Altemburgi Hungarici 253
- Description of the pilgrimage of Georgius*
Huszthius, see *Descriptio peregrinationis*
Georgii Huszthii 410-12
- La descrizione dell'Africa* (Leo Africanus)
787
- Ad Deum contra Turcas oratio carmine*
heroico 498
- Al-dhakhira al-burhāniyya fi l-fatāwā* 690
- Diálogo do Padre Nóbrega sobre a conversão*
do gentio 817-19
- Diálogo sobre a conversação do gentio* 816
- A dialogue against the diversity and*
changeability of Polish dress see
In Polonici vestitus varietatem et
inconstantiam dialogus 449
- A Dialogue between a monk and a Muslim*
elder about Jesus (peace be upon him),
see *Bir rāhib ile bir pû-i Müslim arasında*
İsa (a.s.) hakkında mükāleme 740-2
- Dialogue on conversion of the gentile*,
see *Diálogo sobre a conversação do*
gentio 816
- Dialogue with his brother Michael*
about his journey and mission to
Constantinople, see *Dialogus cum fratre*
suo Michaelae de itinere et legatione sua
Constantinopolitana 1558 370-1
- Dialogue of Father Nóbrega about the*
conversion of the unbelievers, see *Diálogo*
do Padre Nóbrega sobre a conversação do
gentio 817-19

- Dialogus cum fratre suo Michaele de itinere et legatione sua Constantinopolitana* 1558 370-1
- Dialogus philosophandum ne sit* 190
- Dialogus sylla* 189
- Dies ist ein anschlag eines Zugs wider die Türken* 519
- Ein Disputation oder Gesprech zwayer Stalbuben* 168, 169-71
- A disputation or discussion between two stable lads, see Ein Disputation oder Gesprech zwayer Stalbuben* 168, 169-71
- Divina electio ac tempestiva creatio serenissimi principis Veneti Leonardi Lauretani cum pronostico sui invictissimi principatus* 497
- A divine choice and timely appointment of the most serene Venetian doge Leonardo Loredan with an augury of his invincible rule* 497
- Doctrina Christiana nella quale si contengono li principali misteri della nostra fede rappresentati con figure per istrusione de gl'idioti et di quelli che non sano legere* 725
- Doctrina Mahumet* 241, 420, 439
- Dos feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia* 827, 828-31, 835
- Dundo Maroje* 270
- Al-durr al-manthūr fi l-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr* 557, 558
- Al-durr al-yafīm fi l-tajwīd* 705
- Dva rasskaza o pokhodakh Ivana Groznogo na Kazan* 375-8
- Džuhō Krpeta* 270
- Ecclesiastica historia, see Magdeburg centuries* 433, 434, 437-42
- Ecclesiastical history, see Centuriae Magdeburgenses* 433, 434, 437-42
- Egri históriának summája* 337-8
- Elegia de Sibenicensis agri vastatione, see Elegija o pustošenju šibenskog polja* 32-5
- Elegia in victoriam quam Georgius Drascouith habuit de Turcis apud Glynam fluvium* 505
- Elegiarum et carminum* 31
- Elegija o pustošenju šibenskog polja, see Elegia de Sibenicensis agri vastatione* 32-5
- Elegy on the devastation of the district of Šibenik, see Elegia de Sibenicensis agri vastatione* 32-5
- Elegy to the most holy lord Paul III, see Ad sanctissimum dominum d. Paulum tertium* 500
- Emblem on the tyrant of the Turks, 1558, see De Turcarum tyranno emblema, 1558* 368-9
- Elegy on the victory over the Turks by Juraj Drašković, at the river Glina, see Elegia in victoriam quam Georgius Drascouith habuit de Turcis apud Glynam fluvium* 505
- Emblemata* 369, 413, 472
- Eryingi Török János vitézsége* 338
- Epistola domini Marci Maruli Spalatensis ad Adrianum VI. Pont. Max. de calamitatibus occurrentibus* 118-23, 499
- Epistola de perditione regni Hungarorum* 260, 261, 262-9
- Epistola flebilis* 262, 265
- Epistola S. Francisci Xavier socii Romae degentibus, Goa 20 Septembris 1542* 802-4
- Epistola ex Turcia* 274, 275-7
- Epistolae familiares N. Olahi ad amicos, see Codex Epistolaris* 204-6
- Epistolarium Turci Magni* 450
- Epistolarum et epigrammatum liber (Caspar Velius)* 194
- Epitaphium Xarci Draxoeuii* 92
- Epitome Alcorani, see Compendium Alcorani* 236, 237, 239-45
- Epitome on the family of the Ottomans, see De familia Otthomanorum epitome* 52
- Epitome on the manners of the Turks, by the pilgrim Bartholomaeo Georgieviz, see De Turcarum moribus epitome* 328-30
- Epitome rerum Ungaricarum* 415
- Ad equites Polonos de bello Turcis inferendo (Sebastyan Marszewski)* 446
- Ad equites Polonos pro sacerdotibus Turcicum bellum una cum illis suscipientibus (Jakub Przyłuski)* 446
- Esmeraldo de situ orbis* 749, 751-5
- Europa (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini)* 42
- The events in the life of Prince Cem, see Vākūdt-ı Sultan Cem* 676, 678
- Exemplaria literarum de Thurcarum in regno Hungaria, praeteriti et praesentis anni successibus, 1543-1544* 255-9
- The exertion of effort in unblocking the 'Reminder', see Jahd al-qariha fi tajrid al-Našihā* 561-2

- Exhortatio contra Turcas. Ad illustrissimum principem Maximilianum archiducem Austriae* 326, 328
- Exhortation against the Turks, see Exhortatio contra Turcas* 326, 328
- exile of Prince Cem, The book of, see Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem* 674-5, 676-7, 677-87
- Evangelistarium* 92, 102, 110, 111-5
- De familia Otthomanorum epitome* 52
- Al-fatāwā al-khāniyya* 630
- Fatwa collection, see Mecmûatü l-fetāvâ (Ibn Kemal)* 635-8
- Felice Spirto che da 'l sommo choro* 501
- Fetāvâ-yı Abdürrahim* 721
- Fetāvâ-yı Ebussuud* 716, 717-23
- Fidei orthodoxae brevis et explicita confessio quam Sacrosanta Romana Ecclesia docet* 725, 727
- Fides et leges Mohammedis exhibitae* 243
- Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopyum* 786
- Filide* 489
- The first mission to Akbar, see Mongolicae legationis commentarius* 915, 916, 918-22
- The first silva of Ludovik Paskalić from Kotor, see Sylva prima eiusdem Ludouici Paschalis Catharensis* 500
- First visitation by the Holy Office to parts of Brazil, see Primeira Visitação do Santo Officio às partes do Brasil* 929-31
- Flora* 489
- Florentinae historiae libri octo priores* 476
- Foreword to the Book on the ritual and customs of the Turks: Martin Luther to the pious reader, see Vorwort zu dem Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum: Martinus Lutherus lectori pio* 230-1
- Forty Hadiths on the merits of jihad, see Arba'ün ḥadīthan fī faḍl al-jihād* 558
- Four Letters about the Ottomans' successes in the Kingdom of Hungary in 1543 and 1544, see De Turcarum in regno Hungariae annorum MDXLIII. et XLIV. successibus epistolae quatuor* 255-9
- Fr. Ludovicus Frois S.I. Ex Comm. P. Francisci Rodrigues S.I., Rectoris, Socii Lusitaniae* 859-61
- Francesci Marcelli episcopi Tragurini oratio* 497
- Francesco Marcello, Bishop of Trogir on the Turkish attack, see Francesci Marcelli episcopi Tragurini oratio* 497
- Franciscus Marcellus, episcopus Tragurinus, Leonardo Loredano, de excursionibus Turcarum* 497
- Fresh information about the condition of Christianity, see Nouveaux avis de l'estat du Christianisme* 891-3
- Al-fulk al-mashḥūn fī aḥwāl Muḥammad ibn Tūlūn* 650
- Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* 787, 811, 812-15, 829, 835
- Al-futūḥāt al-makkiyya* 702
- De Gallis et Hispanis inter se bellantibus* 117-18
- The gate of the faith, see Anqaşā amin* 794, 795, 796-800
- Genealogia Turcorum imperatorum, lex imperii domi militiaeque habita* 50, 51, 55-7
- Genealogy of the Turkish emperors and the regulation of their empire, see Genealogia Turcorum imperatorum, lex imperii domi militiaeque habita* 50, 51, 55-7
- Generall historie of the Turkes* 481
- De generatione Mahumet et nutritura eius* 241, 439
- Georgii Hwz Peregrinatio Hierosolimitana, see Descriptio peregrinationis Georgii Huszthii* 410-12
- Die Geschichte zw Sigid im 1566 Jahr beschehen in chrabatisch Sprach beschriben* 504
- Getrewe vnd wolmeynende kurzte erjnnernung* 518
- Ghāyat al-bayān fī nādirat al-zamān* 690
- Gift to those fighting in the way of God, see Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn* 883, 884-8
- Glad tidings for the stern on the ruling of synagogues, monasteries and churches, see Bushrā al-'ābis fī ḥukm al-biyya' wa-l-diyur wa-l-kanā'is* 564
- Glory to the uncreated Godhead, see P'ark' anelin astuacut'ean* 583-7
- Grausams fürnemen, gemaine Gebet* 520
- Greater petition, see Bol'shaia chelobitnaia* 279, 298-307
- Grižula* 270
- P. Gundisalvus Rodrigues S.I. P. Antonio de Quadros S.I., Goam, Bijāpur* 7 Aprilis 1561 838-41

- P. Gundisalvus Rodrigues S.I. Sociis Goanis, Belgium* 23 Martii 1561 838-41
- Gurbetnâme-i Sultan Cem* 674-5, 676-7, 677-87
- Gutenberg Bible* 43
- Hadnagyoknak tanuság* 336-7
- Haec nova fert Affrica* 322
- Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553-55)* 346-9
- Happy is the Spirit who from the highest heaven, see Felice Spirto che da 'l sommo choro* 501
- Harmony, to Charles King of France, see Ad Carolum Francorum regem concordia* 496
- Hāshīya 'alā Sharḥ al-mawāqif* 592
- Hāshīya 'alā Sharḥ al-Tajrīd li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf* 592
- Hāshīya 'alā Sharḥ al-wiqāya li-Ṣadr al-Sharī'a* 592
- Hecuba* 270
- Eine Heerpredigt wider den Türcken* 166, 228-30, 519
- Here starts the telling of the campaign of Győr, see Počinje govorenje od vojske od Janoka* 506
- Historia aethiopica* 787
- Historia Arabum* 440
- Historia de Belgradi amissione et causis* 209
- Historia das cousas que o muy esforçado capitão Dom Christouão da Gama, see Dos feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia* 827, 828-31, 835
- História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* 779
- História da Etiópia* 829
- Historia de his quae a Venetis contra Turcos tentata sunt Persis ac Tartaris contra Turcos movendis* 444
- Historia de rege Vladislao, seu clade Varnensi* 444
- Historia obsidionis Petriniae et cladis Szerdarianae* 506
- Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinoupoleos* 720
- Historia rerum gestarum inter Ferdinandum et Ioannem Hungariae reges usque ad ipsius Ioannis obitum* 473-5
- Historia Turcica* 50, 51, 52-3
- Historia verissima, see De conflictu Hungarorum cum Solymano Turcarum imperatore ad Mohach historia verissima* 144, 154, 156-60, 450
- De historiae laudibus* 478
- Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum* 363, 481, 483, 486-8
- Historie del suo tempo* 787
- History of the Aul Murdash and neighbouring Auls, see Istorija aula Murdash i sosednych aulov* 543-7
- History of the caliphs, see Tārikhal-khulafā'* 558
- History of the Empire of Kazan see Istorii o Kazanskom tsarstve* 304, 404-8
- The history of the events that took place between Ferdinand and John of Hungary, see Historia rerum gestarum inter Ferdinandum et Ioannem Ungariae reges* 473-5
- History of Hungary in 20 volumes, see Rerum Hungaricarum libri XX* 419, 477-80
- History of Japan* 858
- History of St Dominic* 848
- History of a siege of Petrinja and defeat of the serdar, see Historia obsidionis Petriniae et cladis Szerdarianae* 506
- A history of Siget in the year 1566, see Die Geschichte zw Siged im 1566 Jahr beschehen in chrabatisch Sprach beschriben* 504
- Ho Preste Joam das Indias* 777, 779-80, 781, 785-90
- Hoffhaltung des Türkischen Keisers* 521
- Hortatory speech, see Oratio protreptica* 143-6, 345, 450
- De humani corporis fabrica* 253
- De humilitate et gloria Christi* 109-11
- Ad Hungaros* 363
- Hungaria, sive de originibus gentis, regni Hungariae situ, habitu, opportunitatibus* 202
- Hungary, or on the origins of the Hungarian people, see Hungaria, sive de originibus gentis, regni Hungariae situ, habitu, opportunitatibus* 202
- İbretnâme* 702
- If the Jews were to accuse our Hagar and Ismail. . .', see Ješliby Žydzi mieli zadawać naszoj Hagary i Ismailu* 535-6
- Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* 702

- I'lām al-sā'ilīn 'an kutub Sayyid al-mursalīn* 650-1
- De imitatione Christi* 91
- Imperial letter to the Polish king, see Leh kralna nâme-i hümmâyün* 732-4
- In Caroli Caesaris Pannonicam expeditionem* 500
- In Daniele Prophetam commentarius* 248-50, 251
- In discordiam principum Christianorum* 123-4
- In filium Ioannis regis* 502
- In foedus ictum inter principes Christianos* 500
- In magna navali victoria* 505
- In Polonici vestitus varietatem et inconstantiam dialogus* 449
- In Turcas oratio* (Antun Rozanović) 505
- In the year 900 of the Armenian era, see Inān hariwr Hayoc' t'uakan* 572-5
- Inān hariwr Hayoc' t'uakan* 572-5
- Informação da terra do Brasil* 816
- Informação das coisas da terra e necessidade que há para bem proceder nela* 816
- Information about the features of the land, see Informação das coisas da terra e necessidade que há para bem proceder nela* 816
- Information about the land of Brazil, see Informação da terra do Brasil* 816
- Ad Innocentium VIII pontificem maximum de bello inferendo Turcis oratio* 444
- inqādh, Kitāb* 705-6
- De insigni et memorabili Christianorum ex Turcis victoria* 450
- Instruction on how to lead a virtuous life* 92
- Instructions from King Manuel I to the Viceroy Francisco de Almeida, see Regimento de D. Manuel I para o vice-rei D. Francisco de Almeida* 746-8
- Instructions given by Diogo Lopes to D. Rodrigo da Cunha, see Regimento dado por Diogo Lopes a D. Rodrigo da Cunha* 776-7
- De insulis et peregrinatione Lusitanorum, see Codex Valentim Fernandes* 763-7
- Irshād al-'aql al-salīm* 716
- Islamic history of the Turks in 18 books, see Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum, de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae* 363, 481, 483, 486-8
- Istoriia o Kazanskom tsarstve* 304, 404-8
- Istorija aula Murdash i sosednych aulov* 543-7
- It is appropriate that the Venetian galleys fly new banners, see Quam bene sumpserunt Venetae noua signa triremes* 496-7
- Iter Buda Hadrianopolim anno 1553* 365-7
- Itinerarium oder Wegrayß Küniglich Mayestät potschafft gen Constantinopel zudem Türkischen Keiser Soleyman, anno 1530* 168, 171-3
- Itinerarius de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce* 440
- Itinerary or journey of his royal majesty's embassy to Constantinople, see Itinerarium oder Wegrayß Küniglich Mayestät potschafft gen Constantinopel* 168, 171-3
- Itiqād al-amāna l-urtūduksiyya kanīsa rūmiyya* 725
- Izvarsita ljubav i napokom nemila i nesrična smart Pirama i Tizbe* 429
- Al-jawhara al-nayyira sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-Qudūri* 690
- Jahd al-qariḥa fī tajrīd al-Naṣiḥa* 561-2
- János Török's valiant deeds, see Enyingi Török János vitézsége* 338
- Ješliby Žydzi mieli zadawać naszoj Hagary i Ismailu* 535-6
- Jihān-nūmā* 482
- Journey from Buda to Hadrianopolis in 1553, see Iter Buda Hadrianopolim anno 1553* 365-7
- A journey from Prague, see Cesta z Prahy* 389-2
- A journey to the Orient, see Khozhdenie na vostok gosṭi a Vasilī a Poznī akova* 379, 380-7
- Judita* 91, 93, 99-107
- Kashf al-zunūn* 571, 639
- Kashshāf* 626
- Kasīde-i mūmiyye* 716
- Kazan chronicle, see Istoriia o Kazanskom tsarstve* 304, 404-8
- Kazanskaia istoriia see Istoriia o Kazanskom tsarstve* 304, 404-8
- Khozhdenie na vostok gosṭi a Vasilī a Poznī akova* 379, 380-7
- Al-khulāṣa l-alfiyya* 639
- Kiedy Jezusa meczono* 537-8
- Kibwa chronicle* 11, 808-10
- Kirchenordnung* 161
- Kitāb inqādh* 705-6

- Kitāb al-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā* 685
Kitāb al-subwa fī akhbār Kulwa, see *Kilwa chronicle* 11, 808-10
Kitāb al-tahadduth bi-nī‘mat Allāh 557
Kitāb tesviyetü t-teveccüh ila l-Hakk 698, 699, 701-4
Kitābü'l-muhît 694
Klagschrift 519
Ein kleglich ansuchen 166
Knjižica od tvoje pameti sabrana 504
Knjižice od žitija rimskih arhijerejev i cesarov 184-8
Komedia Justyna i Konstanciej 394
Kratkii kazanskii letopisets 405
Kronika polska 394
Kronika świata wszystkiego 394, 395-403
- Lament for the city of Buda*, see *Tužba grada Budima* 460-1, 504
Lament of the city of Jerusalem, see *Tuženje grada Jerzolima* 92, 115-17, 124
Lament on war-ravaged Podolia, see *Pieśni o spustoszeniu Podol* 449-50
The last judgment of Christ 92
The last will and testament, see *Vasiyetnâme* 706, 707-11
Lawāqih al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-akhyār 639
The legal opinions of Ebussuud, see *Fetāvâ-yı Ebussuud* 716, 717-23
Legatio magni Indorum imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis ad Emanuelelem Lusitaniae regem, anno Domini M.D.XIII 779, 786
Legends of India, see *Lendas da Índia* 829, 845, 846-8
Leh kralna nâme-i hümayun 732-4
Lendas da Índia 829, 845, 846-8
Lesser petition, see *Malaia chelobitnaia* 279, 298, 294, 304
Letopisețul cantacuzinesc 79
Letter from António Caiado to a friend, see *Carta de António Caiado para cum amigo* 843-4
Letter from Cristóbal de la Vega to the Superior General Claudio Acquaviva 925-7
Letter on the downfall of Hungary, see *Epistola de perditione regni Hungarorum* 260, 261, 262-9
Letter from Father D. Gonçalo to the brothers of the Society of Jesus of Portugal, see *Carta do Padre D. Gonçalo para os irmãos da Companhia de Jesus de Portugal* 823-4
Letter from Father Dom Gonçalo to the Fathers and Brothers of the College of the Society of Jesus in Goa, see *Carta do Padre D. Gonçalo para os padres e irmãos do Colégio da Companhia de Jesus de Goa* 824-6
Letter from Francisco Coutinho to King Sebastião, see *Carta de D. Francisco Coutinho a D. Sebastião* 850-2
Letter of Francisco de Sousa Tavares to the king, see *Carta de Francisco de Sousa Tavares ao rei* 792-3
Letter from Goa to Portugal regarding the conversion of the daughter of Meale Khān, see *Fr. Ludovicus Frois S.I. Ex Comm. P. Francisci Rodrigues S.I., Rectoris, Socii Lusitaniae* 859-61
Letter of Gonçalo Rodrigues to Goa from Belgaum, see *P. Gundisalvus Rodrigues S.I. Socii Goanis, Belgaum* 838-41
Letter of Gonçalo Rodrigues to P. Antonio de Quadros in Goa, see *P. Gundisalvus Rodrigues S.I. P. Antonio de Quadros S.I., Goam, Bijâpur 7 Aprilis 1561* 838-41
Letter from Governor António Moniz Barreto to Sultan Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur, see *Carta do Governador António Moniz Barreto ao Idalcão* 880-2
Letter from Governor João de Castro, see *Carta do Governador D. João de Castro ao Sultão Mahmud Shah III do Guzerate* 806-7
Letter from the Governor of the Philippines, Miguel López de Legazpi, see *Carta del Gobernador de Filipinas, Miguel López de Legazpi, al Virrey de Nueva España* 877-8
Letter and legal claims of the lawyer Melchor Avalos, judge of the Royal Court of Manila, see *Carta y alegaciones de derecho del licenciado Melchor de Ávalos oidor de la real audiencia de Manila* 897, 898-900
Letter from Luís Frois in Goa to the Society of Jesus in Portugal regarding the visit of Jesuits to ‘Alī ‘Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur, in 1561, see *P. Ludovicus Frois S.I. ex Comm. Socii Lusitaniae et Europae* 861-3
Letter to the Ottoman Sultan Selim I about the Christians controlling the coasts of India 771-3

- Letter to the Ottoman Sultan Selim II*
422-5
- Letter from Qāḍī Jahān in the Persian Court to Andrea Gritti, Doge of Venice*
1523-1538 662-3
- Letter of S. Francis Xavier, to his companions living in Rome, see Epistola S. Francisci Xavier Socii Romae degentibus, Goa*
20 Septembris 1542 802-4
- Letter of Shah Tahmāsp to the Venetian Doge Andrea Gritti* 665-7
- Letter of Sultan Murad III to King Sigismund, see List sultana Murada III do króla Zygmunta* 732-4
- Letter from the Turkish Empire, see Epistola ex Turcia* 274, 275-7
- Letter of the Viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança, see Carta do vice-rei D. Constantino de Bragança à rainha D. Catarina* 854-7
- Letter of Viceroy Antão de Noronha, see Carta do Vice-rei Antão de Noronha a D. Sebastião* 871-3
- The letter of Tranquillius Andronicus about the things done in Hungary, see Tranquilli Andronici Dalmatae Traguriensis de rebus in Hungaria gestis ab illustrissimo et magnifico Ludovico Gritti deque eius obitu epistola*
191-3
- Lettera di Bartolomeo Georgijević a Massimilano I* 322
- Letters of the Jesuit Father Luís Frois, see Cartas do Padre Jesuíta Luís Frois*
862-5
- Letters written during the first mission to Akbar's court* 893-6
- Liber cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi* 41, 42-5
- Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum* 185, 763
- The life and deeds of our venerable and God-inspired father Nēphōn, see Vios kai politēia tou hosiou kai theophorou patros hēmōn Nēphōnos* 78-84
- The life of Ioann of Kazan, see Zhitie Ioanna Kazanskogo* 373-5
- List sultana Murada III do króla Zygmunta* 732-4
- Little books on the lives of the Roman pontiffs and emperors, see Knjižice od žitija rimskih arhijerejov i cesarov* 184-8
- Livro de doctrina espiritual* 791
- Loci communes* 161, 246
- The loss of Belgrade and reasons for its fall, see Az Landor Fejrvár elveszésének oka e vót és így esött* 208-12
- The loss of Buda and captivity of Bálint Török, see Buda vesztéséről és Török Bálint fogságáról* 335
- Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae Abbatis Commentariorum de temporibus suis libri undecim* 147, 148-53
- P. Ludovicus Frois S.I. ex Comm. Socii Lusitaniae et Europae* 861-3
- Ad Ludovicum Regem Hungariae et Bohemiae pro bello Turcis inferendo*
132-4
- Madārik al-tanzil* 626
- Madiha 'alā jabal Lubnān* 553-6
- Magdeburg centuries* 433, 434, 437-42
- Magdeburger Zenturien, see Magdeburg centuries* 433, 434, 437-42
- Mahometis . . . theologia, see Compendium Alcorani* 236, 237, 239-45
- Majmu' al-bahrayn fi man yu'ta ajrahu marratayn* 563-64
- Makālāt-i Šeyh-i Ekber* 740
- Malahna komedija od pira* 489
- Malaia chelobitnaia* 279, 298, 294, 304
- Mande* 270, 272-3
- The mantle ode, see Qašīdat al-burda* 624
- Ad Marcum Grimannum classis pontificiae praefectum* 501
- Martini Lutheri in Alcoranum Praefatio* 233-4
- Martyrdom of the bishops Yovhannēs and Sargis and the Monk Dawit', see Inēn hariwr Hayoc' t'uakan* 572-5
- The Martyrdom of Davit and Konstantine*
659
- Martyrology of Kawkčay, see V kayabanut' iwn nor vkain K'ristosi Kawkčayin* 645-9
- Martyrology of St Putax, see V kayabanut' iwn srboyn Putaxay* 608-14
- Mārūzāt* 716
- Mas'āl 'Abdallāh ibn Salām* 240, 243, 420
- Mathnawī* 681, 702
- Maṭlā' al-badrayn fi man yu'ta ajrayn*
563-4
- The matter of conscience concerning freedom of the Indians, see Caso de consciēcia sobre a liberdade dos Índios* 816
- De Matthiae Corvini Ungariae regis laudibus bellicis carmen* 129

- Mecmûatiü'l-fetâvâ* (Ibn Kemal) 635-8
Mecmûatiü'l-letâif 673-5, 683-4
Memoirs of a Janissary, see *Pamiętniki janczara* 400, 450
Memoria de lo que se envió a pedir a su Majestad 904
Menaion 656
Menâzurü'l-avâlim 736-9
Metamorphoses (Ovid) 429
Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem 424
Miftâh al-nazar 567
Millos Pariseuich pugnat ex prouocatione cum Bachota Turco 504
Mir'ât-ı kâinât 694
Mir'ätü'l-memâlik 693, 694-97
Mirror of kingdoms, see *Mir'ätü'l-memâlik* 693, 694-7
Mişbah al-arwâh fi uşul al-falâh 565, 568-70
Al-mi'yâr al-mu'rib wa-l-jâmi' *al-mughrib* 576, 578-81
Modus epistolandi 131
Les moeurs et fachons de faire des Turcz 522
Mohaçnâme 624
Mohammedis imposturae (William Bedwell) 729
Moldavian diplomatic correspondence 215-24
Molitva suprotiva Turkom 96-99, 102, 459, 505
Mongolicae legationis commentarius 915, 916, 918-22
Monomachiae Hungaroturcicae carminum libri duo 129
Mot'xrobay şjult'a ujmrt'ot'a t'at'rist'a, gamokrebilni, da sitqws-geba kristianet'a mier, t'k'muli batonis švilis Bagratisa 658-60
Mrnarica 489
Mu'addal al-şalât 705
Mufâkahat al-khillân 651
The Muhammadan way, see *Al-şariqa l-Muhammadiyya wa-l-sira l-ahmadiyya* 706, 707, 711-14
Muhammediyye 702
muhît, Kitâbü'l- 694
Mukadimme 702
Al-muntakhab al-jalil min Takhjul man harrafa l-Injul 640-3
Münşeat (Feridun Bey) 771
Münşeat-i Fârsi ('Abdullah Efendi) 771
Muqaddimat al-mufasssirîn 705
Muşâhaba rühâniyya 727-31
Muster-sermon against the Turks, see *Eine Heerpredigt wider den Türcken* 166, 228-30, 519
Mużika od crevljara 489
Naşihat ahl al-îmân fi l-radd 'alâ mantiq al-Yünân 561
Al-naşiha l-îmâniyya fi fađihat al-milla l-Naşraniyya 685
Naşihat al-mulük 706
Delle navigationi et viaggi 787
Navigations (Nicolas de Nicolay) 521
Neuwer Musulmanischer Histori, see *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum* 363, 481, 483, 486-8
New Türckenbüchlin 519
Neue Zeitungen 516-17, 524-5
De nostrorum temporum calamitatibus 445
A note by the priest Martinac, see *Zapis popa Martinca* 503
Nouveaux advis de l'estat du Christianisme 891-3
Nova et miranda de Turcis victoria 445
Novela od Stanca 270
Novositstev's ambassadorial report 427-8
Nuremberg chronicle, see *Liber cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi* 41, 42-5
Nuzul 'Isâ ibn Maryam âkhir al-zamân 559-61
O sviatom muchenike, izhe za Khrista muchen vo grade Kazani 373-5
O wolności Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego 449
Obsidio Sigethiana (Miklós Zrínyi) 129
Obsidio Zigetiensis (Janos Zsámboky) 417-18
the ocean, Book of, see *Kitâbü'l-muhît* 694
Od Siska grada počinju verši od boja 505-6
On the alliance of the Christian rulers, see *In foedus ictum inter principes Christianos* 500
On freedom of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, see *O wolności Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* 449
On the French and the Spanish fighting one another, see *De Gallis et Hispanis inter se bellantibus* 117-8

- On the great naval victory*, see *In magna navali victoria* 505
On the humility and glory of Christ, see *De humilitate et gloria Christi* 109-11
On the Hungarian state, see *De statu rei publicae Hungaricae* 464-6
On islands and the exploration of the Portuguese, see *De insulis et peregrinatione Lusitanorum* 763-7
On the Pannonian expedition of Charles the emperor, see *In Caroli Caesaris Pannonicam expeditionem* 500
On the ritual and ceremonies of the Turks, see *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis* 323, 325-6, 328-9, 400, 521
On the suffering of the Christians, see *De afflictione Christianorum* 323-4, 329, 400
On the town of Sisak, see *Od Siska grada počinju verši od boja* 505-6
On war against the Turks, see *Vom Kriege wider die Türcken* 166, 226-8, 248
On the war in Hungary, ten books, see *De bello Pannonico libri decem* 197-200
Ad optimates Polonos admonitio 190, 502
Opusculum ad regni Hungariae proceres, quod in Thurcam bella movere negligunt 126, 127, 128-30
Oratio . . . de expeditione contra Turcas suscipienda 129
Oratio (Caspar Velius) 196-7
Oratio ad Adrianum Sextum 499
Oratio ad Carolum Imperatorem 190
Oratio ad Germanos de bello suscipiendo contra Thurcas 190, 501
Oratio ad Serenissimum Carolum V 499
Oratio contra Thurcas ad Germanos habita 189, 498
Oratio habita de litterarum p̄stantia 31
Oratio pro Croatia Nürenbergae in senatu principum Germaniae habita 86-9, 499
Oratio protreptica 143-6, 345, 450
Oratio reverendissimi D. archiepiscopi Spalatensis habita 497
Oratio . . . Francisci comitis de Frangepanibus 501
Oratio Stephani Possedarski habita apud Leonem decimum 497
Orationes in causa expeditionis contra Turcas habitae 87
Ordenações Manuelinas 745, 763
Ordenanzas sobre idolatría y sodomía 897
De origine imperii Turcorum 329
De origine et rebus gestis Turcarum 52
Otanawor nor vkayin K'ristosi Kokčayin, or nahatakec'aw i Sebastiy 645-9
Otvety khristian protiv agař an, khul'i ashchikh nashu pravoslavnuu u khristianskuu veru 136-7
Pamiętniki janczara 400, 450
Panegyric on Mount Lebanon, see *Madiħa 'alā jabal Lubnān* 553-6
P'ark' anelin astuacut'ean 583-7
Perspectives of the worlds, see *Menāziriū'l-avālim* 736-9
Pervaia chelobitnaia, see *Bol'shaia chelobitnaia* 279, 298-307
Petri Mocenigi imperatoris gestorum libri III 593
Pharsalia 72, 129
Pieśń o spustoszeniu Podol 449-50
Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff 47-9
The pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, see *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* 47-9
A pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, see *Putovāni k Svatěmu Hrobu* 59-61
Pisam od Malte 504
Ad proceres Hungariae 132
Pjerin 270
Pjesanca gospodi krstjanskoj 459-60
Pjesanca slavi carevoj 457-8, 504
Pjesma o Sigetu 504
Planine 93
Počinje govorenje od vojske od Janoka 506
Podsjeđanje i osvojenje Sigeta 504
Poem to the Christian lords, see *Pjesanca gospodi krstjanskoj* 459-60
Poem to the glory of the "tsar", see *Pjesanca slavi carevoj* 457-8, 504
Poem on the youth Xətərşay, see *Tat Xətərşay mankan or i Marzəuan k'alak'n ē nahatakeal* 668-72
Poematum libri quinque 194
Poetae Christiani veteres 96, 115
Poklonenie sv. gradu Ierusalimu 382
Polskie wypisanie dwojej krajiny świata, see *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* 66-70
Pomet 270
Povest' o dvukh posol'stvakh 280
Povesti o vziatii Konstantinopolia turkami v 1453 g. 294
Praecelsae devotionis 17
Praemonitio ad lectorem 250-2, 439
Praise of the city of Dubrovnik, see *U pohvalu grada Dubrovnika* 355, 357

- Prawdziwe y osobliwe każdey sprawy wypisanie* 450
- A prayer against the Turks, see In Turcas oratio* (Antun Rozanović) 505
- Prayer against the Turks, see Molitva suprotiva Turkom* (Marcus Marulus) 96-9, 102, 459
- Predictions of philosophers and doctors* 279
- Predskazaniia filosofov i doktorov* 279
- Preface to the Qur'an by Martin Luther, see Martini Lutheri... in Alcoranum Praefatio* 233-4
- Presage, see Prognoma* 327-8
- Prester John of the Indies, see Ho Preste Joam das Indias* 777, 779-80, 781, 785-90
- Primeira Visitação do Santo Officio às partes do Brasil* 929-31
- De primo inuentione Guineae* 765
- The Prince* (Machiavelli) 293-4
- Ad principes Germaniae ut bellum Turcis invehant* 129
- Príni Péternek, Majlát Istvánnak és Török Bálintnak fogságáról* 335-6
- Private letters of Nicolaus Olahus to his friends, see Epistolae familiares N. Olahi ad amicos* 204-6
- Prognoma* 327-8
- Proti Alchoranu* 213-4
- Purchas, his pilgrimes* 787, 917
- Putování k Svatému Hrobu* 59-61
- Qaṣīdat al-burda* 624
- al-Qaṣīda l-ḥamzīyya fī l-madā'ih al-nabawīyya* 639
- Qual maraviglia se 'l furor turchesco* 108-9
- Quam bene sumpserunt Venetae noua signa triremes* 496-7
- Querela Austriae sive epistola ad reliquam Germaniam* 195
- Quibus itineribus Turci sint aggrediendi* 50, 53-5, 56
- al-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā, Kitāb* 685
- Al-rasā'il al-zayniyya fī madhhab al-Hanafīyya* 689
- Razboj i tužba kralja ugarskoga* 504
- Razboji od Turaka* 489-90, 505
- Real cédula en respuesta a Miguel López de Legazpi* 904-5
- De rebus in Hungaria gestis ab Ludovico Gritti* 189
- Die rechte Christliche Weisze wider den turcken zustreyten* 450
- Recounting God's blessings, see Kitāb al-tahadduth bi-ni'mat Allāh* 557
- Regimento dado por Diogo Lopes a D. Rodrigo da Cunha, enviado como embaixador à corte do Preste João* 776-7
- Regimento de D. Manuel I para o vice-rei D. Francisco de Almeida* 746-8
- De regnandi peritia* 293
- Reisebuch* (Hans Schiltberger) 521
- Relaçam do Equebar Rei dos Mogores* 915, 916-18, 921
- Relación del descubrimiento y conquista de la isla de Luzón y Mindoro* 874-5
- Relatione de Mons. Pietro Cedolini* 502-3
- Relationi universali* 400
- Religionis et reipublicae quaerimonia* 445
- Report on the Lithuanian Tatars, see Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich przez jednego z tych Tatarów złożone sultanowi Sulejmanowi* 359-61
- Report by Monsignor Petar Cedulini, see Relatione de Mons. Pietro Cedolini* 502-3
- De republica emendanda* 449
- Rerum Hungaricarum libri XX* 419, 477-80
- A reminder to Polish magnates, see Ad optimates Polonos admonitio* 190, 502
- A revealing word against the Hagarene aberration, see Slovo oblichitel'noe protiv agariānskogo zabluzhdeniā i protiv izmyslivshego ego skvernogo psa Magometa* 137-8
- Rimas varias y tragicomedia del martir d'Ethiopia* 829
- Risāla fī afdaliyyat Muḥammad 'alayhi l-salām* 617, 624, 631-4
- Risāla fī ḥukm 'Īsā 'alayhi al-salām huna nuzūlih* 651-2
- Risāla fī ikfāri Shah Ismā'il wa-kull man taba'ahu* 623
- Risāla fī isti'māl al-Yahūd wa-l-Nasārā* 571
- Risāla fī jawāz al-dhikr al-jahrī* 593
- Risāla fī jawāz istikhlāf al-khaṭīb* 592-3
- Risāla fī l-kanā'is al-miṣriyya* 689-92
- Risāla fī mā yata'llaq bi-lafẓ al-zindīq* 616, 624, 629-31
- Risāla fī naql al-shahāda* 593
- Risāla fī raqṣ al-mutaṣawwifa* 593
- Risāla fī sabb al-Nabī wa-aḥkāmīhi* 592, 593-6, 624
- Risāla fī ṭabaqāt al-mujtahidīn* 624
- Al-risāla fī taḥqīq al-sabb, see Risāla fī sabb al-Nabī wa-aḥkāmīhi* 592, 593-6, 624

- Risāla fī ta'rif 'ilm al-kalām* 592
Risāla ma'mūla li-bayān aḥwāl al-kanā'is shar'an 592, 596-8
Al-risāla mim mā jā'a fī-l-Tawrāt wa-fī-l-Injil wa-fī-l-Zabūr wa-l-Suḥuf 'an ism al-Nabī 641
Risālat al-nafā'is fī aḥkām al-kanā'is 691
Risāle fī medh-i pīrī 699
Risāle-i Birgivi, see *Vasiyetnâme* 706, 707-11
Risalei Tatarī Leh, see *Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich przez jednego z tych Tatarów złożone sułtanowi Sulejmanowi* 359-61
De ritibus et differentijs Graecorum et Armeniorum 321, 328
Robinja 355, 356-8
Rost'omiani 653-5, 657
Roteiros 805
The routes by which the Turks should be attacked, see *Quibus itineribus Turci sint aggrediendi* 50, 53-5, 56
The royal correspondence with the viceroys and governors of India, see *Cartas Régias para os Vice-Reis e Governadores da Índia* 905-13
Royal decree in response to Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, see *Real cédula en respuesta a Miguel López de Legazpi* 904-5
Rozmowa nowych proroków dwu baranów w jednej głowie 394
Rūḥ al-ma'ānī 642

Salvus quidem atque incolumis 503
Ad sanctissimum dominum d. Paulum tertium 500
Al-sayf al-ṣārīm 705
Sbornik of Archbishop Danilo 467
Sbornik Supraślski 401
Ein schrifft eines fromen Predigers aus der Tūrckey, see *Epistola ex Turcia* 274, 275-7
Scripta Phil. Melancthonis ad historiam . . . chronicon Carionis 247
Scythian history, see *Skifskaia istoriia* 295
Sejm niewieści 394
The second epistle of Gabriel to János Zápolya 77
The second epistle of János Zápolya to prōtos Gabriel on Martin Luther's doctrine 77
A second word, about the same, to the devout ones against the God-defier and dog, Muhammad, see *Slovo vtoroye o tom zhe, k blagochestivym protiv bogobortsa i psa Magometa* 139-40
Sen majowy pod gajem zielonym jednego pustelnika 394
De senectute (Cicero) 699
De servo arbitrio (Martin Luther) 161
The seventh chapter of Daniel on the blasphemy of the Turk, see *Das siebend Capitel Danielis von des Türcken Gotteslesterung* 164-7
Seyahatnâme 695, 738
Shahnameh 653-5
The shaming of those who have altered the Torah and the Gospel, see *Takhjil man ḥarrafa l-Tawrāt wa-l-Injil* 640-3
Sharḥ al-ahādith al-arba'in 705
Sharḥ al-alfyya 639
Sharḥ Umm al-qurā fī madḥ Khayr al-warā 639
Shezhere Bashkir plemeni Jurmaty 543-7
The Shezhere lineage, see *Shezhere Bashkir plemeni Jurmaty* 543-7
Short chronicle of the Kingdom of Croatia, see *Chronicon breve regni Croatiae* 504
Short Kazan chronicle, see *Kratkii kazanskii letopisets* 405
Das siebend Capitel Danielis von des Türcken Gotteslesterung vnd schrecklicher morderey mit vntrricht Justi Jonae 164-7
The siege of Szigetvár, see *Obsidio Zigetiensis* 417-8
Ad Sigismundum Poloniae Regem turcica secunda 446, 447
Simonis Begnii, episcopi Modrusiensis, de Coruatiae desolatione oratio ad Leonem X 180-4
Simonis Begnii, episcopi Modrusiensis, oratio in sexta sessione Lateranensis concilii habita 176-80
Les six livres de la république 787
Sixteenth-century anti-Turkish literature in Poland and Lithuania 443-55
Skąd poszły batwany 535, 539-42
Skazanie o Drakule 295
Skazanie o knigakh 279
Skazanie o Magmete-saltane 279, 284-98, 303, 304
Skazanie o Petre voevode Volosskom 280
Skazanie o tsare Konstantine 279, 284, 285
Skazanie velikago i slavnago chiudesi, ezhe byst' vo grade Kazani 373-5

- Skifskaia istoriia* 295
Skladanje izvorsnih pisan razlicih poctovanoga gospodina Hanibala Lucia vlastelina hvarsoga 355
Skup 270
The slave women, see *Robinja* 355, 356-8
Slovo oblichitel'noe protiv agariā nskogo zabluzhdeniā i protiv izmyslivshego ego skvernogo psa Magometa 137-8
Slovo vtoroye, o tom zhe, k blagochestivym protiv bogoborŝa i psa Magometa 139-40
A small book, composed by your wisdom, see Knjižica od tvoje pameti sabrana 504
De societatis Iesu initis 237
Sofiiskaia chronicle 377
Song of the emperor's glory, see *Pjesanca slavi carevoj* 457-8, 504
Song of Malta, see *Pisam od Malte* 504
The song of Péter Beriszló, see *Cantio Petri Berislo* 62-4
Song of Siget, see *Pjesma o Sigetu* 504
Specchio della peregrinatione 322
Specimen Alcorani quadrilinguis 243
Speech before Adrian VI, see *Oratio ad Adrianum Sextum* 499
Speech before the most serene Charles V... and before the most illustrious and powerful leaders of the Roman Empire, see Oratio ad Serenissimum Carolum V... ac ad illustrissimos et potentissimos Principes Romani Imperii 499
A speech by the most reverend archbishop of Split, see *Oratio reverendissimi D. archiepiscopi Spalatensis habita in prima sessione Lateranensis concilii* 497
Speech by... Franjo, Count of Frankopan, see Oratio... Francisci comitis de Frangepanibus 501
A speech of Francesco Marcello, Bishop of Trogir, see *Francesci Marcelli episcopi Tragurini oratio* 497
Speech of Stjepan Posedarski before Pope Leo X, see *Oratio Stephani Possedarski habita apud Leonem decimum pontificem* 497-8
A speech on behalf of Croatia, see *Oratio pro Croatia* 86-9, 499
Speech to the Germans against the Turks, see *Oratio contra Thurcas ad Germanos habita* 189, 498
Speech to the Germans on waging war against the Turks, see *Oratio ad Germanos de bello suscipiendo contra Thurcas* 190, 501
Speech, see *Oratio* (Caspar Velius) 196-7
The spiritual conversation, see *Mušāḥaba rūḥāniyya* 727-31
A splendid selection from The shaming of those who have altered the Gospel, see *Al-muntakhab al-jalil min Takhjil man ḥarrafa l-Injil* 640-3
Sprawa rycerska 394
Stateŭnyi spisok, see *Novosiltstev's ambassadorial report* 427-8
De statu rei publicae Hungaricae 464-6
Stauromachia id est cruciatorum servile bellum 71, 72-5, 129
Stepennaia kniga 404
Stephani Broderici... ad Sanctissimum Dominum Adrianum VI. oratio 499
Story of Amir Hamza 659
Struggles against the Turks, see *Razboji od Turaka* 489-90, 505
al-Sulwa fi akhbār Kulwa, Kitāb, see *Kilwa chronicle* 11, 808-10
Suma oriental que trata do Mar Roxo até aos Chins 756, 757-61
Summa contra Gentiles (Thomas Aquinas) 440, 839, 840
Summ[ul]a contra Saracenos (Peter the Venerable) 439
Summary of the Eger siege, see *Egri históriának summája* 337-8
Summula brevis 241
Ad summum pontificem Pium V 502
Supplementum chronicarum 43
A supplication to God against the Turks in hexameter, see *Ad Deum contra Turcas oratio carmine heroico* 498
Suzana 102
Sylua prima eiusdem Ludouici Paschalis Catharensis ad Regem Gallorum exortatio 500
Sylvula 127
Symbolum Athanasii 424
Syriacae linguae... prima elementa 236
Tadhkirat al-awliyā' 702
Tafsīr of Baghawī 682
Tafsīr al-Jalālayn 558
Al-tafsīr al-kabīr 680
Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-karīm 626-8
Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥa 567
al-taḥadduth bi-ni'mat Allāh, Kitāb 557
Tahāfut al-falāsifa 624

- Tāj al-dīn fi-mā yajib 'alā l-mulūk* 567
Tāj al-tawārikh 482
Taī Astuacatur Xat'ayec'un i Grigoris kat'olikosē Alt'amarc'woy 601-7
Taī Astuacatur Xat'ayec'woyn 601-7
Taī Xataršay mankan or i Marzəuan k'atak'n ē nahatakeal 668-72
The tale about books, see *Skazanie o knigakh* 279
The tale of Drakula, see *Skazanie o Drakule* 295
The tale of Emperor Constantine, see *Skazanie o tsare Konstantine* 279, 284, 285
The tale of Sultan Mehmed, see *Skazanie o Magmete-saltane* 279, 284-98, 303, 304
The tale of two embassies, see *Povest' o dvukh posol'stvakh* 280
The tale of Voivode Peter of Wallachia, see *Skazanie o Petre voevode Volosskom* 280
Al-ta'lim al-Masihi 725
Tārīh-i Feth-i Kostantiniyye 624
Ta'rikh al-khulafā' 558
Al-ṭarīqa l-Muḥammadiyya wa-l-sīra l-ahmadiyya 706, 707, 711-14
Ta'rikh-i Āl-i 'Othmān 482
tesviyetü t-teveccüh ila l-Hakk, Kitāb 698, 699, 701-4
Tevārīh-i Āl-i Osmān 482, 623
Theatrum orbis terrarum 787
The theology of Muḥammad, see *Compendium Alcorani* 236, 237, 239-45
Thousand and one nights 599
Three epistles to Ivan IV during the Kazan campaign 309-12
Three letters of Father Luís Frois, see *Cartas do Padre Jesuita Luís Frois* 862-5
Threni neglecte religionis 133
Tipografia del Collegio Romano 724
Tirena 270
To Clement VII, Supreme Pontiff, see *Ad Clementem VII. Pontificem Maximum* 124-5
To . . . Pope Sixtus the IV: a most pious exhortation against the Turks, see *Ad beatissimum Christianae religionis parentem maximae fidei Romanae antistitem Sistum pontificem IIII.* 496
To the dignitaries of the Kingdom of Hungary, see *Opusculum ad regni Hungariae proceres, quod in Thurcam bella movere negligunt* 126, 127, 128-30
To the emperor – While Apollo wondered from the hill of Leucadia, see *A Cesare – Mirando Apollo da'l Leucadio colle* 501
To the Emperor Maximilian [II], see *Ad caesarem Maximilianum* 502
To the Hungarians, see *Ad Hungaros* 363
To the leader of the Venetian fleet Vincenzo Capello, see *Ad Venetae classis praefectum Vincentium Capellum* 501
To Louis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, see *Ad Ludovicum Regem Hungariae et Bohemiae pro bello Turcis inferendo* 132-4
To Marco Grimani, leader of the papal fleet, see *Ad Marcum Grimannum classis pontificiae praefectum* 501
To the son of King John, see *In filium Ioannis regis* 502
The torch of souls on the foundations of success, see *Miṣbah al-arwāḥ fi uṣūl al-falāḥ* 565, 568-70
Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana, see *Polskie wypisanie dwojejk krajny Źwiata* 66-70
Tractatus de moribus, condictionibus et nequicia Turcorum 37-40, 225
Tranquilli Andronici Dalmatae Traguriensis de rebus in Hungaria gestis ab illustrissimo et magnifico Ludovico Gritti deque eius obitu epistola 191-3
Tratado contra a antropofagia 816
travels, Book of, see *Seyahatnâme* 695, 738
Treatise against cannibalism, see *Tratado contra a antropofagia* 816
Treatise composed as an explication of the legal status of the churches, see *Risāla ma'mūla li-bayān aḥwāl al-kanā'is shar'an* 592, 596-8
Treatise on the customs, habits and perversity of the Turks, see *Tractatus de moribus, condictionibus et nequicia Turcorum* 37-40, 225
Treatise on the definition of the word zindīq, see *Risāla fi mā yata'allaq bi-lafẓ al-zindīq* 616, 624, 629-31
A treatise on the Egyptian churches, see *Risāla fi l-kanā'is al-miṣriyya* 689-92
A treatise on employing Jews and Christians, see *Risāla fi isti'māl al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣarā* 571

- Treatise on insulting the Prophet and its legal consequences*, see *Risāla fī sabb al-Nabī wa-aḥkāmīhi* 592, 593-6, 624
- Treatise on judicial inquiry of the insult*, see *Risāla fī sabb al-Nabī wa-aḥkāmīhi* 592, 593-6, 624
- Treatise on the superiority of Muḥammad, peace be upon him*, see *Risāla fī afdaliyyat Muḥammad 'alayhi l-salām* 617, 624, 631-4
- Treatise on the two Sarmatias*, see *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis* 66-70
- A treatise on the verdict about the descent of Jesus*, see *Risāla fī hukm 'Isā 'alayhi al-salām huna nuzūlih* 651-2
- Tripče de Utolče*, see *Mande* 270, 272-3
- True, safe and sound*, see *Salvus quidem atque incolumis* 503
- Tsarstvennaia kniga* 376
- Tuhfat al-mujāhidīn* 883, 884-8
- Tuhfat al-zamān*, see *Futūḥ al-Ḥabasha* 787, 811, 812-15, 829, 835
- Tuhfetü'l-kibār fī esfāri'l-bihār* 696
- De Turcarum in regno Hungariae annorum MDXLIII. et XLIV. . . epistolae quatuor* 255-9
- De Turcarum moribus epitome* 328-30
- De Turcarum origine, moribus et rebus gestis commentarius* 147, 345
- De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis* 323, 325-6, 328-9, 400, 521
- De Turcarum tyranno emblema*, 1558 368-9
- Turcica*, see *Türkenbüchlein* 5, 165, 166, 329-30, 516-31
- Turcicarum rerum commentarius* 166
- Türcken büchlein. Ain Nutzlich Gespräch* 517
- Türcken Büchlein. Wie sich Prediger vnd Leien halten sollen* 518
- Türckenbüchlein*, see *Turcica* 5, 165, 166, 329-30, 516-31
- Türkenpredigten* 519
- Turkish history*, see *Historia Turcica* 50, 51, 52-3
- Tužba grada Budima* 460-1, 504
- Tuženje grada Jerzolima* 92, 115-17, 124
- Two accounts of Ivan the Terrible's Kazan campaigns*, see *Dva rasskaza o pokhodakh Ivana Groznogo na Kazan* 375-8
- Two moons rising on those who are given two rewards*, see *Maṭlā' al-badrayn fī man yu'ṭa ajrayn* 563-4
- U pohvalu grada Dubrovnika* 355, 357
- Ulluzalis sive Occhialinus Algerii Prorex, Corcyram Melenam, terra, marique oppugnat, nec expugnat. Relatio historica* 505
- Umm al-qurā fī madḥ Khayr al-warā* 639
- Vākiāt-ı Sultan Cem* 676, 678
- Vasiyetnâme*, see *Risāle-i Bürgivî* 706, 707-11
- De vastato Ungariae regno, 1543-1544* 255-9
- Vazetje Sigeta grada* 93, 429-32, 505
- Venera* 270
- Ad Venetae classis praefectum Vincentium Capellum* 501
- Verdadeira informaçam das terras do Preste Joam* 777, 779-80, 781, 785-90
- Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi* 232-3
- Vermahnung zum Gebet wider den Türcken* 231-2
- Verse colophon on Shah Ismail's campaigns*, see *P'ark' anelin astuacut'ean* 583-7
- Verse on Kokçay, the Neomartyr of Christ*, see *Otanawor nor vkayin K'ristosi Kokçayin, or nahatakec'aw i Sebastiyay* 645-9
- Viața sfântului Nifon*, see *Vios kai politeia tou hosiou . . . Nēphōnos* 78-84
- Viața și traiul sfinției sale părintelui nostru Nifon*, see *Vios kai politeia tou hosiou . . . Nēphōnos* 78-84
- Vios kai politeia tou hosiou kai theophorou patros hēmōn Nēphōnos* 78-84
- De victoria Christianorum* 450
- Vita Christi* 185, 763
- Vkayabanut'ōwn nor vkain K'ristosi Kawkçayin* 645-9
- Vkayabanut'ōwn srboyn Putaxay* 608-14
- Vom Kriege wider die Türcken* 166, 226-8, 248
- Von dem Grossen Christen Sieg* 517
- Vorrede zu Theodor Biblianders Koranausgabe* 233-4
- Vorwort zu dem Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum: Martinus Lutherus lectori pio* 230-1

- Vrsprung des Türckhschen Reychs biß auff
den yetzigen Soliman* 166
- Vrtari* 489
- Vtoraia chelobitnaia*, see *Bol'shaia
chelobitnaia* 279, 298-307
- Wallachian diplomatic correspondence*
532-4
- Warhafftige neue Zeitung von dem
Türcken* 517
- Warning to the reader*, see *Praemonitio
ad lectorem* 250-2, 439
- What wonder if the Turkish fury*, see *Qual
maraviglia se 'l'furor turchesco* 108-9
- When Jesus was tortured . . .*, see *Kiedy
Jezusa męczono* 537-8
- Whence the idols have arrived*, see *Skąd
poszły bałwany* 535, 539-42
- Wider den laydigen Türcken, vñnd sein
grausams flaydigen* 520
- Wie sich Prediger vñd Leyen halten sollen,
so der Turck das deutsche land vberfallen
würde* 166
- Xrat ganj ergeloy* 582
- Xrat tał ergeloy* 582
- Yišatak srboyn Xač'atroy or i yAmit'
katarec'aw* 588-91
- Yūsuf u Züleyhâ* 624
- Zāfar al-wālih bi-muẓaffar wa-ālih* 813
- Zapis popa Martina* 503
- Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich*, see
Risalei Tatari Leh 359-61
- Zena māwa'al* 833-6
- Zhitie Ioanna Kazanskogo* 373-5
- Zwölf Türcken Predigten* 519
- Żywoty filozofów, to jest nauk mędrców
przyrodzonych* 394