ARABIC STUDIES IN THE NETHERLANDS

BY

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After the Arabic translation had been printed the English text has been partly rewritten. Since the notes at the end of the English text serve also the readers of the Arabic translation, some reference marks in the English text are not in proper sequence.

INTRODUCTION

The Netherlands came relatively late into contact with the Arab world, mainly because they much later than the other European countries achieved statehood, and civilization started in this country—at the time marshy and hence difficult to penetrate—later than elsewhere in Europe. When al-Ṭariq crossed the Straits of Gibraltar in 711 the inhabitants of what later was to become the Netherlands were not yet converted to Christianity. Only around 1200 the Netherlands possessed, as the Dutch historian Busken Huet wrote, 'a language (of its own), a fleet, a dynasty, a nobility, the beginnings of a middle class.'

Inhabitants of the Low Countries frequently pilgrimated to Jerusalem but these contacts with the Arab world were incidental and, as in the rest of Europe, did not promote an understanding of the Arab world. Dutch nobles also participated in the Crusades, especially the later ones. The first Count of Holland, at that time one of the many feudal potentates in the Netherlands in the 13th century, pressed by the admonitions of the Pope, played a leading role in the Crusade of Damiette (1249). When in 1292 one of the first writers who used the Dutch vernacular, Jacob van Maerlant, in an elegy bewailed the fall of Acre, he was mainly concerned with the decline of the Church which according to him caused this event. It is clear that the territory had none or little appeal to his imagination: in his time the Crusades already belonged to a distant past.

Whatever contact there was between the Netherlands and the Arab world, apart from the pilgrimages and their rather late participation in the Crusades, took place via others. No wonder, therefore, that the Dutchmen during these centuries cherished the same prejudices against the Arab and Muslim world as the other Europeans. Their biased attitude clearly appears from the long historical poem of Van Maerlant when he speaks of Islam. But the same poet did clearly not realize that he was using an Arabic source when he translated, via a Latin intermediary, the famous Secretum Secretorum into Dutch. For it is generally known that this work, the Sīr al-ʿAsrār, though even by the Arabs themselves often
ascribed to Aristotle, in reality was written by an Arab scholar, who probably compiled it from various sources. It was translated into many European languages and it was only natural that its fame had reached the distant Low Countries.

In the same indirect manner other Arabic works became known in the Netherlands, such as the story of Flir et Blanchefleur, which clearly has an Oriental origin and is often equated with the Arabic story of "Uraya wa’Afra"). Like the translator of Sirat al-Asfar the translator of this epic does not seem to have realized its origin in spite of the Oriental background which is maintained in the European versions.

It is clear that the Arabic Muslim civilization only could become known to the Netherlands in an indirect manner, via translations and adaptations made in the countries in the South of Europe. When, therefore, one takes into consideration that the Muslim civilization even there was known only in an incomplete and fragmentary manner and that, for instance, the Popes during the Middle Ages repeatedly warned the Christians against contact with Muslims, we can only expect the Dutchmen during this period to lack almost all interest in the civilization of the Arabs.

This changed during the war of independence (1568-1648) against the Spanish king, who until that time had reigned in the Netherlands. After a successful resistance against a prolonged siege by the Spanish troops, Leiden, then a commercial and industrial centre, was in 1574 the first to be granted a University. It was at this University that almost from its very foundation the study of Oriental languages was started, the beginning of a tradition which has continued until this day.

**THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

The study of Arabic in Leiden reached such heights in the seventeenth century that the German Orientalist Fück, in his authoritative survey of Arabic scholarship in Europe, could state that 'in dem Wettstreit der europäischen Nationen die Niederlande für nahezu zwei Jahrhunderte die Führung (gewonnen)'. This development began with Franciscus Raphelengius (d. 1597) who was born in the Southern Netherlands in a little town near Lille. After spending some time in Cambridge he moved to Antwerp where he became a proofreader in the printing works of Christoffel Plantijn, whose daughter he eventually married. In 1585 Plantijn sent his son-in-law to Leiden to take charge of his printing shop there. Raphelengius was soon appointed printer to the recently founded University; in 1586 he became Professor Extraordinarius of Hebrew and in 1587 Ordinarius.

Raphelengius was an expert in Oriental languages, and in Antwerp his linguistic skills had been most useful when his father-in-law was preparing his famous polyglot Bible. For his Leiden printing shop he had Arabic types cut and specimens printed in his *Specimen Characterum Arabicorum Officinæ Plantinianæ Raphelengii*, which appeared in 1595. He also compiled an Arabic dictionary, which was published posthumously by his sons, to be quickly superseded however by that of Golius, to which Raphelengius' lexicon can indeed hardly bear comparison. But then Raphelengius was a pioneer in Arabic. Although he was officially charged only with the teaching of Hebrew it is certain that he also instructed his students in the elements of Arabic when they so desired. This, among other things, appears from the Request of a certain Jan Theunisz, which will be discussed below.

Two years after Raphelengius' death the Curators of the University and the Burgomasters of the Town of Leiden appointed a certain Ferdinandus, *nepos*—a Jewish convert to Christianity of Polish extraction—to give instruction in 'the Arabian language'. Ferdinandus was nominated on 6 November 1595 for a period of three years at a salary of 300 Dutch guilders; he was granted an
additional £100 towards the expenses of the journey of his family from England to join him. Why the appointment was for three years only is unknown, but it was probably more for the sake of prudence than for any other reason. Ferdinandi died early in the year 1601 in unmistakable poverty and left his family ‘an insolvent estate’. After his death the Chair of Arabic remained vacant for several years. Little is known about Ferdinandi’s activities at Leiden—his presence was probably too brief for him to have made any significant impact.

The foundation of a Chair in such an exotic language as Arabic at the young University was undoubtedly the work of Josephus Scaliger, who had been appointed at Leiden in 1593. The famous and versatile Scaliger was persuaded at immense cost to come to Leiden to add lustre and prestige to the new establishment. There is sufficient generally-known evidence that he did indeed do so—at a moment, too, when the new Republic had by no means weathered all political storms and the liberation war against the Spanish King had not yet been terminated. But Scaliger did more than shine as an ornament; as far as Arabic was concerned, the investment of the Curators and Burgomasters in his princely salary (about £2,200 per annum) certainly paid off. The importance of his presence for the development of the Leiden school of Arabic studies cannot easily be overrated.

Arabisantium Principe is the laudatory title which the young Dutch Arabist Thomas van Erpen later gave to Scaliger in the Preface to the edition which he prepared of the collection of some two hundred Arabic proverbs left by Scaliger to the University Library. Erpenius’ praise was much more than mere courtesy to the older scholar. Scaliger had first become interested in Arabic during his student days in Paris. With the express purpose of studying this language he even took lodgings in the same house as the Professor of Arabic of the then recently founded Collège de France, Guillelmus Postellus, a bizarre man of learning whose actual title was Mathematicorum et Peregrinarum Literarum Interpretes. Scaliger’s versatility was indeed phenomenal, but he never contributed to Arabic scholarship per se, and used his acquaintance with the language mainly for his other studies, for instance for his magnus opus De Emendatione Temporum and for the appendix of Arabic stellar names to his Astronomico. Above all, it must have been his particular scholarly-critical turn of mind that stimulated his Leiden colleagues and students, as is evident also in the field of Arabic scholarship.

Scaliger had met Ferdinandi two years previous to his appointment, when he had read and studied Rabbinic and Talmudic texts under the latter’s guidance. It was certainly due to this acquaintance and to Scaliger’s own fondness for Arabic that the Polish scholar was appointed to teach Arabic at Leiden. After Ferdinandi’s early death Scaliger himself continued to stimulate Arabic studies at Leiden. Erpenius, who had registered as a student of theology in 1602, was one of those who began to occupy themselves with Oriental languages ‘magnum Scaligeri hortatu’, as he wrote later. The chair of Ferdinandi was still vacant, so that Erpenius’ statement cannot be taken to mean that he actually began his study of Arabic at Leiden, although he did attend Coddiacus’ courses in Hebrew.

Erpenius finished his studies at Leiden in July 1608 and left shortly afterwards for England, carrying a letter from Scaliger in which the latter highly praised the young scholar’s abilities and recommended him to his friends. Whether Erpenius had any specific motive for his foreign travels other than the usual one of ‘finishing off’ his academic education, is not known. It is evident that he never lost sight of his vocation to the Ministry during his years abroad: in 1612, one year before his appointment at Leiden he still wrote to Isaac Casaubon that in his own opinion he would be better able to serve his fellow men as a clergyman than as a linguistic scholar. But he may well have intended to increase his knowledge of Arabic and other Oriental languages during his stay abroad.

During his stay in Britain, which lasted until January 1609, he met, undoubtedly through Scaliger’s recommendations, Thomas Bedwell, the father of Arabic scholarship in England. It was during this short British tour that he decided to learn Arabic, as appears from a letter in Arabic, which he wrote to Bedwell from Paris on 14 September 1609. Bedwell was not a professor (the Chairs of Arabic at Oxford and Cambridge were not founded until 1630 and 1632 respectively) but a minister at Tottenham near London, and the tutor of among others the famous Pococke. It is difficult to tell from Erpenius’ Paris letter whether Bedwell had given him any tuition in Arabic, but the letter does show that Bedwell had sent to Erpenius in Paris three chapters from the
Koran, together with a commentary (tafsir) by himself—in other words, that Erpenius had in Bedwell’s eyes already learned enough Arabic to qualify as a scholarly correspondent on the subject.

Erpenius’ serious study of Arabic in fact only began in Paris. He found a tutor in a Christian Egyptian, whom Erpenius in his Arabic letter to Bedwell calls Yussuf ibn Daquon, but whose actual name was Yussuf Ibn Abü Daquon, as appears from the letter which he wrote to Erpenius. This Egyptian wanderer through Europe has remained well-known, among others as the writer of a history of the Copts (Historia Jacobitarum seu Coptorum in Aegypto ed. Habitiurn), but for reasons that to us are rather obvious he knew hardly any classical Arabic at all, as Erpenius soon discovered. He wrote to Bedwell: ‘He has taught me many Arabic words, but of the corrupted language that is currently being spoken in Egypt and elsewhere, for the pure Arabic that the ancient Arabs spoke is now known only by the scholars among them; he does not know it—he cannot even read it easily’.

Erpenius’ Arabic letter to Bedwell is full of mistakes, but it is astonishing that in less than a year he could actually write a letter in the language at all. His achievement becomes even greater when it is remembered that the aids that were at his disposal were still terrified scarce and meagre. Postelius’ grammar of 1538 or 1539 was poor in quality and that of Kirsten was just then being printed by Lebè. On the other hand, Erpenius was greatly encouraged and helped by Isaac Casaubon, one of the greatest Greek scholars of his time and like Scaliger a man of encyclopaedic knowledge, who was then Librarian to the French King. In the Introduction to his edition of Scaliger’s collection of Arabic proverbs which has been mentioned before—an undertaking for which Casaubon himself had given the impetus less than three years after Erpenius had begun his study of Arabic, and which he dedicated to Casaubon’s son—Erpenius later wrote: ‘when I [Erpenius] was greatly desirous to learn Arabic but did not possess any books, [Casaubon] offered to me and lent me his Arabic treasures of which he owned many in splendid condition’. It was also Casaubon who encouraged him when he bravely undertook to write a grammar of Arabic at about the same time. Rapheleignus’ sons printed it at Leiden in 1653, and in the following year they also printed the collection of Arabic proverbs.

Casaubon was quick to recognize Erpenius’ outstanding gifts:

‘Tu unus est omnium qui futuri, volente Deo, aedifici fundamenta jecisti firma & solida’, he wrote to him in April 1650. Soon it was Erpenius who assisted Casaubon in reading Arabic: ‘mea studia Arabica post tuum discorsum frigent’ Casaubon already wrote in December 1650 to his young friend. He did his young protégé and the world of letters the greatest service when he recommended him to Heinsius and Grotius for the Chair of Arabic at Leiden, in August 1652.

From all this appears how much Erpenius owed to the European scholars of his time, whom he easily met through Scaliger’s recommendations, and how alive and fruitful was the idea of the Republic of Letters, also in the field of Arabic. After his stay in France Erpenius made a ‘grand tour’ to various European centres of learning, visiting Venice, Milan, Basle, where he met Johannes Buxtorf, and Heidelberg, where he called on Janus Gruter. The fraternity of scholarhip far outweighed the differences in nationality—as in Erpenius’ life even differences of religion were almost always bridged by the community of interests of his academic colleagues.

Erpenius, then, became an Arabic scholar who worked in a European academic context. Two of the greatest scholars of his time encouraged and helped him because they considered it important to increase the knowledge of the Arabic-Islamic civilization. This, in its turn, is important when one attempts to determine the motives of students of Arabic in the seventeenth century. Again it was Scaliger who set the tone for the way in which Leiden scholars pursued their Arabic studies during the seventeenth century, for his main motive seems to have been a vivid academic scholarly interest in the language and in the civilization. This academic interest in Arabic—as opposed to other possible motives, such as awareness of its practical usefulness, or missionary ardour—appears indirectly in the Request of Jan Theunisz of Amsterdam, who had applied for a lectureship in Arabic at the University of Leiden just before Erpenius’ nomination as professor. Jan Theunisz (who also appears as Antoniadis or Antonisz) had been originally a threadtwister and later became host of the ‘Music House’ D’Oys in den Bruijloft (The Ox at the Wedding) in Amsterdam. One of the reasons why he was finally not appointed to the post was that according to the Curators his Latin was too patchy, so that he would not be able to attract enough students. It is not true that—as has
been suggested—Theunisz was an autodidact innkeeper, who had picked up some Arabic from Moroccans lodging at his inn, for he had registered as a student in 1593 and had learned ‘some elements of Arabic under the famous Francisco Raphelengio’, as appears from his application. Theunisz was a Mononite, and therefore did not belong to the official church, the Dutch Reformed Church, a fact which may have prejudiced his contemporaries’ opinion of his scholarly abilities. It is true, however, that in his application he does stress his practical command of Arabic. It is not without some pride that he mentions that the ‘secretary of the Ambassador of the King of Morocco’ had lodged with him for four months, and had taught him to speak and read Arabic, even ‘the Alkoran, a copy of which the aforementioned secretary presented to him in Arabic’. The secretary of the Ambassador was in all probability a much more erudite man than for instance the Joseph Barbatus who was Erpenius’ teacher in Paris: it cannot be accidental that Theunisz explicitly mentions the importance of the ability to read philosophical and medical writings in the Arabic tongue, ‘the importance of which language for translating the Arabic books on religion, medicine, philosophy and other matters, or letters and other writings into our own, or to speak and transact business both in this country or wherever this language is current, Your Honours must know better than the supplicant’. Theunisz, clearly not so ignorant an innkeeper, also prepared some publications in Arabic, such as his D. Pauli Apostoli Epistola ad Titum, Arabice, cum Ioannis Antoniiacum Alecmariam Interlineari Versione Latina ad Verbum, printed by Plantijn in 1612, in which his command of Latin does not by any standards appear as poor. In 1610 the States of Holland gave him a remuneration of two hundred guilders for his dedication of a book ‘in the Arabic language’: it was donated to the Leiden University Library and is the manuscript volume preserved in the Leiden municipal Archives on ‘the Christian religion and the Koran, containing among others a dispute between Jan Theunisz defending Christianity and ‘Abd al-’Aziz defending Islam’; ‘Abd al’-Aziz can indeed be identified as the secretary of the Moroccan ambassador who had instructed Theunisz in Arabic.

In those days the importance of Arabic science and medicine was evident to any man of letters and for a long time it was a strong incentive to embark on the difficult study of the Arabic language. As has been mentioned above, Postellus at Paris was Professor of both Arabic and Mathematics, and his two successors were both physicians. When Erpenius in his inaugural oration in 1613 set out to prove the utilitas of the study of Arabic, he used the Arabic sapientia as one of his strongest arguments: ‘For the Turks, whose rule began three hundred years ago, and who, after they had embraced the religion of the Arabs, turned against them and added a part of their realm to their own, are far removed from the study of science. But the Arabs, whose realm lasted for seven hundred years, and flourished for a long time and over a great territory in Asia, Africa and a large part of Europe, during all that time were diligent not alone in the study of Mars, but also in that of Minerva’. He then lists the sciences in which the Arabs have equalled the Greeks and the Romans, and sometimes even surpassed them: ‘Even the mathematical sciences many of them seem to have treated and illuminated in a more feliciter manner than the Greeks. In geography the Greeks have only one Ptolemy, the Romans none at all, who has measured and described the longitude of places. The Arabs have a great many, who were even more accurate than Ptolemy, as I hope will soon appear from the excellent geography published three hundred years ago by King Ism‘al Abu ‘l-Fid‘a‘ at Hama in Syria, and in which he presents a list of many geographers among the Arabs who have noted down the degrees and minutes of longitude and latitude. That the art of medicine owes very much to the Arabs is known by anyone who has heard the names of Avicenna, Mesna, Serapion and Rasis… Philosophy has an ornament in the second Aristotle, Avroroes, and furthermore in Avicenna and many others. The history not only of the Arabs, but also of the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans and other peoples has been faithfully and elegantly described by Saidus, Abujaafar, Abdulmelec, Raikus, Caldimus, Mircondus and countless others’.

Although Erpenius does not begin his exposition of the plurales utilitates of the study of Arabic with its importance for scholarship and science in the widest sense, this does appear to be a primary consideration with him, as it also was with Scaliger, Casaubon and many of his contemporaries and immediate predecessors. During the ten years of his professorship Erpenius occupied himself with his pioneering work in Arabic grammar and with the printing of elementary texts for students of Arabic. His main interest however
was in historical texts, probably again through the influence of Scaliger, who had himself derived great benefits from them for his chronological studies.

In her study of seventeenth century Arabic scholarship in the Netherlands Dr. W. M. C. Juyboll has provided an impressive list of Orientalists who were also practising mathematicians, physicians or scientists. Erpenius' successor Jacobus Gool (d. 1667) must here suffice as an example of the versatility that seems to have been common among Orientalists of his generation, even if this is less than just to him. At his own special request Goolius became Professor of Mathematics in 1629—one year after his appointment to the Chair of Arabic—to succeed Willibrordus Swellius after the latter's death. Goolius considered the study of Arabic to be essential for mathematicians, not only because the Arabs had conserved texts that could fill the gaps in our knowledge of Greek mathematical works, as Erpenius also argued in his inaugural oration of 1613, but also because of the original contributions that Arabs had made to this science.

Goolius has become famous in the world of Arabic scholarship mainly because of his Lexicon Arabico-Latinum, first published in 1653, which remained standard throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, when it was finally superseded by the ones of Freytag and Lane. But Goolius also assembled a collection of Arabic manuscripts that became renowned in his own time, and he made many studies of Arabic mathematical writings, such as a work on the Comica of Apollonius of Perge and a Latin translation of the treatise of Ibn al-Haytham’s De Accuratissima Poli Altitudinis Definitione. Most of these remained unpublished however.

Arabic was also considered valuable for other reasons than its usefulness as a key to Arabic sapientia. In the same oration, quoted above, Erpenius also said: 'How much the study of Arabic can illuminate the other Oriental languages, and how useful and necessary it is for a full understanding of these, cannot easily be expressed in words. In the Hebrew Bible and in its ancient and useful Chaldeic translation, which is usually named the Targum, there occur countless words and a great many expressions, the sense and meaning of which can only be obtained through this language [Arabic]. This is demonstrated by the commentaries of the learned Rabbis, which contain a great number of these happy explanations. It is also demonstrated by the most learned Bible commentators and the greatest Theologians and Hebraists, I mean Emanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, who have stated that for a happier translation of the sacred books from the Hebrew into Latin the command of this language is comparable [in importance] to the former'. The same argument is used in the Preface to his edition of the Arabic version of the Pentateuch, where he states that Arabic words ‘often shed light on and explain rare and obscure words and phrases in the Hebrew text’.

It is sometimes thought that the practice of using Arabic as an auxiliary language for the study of the Holy Bible was predominantly an eighteenth century development, but the usefulness of Arabic for theological studies had been clearly seen long before Erpenius, who himself points to the example of the great Nicolaus Celenardus (d. 1542), who ‘exclusively through his love for the Hebrew language was moved to study Arabic, for the purpose of which he left the Netherlands for Morocco’, and at Joannes Mercerus (d. 1570) whom Casaubon regarded as the greatest Hebrew scholar of his time. He could also have adduced his own source of inspiration William Bedwell, who mentioned this particular utilitas of Arabic in the Preface to his edition of the Arabic translation of the Letters of St. John. It is hardly necessary to point out that the comparative linguistic studies that were inspired by this kind of interest almost never come up to modern scholarly standards—less so as most scholars automatically assumed that Hebrew was the ‘mother’ of Arabic. When Erpenius, and Goolius after him, mentioned this utility of Arabic they clearly did so to employ an argument that was commonly accepted in their time, rather to further their own particular interests in this aspect of Arabic scholarship. In their day it was common practice to explain the Hebrew text via the Arabic language, and to illumine difficult passages in the Old Testament by recourse to Arabic dictionaries, as is apparent for instance from the work of Ludovicus de Dieu, Dutch Reformed pastor at Leiden. The sons of De Dieu, who later published his Animastrationes ad Quadam Loca Difficultiora Veteris Testamenti, state explicitly in their Introduction that the author had compared the Hebrew text with Arabic and Syriac versions. De Dieu too was convinced that ‘the relationship between these Oriental languages is such that they can all be regarded as daughters of one mother and as members of one family’.
The importance of missionary zeal as a motive for the study of Arabic at Leiden in the seventeenth century is an uncertain matter. Dr. Juytboll is of the opinion that it ‘clearly appears, also in the case of Golius, and especially in that of Erpenius’. It is difficult to believe, however, that it ever played an important role, if it was operative at all. On the other hand, it is quite easy to determine that neither Erpenius nor Golius had any sympathy for or understanding of Islam as a system of religious truths. One might perhaps argue that Erpenius gradually came to see the stylistic beauty of the Koran; Islam on the other hand never came to mean more to him than the *Mukhammadana superstition*. In his oration of 1613 he makes short shrift of Islamic theologians: ‘They [the Muslims] have many more theologians than I could wish, for the majority of them are depraved [راءوس] and enemies of the divinity and the Cross of Christ. It is quite understandable that on this occasion Erpenius should stress the importance of Arabic for missionary work. Towards the end of his oration he says: ‘Let us now return to this language, the command of which, as anyone can easily see, is profitable for Christians and even necessary in order to bring back to Christ so many and such great peoples […] Without this language they cannot be understood, nor profitably be reflected from the vain and bold heresies which have poisoned their brains’, after which he mentions—not without significance—the decision of the Council of Vienne to nominate Professors of Arabic in the great Universities.

From the fact that Erpenius reserved this argument for his peroration it has been concluded that for him personally it was the most important one. Similar signs of missionary ardour in Erpenius have been noted in his editions of Arabic translations of the New Testament (1616) and the Pentateuch (1622), which may have been published with the aim that ‘through the sailing to East India God’s Holy Word might be spread among the blinded people’, as the Curators put it in their resolution regarding the appointment of Ferdinandus. Copies of these translations seem indeed to have been presented to prominent Orientals, to the disquiet of the members of the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* in Rome, who feared that in this roundabout way the Protestant version of the Word of God would reach Muslim territory first. However, it is by no means clear whether the interest Erpenius expressed in the mission to the Mohammedans was anything more than a polite bow in the direction of current public opinion—as would indeed be highly appropriate on such a public occasion. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Erpenius’ religious convictions, but he was so lacking in fanaticism that in certain circles he was regarded as only barely orthodox enough. The same reputation of doubtful orthodoxy also explains why it was possible that in Roman Catholic quarters it was hoped for a while that Erpenius might be persuaded to accept a Chair elsewhere and even convert to the Roman persuasion.

In the dedication to the States of Holland of his edition of an Arabic version of the New Testament, based on a translation by an Egyptian, the manuscript of which was left by Scaliger to the Leiden University, Erpenius never even mentions the possible importance of such a translation for the Christian mission among Arabic-speaking Moslems. He regards the edition as useful for the study of Arabic, since in this way an important Arabic text became available at a time when the number of Arabic printed books was still very small, so small that even a scholar like Erpenius himself possessed more Arabic manuscripts than books. Nowhere does he claim that the work might have been prepared to serve the purpose of ‘bringing back so many and such great peoples to Christ’ as he put it in his oration of 1613. The same absence of missionary intentions characterizes the introduction to his edition of the Pentateuch in Arabic, also based on a manuscript which had belonged to Scaliger, which he intended for ‘the many learned men who have almost daily urged me also to publish the Old Testament in an Arabic translation (as I have already done with the New Testament)’. In his edition of the Twelfth Sura of the Koran (*Historia Josephi Patriarchae ex Alcorano cum Tripli Versione Latina et Scholii*) he announced a plan to translate the whole Koran into Latin, ‘honestly explained and thoroughly refuted’, but this complete translation, which he again intended for his students and which obviously did not originate in religious enthusiasm nor in the desire to convince Moslems of the weakness of the foundations of their own Holy Book, never saw the light.

A similar plan for a translation of the Koran, to be provided with a refutation of its ‘errors’, was conceived by Erpenius’ successor Golius, according to Gronovius who held the funeral oration at his death, but Golius never got around to producing this either. Golius had as little understanding and appreciation of Islam as a
religious structure as Erpenius. In his edition of the history of Tamerlan by the Arab historian 'Arábsháh, Golius holds forth in no uncertain terms about the 'errors and superstition of the misguided people'. But, again like his predecessor, Golius had little enthusiasm for or even interest in the conversion of Moslems. In his preface to the edition of 'Arábsháh's history he seems concerned with religious issues: 'It is important that [these errors and superstitions] be made known to the Christian Commonwealth, that they be completely understood and combatted with dedication and zeal, in order that the remedies which we can find in right reason and piety may finally be applied against that sore that for so many centuries has been neglected or remained in the dark, so that it has been able to fester and profoundly infect a large part of the world'; but here again, what becomes apparent when one looks closely, is not so much a desire to contribute to Christian missionary work as a deep dislike of the teachings of Islam. Golius' virulent expressions are probably due to his humanistic aversion for the tyrant Tamerlan, and to his wish to justify his edition of the integral text of the history, which to the Christians of his era must have been quite upsetting, to put it mildly. His tone could even be seen as a logical consequence of the fear of the Ottoman Turks, who in the seventeenth century were still threatening to capture Vienna.

Golius also appears to have played with the idea of newly translating into Latin another refutation of Islam, by a certain Johannes Andreas—a work which he did not finish because it was just then being reprinted at Utrecht. But from this plan too it can be seen that his remedies against the 'sore of Islam' were intended in the first place for Christian students of Arabic whom he wanted to protect against the snares of the Moslem heresy. Finally, according to Gronovius, with the help of Orientalists he translated into Arabic the Catechism, the Creed and the Liturgy (undoubtedly of the Dutch Reformed Church). This translation was meant for Arabic-speaking Christians in the Middle East, according to Gronovius, who mentions the ali praeator Graecos in Asia Christiani, who had been rescued from 'the Mohammedan flood'. These Arabic versions of Christian texts—which were never printed—had an aim similar to those of the New Testament into New Greek: they were directed mainly against Roman Catholic religious propaganda among Christians in the Levant. Naturally, even the plans by themselves were enough to cause much irritation among the Roman Catholics in Europe.

The general absence of missionary enthusiasm among the Leiden Orientalists does not of course imply that others in the Republic were similarly unconcerned about this matter. Grotius, according to the preface of Gerard Brant to his edition of Het Bewijs van den Waaren Godsdienst, also had the intention to 'persuade the heathens, Jews and the Mahometans of the Saving Truth and to extend further the borders of Christendom'. Grotius' poetic treatise does indeed contain a refutation of Islam in the last book, but, not surprisingly, the Dutch never made use of it, and it was the English Orientalist Pococke who translated it into Arabic from the Latin. Apparently it was distributed especially by the English Levant Company, again to the distress of Roman Catholics.

Voetius, the 'precise' Utrecht theologian, judged it useful to instruct students who might go to the East Indies as ministers, about Islam. Here perhaps one might indeed detect some desire to make converts and save souls. The German Ravius (Rau), who was Professor of Arabic at Utrecht for a short while, and whose command of Arabic was not equally highly esteemed in all quarters, was interested in polemical writings of Christians and Moslems about their respective religions. In one of his books he states as one of nine gradus for Oriental studies, 'that we prepare the Mohammedans and all Chinese for the Christian faith, outside of which there is no salvation', and he did harbour plans to found a Collegium Orientale de Propaganda Fide, not in the Republic, but in Kiel.

In an outline of the possible reasons and motives for the founding of the Chair of Arabic at Leiden, the practical importance of the command of Arabic must finally be discussed. Students of Arabic were probably mainly interested in Arabic science: in the wider sense, they were aware of the importance of a knowledge of Arabic for the study of the languages of the Bible, and they did usually mention its usefulness as an instrument for missionary work, but this does not mean that the Curators of the University—and in the background the States of Holland and the States General—neglected the practical aspects of the matter. Nor did the Orientalists themselves. Erpenius and Golius were no academic recluses; they travelled widely and sought the conversation of learned Orientalists. The Government of the young Republic regularly made use of their services: Raphelengius was once asked to translate a
letter to the 'King' of Morocco into Arabic, and the help of Scaliger was requested for the translation of a letter from the Sherif of Morocco. Jan Thenumiz, too, apparently translated letters for the States, and as we have seen, he for one explicitly stressed the practical benefits of the ability to converse in Arabic both at home and in the Arabic countries.

It is hardly surprising therefore that the Administrators of the University supported their temporary appointment of the first Professor of Arabic with the following consideration: 'Thus it is that Curators and Burgomasters, considering that the University had not yet been supplied with the Ordinarius Professor Linguae Hebraice, and that the inhabitants of these countries as well as the East India Shipping (company) will wish to learn the Arabic language, which is much in use there, have resolved that provisionally and for a trial period of six months, the afore-mentioned Ferdinandum will be employed and be charged with the public teaching of the Arabian language'. Erpenius, as appears from his inaugural oration which has been quoted above, did not fail to refer to the practical use of the knowledge of Arabic either: 'Whoever is acquainted with this language can traverse almost the whole of Asia and Africa. For the inhabitants of all Mauretania [Morocco], Numidia, Egypt, Arabia and Syria, both literate and illiterate, use this language only, even if the colloquial speech of the people is a little more corrupt, especially in the Western regions of Africa. However, in Turkey, as in Persia, India and other parts of Asia where the Mohammedan superstition is adhered to, even if there are other languages in use among the people, this language is so much the common one, that it is difficult to find a nation, town or village, or even a house without some people who know Arabic. For many see to it that their children are well instructed in Arabic literature, so that they understand not only the Koran, which everybody is supposed to read, but also other writings, both official and private. They are accustomed to write the charters of princes, the contracts and deeds of the prominent as well as of the people in this language, and to write more elegant texts in another'.

Towards the end of his life, on the first of August 1624, Erpenius was nominated official translator to the States General at a salary of 150 guilders per annum. The relevant resolution mentions Erpenius' services 'rendered for ten years without any recompense, to their High Mightinesses and His Excellency [the Stadtholder].

through the translation of many letters, both Arabic ones from Morocco and Turkish ones from Constantinople, Asia and Africa'. The amount of the remuneration is unmistakable evidence that a matter of real importance was involved. Erpenius was not destined to profit from it for long. During a visit to The Hague to inspect some letters he fell ill with the plague. His brother-in-law Daetselaer and his student Golius hurriedly took him back to Leiden where he died on 13 November 1624.

The Arabic missives from 'Moroccos' were indeed of considerable importance to the States. Even more than the East India shipping, which was mentioned at the appointment of Ferdinandum, did the relations with the North African Barbaree states require an acquaintance with the Arabic language. Dutch shipping in the Mediterranean suffered much damage at the hands of the North African pirates and an attempt was made to control this evil by the despatch of men of war. Thus it was important for Dutch ships to be able to use one or more ports of refuge on the Moroccan coast.

Moreover, the armistice with Spain ended in 1621 and good relations with North African rulers were essential for the successful resumption of the Liberation War, in view of possible clashes with the Spanish fleet. All this led to missions to and from—not for the first time, for it will be remembered that it was through the secretary to the Moroccan mission who lodged in his inn in Amsterdam that the innkeeper-Orientalist Jan Thenumiz had been able to improve his command of Arabic.

In 1622 Golius was added to a delegation under Albert Kuyl sent by the States General to Morocco to investigate a suggestion made by the agent of the Moroccan Court at The Hague, that a port on the North-west coast of Morocco might be suitable as a port of refuge. Golius was not a member of the delegation but had a scholarly mission which enabled him to spend two years in Morocco. From his 'Report designed to accompany the Drawing of the Village of Eyir on the West Coast of Barbabia' it is quite obvious that Golius was more than a scholarly chaperone to the mission. Erpenius, who himself had never been in the East (he once attempted to travel to Constantinople, but for some reason had to give up his journey in Venice) has asked his student to investigate in Morocco among others the indigenous names of natural objects and craft objects, mainly for the sake of their lexicological interest. In Morocco Golius also went in search of manuscripts and did in
fact purchase several important texts, some of which are still in
the University Library at Leiden, such as the biographical lexicon
of Ibn Khallikan and the *Mugaddima* of the historian Ibn
Khalid".52

It was on the first of June 1624, after a long delay—which
according to some sources could only come to an end after Golius
had sent a letter to the Sultan in elegantly phrased Arabic—that
the Dutch mission was able to leave Morocco. Golius arrived back
in the Republic only just in time to see Erpenius before he died.
On the twelfth of May of the following year he was appointed as
Erpenius' successor at a salary of 500 guilders per annum.49 Soon
after he had assumed office he asked and obtained paid leave of
absence to go to Aleppo for a year and a half, 'in order to train
himself more perfectly in the Oriental languages during a brief
period, so that he might be of better service to his Academy and
his Republic'.54 In Aleppo Golius was made *cancellarius* 46 to the
Dutch consulate, and here too he managed to collect many manu-
scripts even after the discovery of the sea route to the East
Indies. Aleppo was an important centre of commerce and business.
The attitude of the Curators in pecuniary matters, which had been
quite stingy on the occasion of the sale of the manuscripts left by
Erpenius (so that in the end they went to Cambridge), was of an
almost unlimited liberality in the case of the young Golius. They
allowed him an extension of his stay in the Orient of one and a
half years, increased the original grant of 2,000 guilders for the
purchase of manuscripts by 1,195 guilders and on top of this gave
Golius an additional 1,200 guilders for his own use—sums that
are extremely generous when compared with his annual salary.
This generosity may have been partly accounted for by the fact
that Golius belonged to a patrician family of Leiden and that
through his marriage he was related to the most prominent Dutch
families of this time. The influence and weight that Golius naturally
had through his relatives he repeatedly used to strengthen the
position of his chosen field of study, and particularly to enrich the
manuscript collection of the Leiden University Library.

Golius' office of *cancellarius* at Aleppo was no sinecure and the
documents show that he certainly did some work as a chancellor.
Also after his return to Leiden and after he had been appointed to
the Chair of Mathematics in 1629 he found time to advise the States
when they consulted him on their negotiations with the Barbarian

states. It is in fact almost impossible to find a better example of a
happy combination of practical insight and erudition than this
seventeenth century scholar, who taught both Arabic and mathe-
ematics, and also established the first astronomical observatory at
Leiden.

One of the matters on which Golius was consulted was the
division of the emoluments of the consulate at Smyrna between
the local Dutch consul and the Dutch resident at Constantinople,
Levinus Warner, to whose district Smyrna also belonged.58 Warner,
who came from Lippe in Germany, had read Arabic under Golius
and had received his Doctor's degree in 1643. By the Curators he
was evidently regarded as Golius' successor, and he had twice
received a grant to enable him to go to Constantinople. Like
Golius, Warner is an inspiring example of the combination of the
practical and the scholarly life. Between finishing his dissertation
in 1642 and his departure for Constantinople in 1644 he wrote
three little works. As early as 1647 the Curators of the University
attempted to persuade him to come to Leiden as Professor of
Hebrew; they repeated this effort in 1648 and in 1650 they even
gave him a stipend to travel to Aleppo, but Warner firmly preferred
Constantinople over Leiden. In 1654, when Smyrna began to super-
sede Constantinople as a commercial centre, he became the Nether-
lands' resident in Constantinople, an office in which he continued
until his death in 1665. He discharged his duties well, as appears
not only from the approval expressed by the States, who sided with
him in his conflict with the consul at Smyrna, but also from an
address by the Dutch merchants at Smyrna sent to the States on
the same occasion, in which they too sided with Warner — no mean
achievement for a Netherland representative abroad.57

The consul at Smyrna, however, complained in his letters from
Smyrna about Warner's all-consuming interest in books: 'he
[Warner] has already spent many thousands on Turkish, Arabic
and Persian books and other curiosities, that apparently will be
of little use to anyone but himself and Professor Golius of Leiden,
but which he appears to regard as his main work, so that business
and I have come to suffer noticeably'.

It is quite evident that Warner did not neglect his diplomatic
duties, but is equally clear that he did remain tremendously inter-
ested in books and manuscripts. He assembled a marvelous and
greatly varied collection of manuscripts, which contained some
truly invaluable texts. The variety of Warner’s collection strikes one immediately upon inspecting the list printed in the catalogue of 1674. 55 In Constantinople Warner no longer published, but it is apparent from his numerous notes that he remained intensely occupied with his collection. Later Lette edited and published Warner’s Latin translation of the famous ode of Imra’al-Quays and the equally famous one by Ka’b ibn Zalayt, 56 and Nicolas Witsen used one of Warner’s manuscripts for his work on North and South Tartaria. 57 The Turkish translation of the Bible, for which Warner had greatly exerted himself, was published in 1827 by the British Bible Society. Warner’s interests were indeed as varied as his collection of manuscripts; not only Arabic, but also Persian and Turkish and matters such as the liturgy, the religious doctrine and the ecclesiastical organizations of the Greek, Armenian and Arab Christians in the Levant were studied by him with great enthusiasm.

Warner could not be persuaded by the financial generosity of the Curators to return to Leiden as a Professor, but by leaving his entire collection of manuscripts to Leiden, where they are by far the most valuable part of the collection of Oriental manuscripts—they were added to the ones which Scaliger had bequeathed, and the ones that Golius had bought for the Library—in the end he more than repaid his debt to the University. When he died in 1665, two years before his teacher Golius, his loss was a serious blow to the University, even if it is most unlikely that he would ever have left his beloved Constantinople to succeed Golius if the latter had died first.

The years in which Golius taught at Leiden and Warner read and collected manuscripts in Constantinople mark the zenith of Dutch Arabic scholarship and at the same time a turning point in the development of the young University. Erpenius had still been a fair illustration of what Leiden owed to ‘abroad’. Scaliger encouraged and stimulated him, Bedwell gave him his first introduction to Arabic and Casaubon encouraged him constantly and saw to it that he was nominated at Leiden. With his pupil and successor Golius the situation changed drastically. Golius attracted many foreign students, like Warner, the Silesian physician Eliebmann, the Swiss Hottinger, the Palatine Nesselius, and many others. 58 But not only did Leiden by that time train a whole generation of foreign scholars; Leiden Arabists also supplied the main Arabic textbooks, Erpenius’ grammar and Golius’ dictionary, that were to be used all over Europe well into the nineteenth century.

The fabulous flowering could not be prolonged. On the fifth of May 1668 the Curators resolved to look for a successor to Goool as Professor of Arabic but in spite of the comparatively large number of his students they could not find anyone. 59 In 1675 Hieronymus Harderus, the son of the first secretary of Basle, was made Extra ordinarius Linguarum Orientalium Professor. Harderus left for Constantinople however, and never even took office in Leiden. 60 It was only in 1680 that Carolus Schaaf was appointed as Lector in Hebrew and other Oriental languages, but his main field was Syriac. A proper successor to the Chair of Arabic was not found until 1707 in the person of Johannes Heyman, who achieved little apart from his contribution to the catalogue of the Library’s collection of manuscripts. 61 The flourishing of Arabic scholarship had ended as quickly as it had begun, and not until 1729, with the appointment of Albert Schultens, did Arabic studies at Leiden regain a little of their European reputation.
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the Age of Enlightenment, the Republic of the United Netherlands soon lost the position it had occupied during the seventeenth century, its Golden Age. It still enjoyed, to be sure, a reputation as the country whence the light of Descartes, Spinoza and Hobbes had once radiated, and where civil toleration and freedom of speculation obtained; throughout the eighteenth century the Dutch publishing industry would continue to supply many an enlightened book to the rest of the world. But the dynamism of its society was broken, most of its riches were wastefully consumed, and for a long interval the country was to live on its former glories. This period was called the 'Wig Age' for its frivolity.

In Dutch Arabic studies, with the vast achievements of Erpenius and Golius to build on, no fundamental advance was made except for a better understanding of Islam. This was a result of the more open attitude which had come to prevail in Europe's intellectual circles. Whereas B. d'Herbelot in his *Bibliothèque orientale* (1667), though offering an impressive sum of contemporary knowledge on the East, had hardly evinced this, his compatriot Pierre Bayle, who took refuge in the Calvinist Republic after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1688), true to the spirit of the age, and undoubtedly fired by antipapism, sang the praises of Muslim toleration in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697), one of the models for Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. But Bayle gave more than a reasoned echo of the Protestant war-cry 'better Turkish than Papish', for his article on 'Mahomet' provided a considerable amount of substantial information. In the Netherlands, a second translation of the Koran, published in 1658, could run through seven editions within the following eighty years, and Adriaan Reland gave in *De Religione Mohommediaca* (1705) what has been called 'the first scientific description of the Islamic institutions'.

The enlightened were eclectics seeking the universal rather than the diverse, concord rather than conflict. The spirit is obvious in Reland's preface. While discussing the merits of Islam and rejecting *a priori* judgments upon it, Reland writes: '...hence what they [the Muslims] write about God's attributes in conformity with truth would have to be disregarded by us. Whoever would call this sane?'; the French translator of the book goes even further and his free rendering of this passage reads: 'What now? Because these people [the Muslims] tell us very nice & very good things about Divine perfections must we deny these, & pass the sponge over the most capital truths of the *Natural Religion* & the *Revealed Religion*? Where is the man of sense who would be prepared to accept the consequence?' In accordance with a trend in current opinion, the translator saw Islam as being derived from man's inborn rationality. Since natural religion and revealed religion were a mutually complementary pair of concepts, he must needs accept Islamic revelation. But there was no doubt hardly a man of sense who would accept an identification of the Christian and Islamic revelations, which go oddly together. The enthusiastic translator apparently was preoccupied with passing the sponge over differences and building an harmonious, enlightened fraternity.

The son of a Protestant minister, Adriaan Reland (1676-1718) was, as a theologian, philosopher, linguist, archeologist, geographer, cartographer and a gifted poet, a most versatile scholar. At the age of fourteen, when embarking on the study of theology and philosophy, the precocious child already possessed some knowledge of Hebrew, Syriac, 'Chaldaan' and Arabic. Only four years later he defended at Utrecht University a *Dissertatio de Libertate Philosopandi*. He then studied theology and physics at Leiden for two years. In the University of Harderwijk he occupied the chair of philosophy for one year, and lectured on recent scientific developments, on Bacon, Boyle and Newton. Philosophy being a controversial discipline at Harderwijk, his predilection for Oriental letters made him accept the chair of Oriental languages at Utrecht. Reland's linguistic interest was all-embracing and surely motivated by the theological question what language had prevailed before the Flood (at Leiden, he had held a theological *disputatio* on the location of Paradise). He studied Indian and Indonesian languages, and compared the latter to Malagasy, not being the first to do so, however. He included Chinese, Japanese and, when discussing the Asian origin of the population of America, even the languages of that continent in his theories. In his view, most European languages derived from Greek, Greek from Phoenician, and so up to Hebrew, the mother of languages. Such religiously biased views were
being challenged by then, and to be dispelled by new investigations.

Reland's real originality and significance lie in his pioneering works on Biblical geography and archeology, in which he was the first to use coins and inscriptions, and above all in his De Religione Mohammedica. This study, based on copious sources in Arabic and Persian, stands out as a monument of enlightened scholarship. In the preface he tells his readers: 'A same fate befell most religions [...] to be not fully understood by its enemies, or even to be slanderously ridiculed, against what is proper and fair.'

The Jews had been calumniated by the Romans, and so were the Christians. Reland quotes the Apologeticum of Tertullian, one of the early Christians in the heathen Roman Empire: '...they were considered to be homicides, incestuous, sacrilegious, public enemies of the human race, guilty of all crimes, hence inimical to Gods, Emperors, morality and all of nature; so that to pass for a Christian sufficed as a crime & the mere name made them accused'. The Protestants, Reland continues, have not been treated any better by the 'Papists'. Genebrardus, for example, 'does not hesitate to affirm that Luther would bring about the Kingdom of Mahomet in the area & that his ministers and followers already vied with one another to apostatize to Mahometism'.

One could add that Luther himself had the habit of identifying the creeds of 'Pope and Turk', and that Catholics and Protestants had actually both sought alliances with the unbeliever. Vivandus too had identified Protestants with Muslims, and this kind of reasoning, Reland argues, would make all Christians Muslims, for it might be applied to Catholics as well.

'If ever a religion has been misinterpreted by its enemies, held in contempt, & deemed unworthy of refutation, it is certainly this religion [Islam]. Whoever wishes to give some odious & repulsive dogma a suitable epithet calls it Mohammedan [...] as if there were nothing pure in the Mohammedan doctrine'. Reland certainly wants to refute this religion which he says to 'excrete', but he also wants to give a faithful exposition, even if this might cause him calumny, for 'one must seek Truth wherever it is'; & it seems to me a praiseworthy ambition to shut the door on falsehood, & to offer this widespread religion to the consideration of anyone who wishes, not distorted or enveloped in clouds of slander and error, but such as is taught in the temples and schools of the Mohammedans'.

He writes in the same vein as Erpenius, who in a letter to Casaubon had stated that knowledge of Islamic canonical literature was a prerequisite to any fruitful argument with Muslims.

Although Reland stresses the usefulness of Oriental studies for commerce, Christian missionary work and linguistic Bible exegetis, we may assume that these were the social justifications of his genuine interest in Muslim writings, for these show 'that they are at least equal to other peoples in qualities of mind & character, if not superior (as by the tenth century, during which the arts and sciences among the Christians laid almost in the grave)'.

Next comes a compendium of Muslim theology, an authentic Muslim Arabic text with a Latin translation and commentary, so that the reader has the opportunity to see with his own eyes and to judge according to his lights. The second part deals at length with things falsely attributed to Muslims and reads as a defence of Islam against ignorance and prejudice in Christian judgments. De Religione Mohammedica was translated into English, German, Dutch, French, and even into Spanish. Norman Daniel described it as 'certainly the most important of several that helped to clear away legend and substitute fact, and only fact; it can be studied with profit today'.

In the same field Reland published a detailed, accurate treatise on the Islamic Law of War. He further published the Arabic text of Yāẓa’s Taʿlīm al-Muṣalla (Enchiridion Studiorum, 1709) with Latin translations, and revised a Dutch translation—wrongly attributed to Spinoza—of Ḥaqq b. Yaʿqūb by Ibn Ṫufayl al-Andalusi (1701).

There were in the beginning of the eighteenth century no less than five Dutch Universities with chairs of Oriental languages in addition to the Athenaeum. Looking for a 'celebrity' to fill the vacant post at Leiden, the University authorities chose (in 1710) J. Heyman, who seemed to be well-versed in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, and had travelled extensively in the East. But his work teems with blunders; his six-volume catalogue of the rich manuscript collection of the Leiden University Library, the bulky transcript of parts from Nūyatr’s Nihāyāt and his Turkish-Latin glossary never reached the printed stage.

There is no need to rumour about the East to gather wisdom, for in Holland's Universities she is worshipped as well as; with these lines, published in 1740, the eulogist of a young graduate who had defended a dissertation on the 'wonderful agreement' between Arabic and Hebrew, revealed—not without self-complacency—the
turn Dutch Arabic studies had by then taken. The more the Orientalists placed Arabic in Paradise, the less they were interested in the Arab world; a scholar with a living experience of Eastern life had become a rare phenomenon in the Netherlands. On the basis of non-linguistic postulates Arabic came to be considered as a more purely preserved form of Hebrew and consequently was used for philological Bible exegesis. Its study would remain in the orbit of theology for generations. This shift was largely due to Albert Schultens.

Albert Schultens’ (1686-1750) contribution to Oriental scholarship was both influential and controversial. He studied theology and Oriental languages at Groningen. These days, Calvinist theologians strongly emphasized the importance of studying the Old Testament in its original text in order to liberate Biblical exegesis from Rabbinic and Catholic tradition, but were at variance about methods. In his *Theologico-Philological Dissertation on the Utility of the Arabic Language for the Interpretation of the Holy Scripture* (1706, in Latin) Schultens launched a forceful attack on the method of Biblical exegesis ‘by itself’. He dedicated himself in further studies to working out this point, defending the ‘old way’ against the ‘contemporary new and metaphysical way’, though also proposing ‘to assail, as it were, the stronghold of Rabbinic teaching’. 77

With the help of Golius’ Arabic dictionary, he perused with zeal and fervour the Old Testament and wrote prolifically. Most successful was his voluminous *Book of Job* (1737). The lexical superiority of Arabic had led him to a reconsideration of the position of Hebrew: at first, he had called Arabic ‘the most splendid daughter of mother Hebrew’, but in his oration of 1729 he proclaimed Hebrew and Arabic cognate twin sisters. This shocked conservative theologians as an outright profanation of God’s Word. He failed, however, to liberate Arabic from theological fetters; on the contrary, his assumption that Ishmael had once purified Arabic after the model of Hebrew and other fabulous stories, his far-fetched inferences and his etymological errors and exaggerations show that his primary concern was to accommodate his knowledge of Arabic to the needs of Scriptural interpretation. On the other hand, the position of theology was such that by making Arabic serve it, Schultens greatly enhanced its prestige. A host of theologians were introduced to the study of Arabic language and literature and contributed to it—they do so even now.

Schultens’ theories gained momentum in his time and after. Yet his reputation as ‘the founder of comparative Semitic philology’ 78—which in fact emerged much later—and as a scholar who, together with his followers, ‘while pursuing a purely profane method in the study of Hebrew literature, was the first to adopt the viewpoint of impartial and disinterested science’ 79 never went unchallenged. The contemporary judgment of Reiske, his student and opponent, the father of Arabic scholarship in Germany, that his studies had been detrimental to sacred philology and had made sacred exegesis ridiculous was taken up, in a sense, by Friedrich Delitzsch in his criticism of Gesenius’ lexicography: ‘Hebrew lexicography has been reduced to the position of a handmaiden of Arabic’. 79a To Delitzsch, Fick ironically echoes that ‘real progress in Arabic philology could hardly be expected from a man [Schultens] who reduced it to the position of ancilla theologiae’. 79b

When the Curators of the University of Leiden honoured Schultens with the title of *Interpres Legati Warmeriani*, as the Keeper of the Oriental manuscripts came to be called, they expected him to edit texts from the famous collection. Although this never became his main occupation, he did edit several Arabic texts, including the first six Assemblies of Ḥarārī (1731-40), in more than 500 pages; a history of the ‘Joktanid Empire’ in Arabia Felix (1750) with excerpts from Abu’l-Fida’, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, Nuwayri, Ṭabar and Masʿūdi; a collection of ancient Arabic poetry (1749); the biography of Saladin by Bahāʾ ad-Dīn b. Shaddād, together with excerpts from the histories of Abu’l-Fida’ and ‘Imād ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (1755), and a selection from Abū Tammām’s *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsā* for his re-edition of Erpenius’ grammar. Though his stature as an Arabist is in no ways epoch-making, these editions were useful as textbooks.

Those who succeeded Schultens at Leiden and his numerous followers elsewhere for quite a while did not contribute much to Arabic studies. There were, of course, exceptions, such as the moving figure of E. Scheidius, who never passed a day without reading some pages of Maydānī’s proverbs, who started editing Ganhari’s *Aṣ-Sikāḥ fi’l-Lughah*, edited Ibn Durayd’s *Masa’il* with a Latin translation (*Udylion Arabicum*), and had his own Arabic printing-press at Harderwijk. But orations on the importance of Arabic studies in dealing with the Old Testament (F. J. van den Ham, as late as 1877), or orations stressing that the study of
Oriental languages ought to begin with Arabic rather than with Hebrew (J. H. G. Wolters in 1829) must have filled the audiences with strong misgivings. Schultens’ epigones generally would start with Arabic, only to leave it after a short while once and for all. The ‘Schultens school’ came to respect Arabic in the way they thought the Arabs respected their ladies: as something to lock up in a gilded cage.

When, a hundred years later, Dozy made an attempt to unlock the treasures stored in this cage, he found the many marginal notes of Albert’s son and successor J. J. Schultens (1718-1778), ‘the most learned man of his time’, in a chaos, and was unable to use them for his Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes (1881). J. J. Schultens read the most but published the least of the Schultens ‘dynasty’; he entered the thorny path of theological controversy to defend generously a nonconformist Protestant minister. This tolerant attitude also distinguished his son and successor H. A. Schultens (1749-1793) who, as rector magnificus of the University of Leiden, protected the democratic patriots from vengeful enemies after their revolt had been checked by foreign intervention. These were the decades preceding the invasion of the French revolutionary armies; the Netherlands were enfeebled by economical regress, military defeat and growing popular discontent.

The late eighteenth century Netherlands saw an increasing, vivid interest in the aesthetic qualities of Arabic literature which overreached the borders of the University. Lay interest in things Oriental had been manifest long before—it had, of course, even preceded scholarly Orientalism—and the Enlightenment had a strong tendency towards popularisation. By 1700, the civilized wealthy passionately read the accounts of travellers, as Corn. de Bruin’s richly illustrated volumes on the Levant and Persia, Chardin’s Voyage en Perse, the translations of Pétis de la Croix (in French, The History of Timur, The Thousand and One Days), and Galland’s brilliant version of the Arabian Nights, all this French blending of scholarship and good taste was published in the Netherlands, often translated and widely read. Many came to view the East as the better counterpart of the West. The Easterner would play a significant role in a favorite literary device: to criticize one’s country by recording the amazement or disgust of an enlightened Oriental visitor. Onno Zwier van Haren, in his play Agon, Sultan van Bantam (1769), gave a rather original Dutch variant. It dealt not directly with European affairs, as Montesquieu’s Lettres Persanes, but as an elaborate simile. The scene is the East itself, the island of Java (Indonesia), where the Dutch East India Company had concentrated its colonizing efforts. The play shows the way one of the local rulers, the wise and enlightened Agon, is victimized by a fiendish conspiracy between his treacherous son and the Dutch Company. That the Friesian nobleman, whose career had been broken by the intrigues of his own children and Holland politicians, here wrote his own tragedy and put the Parricide theme in an Oriental setting is evident; but even then, the distribution of roles is indicative of a universalist inspiration. Van Haren could identify himself with Agon, his home province Frisia with Bantam and the Dutch Company with Holland only if the bona mens aequaliter distributa est (Roland). The Easterners are mouthpieces of Van Haren’s criticism of Holland, but the point here is that for the first time Dutch misdemeanour overseas was vehemently criticized in this way.

The universalist attitude was resisted—or altered—during the pre-romantic period of the last decades of the eighteenth century, when the specific character of peoples and languages was stressed. Not resemblances but differences between these were considered most. This clearly appears in the orations of H. A. Schultens, a figure à cheval between both attitudes. Lecturing to the Amsterdam Society ‘Concordia et Libertas’ on Oriental poetry in 1776, he defended Arab and Persian poets against the bias of ignorance. Though cultural differences do exist, common sense, genius and good taste are found among them, he said, ‘common sense and authenticity are equal on the whole earth’. In this lecture, and, more evidently, when orating On the Character of the Arabs (1788), as he resigned from the rectorate of Leiden University, he painted in glowing romantic colours the ‘true’ Arabs, those of pre-Islamic times. He pointed at ‘the singular agreement of the pre-Islamic Arab’s character with his ideas’. This character being ‘the cause, and like a mother, of everything that people need for a good and happy life’, he asked his audience: ‘Whoever among you [...] has ever seen an Arab without conceding that the whole man’s character is composed of ingenuity, quickness and ardour? And who does not, with admiration, imagine the man’s extraordinary stature, firm tread, conspicuous bearing, dark & many colour, that muscled neck, & above all those black eyes sheltered by thick eyebrows,
whose sharp sight, with a burning power like lightning, penetrates and permeates everything? Now nature has granted this sort of man a thin, clear and burning sky. The thin sky sharpens the intellect. The clearness makes for cheerfulness. The burning heat helps the force of imagination. That is why, in consequence of these properties of the sky, the Arabs are commonly held to be, & more sharp-witted, & more lively, & more fervent than others.

This third scion of the Schultens dynasty relied in these orations on a good deal of imagination, apparently not needing a burning hot sky for himself; but he may have been inspired by Arabic proverbs, for it was the Arab’s ‘supreme quickness in short and witty sayings’, and ‘a national tendency towards proverbs […] of which there is among them an unbelievable quantum and variety’ he most appreciated. He edited, translated and annotated the greater part of Zamakhshari’s Al-Kalim an-Nawâ‘îgh, ‘today hardly more than a bibliographical curiosity’, Barbier de Meynard wrote a hundred years later in the preface to his complete edition in the Journal Asiatique, but, ‘written in that elegant and pure Latin which is traditional in Holland, enriched with annotations which reveal wide reading and a strong classical education, the work of Schultens was one of the most estimable productions of Oriental erudition to the end of the last century’.

During his short stay in England he busied himself, apart from improving the catalogue of Oriental manuscripts at Cambridge, with the edition of his Specimen Proverbiorum Medii et Verrone Poëticorum (London, 1772), from the hitherto unpublished manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. From this period dates his friendship with Sir William Jones, the famous translator of the Mu’allaqât and member of Samuel Johnson’s Literary Club. On his return to Holland, Schultens started frequenting literary circles and became president of the Society of Netherland’s Literature at Leiden. He taught Oriental languages in Amsterdam, and later at Leiden, where he closed the Schultens triad. He contributed to a new edition of the forerunner of The Encyclopædia of Islam, Herbelot’s Bibliothèque orientale, with a volume of additions. His own edition of Maydânî’s proverbs was posthumously published in 1795.

Schultens counted among his students the most famous poet of his time, Willem Bilderdijk, and the future professor of Oriental languages at Leiden during the French occupation, J. H. van der Palm, an author who would deeply influence nineteenth century Dutch prose style. Bilderdijk had read some Arabic poetry, and his version of Ibn Durayd’s Maqâṣîr will always remain a jewel of Dutch literature. It was written when the poet was exiled for his refusal to subscribe to the Declaration of Human Rights made obligatory by the new, French inspired, revolutionary Government of the Batavian Republic in 1795. As for his translation he writes: ‘However its wine may be diluted by my watering I flatter myself that the slightest flavour remaining in it will leave its original excellence undisputed and will console my Readers for what it lost’. He then continues on Eastern poetry: ‘—But the Easterners, aren’t they inflated?—In your eyes assuredly, you who ask this to me, Reader! but you must realize that the body of a quiet Ox is not inflated, although, to reach only half its volume a frog has to inflate himself. When we […] with our cool character use a borrowed language, represent borrowed thoughts, thus being poets by imitating what is not ours, or when we, with an ardent and a wildness of imagination unnatural to us […] attain a kind of poetical drunkenness in which we succumb to nonsense […] then, yes, then we become inflated […] but when nature, however rough she may be and however bold or improper she expresseth herself, speaks her own language […] she will always be true, and consequently beautiful and lofty’. Sometimes Dutch literati did not need to imitate Eastern models to look like inflated frogs. One such author was J. H. van der Palm (1763-1840), upon whose features we perhaps need not dwell. The speeches he made as a schoolboy—on subjects as ‘On what according to Juvenal is desirable; a Sound Mind in a Sound Body’ and ‘In Praise of Diligence and Reproof of Idleness’—forebode the future orator. Alternately singing the praises of God, the Nation and the Restoration, Van der Palm displayed a prodigious adaptability, which enabled him to keep in tune with his turbulent time. The newborn Batavian Republic, created by a ‘Velvet Revolution’ after the invasion of the French revolutionary armies with their Dutch ‘patriot’ auxiliaries, would appoint this Calvinist theologian Agent of National Education and subsequently member of the Council of Internal Affairs. Van der Palm, it seems, once called Bilderdijk ‘a martyr of knowing too much’; as an Arabist, Van der Palm was certainly the reverse, not a martyr but a successful man, and rather superficial in his knowledge. He was called to the chair of Oriental
languages to replace the unfortunate S. F. J. Rau, who had been dismissed for political reasons, and whose life-work, an edition and translation of Thāfī's book on precious stones, was consumed by the flames. Rau was recalled when Van der Palm entered politics and remained in office until his premature death. On his return from politics, Van der Palm came to occupy the chair of Sacred Poetry and Eloquence, and became most celebrated as a Bible translator and as an orator. When orating, 'with him everything was in harmony', according to his biographer. No wonder, then, that his rectoral oration on Muhammad (1799) produced in the auditory of the University '... a general sensation, both by the choiceness of his language and the extraordinary impressiveness of his delivery. Most striking was his eloquence when he set forth the eloquence of Mohammed, and on that occasion related the anecdote of Omar, who, having girded on his sword to bathe it in Mohammed's blood, finally fell at his feet, acknowledging him as Allah's great prophet. With rapture his hearers eyed one another, amazed at the extraordinary gift of the peerless orator'. Yet the content of his oration was impressively poor as compared with Reland's unpretentious, brilliant booklet on Islam published nearly a century before. Dutch Arabic studies had reached their low-watermark.

In this period flourished J. Willmet (1750-1835), who taught Oriental languages at Harderwijk and Amsterdam. He was a refined aesthete possessing, as we are told, 'an entirely Oriental mind'. When Willmet wrote his survey of eighteenth century Dutch Orientalism in 1812, he quite naturally took into consideration the situation of the country, the specific circumstances under which Oriental studies had to be pursued in this country with less than two million inhabitants, and the character of the nation. He stressed the lack of governmental support, the lack of well-provided libraries, the impossibility of undisturbed study in a revolutionary epoch and the modesty, scrupulous character of the Dutchman. In short, he wrote as an apologist. But there was no need to apologize, for the malaise in Oriental studies was not restricted to the Netherlands, it had been a rather general phenomenon during the eighteenth century. Significantly, Reiske's brilliant works were received most ungratefully everywhere. Sacy remarked that H. A. Schultens' 'Colailah (sic) als Dinnah, however incorrect, proved to be useful as a textbook.' In his country the publishing of Arabic books had ceased altogether during the greater part of the century. As for the Dutch national character, which lacked, according to Willmet, the liveliness, spontaneity and tenacity of the French, the future would prove that the inertia which marked the Oriental studies of the century's last decades had obviously nothing to do with any 'national character': in the nineteenth century and after, with Dozy, the Juynboll dynasty, De Goeje, Snouck Hurgronje and Wensinck, the Netherlands would re-emerge as a centre of Oriental scholarship.
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Netherlands still formed a part of the French Empire when Napoleon's star began to wane. While his troops were retreating in 1813, the House of Orange was restored to power, not as hereditary stakholders to a republic, but as sovereigns of a constitutional monarchy. William I, an enlightened autocrat, took up the development of the country with much energy, but his subjects' reluctance delayed a large-scale industrialization until the 1870s. His son William II introduced representative government by having a new constitution drafted (1848), and liberal democracy finally triumphed with the women's right to vote in 1919. Dutch intellectual life reflected fashions and tendencies prevailing abroad—rather often with a Calvinist tinge, especially in Romanticism. It is obvious that the Enlightenment largely outlived the eighteenth century; its inspiration would guide the way of most nineteenth century Dutch Arabists.

Inspired by an actual interest and aiming at an actual purpose, every generation rewrites history. 'We ask history for lessons', Dozy asserted in his inaugural lecture on taking up the chair of history at Leiden University in 1850: 'On the favourable Influence which the Revolutions in France, since 1789, have exercised upon the Study of Mediæval History. He spoke, to the anger of the Curators, in Dutch instead of Latin, and although he ingeniously defended himself against the charge of breaking a tradition, there could be no doubt about the meaning of his gesture: he certainly was a friend of progress; had not his appointment been warmly supported by the man who, two years previously, had drafted the new constitution? 'Back to the Middle Ages' was not a reactionary slogan to him; on the contrary, he looked for the roots of democracy. 'Is it necessary', he said, 'to expound how the past explains the present and sometimes makes us look into the future? [...] Representative government, the struggle of classes and parties, in one word political life, we find in the Middle Ages. [...] that above all attention is paid to the history of the people, not only of Kings and noblemen, to the condition of society, to the development of political life, that is a phenomenon to rejoice in, and we owe it to the great events since 80. [...] Just as the revolution had a salutary effect upon society, so it worked beneficially on scholarship. Both needed a purifying thunderstorm'. About contemporary interest in Oriental history he said: 'How many historians have not been edited and translated! From their own writings the enemies of the crusaders came to be known; the people that surpassed by far their contemporaries in knowledge, that worked forcefully upon the civilization of the European nations: since frequently trade and science levelled the barriers of religion and hatred. The history of the East, of Spain, Italy, the Byzantine Empire, of Russia, the expeditions of the vikings, the development of trade, of the Arts and Sciences—into all these subjects, our insight has been enlarged by Arabic writings'.

The light, according to Dozy, came from France, where the École des langues orientales vivantes had been established. He was clearly aware of the fact that the interest taken in Egyptian, and later North African history was connected with the Napoleonic expedition and the conquest of Algiers. As for Dozy himself, his interest was, if not wholly academic, justified by his particular brand of liberalism; he wanted his convictions to be strengthened by the experiences of the past.

In a speech to the Leiden Society of Fine Arts and Sciences in 1836, the 'distinguished protector of Oriental studies', H.A. Hamaker (1789-1839) had already expressed his enthusiasm for contemporary scholarly achievements in France. In fact, this polyhistor—who also worked in Phoenician, Samaritan, Sanskrit and Classical philology—had taken the initiative in reviving Dutch Arab studies by his detailed description of a number of Leiden manuscripts, which ultimately led Dozy, De Jong, De Goeje and Houtsm to the compilation of the Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academicae Lugduni-Batavorum in six volumes, (1851-77), which greatly stimulated scholarly research. Hamaker's editions include Maqrizi's account of the siege of Damiet (1824) and the Incerti Auctoris Liber de Expugnatione Memphis et Alexandriæ vulgo adscriptus Wabiadou (1825). His pupil P. J. Uylenbroek, a mathematician, natural scientist and astronomer, renewed the traditional interest in Arabic geographical literature by his edition of Ibn Hawqal's description of Persia (1822). Another student of Hamaker's, T. Roorda, wrote a biography of Ahmad b. Tīlūn, based mainly on Maqrizi and Nuwayzi (1825), and a Grammatica
Arabica (1835), with a selection from Tha‘líbî’s Lajâ‘if as-Ṣahāba, edited by P. Cool. Hamaker was succeeded by his former student H. E. Weigers (1805-1844), who edited texts on Ibn Zaydûn, and was a brilliant teacher, who read a great deal of Spanish Arabic literature with his students. One of them, M. Hoogvliet, selected passages from Arabic authors on the Aфsatid dynasty and on Ibn ‘Abdûn for his dissertation (1839); another, A. Meursing, edited Suyûtî’s De Interpretibus Korani (1839). A pupil of Hamaker and Van der Palm, Th. W. J. Juynborll (1802-1861) was the first of a long dynasty of Oriental scholars. Juynborll was a polyhistor, but especially devoted to Samaritan and Arabic literature. In the first volume of the short-lived learned journal Orientalia (1840), he published a selection from the Dîwân of Mutanabbî, and started editions of Yûṣûf’s Marâjî al-Ma‘lûk (Lexicon Geographicum, 1850-64), working in collaboration with J. J. B. Gaal, and Abu’l-Mahânîn b. Tâghribîrî’s Annales of Egyptian history (An-Nâṣîm as-Zâhirî fî Mulâk Mîr wa‘l-Qâhirâ, 1852-61), together with B. F. Matthes. Juynborll succeeded Weigers at Leiden. His son A. W. Th. Juynborll distinguished himself in the field of Islamic law, edited the Kitâb al-Tanbih of Shârî‘î and parts from Ya‘qûbî’s Kitâb al-Bulûn.

Weigers’ most talented student was undoubtedly R. P. A. Dozy (1820-1883), who was destined to revive Arabic studies in a brilliant manner. In 1843 he had been awarded the prize of the Royal Institute for his Dictionnaire d’histoire des villevements chez les Arabes, in which the youthful author had displayed an impressive erudition. It was a man of experience, then, who asserted in two of his theses appended to his dissertation—a collation of texts on the ‘Abbadid dynasty of Seville—that the compilation of an Arabic dictionary containing all words and meanings as they were used in the various countries during the different periods was, by then, unthinkable; and that Arabic lexicography was best served by recording the words missing in the classical Arabic vocabularies. To record words as they were used, not as they should be used, was such the formula of his well-known and ever-used Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes (1881), the harvest of his relentless lifelong occupation with Arabic literature. Ibrânîn al-‘Uzâ‘î, while deploring Dozy’s lack of personal acquaintance with the living East, wrote that the Supplément ‘merited to be inserted in the series of the noblest treasures of literature’ and that its author deserved ‘to be praised as long as any Arab pronounces the ḍâd.’ Other lexicographical work included Oosterling’s (1867), in which he traced the Oriental origin of Dutch words, his second edition of Engelmann’s Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais empruntés à l’Arabe (1869)—which was awarded the prize of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres—and his many glossaries added to his editions of Arabic texts.

Dozy’s great ambition was to write history; since historical sources were mostly unpublished, or even unknown, he had to supply the need himself. At Gotha he discovered the third part of Ibn Bassâm’s Dabhûra, which enabled him to revise entirely the then prevailing view on the Cid Campeador. In his Recherches sur l’histoire politique et littéraire de l’Espagne pendant le moyen-âge (1849-50) he brought together sources and preliminary studies that did not fit in his magnum opus on the history of Muslim Spain. With short intervals he published an annotated translation of the ‘Histoire des Benou Ziyan de Thlemenc’ in the Journal Asiatique (1846), the Commentaire historique sur le poème d’Ibn Abdoun par Ibn Badroun (1846), ‘Abd al-Wâhid al-Marrâkûshî’s Mu‘tâbî (1847), Ibn ‘Idhârî’s al-Bayân al-Mughrîb, with fragments from ‘Arab’s chronicle (1848-51), the latter’s Kitâb al-Amsâb (Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l’année 961, 1873), and in the Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes (1847), excerpts from Ibn al-‘Abbâr’s Al-Hallâ as-Siyâra.

It hurt the over-sensitive scholar that he was not chosen to succeed Weigers, but this may have been a blessing in disguise: the chair of history which he occupied from 1850 onwards gave him the freedom to realize his plans, above all the compilation of his pioneering Histoire des Musulmans d’Espagne (1861), which was translated into German, Spanish and English, and the last volume as Mulakh al-Tauwîf into Arabic by Kâmil Khânî, Dozy had a mind powerful to control the wide areas he had to describe, a precision in preparation and a vivid French prose style: the ‘illustrious historian of Spain; the very learned Shaykh of the Orientalists’—as Shâqib Arslân called him in Al-Halal as-Sundusiyâyy—resolutely cut short most of the existing historical literature in the field, destroying many scholarly reputations, above all of the unfortunate Don José Antonio Conde, and even of his friend Don Pascual de Gayangos, with a rather cruel polemical virulence. But with the Histoire he laid a solid foundation for the study of Islamic Spain, where romantic Schaudermei was still in full blaze (Fûck). Many historians in this period shared the attitude of Bilderdijk, who
stated in a note to his poem The Castle of Damascus (in Dutch): ‘On my poetic scene I am the master, and have cities and castles conquered by whom I want and when I want.’ It has been said that ‘Dozy himself was not above romantic wool-gathering’, and it is true that sometimes his imagination carried him over the barren places. Some passages, as for instance his portrayal of the bedouins who, ‘guided, in fact, not by philosophical principles but by a kind of instinct, […] have put in practice, from time immemorial, the inspiring watchword of the French Revolution—“Liberty, Equality, Fraternity”,’ can be read as projections of his own enlightened ‘philosophical principles’ indeed. But Dozy after all was rather frugal when he came to point a moral. Limiting his work to the history of Islamic Spain up to the Almoravid conquest, he ends speaking in glowing terms of al-Mu'tamid, who ‘had the good fortune to be the last Spanish-born king, who represented worthily, nay, brilliantly, a nationality and culture which succumbed, or barely survived, under the dominion of barbarian invaders’. This, and his assertion ‘that Andalusia in delivering herself to the Almoravides procured no happiness’ is reminiscent of Gibbon’s remark about his masterpiece on the Roman Empire, of which he said to have described ‘the triumph of Barbarism and Religion’. Dozy’s misgivings did not concern religion as such, it was more precisely ‘clericalism’; this may be inferred from his rectoral oration On the Reasons why Muhammadan Civilization declined and was corrupted prior to Christian Civilization (in Latin, 1869), in which he explained to the audience that Muslim civilization, once so bright while darkness reigned here, had fallen into decay, and that the same disrupting factors could ruin our civilization. Although he ‘ventured to contend’ that ‘the Qur’an is more convenient to the spirit of these times […] than the Old and New Testament’, the immutability of Muslim institutions was, according to Dozy, an obstacle to progress. After a short review of the causes underlying Muslim decay he appealed to the audience: ‘Come on! Let us, whatever our numbers, who love light and truth, who defend learning free from clerical chains, completely free, let us join shields and forces, and do our utmost lest such a calamity come to oppress our fatherland and our culture’. Such pathetic language was inspired by contemporary events in the Netherlands, once more torn by religious strife; the assumption of parallelism is evidently contestable. Also Het Islamsisme (1863), written in Dutch and subsequ-
sequently translated into French, German and Turkish (Cairo, 1908-9) and meant for the general reader, reflects ideas—as Reman’s—characteristic of his time. Though Dozy thought Islam on principle to mean stagnation, he compared its present and future with Catholicism, as a living and expanding force.

As an editor of texts, Dozy found a devoted disciple in M. J. de Goeje. Together they edited the parts on Spain and North Africa from Idrisi’s Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi’l-kitab al-Afgān (1866) and prepared an edition of Zamakhshari’s Asās al-Balāgha, the publication of which however had lost its urgency, since this was one of the great many books appearing by then in the Arab world. To the end of his life, Dozy continued editing, revising and correcting his texts and studies. Most inspiring was the way in which he organized international co-operation among Orientalists; together with Gustave Dugat, Ludolf Kreil and William Wright he published the Analectes sur l’histoire et la littérature des Arabes d’Espagne (1855-1861), an edition of Maqārî’s Naḥf al-Ṭib, accompanied by the critical remarks of H. L. Fleischer. The International Congress of Orientalists held at Leiden in 1883 would have been presided by Dozy, but al-ʿAbd al-Faqīrī al-Rāhib, as he once styled himself, had died just before. A life as Dozy’s could easily dispense with such a crown, since for the rest ‘all that this remarkable man planned, he executed’ (De Goeje).

M. J. de Goeje (1836-1903) stands out in the history of Dutch Arabic studies as a philologist par excellence. While Dozy had opened up broad perspectives, De Goeje’s monographs, such as the Mémoires d’histoire et de géographie orientales (1862-64), were mostly modest and precise articles and reviews. Trained in classical philology and introduced to its methods of textual criticism, his fame rests solidly on a respectable series of textual editions, ‘… and in this field he became, and will remain, the Master of all the Arabists of his time. For this there were two reasons: the first and the more important was his conviction of the necessity of establishing, as the foundation of all accurate study, the best possible versions of the original sources. The record of the exploration of Oriental history and literature terms with uncorrected errors, false deductions, hasty and premature generalizations. For these, with the few and imperfect texts available, the writers to whom they are due are not severely to be blamed. But De Goeje felt that before any great edifice could be planned and built it was necessary to
supply better material; and to this his activity throughout his life was devoted." Apart from his editions of the Divan of Muslim b. al-Walid (1875) and the Liber Poësïs et Poëtarum (1904) of Ibn 'Atiq, he occupied himself mainly with geographical and historical texts. In the eight volumes of the Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabiorum (1870-94), De Goeje made accessible the most important geographical sources of the 'Abbasid Caliphate: Istakhri, Ibn Hawqal, Muqaddasi, Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani, Ibn Khuradadhibi, 'Umar b. Ya'qub, Ibn Rusta, Ya'qub ibn Mas'id. In the field of history he published Baladhuri's Liber Exspugnationis Reginorum (1866), in the Fragmenta Historiorum Arabiorum (1869-71) parts from the Kitab al-'Uyun wa'l-Hadâ'iq fi Abhâb al-'Uqâ'iq (together with P. de Jong, the editor of Ibn al-Qaysarani's Ansâb al-Mutlaqata) (1865) Tha'labi's Lât'i' al-Maw'arif (1867) and Dhahabi's Al-Mu'jam al-Tanzil'i (1881), and Miskawayh's Ta'farîq al-Ummam, and, most important of all, he supervised the monumental edition of Tabari's Annals (1879-1901), that was achieved through his organizing talent and the efforts of a host of European scholars working together. In his long Latin introduction, De Goeje has given a detailed account of the collection and collation of the odd manuscript volumes on which the Leiden edition must rest, since no library possessed a complete copy. The usefulness of such editions for students of Arabic can hardly be overestimated, since texts were only available to those who could travel from library to library in order to consult manuscripts. As for the edition of Tabari, it has been said that 'whoe'er pulls this crown of nineteenth century Arabic studies will not be contradicted.'

De Goeje readily helped others. "Sans briller, sans guère attirer l'attention, il rayonnait d'une douce et bienveillante chaleur, et c'est pourquoi on aimait à se grouper autour de lui." Dozy bore witness of his indebtedness to him in the preface to his Supplément; De Goeje revised Wright's Arabic Grammar, completed his edition of Mubarrad's Kamil and gave a second edition of his Travels of Ibn Jafar; he also saw Van Vloten's Tria Opuscula through the press: the edition of Gâhi' Risâla [...] fi Mundiqat al-Turh, the Kitab al-Turh fi'l-Tawdih etc. But he did not only help his fellow-scholars; as an inspector of education and a liberal member of the Leiden City Council too he distinguished himself as a likeable and public-spirited man.

At the Congress of Orientalists at Leiden in 1883, after reading the contribution of Dozy on the religion of the Harrâniânes, De Goeje spoke, according to the Arab visitor to the Congress, ‘Amin al-Madânî, on Muslim Arab philosophers and physicians: ‘He mentioned some fifty of them by name, their merits and purity of ideas. When he sat down, there was a forceful applause of approval. I then turned to Mr. Oppert, the Frenchman, and said to him: “Give my greetings to Mr. Renan in Paris, and tell him that Prof. de Goeje’s discourse was entirely sufficient to refute him.”’ De Goeje’s discourse was not meant to be a refutation of Renan’s thesis—Amin hints at Renan’s lecture on Islam and Science—but his attitude to Islamic civilization was certainly not as prejudiced as Renan’s—or Dozy’s.

De Goeje’s student G. van Vloten (1866-1902) was as conscientious and modest as his master. He had written a dissertation on the rise of the ‘Abbasids in Khurasân (in Dutch, 1890), soon followed by a treatise Recherches sur la domination arabe, le Chiisme et les croyances messianiques sous le hâlidât des Omeyyades, which was translated into Arabic by Hasan 'Irâhîm 'Hasan and Muhammad Zakî 'Irâhîm, who state in their preface: ‘The author understood what no other historian had understood of the causes of the Umayyads’ fall and ‘pursued a scrupulous analytical method,’ so that it is, together with the comments of the translators, ‘a valuable treasure that gives evidence of the author’s being distinguished by precision in research, width of knowledge and thoroughness in the examination of the facts; it is indispensable for whoever occupies himself with Islamic history in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, India, Arabia, Iraq, Northern Africa and other Islamic countries, just as, on the other hand, Orientalists may profit by it, especially by those refutations and comments [sc. the translators’] that throw a spark of light on most of the questions the study of which the author has undertaken.’ Van Vloten then published a series of Arabic texts, while earning his living as a teacher of Hebrew in a secondary school: Khwarizmi’s Liber Maflûtîl al-Îklâm, explicans Vocabula Technica Scientiarum tam Arabum quam Perserinorum (1893), and two famous jewels of Arabic literature: Le livre des beaux et des antikhéses (1898) and Gâhi’ Le livre des mares (1900), based on the unique manuscript preserved at Istanbul. To collect materials he had travelled to Istanbul and Damascus, where he also wrote inspired sketches, which were published in Dutch together with some translations from the Arabic. In them he appears as a romantic
lover of the Orient, mourning its decay with melancholy: ‘Ah, is this a nation in decline, I often ask myself in lonely meditation. Are these peoples doomed to succumb to our invasion? But I, who know so well the ugly side of the Europeans, I refuse to acknowledge our superiority. I do not want to believe that this rich life will be suffocated by our colourlessness. [...] Good Osmanlis, virtuous Turks, don’t you see how hideous this is; that it gives glass for your pearls, and for your silk enameled cotton-prints?’ 111 Van Vloten returned from the Ottoman Empire a sick man, and died even prior to this ‘sick man of Europe’ whose diagnosis he had given so pathetically.

The turn of the century saw European power overseas at its zenith, and the Netherlands shared in this power. Muhammad Amin Fikri wrote in his Isbah ad-Abab ilâ Mahasib Ilâb (1892) about the Dutch ‘seizure, in spite of their labours at home and small numbers, of many colonies, their establishment of sound government and their considerable care for the interests of these colonies’. 112 What were these colonies, and what is the link between them and Arabic studies?

The Dutch were the chief carriers of Europe in the late sixteenth century, but for Oriental merchandise they relied on the Portuguese transit markets. When in 1585, during the war with Spain, these were closed to them, they sailed out to the East themselves and supplanted the Portuguese. At first they sought for trade, not for empire; but in order to control local economies they gradually extended their footholds and came to occupy large areas, mainly in Indonesia. As one scholar put it, the colonial authority, the Dutch East India Company (1602-1798), ‘in a world in which it can distinguish nothing but cunning and violence, [...] has established itself through cunning and violence’ 113 and practiced what another has called ‘the materialist exploitation policy of our fathers’. 114 Yet they did more than trading and exploiting; in the centre of the Dutch East Indies, on the island of Java, some children of the Enlightenment founded in 1778 the ‘Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences’ (for the public benefit’, as its motto stated), the first learned Society established by Europeans in the East. Its Verhandelingen (‘Transactions’), issued almost without interruption from 1779 to 1950, dealt not directly with Arab affairs, but, since Islam spread in the archipelago with more success than Christianity, one of the objects of research selected by the Society in the first number significantly reads: ‘What means of ingenuity Muhamed, the Imans and the rest of the teachers and missionaries of the Muselmans, also in later times, have used to convert the heathens everywhere, especially in the different regions and islands of East India [Indonesia], to the faith of the Koran, as a moral conviction, and establishing them in this faith?’ The Society informed its members that it would gladly receive answers also from Moors and Muselmans, and would judge the handling of this historical question without regard to person: the more since the Mohamedans and their theologians have, perhaps, the best opportunity to give in this matter details which, in Europe and here [Indonesia], have hitherto remained unknown’. 115 However, the question does not appear to have been replied to in any of the subsequent volumes. The Verhandelingen would deal with ‘whatever could be useful to [...] the welfare of the colony; it encouraged every question relating to natural history, antiquities, and the manners and usages of the Native inhabitants but expressly avoided entering upon any subject which might relate to the East India Company’. 116 The passion for secrecy for the dealings of the authorities overseas, which continued after the Dutch Government had taken over the colonial possessions of the Company, began, by the middle of the nineteenth century, to be criticized by the liberals in the mother country. P. J. Veth (1814-1893), an Orientalist who had edited Syuyuti’s De Nominibus Relativis inscr. Lubū al-Lubū (1840-57), vehemently attacked the cattailment of the press in the East Indies; 117 later he wrote indignantly against forced labour in the colony: if we do not want to introduce it, too, in the Netherlands, he argued, it has to be abolished; tertium non datur. 118 That imperial logic necessitated different laws for different peoples did not occur to this liberal, who was a prominent figure in Dutch Indonesian studies throughout the nineteenth century but, significantly, never visited the colony. The Government’s exploitation policy was most eloquently denounced in Multatuli’s Max Havelaar or the Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company (1860), undoubtedly the best Dutch novel of the nineteenth century. During most of the century, European domination as such passed unquestioned, but the idea that European power entailed a moral responsibility, that there was a debt of honour to redeem, gained strength. Consequently the so-called ethical colonial policy was proposed, which was to be the official one in the years after 1901, though certainly not only
for ethical reasons. Unfortunately, this ethical policy of development and education did not end exploitation, but on the contrary gave it another ideological justification. Perhaps this was as inevitable as the emergence of the Indonesian national movement and ultimately Indonesian independence. One of the few who dared to face the reality of a world in which the idea of self-determination was being introduced was the Leiden professor of history H. T. Colenbrander: 'The Native community', he said in 1918, 'is thirsty for our knowledge, also and above all because it feels that it needs it as a weapon against unreasonable continuance of our domination. To deny it for that reason this knowledge will not do. The time that we had the freedom even to think of it has elapsed long ago'. \(^{139}\)

Such an attitude was shared by few, and Dutch colonial history ended in disaster.

'Islam, that great international with the green banner, is a power that has to be studied earnestly and to be treated with great wisdom by a colonial power as ours'. Islamic studies had been included in the curricula of the Royal Academy of Delft, started in 1842, and similar institutes for the training of Indian civil servants, but the author of these lines, C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1926), was no doubt the first—and the last—Arabist to have any real bearing upon Dutch colonial policy. According to him, scholars as Hamaker, Weijers, Juynboll, Dozy and De Goeje had furthered general knowledge of the Islamic world, but none of them had used this knowledge in the interest of Holland's Muslim subjects, even if their pupils did. \(^{140}\)

Snouck Hurgronje placed himself resolutely in opposition to them and thought 'the most lofty cause which a true Dutchman who understands the signs of the time can choose in our days' to be 'the education of the 40 millions of Dutch subjects in South-East Asia to that spiritual independence that is needed to secure for them in international intercourse the place which their disposition and their situation enable them to occupy, the gradual replacement of the bond formed by force, which fettered the colony to the mother country, by the less oppressive but stronger bonds of common culture of unity of material and moral interests'. \(^{141}\)

His grand design was association; a policy was needed to bring about a cultural unity strong enough to 'void the difference of religious denomination from its political and social significance'; then, Snouck hoped, le désir d'être ensemble would finally triumph. \(^{142}\)

Essentially, Snouck's policy aimed at rule by consent of the gov-erned. There had been many revolts against Dutch colonial rule, often drawing inspiration from Islam. Snouck tended to the view that these were merely remnants of mediaeval fanaticism, and defended Islam as a peaceful religion. Thus he based his Islamic policy on the assumption that Islam was not opposed to association. Snouck Hurgronje must have been fully aware of the fact that it was incompatible with Muslim legal theory, but he also knew how legal practice could deviate from theory. Yet it was not on the lines set out by him that Islam adapted itself to modern times, and in many independence movements, political Islam proved to be not as reactionary as Snouck had judged it. In his day, a patronizing brand of imperialism was still rampant: although he said that 'we must leave it to the Muslims themselves to reconcile the new ideas which they want with the old ones with which they cannot dispense', \(^{143}\) he could not avoid trying to show how he thought a Muslim ought to be. Posing as a retired native civil servant he wrote a series of newspaper articles on 'what animates us, natives of Java, what we do and how we think', in which he sympathetically explained manners and customs of the Javanese. But what about his remark: 'I have met only rarely people from among my fellow countrymen who were of the opinion that we might dispense with the guardianship of the Europeans, under which Allah has placed us'? \(^{144}\)

Would not the more sceptical De Goeje, in such a case, have said: 'one gladly believes what one hopes'? \(^{145}\)

Even if we recognize Snouck Hurgronje's respect for Islam as a religion, his Islamic policy implied a denial of its political content. The sequel to his involvement in the Achhe war, for which he shared responsibility as an adviser, proved that, in fact, an 'ethical colonial policy' was a contradiction in terms. His advices were, after a while, ignored and his efforts at humanizing colonial rule failed. In this respect he has a resemblance to a figure he despised: Lawrence of Arabia, whose dreams of associating Arabs and Britons were likewise disappointed. Snouck's aggressive intelligence, too, turned against the government he had served so loyally, and in a vehement article on colonial repression he bitterly, fraudically, attacked the 'pernicious system which daily causes injustice that cries to heaven [...] a system of government that is based on ignoring the wishes of the population and on the long obsolete delusion of the absolute superiority of one's own race'. \(^{146}\)

As a scholar, Snouck Hurgronje's qualities rank with the best
of his days: the Universities of Berlin, Cairo and Cambridge offered him chairs. He started and ended his career as an Arabist, a specialist of Arabian affairs and Islamic law. His dissertation on the Pilgrimage to Mecca (in Dutch, 1880) was a brilliant example of the historical-critical method; he proved to be well-versed in fiqh-literature, and used here, as in later studies, hadith-collections in a way forebidding Goldziher’s work on Tradition literature. The Leiden Congress of Orientalists brought him into touch with the specialists of his day, among them Landberg and Goldziher, who had travelled in the Arab world, the latter having studied at al-Azhar University. He entered into friendly relations with Amin al-Madani, whose impressions of the Congress he later translated from the Cairene al-Burhān. These contacts made him the more eager to enrich his theoretical knowledge with experience, and for this purpose he went to Arabia and ‘lived the life of a Meccan student during one University year’. The Holy City had been visited previously by many a disguised adventurer and some scholars, but Snouck Hurgronje was doubtless the best equipped. He lived as a Muslim, ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, and frequented the city’s learned society of which his portrait of the Shāfi‘ite muftī, shaykh al-‘Ulama’, Sayyid ʿAbd b. Zaynī Daḥlān, bears witness. On his return to Holland he published a collection of Meccan proverbs, a study on the Mahdi, and his masterpiece Mekaza (in German, 1888-89; English translation, 1931), the fruit of his accomplished scholarship. Its first part contains the city’s history based on new sources, the second gives a detailed description of the manners, customs and intellectual life of its inhabitants and the ‘Javanese’ (Indonesian-Malay) colony. His great erudition, power of observation and stylistic elegance make, too, the value of his other two ethnological works on the Acehnese (in Dutch, 1893-94, English, 1906) and on the Gajoland. He became an expert of Islamic law, a subject that had hitherto been treated in a dilettante manner, if treated at all, set himself to the task of correcting erroneous views, and did so with the precision of De Goeje and as merciless a polemic as Duyv. His critical appraisal of L. W. C. van den Berg’s work on Islamic law destroyed the latter’s edition of the Minhāj al-Tābilīn, but, more important, was itself a valuable contribution to fiqh-studies. Most of his pioneering studies, for instance on zabīh and ḫmā‘, remained scattered and mostly appeared in Dutch. The handbook of Islamic law by Th. W. Juynboll (the co-editor of Bukhārī’s Ṣahīh and professor at Utrecht), which was largely drawn from these and was translated into German and Italian, is still a fundamental standard book on the subject.

When in the beginning of this century Snouck Hurgronje was appointed to be successor of De Goeje, philological textual criticism gradually gave way to interpretations, analyses and syntheses. The discovery and publication of Arabic treasures had been the Orientalists’ main contribution to the Arab Renaissance. They now entered the era of the Encyclopaedia of Islam. That Dutch Arabic studies became almost identified with Islamic studies is part of the heritage of Snouck Hurgronje, whose influence loomed large up to the 1960s.
NOTES TO THE ENGLISH AND ARABIC TEXT

3 Molhuysen, Brompen, I, 44, 47, 50.
5 Molhuysen, Brompen, I, 120.
6 Ibid., 404.
7 Ibid., 76-77.
9 Fück, op. cit., 47.
11 Fück, op. cit., 44 ff., for Scaliger's use of Arabic sources.
14 Preface Procerborium Arabicorum.
15 Vossius, op. cit., 8.
16 Ibid., 9-10.
17 Quoted by Juytbo, op. cit., 70.
20 Vossius also mentions Stephano Huberti as one of those who helped Erpenius: op. cit., 21; cf. also Juytbo, op. cit., 66, and Fück, op. cit., 59-60; however, it is not sure that Erpenius personally met Huberti: according to the Nouvelle Biographie Générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, t. xxv, Paris 1858, p. 334, Huberti left Paris already in 1603 for Orleans, where he died in 1670; on the other hand the list of professors of the Collège de France, published in Le Collège de France, livre jubilatoire à l'occasion de son quatre-vingt centenaire, Paris 1932, p. 20, mentions Huberti as 'professeur d'Arabe' from 1600 until 1614.
Ibtd., 125.

28 Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantischen Handel, verzameld door Dr K. Heeringa, I, 1500-1660, s-Gravenhage 1910, p. 1107.


30 Molhuysen, Bronnen, II, 121.

31 Molhuysen, Bronnen, II, 123; Heeringa, op. cit., I, 349.

32 Heeringa, op. cit., I, 340, 350.

33 Ibid., 616.


37 Juyndelli, op. cit., 228.

38 Ibid., 208 f.


40 Molhuysen, Bronnen, II, 293 and 246ff.

41 Album Studiorum, p. xvi; Molhuysen, Bronnen, II, 226.

42 Much information on 18th and 19th century Dutch Arabic studies is drawn from J. Nat, De Studie van de Oosterse Talen in Nederland in de 18de en de 19de Eeuw, Purmerend, 1929, and Fick, op. cit.


44 Hadriansd Radeland De Religione Mohammedica, ed. act. auct. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1715, p. [xii]; Roland, La Religion des Mahometans, La Haye, 1721, pp. cvi-cxiv.


47 R. Hooykaas, 'Science and Reformation', Cahiers d'histoire mondiale, iii, no. 1 (1959), 110.

48 Cf. L. Gauheur's 2nd ed. of Havy ben Yaqubhah, roman philosophique d'Im Thofail, Beyrouth, 1926, pp. xxx f.


51 Rehanda, op. cit., [xi].

52 Ibid., [xiv, xvi-xvii, xxiv-xxv, xvii-xix].

53 Fick, op. cit., 63 n. 158.

54 Relaudus, op. cit., [ix].


56 The poem, by Adriaan van Wena, is appended to J. B. Ratebrand's Dissertatio Philologica de Conscientia Admirabilis Dialectic Arabicae cum Hebraicae, Leiden, 1740.


59 Friedrich Deitzsch, 'Philologische Forderungen an die hebräische Lexicographie', Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, xx (1913), 3 Heft, 18.

60 Fick, op. cit., 107.


65 Heedrik Albert Schultens, Drie Redevoeringen, Leuven, 1845, pp. 36 f. 2.


67 Journal Asiatic, ser. 1, t. 6 (1875), p. 315.

68 On H. A. Schultens, see Jacobus Kantelhar, Lofreden op Heinric Albert Schultens, Amstelveen, 1794.

69 (W. Bilderdijk), Tredent van Ibn Doræd. In Nederschatse Dichtmaat overgebracht, s-Gravenhage, 1796, pp. 9-3-8.


71 Id., Leven en Karakter van Johannes Heinricus van der Palm, Leyden, 1842, ms. note on the interleav facing p. 18 of the author's copy preserved in the Leiden University Library.

72 Id., Life, 76.

73 Ibid., 53.

74 Nat, op. cit., 102.


76 Silvestre de Sacy, Calila et Dimna ou fables de Bidpai, Paris, 1816, p. v.

77 Fick, op. cit., 126.

78 R. P. A. Dey, Over de Gunstigen Invloed, dien de Omenstemingen in Frankrijck, sedert 1796, hebben uitgevondt op de Studie der Mittellandsche Geschiedenis, Leyden, 1880, pp. 20, 21, 26, 11.

79 Al-ʿArabī Shāhīd Aṣūrī, Al-Hadīl as-Sanadīṣṭyya bi-l-Akhrūr wa-l-Āhūr al-Andalūsīyya, vol. iii, Cairo, 1358/1939, pp. 69-70.


84 Dey, Spanish Islam, 736.

85 Ibid., 737.

86 Reinhardus Drey, Oratio de Casuis cur Muhannandorum Cultura et Humanae tres ex quae Christianorum est immo nius et corrupta sit, Leid. Bat. 1866, pp. 7-9-10.


88 A. J. Wensinck, 'De Oosterse School' in Pallas Leidensis MCMXXV, Leiden, 1925, p. 84.
NOTES TO THE PLATES

The Arabic cover shows D’Ba’itj, en de stad Muskette, the roadstead of Muscat (Oman). Anonymous ms. chart, 1666.

VI-14-7.

The English cover shows the title-page of the first volume of Gawhari’s Ap. Siyāhī fī ‘L-Luṣša, copied in Damascus (743 H.). It was one of the main sources for Gallus’s lexicography. Scheidius started its edition in 1776.

Or. 85a, f. 1r.

Pl. I

Qur’ān in a “most beautiful Moorish handwriting”, as Raphelengius, the first printer of Arabic at Leiden, called it. As appears from the post-stamps in the margin of the manuscript, this handwriting inspired him to try his hand at cutting Maghribī types, which can be found in his Specimen Characterum Arabicorum Officiinae Plantianae Raphelengii (1595). But the naskhī types after the example of the Medicinal typography finally prevailed.

Or. 251, f. 56v.

846 D 11, p. 4.

Pl. II

Kišāb al-Anthāl, seu Proverbiorum Arabicorum Centuriae Duae, prepared by Scaliger and edited by Erpenius in 1614. In spite of its faults and defects it is “the first edition after the principles of philological method in the history of Western Arabic studies” (Fück).

842 C 26v, pp. 70-71.

Pl. III

Title-page of the Confession of faith of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz contained in the manuscript Jan Theunisz dedicated to the States General in 1609.

Leiden Municipal Archives
No. 69510.
Pl. IV
Fragment of Erpenius' letter to William Bedwell (1609).
Or. 1228, no. 16.

Pl. V
Letter written by Yūsuf Ibn Abū Daqan to Erpenius from London (1611).
Or. 1228, no. 30.

Pl. VI
Ṭūrūh Mūsa 'n-Nabī alayh as-Salām, Id est Pentateuchus Mosis Arabicè, translation published by Erpenius in 1622.
847 D 1\textsuperscript{a}, p. 2.

Pl. VII
Sūrat Yūsuf wa-Tahaqqī 'l-'Arab, Historia Josephi Patriarchae ex Alcorano, Arabicè, with a Latin translation and notes, published by Erpenius in 1617.
847 D 1\textsuperscript{f}.

Pl. VIII
The first specimen of Arabic poetry edited in the West: Tarhārī's Lawāniyyat al-ʿĀfâm in Golius' anthology, Hoc est Proverbia Quadam Allis, Imperatoris Musulminic. Et Carmen Tarhārī, Poëta Doctissimi. Nec non Dissertatio Quadam Aben Sinae (1629).
837 G 36.

Pl. IX
Title-page of Golius' Lexicon Arabico-Latinum (1653).
842 A 1.

Pl. X
Frontispiece to the Dutch translation of Ḥayy b. Yaqūb by Ibn Ṭūfayl al-Andalusi (1701).
841 F 33.

Pl. XI
842 C 7, pp. 2-3, 48-49.

Pl. XII
Weijers' Arabic eulogy on Hamaker in his study on Ibn Zaydūn (1831).
843 C 11.

Pl. XIII
The author's copy of Dory's Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes (1845) with additions on the leaflet.
844 D 30.

Pl. XIV
Title-pages of the Leiden Ṭabarî (1879-1901), and Th. W. J. Juynboll's edition of Taghrībardī's Annales of Egyptian history (1852-61).
840 D 11-15.
841 E 18-39.

Pl. XV
Title-page of A. J. Wensinck's Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition (1927) in the translation of Muhammad Fuṣūl 'Abd al-Bāqī (1352/1933).
860 D 33.

Pl. XVI
Arabic title-page of the Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane started by A. J. Wensinck (1933 fl.).
840 A.

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