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The Qur'an in Europe—The European Qur'an: An Introduction

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This special issue of the *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* is dedicated to the history of Western European interactions with the Qur'an, from the first Greek translations in the ninth century to Jewish interpretations of the Qur'an in the early twentieth century. The idea for this publication goes back to the launch conference, 'Translating the Qur'an', of the Warburg Institute's *Centre for the History of Arabic Studies in Europe*, on 16 March 2012.¹ This event was followed, two years later, by a workshop on 'The Use of Tafsir in Translating the Koran' and has since led to the formation of an international research group that has developed an ambitious research project on the 'European Qur'an'.²

The ten articles assembled in this special issue provide an important frame for future research in this area. Because the articles are already described in the 'abstracts' section at the beginning of this volume, I will not discuss them in detail here. Written by leading experts in the field, they shed new light on the variety of linguistic, religious, scholarly, and political contexts in which the Qur'an entered and permeated the Western European world. In particular, they show that while polemical interaction with Islam, as well as the European desire to learn more about a religion that presented a fundamental threat to the political and religious integrity of the continent, have always been strong motives for Europeans to translate and read the Qur'an, they are far from being the only ones. A number of the articles in this issue illustrate the fact that the Qur'an also played a key role in debates between Christian religious groups and in discourses that must be considered constitutive for Christian and Jewish self-definition from the early Middle Ages to the present time. An original contribution to this argument is Susannah Heschel's article, 'Nineteenth-Century Jewish Readings of the Qur'an'. Her piece points to inspiring new avenues for future research on the role that the Qur'an played in the understanding of Christian and Jewish history, and in the formation of a multicultural European identity in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Many of the articles unearth treasure troves of untapped information that can give new insights into the scholarly, religious, and social history of the Qur'an in Europe. Roberto Tottoli's discovery of Johann Zechendorff's original 1632 Latin translation of the entire Qur'an in the Cairo National library is certainly one of the most spectacular finds of recent times. The manuscript features both a transcription of the Arabic text and a Latin translation, and is thus an exciting object on the basis of which

to investigate the technical possibilities and limitations of early seventeenth-century Qur'anic scholarship in Europe, as is done in the articles by Reinhold Gleis and by Tottoli himself. In 1632 the only other translation widely available was by the Englishman Robert of Ketton dating from 1143. It was edited by the Zurich Reformer and Hebrew scholar, Theodor Bibliander and printed in 1543 by Johannes Oporin in Basel. As I show in this introductory article, the fact that this edition was as much directed against the Roman Church as against Islam and was put on the *Index of Prohibited Books* shortly after its publication did not prevent Catholic writers from utilising it for lack of alternative sources. Hungarian Jesuits, as discussed by Paul Shore, make ample use of Bibliander's edition, as did the Jesuit delegation that brought a copy of it to the Mughal court in 1580. Even before Bibliander's printed edition made the Latin Qur'an widely available in Europe, partial translations could often be found in polemical publications that confirmed or negotiated the boundaries between orthodoxy and heresy. In his contribution, Christian Høgel presents a Byzantine text against heretics from the twelfth century, the *Panoplia dogmatike* by Euthymios Zigabenos, in which quotations from Greek translations of the Qur'an were also transmitted to Latin Europe. And Mercedes García-Arenal, Kasia Starczewska, and Ryan Szpiech unearth rare Spanish Qur'anic translations which were included in Christian works of polemics and manuals of conversion. André du Ryer's French translation of the Qur'an, translated directly from the Arabic, appeared in 1647.³ It surpassed Bibliander's edition in availability and popularity, and was soon translated into numerous other languages. Du Ryer's translation was used by a small group of scholars surrounding the great French orientalist Barthélemy d'Herbelot during his stay in Tuscany. They produced a collaborative translation of parts of the Qur'an preserved on a manuscript fragment which is the object of Pier Mattia Tommasino's study. Fifty years after its first edition, Du Ryer's translation was superseded by Ludovico Marracci's groundbreaking *Alcorani textus universus* ('The Complete Text of the Qur'an') from 1698. Marracci's work dominated Western translations for over a century to come, as is documented in Alastair Hamilton's article. Focusing on the reception of Marracci's translation in the Protestant parts of Europe, the piece shows how studies of the Qur'an into the eighteenth and nineteenth century oscillated between confessional rivalry and trans-confessional collaboration. Finally, the piece by Alexander Bevilacqua and myself shows how, even in the eighteenth century by which time confessional rivalries as well as Ottoman pressure had eased considerably the Qur'an continued to retain its significance within European political, religious, and cultural debates.

It is to be hoped that the articles collected in this special issue can stimulate a dialogue that moves beyond the idea of the Qur'an being a phenomenon fundamentally alien to religious culture in Europe. The studies assembled in this volume look back at the ways in which different groups in Europe have engaged with the Qur'an over the

centuries. They show just how deeply ingrained and rooted the Qur'an actually is in European discourses, not only as a polemical tool and an instrument of exclusion and dissociation, but also as a reference text and document in historical studies. The Qur'an, it is clear, has played a significant role in the construction of European religious and cultural identity.

In this introductory article, I would like to discuss Robert of Ketton's ground-breaking medieval Latin translation and its edition in Theodor Bibliander's *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran* ('The Life and Doctrine of Mahommed, Leader of the Saracens, and his Successors, Together with the Qur'an Itself') from 1543. Thanks primarily to this early modern edition, Robert of Ketton's work is one of the most widely read and quoted European translations of the Qur'an. This case study will follow its fortunes through its printed Latin editions and its various translations into vernaculars. It will explore how Bibliander's Latin Qur'an was used in intra-Christian debates in the religiously fragmented landscape of early modern Europe and pay attention to the ways in which interactions with the Qur'an were constitutive to the self-definition of religious groups. The story of the Ketton-Bibliander Qur'an can illustrate processes that are also discussed in the other contributions to this special issue. They all point to the fact that with regard to the transformations that the Qur'an underwent in its transition from the Islamic-Arabic world to the various Latin and vernacular versions in Europe, as well as with regard to the ways that the Qur'an is read, used and adapted in Christian and Jewish European contexts we are confronted with a text genre *sui generis*—the European Qur'an.⁴

Bibliander's Qur'an

Theodor Bibliander based his edition on three manuscripts of the Medieval Latin translation *Lex Mahumet pseudoprophetae* ('The Law of Mahomet the Pseudo-Prophet') composed by the Englishman Robert of Ketton in 1143.⁵ While we know of a number of other medieval Latin translations of the Qur'an that circulated in manuscript form, Ketton's paraphrasing translation, and the various vernacular texts that depended on it, shaped the impression that European readers had of the Qur'an over a long period of time. The main reason why Ketton's translation is the most widely read and known Qur'an translation in early modern Europe is because it was edited by Bibliander and printed in Basel by Johannes Oporin.

Over centuries, the European readers of the *Alcoran* were confronted with a text that on stylistic, semantic, structural, and material levels was far removed from the Arabic original. On a structural level, the text followed a peculiar arrangement into 'azoaras', which did not follow the conventional sura-structure in Arabic versions. Robert didn't count the first sura, *al-Fātiḥa*, which he took to be an opening prayer, and he divided

the first long suras into smaller azoaras, following the *hizb*-division he must have found in one of his manuscripts.⁶ As a result, his *Alcoran* had 123 azoaras rather than 114 suras.⁷ On a linguistic level, numerous studies of Robert's translation have detected semantic flaws, misreadings, and tendentious exaggerations, all aggravated by a paraphrasing style in which Robert 'moved what was at the beginning of many passages to the end, and vice versa; he altered the meaning of Qur'anic terms; he often left out what was explicitly in the text, and included what was only implicit in the text'.⁸

Recent studies of Ketton's work have, however, insisted on a more favourable assessment of a translation that is, despite all its shortcomings, a milestone in the history of the European Qur'an. According to Ulisse Cecini, Robert's paraphrasing method of translation, which also interweaves commentaries taken from the Islamic *tafsīr* tradition, is often less literal, but nonetheless manages to convey the original better than other Latin translations.⁹ Tom Burman has analysed, for the first time, the style of this translation and he has come to the conclusion that Ketton clearly used an elevated, sermon-like style that tried to preserve the mode of eloquence of the original.¹⁰

Theodor Bibliander probably chose Robert's translation for his edition because it was available to him.¹¹ He did not, in any case, know any Arabic and was unable to judge the accuracy of Robert's translation. In their endeavour to print the Qur'an in Basel, Bibliander and Oporin encountered considerable resistance from the local authorities and only after extensive debates and after the intervention of the leading Reformers Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon was the publication of the *Alcoran* finally sanctioned by the Basel authorities.

While the printing of the Qur'an has always been a contested endeavour in the Christian world, resistance against the publication of the Islamic holy Book was not always based on ideological or theological grounds alone. In Basel for example, it was also motivated by rivalries and personal animosities against the printer Oporin.¹²

Printing the Qur'an in the sixteenth and seventeenth century must have been a lucrative—and also competitive—business. This can be gathered from the success story of Bibliander's edition. His Latin Qur'an appeared in a first edition in 1543 and in a second, revised edition in 1550. Given the many copies that have survived in libraries to this day, both editions must have had a large print run. It was translated into a number of vernacular languages, either in print or in manuscript form. Even before the second, augmented edition of Bibliander's Qur'an appeared, it was translated into Italian and published by the Venetian publisher and bookseller Andrea Arrivabene.¹³ In 1616 this Italian Qur'an was translated into German by the Lutheran minister Salomon Schweigger, with re-editions published in 1623, 1659, and 1664. In

1641, the German edition was translated into Dutch. Furthermore, in recent years, manuscript versions have been discovered in Hebrew and Spanish.¹⁴ Hence, European readers who wanted to read the Qur'an in a vernacular language in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century had to content themselves with second or third hand translations—often without being aware of this fact. Andrea Arrivabene famously claimed on the frontispiece of his publication that it had been made directly from the Arabic.¹⁵ This, however, was nothing else but a 'commercial formula'. The work was in fact a translation based on Bibliander's edition. In his studies of this translation and its cultural impact Pier Mattia Tommasino has shown that the translation has to be attributed to Giovanni Battista Castrodardo from Belluno, who before this had translated a historical work into Italian and written a commentary on Dante's *Divina Commedia*.¹⁶ It seems that Salomon Schweigger, the translator of the German Qur'an, was misled by Arrivabene's formula as well as by the evaluation of two experts, two translators of Greek origin and with knowledge of Arabic who, during his stay in Constantinople 1578–1581, confirmed the accuracy of the Italian translation.¹⁷ Back in Germany, he spent years searching in vain for another copy of the text which he thought to be the best Qur'an translation on the market. In the introduction to his *Alcoranus Mahometicus* he writes that only by chance did 'a copy fly' to him after several years of intense search.¹⁸ It is remarkable that Schweigger did not have the opportunity to consult Bibliander's edition and so the pretence of authenticity was passed on to most of the readers of the four editions of his translation that appeared between 1616 and 1664, as well as to the Dutch translation of 1641. This Dutch translation was based on Schweigger's German translation which was already three stages away from the Arabic, but it followed a similar marketing strategy and claimed: 'From the Arabic language recently translated into German [...] and now from the German into Dutch.'¹⁹

There can be no doubt that the claim to authenticity and accuracy was a selling point for these translations. While some erudite readers like Joseph Justus Scaliger or the Arabist Thomas Erpenius noticed the dependence of these translations on the Ketton-Bibliander tradition and were aware of its shortcomings, the average reader must have had the impression that he was reading a fairly accurate and authentic translation of the Muslim holy Book.²⁰ Instead, he was reading a translation of a translation of a medieval translation of the Qur'an—a text, in other words, that was far removed from the Arabic original it claimed to represent.

Reading the Qur'an Through the Bible

That the European Qur'an constitutes a textual tradition of its own is reinforced by the fact that already in the earliest manuscripts, but also in the printed editions throughout the centuries, the text of the Qur'an was framed by a battery of varying and changing paratexts—prefaces, refutations, annotations—which put it into ideological

perspectives. The frame, as Tom Burman put it, ‘was intended to make it easier to understand and to control how it is understood’.²¹

The first and most common prism through which the Qur’an was read, was the Bible and its Christian theological interpretation. The Qur’an invokes the Bible and Biblical stories repeatedly and the Islamic revelation positions itself in a relationship of confirmation and fulfilment to the Judeo-Christian tradition, occasionally amending what it claims was distorted and manipulated by Christian and Jews.²² The marginal annotations of Bibliander’s edition offer a detailed ‘collatio Alcorani ad scripturas divinas’—a ‘comparison of the Alcoran with the divine Scriptures’—together with a systematic description of the Qur’an’s content and corrections where the narrative deviates from the Biblical.²³ Some of the translators of Bibliander’s Latin Qur’an into the vernacular followed his annotations, but changed and augmented them according to the ideological message they wanted to convey.²⁴ This method was also employed elsewhere. A Lutheran minister in Marburg, Heinrich Leuchter in his *Alcoranus Mahometicus* of 1604, presented a summary compendium of the Qur’an based on Bibliander’s Latin edition. By way of refutation, Leuchter juxtaposed Qur’anic statements with Biblical positions on the same topic.²⁵

Not only was the Qur’an assessed against the model of the Biblical texts on the level of content, but also on the level of style. Ricoldo da Monte Croce took the difference of style between the Qur’an and the Bible as evidence against the former’s claim to divine origin: ‘The Qur’an is not the law of God, because it does not have a mode or style that is similar to the divine law.’²⁶ The Qur’an was written in metre and in rhyme—but nowhere would God in the Biblical texts, which the Qur’an itself claims to be of divine origin, speak in rhyme or in metre.²⁷ Ricoldo is an exception among the medieval European readers of the Qur’an as he was able to read it in Arabic. However, his comparison was based on the Latin version of the Bible and he had no knowledge of the stylistic or poetic elements of the Hebrew Biblical texts.

Such comparisons also took it for granted that the Qur’an and the Bible had the same scriptural or textual quality. The Qur’an was treated like a written text, a text that could be translated, edited, annotated, and printed in the manner in which early modern humanists started to edit the Biblical texts critically. In the early eighteenth century, Andreas Acoluthus, Professor of Hebrew at St Elisabeth school in Breslau / Wrocław, even started preparing a polyglot edition of the Qur’an, after the model of polyglot Bible editions.²⁸ While this philological and comparative approach considerably improved the European understanding of the Qur’an on a linguistic level, it prevented an appreciation of the ‘dynamic’, semi-oral character of the Islamic revelation, as well as of the ritual significance of its recitation and transcription in manuscript form. It also made it much more difficult for European readers to appreciate the sensual

experience and aesthetic excitement that the Qur'an evoked in the process of its recited or chanted performance.²⁹

The European Qur'an in intra-Christian Debates

But the European Qur'an is not just a product of translations and the result of attempts to gain more accurate insight into the Islamic Religion. In fundamental ways, it is also the result of the various uses that Europeans have made of the Qur'an in intra-Christian debates. The Qur'an has played a crucial role in attempts to define Christian orthodoxy and heterodoxy, to confirm Christian theological ideas, to contest and confute religious enemies within Christianity, and to support or undermine historical assumptions. In other words, since the Middle Ages, the Qur'an has played a pivotal role in the construction of European cultural, religious, and political identities.

Bibliander's edition, as well as the network of texts that radiates from it, can again serve as an illustrative case in point. Far from being a work solely provoked by and directed against the imminent threat of an Ottoman onslaught, the compendium is also a work of early Reformation propaganda, and it is read and re-read in a number of polemical contexts during an age of unprecedented religious struggle. Bibliander's edition of the Latin Qur'an made the Muslim holy book available at a time when European Christian identity was under threat from numerous internal and external forces. Contrary to what is generally believed, the knowledge that Bibliander's work provided was used not only to understand, vilify, and oppose the external adversary in the form of Muslim neighbours in Central Europe and the Mediterranean. Maybe even more importantly, the Latin Qur'an also provided powerful polemical concepts to understand, vilify, and oppose internal, Christian adversaries. Consequently the contours of Christianity and Islam at times became blurred in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century.

From the outset, the confessional reading of Bibliander's book was driven by the fact that it involved some of the spearheads of the German-Swiss Reformation—Melanchton and Luther, as well as Bibliander himself. Melanchthon's *Praemonitio ad lectorem* ('Notice to the reader') concludes on a combative note and compares the threat to Christianity that emanates from Islam to that from the Pope in Rome:³⁰

Finally, it has to be considered, how great God's anger is, who, because of the impiety of men allows this most ugly plague to spread, and indeed subjects the whole world to the worst rule. Pious men should deplore this anger and try to ease it with repentance and prayers. The Church for many centuries already has been ravaged and weakened partly by the Mahommedan plague, partly by Roman Pontifical idolatry, and for which, in order not to get completely extinguished, God illuminates the light of the Gospel again, so that some will be preserved from the eternal anger. But at the end of the world (which is

imminent) the Church will be small. So let us pray to God that He may restrain the power of the devil that is roaming in godless empires, and that He brings to an end blasphemy, idolatry and other evils, and that His name is glorified and His Church freed from all evil. Amen.

Melanchthon's idea of an attack on the true Church from two fronts, by Catholic and Turkish forces, as well as the apocalyptic interpretation of this siege, is widespread in Protestant writings and popular culture. Melanchthon and other Reformers promoted the concept of a 'double Antichrist', acting as the Turks in the East and the Roman Papacy in the West.³¹ The idea was illustrated by Matthias Gerung in a woodcut from his series on the Apocalypse, which seems to be inspired by Martin Luther's equating of Papal decrees and the Qur'an in *Vom Kriege wider die Türken* from 1528–1529.³²



Fig. 1: Matthias Gerung, Allegory on the Siege of the Church by Catholic and Turkish Forces, c. 1558.³³

Bibliander's own polemical exploitation of the Qur'an was slightly more subtle, but not less impactful. His *Apologia pro editione Alcorani* ('Apology for publishing the Koran') offers an assessment of the historical conditions that led to the rise and spread of Islam in which contemporary readers could easily recognise an anti-Catholic slant. False prophets, Bibliander argues, can seduce people where the knowledge of

Scripture is neglected and Church authorities put their own reasoning and their own profit in its place.³⁴

Those who lead people astray do not fear to say that their own lies are the word of God and are founded on divine Scriptures—this is what Muhammad also did. But when their exaggerated promises are compared to Sacred Scripture, it is realised that they fight against the word of God, and that the sayings of the Holy Spirit are wickedly distorted into an alien sense.

Bibliander's message in the face of the imminent Ottoman conquest and the exposure of many Christians to Islam was that the Church and Christian society had to be reformed. The message was echoed in many other Protestant texts of the time: The moral and theological decay of the Christian world is the main reason for the triumph of the Ottomans and the Islamic religion.³⁵

The subversive potential that Bibliander's edition had for the Catholic Church is reflected in its swift inclusion on the *Index of Prohibited Books*. The Roman *Index* of 1564, published shortly after the Council of Trent, pointed out that one of the dangers of the book was to be found in the prefaces and in Bibliander's marginal notes.³⁶

But the wider reception of Bibliander's edition is also testimony to the fact that the Qur'an was used as much for intra-Christian polemics as for anti-Islamic writings. Tommasino has established the non-conformist, politically charged context in which Castrodardo's Italian translation was published by Andrea Arrivabene. The book was conceived as a handy, transportable compendium to Islam, Islamic history, and the contemporary state of the Ottoman Empire. It was dedicated to Gabriel de Luetz, Baron of Aramon, the fourth French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire (1547–1553). Both the ambassador and the publisher were closely linked with Venetian evangelical circles and Italian reformers, who regarded Sultan Süleyman and France as allies during the Schmalkaldic war (1546–1547).³⁷

In an age of confessional rivalry and political fragmentation, there was one pattern of polemics that gained particular prominence, both in popular literature and in scholarly texts: the association of the Christian enemy with Islam or the Ottoman Turks. Vernacular pamphlet literature as well as polemical Latin treatises and an extensive range of texts somewhere in between exploited the growing field of travel literature and other first-hand accounts on 'Turkish' society, culture, and religion in search of material for such polemical comparisons. The appearance of Bibliander's edition of the Latin Qur'an increased and solidified the knowledge that could be used for these polemical comparisons and authors across the confessional divides made extensive use of it.³⁸

Obviously, the translation was used in Reformed circles around Bibliander, for instance by Heinrich Bullinger. Bullinger not only shared the idea of the Pope and the Turk being the two sides of the same coin in the apocalyptic drama unfolding before the eyes of sixteenth-century observers, but he also drew parallels, like Bibliander himself, between Muslims and the Anabaptist movement.³⁹ Heinrich Leuchter in his *Alcoranus Mahometicus* added a separate column next to his summary of the Qur'an in which he pointed out alleged similarities between the heretical teachings of Muḥammad and the Popish tradition.⁴⁰ Bibliander's edition of the Latin Qur'an was also a central inspiration for polemicists in England. It was, for instance, used by John Foxe when composing the *The Turkes Storye* for his *Acts and Monuments*. Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas Freeman argue that it was Foxe's association with Oporin in Basle that not only inspired him to include the Turks in his apocalyptic history, but also to make use of Bibliander's compendium (as well as of *De origine et rebus gestis Turcorum* by Laonikos Chalkokondylas, also published by Oporinus in 1556).⁴¹

The comparison between Islam and Roman Catholicism became an established polemical trope in public anti-Roman Catholic propaganda and Protestant self-definition.⁴² But Roman Catholic writers, in England as well as on the continent, were not willing to let their adversaries monopolise the powerful ideological charge that was represented in the association with the 'the Turk', and we also see a flood of Catholic polemical publications making use of this trope.⁴³ It is remarkable, that for many Catholic pamphleteers and polemicists, Bibliander's edition served as a primary source too. With one notable exception: Guillaume Postel's *Alcorani seu legis Mahometi et Evangelistarum concordiae liber* ('The Book on the Harmony between the Qur'an or the Law of Mahomet and the Evangelists') from 1543, the Catholic model for the polemical comparison of Protestant and Islamic heresy,⁴⁴ was based on Postel's own translation of great parts (if not all) of the Qur'an:⁴⁵

As indeed the whole world has no greater plague than the Qur'an I will show with a few selected statements from both sides that its author Muhammad clearly walks down the same path as the Lutherans and that he introduced the same arguments against the Christian Church which now the 'Evangelists' tooth and nail try to recommend and to retain.

For those many Catholic authors who followed Postel's method but had no access to the original text, Bibliander's Latin Qur'an, although on the *Index* since shortly after its publication, was frequently used as a source of information that could be turned against the Zurich Reformer and his companions in northern Europe.

In 1597 William Rainolds presented the most exhaustive comparison between the 'new heretics' and the 'Turks'. For his *Calvino-Turcismus*, which runs to over a thousand pages, he not only used the Latin Qur'an but also Bibliander's *Apologia* and

other paratexts. Florimond de Raemond, in his anti-Protestant pamphlet *Historia de ortu, progressu, et ruina haereseon huius saeculi* ('History of the origin, progress, and ruin of the heresis of this age') from 1605, also presented a list of similarities—from excessive focus on Scripture to the use of violence in the spreading of their faiths—which was again based on his reading of Bibliander's Qur'an and of Protestant literature.⁴⁶ Roman polemicists often used Qur'anic vocabulary when writing about their Protestant foes: the second volume of Johann Pistorius *Anatomia Lutheri* from 1598 not only claims to show Turkish errors' in Luther's concept of the Trinity, but also organises Luther's teachings into *azoaras*. In doing this he was probably inspired by Georgius Ecker who, in 1591, presented Luther's doctrine as *Lutheran Alcoran* in seventeen *azoaras*.⁴⁷ In 1642, an English book appeared with the title *Luthers Alcoran*. The book claimed to be a translation of a lost anti-Huguenot work by the French cardinal Jacques-Davy Duperron. According to the English translators, the book was printed in France shortly before the Cardinal's death in 1618, but most or all copies of it were destroyed by the Huguenots.⁴⁸ However that may be, the author of the book had access to an edition of Bibliander's *Alcoran* and he exploited it exhaustively in the composition of this pamphlet that details in 60 points 'how Lutheranisme agreeth with Mahumetanisme, or Turcisme'.⁴⁹ Here, as in other Catholic pamphlets, Luther is compared not so much with Muḥammad, but with Sergius, the Arian monk who had allegedly helped in the composition of the Qur'an.⁵⁰ At the beginning the author quotes more than 20 Qur'anic passages on which his treatise is built, and which are all taken from the Bibliander edition.⁵¹

A favourite target of Roman Catholic (as well as some Lutheran) polemicists in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the ideological kinship they suspected between Calvinists in Geneva and Zurich and the growing number of individuals who championed anti-Trinitarian ideas, some of whom publicly expressed sympathies for Qur'anic Christology. The Calvinist heresy, such was the fear, would ultimately transform into Islam. John Copinger in his *Theatre of Catholique and Protestant Religion* of 1620 argued that Calvinism leads directly to anti-Trinitarian positions and to the rejection of the Divinity of Christ and of the veneration of the Saints—in short, to Islam.⁵² To confirm this argument, he referred to a number of Calvinists who 'became Turckes and went to Constantionple, where they made open profession thereof, and protested that the religion of Calvinistes, tended directly to Turcisme, and before these people went out of Palatyne, they subverted many great preachers, who by their meanes became Turckes, and taught publickly the Alcoran in Germanie'.⁵³ Among such reputed converts he named Miguel Servet, Giorgio Biandrata, Ferenc David, Adam Neuser, and others. Adam Neuser is probably the best known case of an anti-Trinitarian Christian theologian with a Calvinist background who emigrated to Istanbul and indeed converted to Islam—although it seems that this was an act of necessity to save his life.⁵⁴ While Servet, Biandrata, David, and other sixteenth-

century anti-Trinitarians never converted to Islam, they did indeed make use of the Qur'an in support of their anti-Trinitarian beliefs.

Miguel Servet, in his controversial anti-Trinitarian pamphlet on the restitution of Christianity (*Christianismi Restitutio*) of 1553, made a bold reference to the Qur'an in support of his claim that the Trinitarian dogma was a late innovation and not part of Christ's original teachings.⁵⁵ It is clear from the references, which correspond to its unique division of suras, that Miguel Servet too had been working with a copy of Bibliander's Latin Qur'an. From what he read there, Servet concluded that the innovation of the Trinitarian dogma had been the source of long-lasting disagreement and dissent in the early Christian community, which before that had lived in unity and harmony:⁵⁶

Sura 4 says that later countless disagreements arose, about which there had been no dispute or controversy before. The same is confirmed by Sura 20, in which it is said that the Christian people, who initially were united, were later divided by many controversies because they turned to a plurality of gods.

This claim is repeated in a chapter of *De falsa et vera unius Dei Patris Filii et Spiritus Sanctus cognitione* ('On the False and the True Notion of the One God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit').⁵⁷ This collection of tracts is a joint publication of the Transylvanian and Polish Unitarian Churches from 1568 and one of the most widely read documents propagating the fundamental beliefs of the Unitarian Churches that shortly flourished in the Habsburg Ottoman borderland.⁵⁸ Chapter three, 'De origine et progressu triadis' ('On the Origin and Advance of the Trinity'), of uncertain authorship, summarises the argument made in the first book of Servet's *Christianismi Restitutio*, and refers to additional *azoaras* from Bibliander's Latin Qur'an.⁵⁹

In these Unitarian writings, the Latin Qur'an played a key role in corroborating central theological claims. While in most polemical texts written in the age of confessional rivalries references to the Qur'an and to Islam create identity by dissociation and exclusion, we are here confronted with Unitarian pamphlets in which references to the Qur'an are used to positively define the religious identity of a Christian community. And this was not lost on the adversaries of the anti-Trinitarian movement in Protestant as well as Roman Catholic circles. Servet and his followers, but also Fausto Sozzini and his sympathisers, were commonly accused of having been inspired by the reading of the Qur'an and of propagating the Islamic religion. Calvin during Servet's trial in 1553 accused Servet of having studied the Qur'an in order to attack and undermine Christianity.⁶⁰ This accusation was repeated by Bullinger in the preface to Josias Simler's *Four Books on the Eternal Son of God and Our Savior Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit against the old and new Antitrinitarians*.⁶¹ Johannes Petricius in 1600 quotes from Bibliander's Latin Qur'an to prove the general conformity between the

Qur'an and the teachings of Fausto Sozzini.⁶² Two years before, the Calvinist Dutch theologians Franciscus Gomarus, Franciscus Junius, and Lucas Trelcatius, wrote a report on anti-Trinitarian texts which had been brought to Leiden for missionary purposes by Andreas Wojdowski, a much travelled Polish Socinian of the first generation. The books were judged to come close to the teachings of Islam, and to undermine the belief in the eternal divinity of Christ.⁶³ The idea that Socinianism was in line or even inspired by, the Qur'an was still current in the eighteenth century. Maturin Veyssière La Croze, the French critic of Socinianism, claimed that Unitarians, in the infancy of their sect, 'cited the Alcoran as one of the Classick Books of their Religion'.⁶⁴

Servet, and the authors of *De falsa et vera unius Dei Patris Filii et Spiritus Sanctus cognitione*, used the Qur'an as a historical document that corroborated their contested view of the dogmatic history of the Christian Church. While this use of an arch-heretical text in church historical studies scandalised orthodox proponents both on the Catholic and the Protestant sides, the methodology employed was not unique. In fact, it was propagated by Bibliander in the *Apologia* as a central reason for editing the Qur'an.⁶⁵

A part of history—indeed of ecclesiastical history—is the exposition of the teaching and other things of Muhammad, so that it can be seen clearly, by whose agency, on what occasion, and by what arguments and way of teaching, first the Arabs, among whom the churches of Christ were once most flourishing, but then so many Christian people, were enticed away from their allegiance to the Catholic Church and converted into the fiercest enemies.

Bibliander's suggestion that use should be made of the Qur'an in the study of church history was also followed most programmatically by one of his successors at the *Schola Tigurina*, Johann Heinrich Hottinger, whose interests in Islam and in the Arabic language were inspired by Bibliander's work.⁶⁶ The history and progress of 'Muhammedanism' are an integral part of Hottinger's nine-volume church history, the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. To every chapter from the seventh century onwards, Hottinger added a section entitled 'De Muhammedismo' in which political developments in the Islamic world and military conflicts between Christian and Muslim forces, but also scholarly, scientific, and religious developments, are discussed. Following Bibliander's suggestion, Arabic sources, and most prominently the Qur'an, are used to reconstruct the state of the Christian church in the Near East and to show the reason for its decline. Like Bibliander, Hottinger's historical work paints a gloomy picture of the state of Christianity in the seventh century and its heretical and schismatic state is described as a perfect breeding ground for the rise and spread of Islam. It is fascinating to see that Hottinger used exactly the same method as Miguel Servet and the authors

of *De falsa et vera*, but with opposite conclusions. He takes the frequent Qur'anic attacks on the Trinity as evidence that the dogma was in fact an old dogma, embraced since the beginning by Christian communities in the East. On the other hand, the fact that the Qur'an does not talk about many of the more controversial Roman Catholic practices, rituals, and sacraments, and does not accuse Eastern Christians of worshipping saints, or idols, of adoring a host during mess, or of believing in transubstantiation and the universal episcopacy of the Pope, was for Hottinger evidence that these practices were not yet established in the seventh century and were thus later innovations.⁶⁷

The use of the Qur'an in the debates of the *Age of Confessionalisation* was not restricted to polemical comparisons and the historical reconstruction of dogmatic history. The Qur'an also played a central role in the Protestant 'reconstruction' of the Scriptural foundations of Christianity—a central element in the Protestant project to undermine the Papal claim for dogmatic authority. This function again features prominently in Bibliander's *Apologia*, where Bibliander declares the Qur'an to be the most convenient book through which to learn the Arabic language.⁶⁸ As the grammatical norm and as a linguistic archive of the Arabic language, the Qur'an, together with classical Arabic poetry, played a key role in the early modern study of Arabic.⁶⁹ This was particularly the case in Protestant orientalist circles, in which the study of Arabic was aimed at a better understanding of the Hebrew texts of the Old Testament.⁷⁰ This, in turn, was seen by many Protestant Hebraists as a prerequisite for sound theological conclusions and, ultimately, as a condition for the solving of confessional differences.⁷¹ Hence, confessional rivalry was an important driver of early modern European Arabic studies. In the seventeenth century, when Arabic scholarship improved thanks to increasing empirical and technical knowledge, confessional uses of the Qur'an could become more sophisticated too. In the mid-seventeenth century Hottinger created two or more beautiful facsimile copies of Kufic and Maghribi Qur'an manuscripts, now preserved at the University libraries in Groningen and Kassel. The Kassel document is executed more diligently and was presented as a gift to the Elector Palatine Karl Ludwig.⁷² Based on this manuscript, a third facsimile copy was created by the famous Ethiopian scholar Hiob Ludolf, and is now preserved at the Frankfurt University library.⁷³ All these facsimile 'specimens' were initially produced as a result of consultations by antiquarians and libraries—Hottinger was asked by the St Gallen antiquarian Sebastian Schobinger in 1645 to write an expert's report on the two fragments, and Ludolf, in turn, was approached by the University Library of Kassel to do the same for the facsimile copy in their possession in 1690.⁷⁴ However, they also played a central role in scholarly discussions closely related to controversial historical and theological questions—particularly questions surrounding the history of the Hebrew script. In Hottinger's case, the facsimile of an ancient Kufic Qur'an manuscript that featured signs for vowels was used as material evidence that vowel points in Arabic *and* Hebrew script were of age-

old origin and not, as was argued by a number of philologists since the late sixteenth century, inserted by Masoretes.⁷⁵ This was part of Hottinger's lifelong attempt to prove the primacy of the Hebrew script, which he defended against attempts to prioritise the Samaritan script as the oldest form of writing by scholars like Joseph Scaliger, Jean Morin, and Louis Cappel. Half a century later, as a result of different scholarly approaches, as well as of the easing of confessional tensions, the Lutheran scholar Ludolf sent, in February 1690, a separate facsimile copy of the Kassel manuscripts to his colleague Edward Bernard.⁷⁶ In the previous year, Edward Bernhard had published a chart, *Orbis eruditi Literatura a charctere Samaritico deducta*, in which he deduced all existing scripts from the Samaritan script.⁷⁷ At the end of the seventeenth century, insight into the historicity of the Hebrew script seems to have prevailed among many oriental scholars of all denominations, and it joined a growing conviction of the historicity of the Biblical texts in general. The Qur'an has played an important function in this process, as material evidence in the form of old Kufic Qur'an manuscripts, as a linguistic archive of Biblical Hebrew, and as a cultural document that helped to illuminate the historical context in which the Biblical texts and the early Christian community had originated.

However, like Alex Bevilacqua and myself emphasise in our piece on the Qur'an in eighteenth-century Europe, this is not a tale of linear secularisation.⁷⁸ The tools of historical research have been refined and developed in the religiously charged debates of the sixteenth and seventeenth century and are used for apologetic and polemical purposes up to this very day. A good example for this is Ludovico Marracci, whose translation of the Qur'an marks a breakthrough in Western European attempts for a philologically accurate understanding of the Qur'an. Marracci was, as Alastair Hamilton tells us in this issue, an illustrious representative of the Roman Catholic Church who 'deplored Protestantism and was deeply committed to his Church.' Moreover, spaces in which non-polemical interactions with the Qur'an were possible could also be created in religious contexts. Susannah Heschel's panorama of nineteenth century Jewish Islamic and Qur'anic studies points to the many theological concerns that were driving Jewish interpretations of the Qur'an.

For European scholars, philosophers, theologians and writers the Qur'an continued to be a useful object with which to think about pressing political or religious concerns and questions. In the eighteenth century, reference to Islam were often employed to criticise Christianity, the Church or European politics. John Toland, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire are just some of the more famous authors who used the Qur'an or knowledge about Islam in their reflections about domestic issues. As the articles collected here demonstrate, the Muslim holy book has never simply represented the 'other', but has been implicit in discussions of the European self in varying religious, political, philosophical and cultural contexts. The notion of a 'European Qur'an' can

work as a productive and original conceptual tool that will allow us and coming generations to think in novel ways about the shared history of Christianity, Judaism and Islam and about the central role that the Qur'an played in the epistemological reconfigurations that are at the basis of modern Europe.

NOTES

1 The conference's proceedings and video recordings of the talks are available on the website of the Warburg Institute: <https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/research/research-projects/encounters-orient-eos/projects-encounters-orient-eos/translating-quran>. See also the conference report by Charles Burnett in *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 14:2.

2 The core members of the group are Prof. Mercedes García-Arenal (Madrid), Prof. John Tolan (Nantes), Prof. Roberto Tottoli (Naples), and myself. Some of the ideas expressed in this article are owed to discussions within this group.

3 On du Ryer's translation see Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer*.

4 I would like to thank Alastair Hamilton and Charles Burnett for their comments on this paper.

5 This is the title in the oldest surviving manuscript of Robert's translation, preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Arsenal 1162, fol. 26. For a detailed description of this manuscript see Martin, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 315–317. On the manuscripts used by Bibliander see Bobzin, *Der Koran*, pp. 222–236. See also Mary-Thérèse d'Alverny, 'Deux traductions', and Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*.

6 See Bobzin, *Koran*, pp. 226–228.

7 Bibliander counted the *Fātiḥa* and has thus 124 azoaras.

8 To use Tom Burman's elegant summary of Juan de Segovia's critique of Robert's Latin Qur'an; see Burman, *Reading the Qur'an*, p. 31. On the linguistic flaws, see Hagemann, 'Die erste lateinische Koranübersetzung'.

9 Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*, p. 171.

10 Burman, *Reading the Qur'an*, pp. 34–35.

11 A manuscript of Robert's translation had been brought from Constantinople to the Council of Basel in 1437 by Johannes of Raguse. Its whereabouts are unknown. Johannes also brought an Arabic Qur'an, which is still preserved at the Basel University library under the shelfmark Ms. A III 19. See Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 223 and 237.

12 Hints at this are frequent in Theodor Bibliander's preface to the edition, the *Apologia pro editione Alcorani*. The argument has been substantiated by Bobzin, *Koran*, particularly pp. 208–209.

13 *L'Alcorano di Macometto*.

14 See den Boer & Tommasino 'Reading the Qur'an'.

15 'Tradotto nuovamente dell'Arabo in linuga Italiana'.

16 Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an*.

17 Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, Vorrede.

18 Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*.

19 *De Arabische Alkoran door de Zarazijnsche en de Turcksche prophete Mahomet ... Ut de Arabische spraecke nu nieuwelijcks in Hoogh-duytsch ghetranslateert ... Ende wederom uyt het Hooghduytsch in Nederlantsche spraecke ghestelt*.

20 Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 264.

21 Burman, *Reading the Qur'an*, p. 61.

22 See Reynolds, *The Qur'an and the Bible*.

23 Bibliander, *Apologia*, β4^r.

24 The study of marginal annotations to Qur'an editions in print and in manuscript is extremely revealing of the contexts in which the Qur'an was read. It would be an interesting task to compare the differences in the paratexts of the Bibliander-Ketton tradition. Most remarkably seems to be Schweigger's 1616 edition, which not only comes without a refutation but also with absolutely neutral annotations. Compare for instance the annotation to a passage in Sura 33, which Bibliander comments upon polemically: 'O foedissima libidinis mancipium. O plumbeos homines qui haec non animadverterunt, aut perferre potuerunt' ('Oh most beastly agent of lust. Oh stupid people who didn't realise this or who were able to tolerate it' p. 133). The Arrivabene edition follows closely: 'O sporco mancipio di libidine, et o huomini di plombo che tolerarono cotal mostro o non lo punirono.' The Schweigger edition of 1616 is short and neutral 'Machomet mag Weyber beyschlafen', (p. 208) while the 1659 edition summarises the chapter 'Diß einige Capitel erweist daß Mahomets viehische und gaile Religion / gantz wider Gott und die Erbarkeit [ist]' (p. 637).

25 Leuchter, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*. I owe the reference to this interesting work by Heinrich Leuchter to Lot Brouwer, who is preparing a PhD on Salomon Schweigger.

26 'Quod Alcoranum non est lex dei, quoniam non habet stilum et modum cum alijs convenientem' (da Montecroce, 'Confutatio Alcorani seu legis Saracenorum', p. 293).

27 'Videmus enim in divina scriptura deum loquentem cum Moyse et cum alijs prophetis, et nunquam rhythmus vel versibus his loquentem' p. 295, see Loop, 'Divine Poetry', p. 463.

28 Acoluthus, *Tetrapla Alcoranica sive*. On Acoluthus see Hamilton, 'To Rescue the Honour of the Germans'.

29 See Loop, 'Divine Poetry?'. However, it has to be noted that it was Acoluthus, who presented European readers with one of the first descriptions of the aesthetical and rhetorical experience that Muslims have when they read or hear the Qur'an.

30 'Illud postremo cogitandum est, quanta sit ira Dei, qui propter impietatem hominum sinit grassari hanc teterrimam pestem, et vere subijcit orbem terrarum regi pessimo. Hanc iram pii deplorent, et sua poenitentia et precibus lenire studeant. Ecclesia iam multis seculis partim Mahometica peste, partim idololatria pontificis Romani vastata at attenuata est, quae ne penitus extingueretur, accendit Deus iterum Evangelii lucem, ut aliqui liberentur ab aeterna ira. Sed erit circa mundi finem, qui instat, exigua Ecclesia. Ideo oremus Deum, ut potentiam diaboli grassantis in impijs imperiis compescat, et finem blasphemiarum, idololatriae, et aliorum malorum faciat, et nomen suum glorificet, ac liberet Ecclesiam suam ab omnibus malis. Amen.' (Melanchthon, *Praemonitio ad lectorem*, fol. α2).

31 See Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, p. 32.

32 'Widderumb ist der Bapst nicht viel frumer und sihet dem Mahometh aus der massen ehnlich [...] Darumb regieret er auch nicht mit dem EVELIO odder Gottes wort, sondern hat auch ein new gewetz und einen Alkoran gemacht nemlich sein Decretal, Und treibt dasselbige mit dem Bann, gleich wie der Turcke seinen Alkoran mit dem Schwerd.' Martin Luther, 'Vom Kriege', p. 141-2. See Kaufmann, *Türckenbüchlein*, p. 182 n. 326.

33 The series was commissioned by the Palatine Count Ottheinrich in 1544 as illustrations of the German translation of Sebastian Meyer's commentary on the apocalypse, *In Apocalypsim Iohannis Apostoli* (s.d.; s.t). On Meyer and his visions of the Apocalypse see Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse*, pp. 18–23. ©The Trustees of the British Museum.

34 'Non uerentur enim seductores sua commenta dicere uerbum Dei, nixa esse diuinis scripturis : id quod et Machumet fecit. Verum quum pollicitationes magnificae reuocantur ad sacram scripturam, deprehenduntur uerbo Dei pugnare, et sententiae spiritus sancti maligne in alienum

sensum detortae.’ Bibliander, *Apologia*, sig. B5v. Charles Burnett has translated Bibliander’s *Apologia* and we are planning to edit the text with introduction and annotations. I would like to thank Charles Burnett for allowing me to use his translation in this article.

35 See Kaufmann, ‘*Türckenbüchlein*’, p. 43

36 Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur’an*, p. 36.

37 Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur’an*.

38 An exception is Guillaume Postel, who worked with his own translation. See below.

39 Bibliander, *Apologia*, sig. B5, Bullinger, *Der Türgg*, A vi^{r-v}. See Campi, ‘Probing Similarities and Differences’ p. 110.

40 This comparison is made in a separate column, entitled ‘Haereses et Haeretici quibuscum suo Alcorano’.

41 Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England*, pp. 80–82. See also Schmuck, ‘The ‘Turk’ as Antichrist’.

42 See Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 89.

43 See Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, particularly ch. 3 ‘Turks, Northerners, and the Barbarous Heretic’.

44 Analysed in detail by Bobzin, *Der Koran*, pp. 365–497.

45 ‘Quum vero totus orbis nil habeat maioris pernicietis quam Alcoranum ostendam paucis utrinque desumptis axiomatis, eius authorem Muhammedem plane eadem via inceptisse, atque Luteranos & easdem propositiones contra Christi ecclesiam introduxisse, quas nunc mordicus Cenevangeliste suadere retinereque satagunt.’ Postel, *Alcorani seu legis Mahometi et Evangelistarum concordiae liber*, p. 13.

46 I am using the edition printed in Paris, 1610. There the comparison is on pp. 457–467. See also Heath, ‘Islamic Themes’.

47 Ecker, *Ein schöner Alcoranischer*. See Kaufmann, ‘*Türckenbüchlein*’, p. 187 n. 349.

48 *Luthers Alcoran*, pp. 5–6. See Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 93–94, and Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, pp. 61–62.

49 *Luthers Alcoran*, p. 2.

50 *Luthers Alcoran*, p. 27.

51 *Luthers Alcoran*, pp. 22–25.

52 See Highley, *Catholics Writing*, p. 63.

53 Copinger, *The Theatre*, p. 81.

54 Mulsow, ‘Fluchträume und Konversionsräume zwischen Heidelberg und Istanbul’, and Pirnát, *Die Ideologie*, p. 125.

55 ‘Trinitas haec aperte improbat in eorum Alchorano azoara 11. 12. et 28. ubi docet, tres illos Deos seu Dei participes fuisse patribus ignotos, esseque filios Beelzebub, quos Dei loco trinitarii colunt’; (‘The [concept of] Trinity is clearly disapproved of in the Koran, sura 11, 12 and 28, where Muhammad teaches that those three gods, or associates of God, had been unknown to the Fathers and that they were the sons of Beelzebub, whom they worship in place of the Trinitarian God’) ([Servet,] *Christianismi Restitutio*, pp. 35–36).

56 ‘Azoara quarta ait, dissensiones innumeras postea ortas, de quibus nulla tunc erat lis, nec controversia. Idem confirmat azoara 20, dicens, gentem Christianorum initio unam, esse postea variis controversiis dissectam, quia ad plures Deos se diverterunt’ ([Servet,] *Christianismi Restitutio*, p. 35).

57 See Hughes, ‘In the Footsteps of Servetus’.

58 On this text see the introduction by Pirnát to his edition of *De falsa et vera unius Dei patris*.

- 59 Pirnát, *De falsa et vera unius Dei patris*, p. 38.
- 60 Calvin, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, 8.765, 777, see also Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, p. 209.
- 61 Simler, *De aeterno Dei filio Domino*, sig. γ3r.
- 62 See Daugirdas, *Die Anfänge des Sozinianismus*, p. 226.
- 63 See Daugirdas, *Die Anfänge des Sozinianismus*, p. 212.
- 64 Veyssière La Croze, ‘Historical and Critical Reflections’, p. 212, see Meggitt, ‘Early Unitarians and Islam’.
- 65 ‘Est autem historiae, et quidem ecclesiasticae pars, expositio doctrinae et aliarum rerum Machumetis. Ut liquide perspicui queat, quo auctore, qua occasione, quibus rationibus et genere doctrinae Arabes primum, apud quos olim florentissimae fuerunt ecclesiae Christi, deinde tot populi Christiani abducti sint ab Ecclesiae catholicae commercio, et in acerrimos hostes conversi.’ (Bibliander, ‘*Apologia*’, sig. α4v).
- 66 On the following see my *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*.
- 67 Hottinger, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, p. 59–60.
- 68 Bibliander, *Apologia*, β1^r.
- 69 See Hamilton, ‘The Qur’an as Chrestomathy’.
- 70 In the early modern Roman Catholic world, there seems to have been a tendency to ‘Christianise’ the Arabic language and to learn and teach it from Christian texts. This possibility was also invoked by Bonifatius Amerbach in the debate prior to Bibliander’s publication. See Bobzin, *Der Koran in Zeitalter der Reformation*, p. 192, and Girard, ‘Teaching and Learning Arabic’.
- 71 Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, pp. 9–10.
- 72 Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, pp. 122–130.
- 73 MS Ff. H. Ludolf II 32 Fasc. F Nr 1.
- 74 His report is preserved together with the manuscripts, *Tractatus duo mutili lingua Arabica conscripti, quorum alter caractere Mauritano, alter caractere Cufico antiquissimo exaratus est*, University Library Kassel, MS orient Anhang 31.
- 75 For his argument in the context of the controversy see Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, pp. 122–130.
- 76 See Bodleian, MS Smith 5, fols 167–169.
- 77 Bernard, *Orbis eruditi*. I am planning to discuss this episode in more detail elsewhere.
- 78 See also Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*