

book for his collection. While it remained a valid instrument for organizing knowledge of the Muslim world, the book's audience progressively stretched beyond the scholarly community to reach a polite and increasingly less learned readership. Both its content and its form seemed more attractive in a period when more European readers showed an increased interest in remote lands, and in particular in the Orient. The *Bibliothèque orientale* responded also to two publishing trends of the period: dictionaries and travel literature. This chapter has shown how publishers' and editors' initiatives and decisions played a crucial role in the late success of the *Bibliothèque orientale*, offering the public handier, less expensive and revised (augmented or abridged) editions, but which also affected the book's content and reception. In sum, the history of the different editions of the *Bibliothèque orientale* enhances our understanding of the complex relationships in both space and time between material form and content and the transformation and adaptation of knowledge in relation to the expectations of different readerships.

The Diffusion of the Qur'an in Private Libraries, 1665–1830¹

Alicia C. Montoya

IN OCTOBER 1691, TEN months after the death of the Amsterdam mathematics professor Alexander de Bie, his widow, Maria van Dijk, put up for sale his library of some 1,200 books. The auction took place on the afternoon of 3 October in De Bie's canal house on the Beschuitmarkt (in Amsterdam's present-day Red Light district, on the Oudezijds Voorburgwal). Described on the title page as 'Clarissimi ac Doctissimi Viri D. ALEXANDRI de BIE.P.M. Philosophiae ac Mathematices Professoris Amstelaedamensis Expertissimi', de Bie had accumulated a largely typical professorial book collection that, as might be expected, contained sizeable numbers of books on mathematics, astronomy and related topics. Besides books, however, the catalogue also listed thirty-three lots of mathematical and astronomical instruments and a small but noteworthy collection of Oriental manuscripts: fifty manuscripts in Arabic, an additional twenty-four incomplete Arabic manuscripts in quarto, fifty-nine Persian manuscripts and four quarto manuscripts whose language the cataloguer – presumably the publisher, the Amsterdam academic bookseller Petrus van den Berge – was unable to identify ('mss. libri lingua oriental in-4. incognitio Characteres').²

¹ This project has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme, grant agreement no. 682022.

² *CATALOGUS INSTRUCTISSIMAE BIBLIOTHECAE Clarissimi ac Doctissimi Viri D. ALEXANDRI de BIE.P.M. Philosophiae ac Mathematices Professoris Amstelaedamensis Expertissimi CONTINENS Omnis Generis Facultatum & Linguarum Optimos & Praecipuos Authores, nec non plurima Manuscripta Arabica. Persica. ut & aliarum Linguarum Orientalium, item Instrumenta Astronomica & Mathematica*

Among De Bie's manuscripts, the catalogue listed four Arabic copies of the Qur'an, two in folio format ('Alkoran Arabicae'), one of which carried supplementary notes, and two in quarto (both 'Alkoran Arabicae'). In addition, the catalogue reported one copy of Theodor Bibliander's 1543 Latin translation of the Qur'an, which was in fact a reissue of a medieval paraphrase in an undated Basel edition, Leiden University professor Thomas Erpenius's 1617 edition and translation of the twelfth sura (sūrat Yūsuf) and Christian Ravius's bilingual version of the first two suras, originally published in Amsterdam in 1646.

What exactly does the presence in De Bie's library of these five Qur'ans – seven if we include the partial editions – represent? De Bie's biography provides some initial clues. Following his appointment in 1653, supposedly at the instigation of Christian Huygens, as mathematics professor at Amsterdam's Atheneum Illustre – the predecessor of today's University of Amsterdam – De Bie lectured on logic, philosophy, navigation and astronomy as part of his teaching duties. But besides his position as professor of mathematics, De Bie also tutored students in private, specializing in the Oriental languages. Of this latter activity, we have no evidence other than a passing reference and his library auction catalogue. But mathematicians frequently had a special interest in Oriental languages, particularly Arabic. Historians have noted 'an admiration among scholars for the scientific writings, the treatises on medicine, astronomy and mathematics, produced by the Arabs in the Middle Ages'.³ Seventeenth-century Arabists such as Ravius, who published a *Dissertatio mathematica* in 1639 and Leiden University professor Jacob Golius, the author of an Arabic lexicon published in 1653, combined their linguistic interests with a particular affinity with mathematics. In this sense, De Bie was participating in a well-established, if by this date slightly outmoded, seventeenth-century intellectual tradition.

Beyond the purely biographical approach, however, broader questions emerge about the intellectual background shaping the taste of this individual collector. The five Qur'ans, after all, sat on De Bie's shelves next

(Amsterdam, 1691), p. 30. Scans of the catalogue are available online at Karel Bos-toen, Marieke van Delft, Otto Lankhorst and Alicia C. Montoya (eds), *Book Sales Catalogues Online* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2015), online: <https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online> [accessed July 15, 2020]. Transcribed, enriched and text-searchable data from this catalogue is available from the database of the European Research Council-funded MEDiate project (Measuring Enlightenment: Disseminating Ideas, Authors and Texts in Europe, 1665–1830), www.mediate18.nl.

³ Alastair Hamilton and Francis Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Sev-*

to hundreds of other titles. These other titles not only reflected De Bie's interest in mathematics; they also betrayed a progressive, pro-Cartesian outlook and a support for the new astronomical theories of Galileo that might justify considering him a member of early Enlightenment circles in the Dutch Republic.⁴ Interest in the Qur'an was especially pronounced in these groups,⁵ and was strengthened by the central role played by the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic and Oriental scholarship at the University of Leiden and elsewhere in the shaping of Orientalist discourse. How did the intellectual groundwork provided by these early Enlightenment networks shape subsequent attitudes toward the Qur'an and Islam in the course of the eighteenth century? In what ways did this intellectual tradition change when exported to the rest of Europe and as it interacted with other home-grown traditions? By adopting a comparative, quantitative approach and by examining the contents of several hundred private libraries sold at auction in Europe before 1830, this chapter aims to shed new light on these questions, probing in particular the vexed relation between book materialities, the so-called Enlightenment movement, scholarly and popular Orientalism and libraries as vectors for the transnational circulation of ideas. In doing so, this chapter makes no attempt at comprehensive coverage of the entire period stretching from the 1660s to 1830. Instead, the focus is on a few significant moments and, in particular, on the crucial, initial decades of a radical Enlightenment movement in Europe, during which the first full translation of the Qur'an in a European vernacular was undertaken by the French diplomat and Orientalist André du Ryer. Comprehensive coverage is impossible within the constraints of the present study, but also because

⁴ On De Bie's intellectual allegiances, see Dirk van Miert, 'Alexander de Bie', in Wiep van Bunge, Henri Krop, Bart Leeuwenburgh, Paul Schuurman, Han van Ruler and Michiel Wielema (eds), *The Dictionary of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Dutch Philosophers*, (London and Oxford, 2003), pp. 102–3.

⁵ There is a vast literature on Enlightenment interest in the Qur'an and the relation between the Qur'an and the early Radical Enlightenment in particular. On Enlightenment interest in the Qur'an, see Ziad Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an: The Politics of Translation and the Construction of Islam* (Oxford, 2009); Jan Loop, 'Islam and the European Enlightenment', in David Thomas and John Chesworth (eds), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 13. Western Europe (1700–1800), (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2019), pp. 16–34; and for a more synthetic historical overview, John V. Tolan, *Faces of Muhammad: Western Perceptions of the Prophet of Islam from the Middle Ages to Today* (Princeton, NJ, 2019). On Orientalism and Enlightenment more generally, see Alexander Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA, 2018). For a recent exposition specifically of the relation between the Qur'an and the Radical Enlightenment, see Martin Mulso, 'Socinianism, Islam and the Radical Uses of Arabic Scholarship' *Al-Qur'an* (2020), pp. 86–

of current lacunae in sources and existing scholarship. More importantly, the period inaugurated by the publication of George Sale's epoch-making English-language translation of the Qur'an in 1734 marks a new, distinct phase in European Qur'an receptions. Colonial expansion overseas began to inflect reading culture in new ways, as well as appreciation of the Qur'an and its literary and ideological qualities.⁶

BIBLIOMETRIC APPROACHES: QUR'AN EDITIONS IN THE MEDIATE DATABASE

Until recently, it was difficult to gain a full, comparative overview of private book ownership across Europe during the long eighteenth century. To remedy this knowledge gap, a European Research Council-funded project has been creating, since 2016, a bibliometric database of book information drawn from a corpus of 600 digitized and fully searchable printed catalogues of private libraries sold at auction in the Dutch Republic, the British Isles, France and Italy between 1665 and 1830. This database, MEDIATE (Measuring Enlightenment: Disseminating Ideas, Authors and Texts in Europe, 1665–1830) contains data extracted from smaller and medium-size catalogues, or catalogues generally numbering fewer than 1,000 lots. These therefore represent, in terms of size, the lower 50 per cent of the corpus of extant private library auction catalogues.⁷ This corpus of data on smaller libraries will eventually enable historians to document the reading and collecting preferences not only of the most well-known collectors and intellectuals, whose libraries have in many cases already been studied by

⁶ This is also why the present chapter does not engage with Edward Said's important – but not altogether uncontroversial – claim that 'a great deal of what was considered learned Orientalist scholarship in Europe pressed ideological myths into service, even as knowledge seemed genuinely to be advancing'. While his analyses shed light on the period from the mid-eighteenth century onward, their usefulness for study of the earlier period, which has many specificities and complexities of its own, is more debatable. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London, 1978), p. 63.

⁷ As calculated by Rindert Jagersma, about 50 per cent of extant Dutch private library catalogues fall into this size range. It is at present still difficult to calculate the percentage of British and French catalogues that do so, given the lack of an inventory of all extant catalogues for those regions. One of the MEDIATE project's aims is to provide the first such union catalogue, in a separate database, BIBLIO (Bibliography of Individually-owned Book and Library Lists Online). For an overview of the material, see Helwi Blom, Rindert Jagersma and Juliette Reboul, 'Printed Private Library Catalogues as a Source for the History of Reading', in Mary Hammond (ed.), *Edinburgh History of Reading: Early Readers* (Edinburgh, 2020), pp. 246–69.

scholars, but also less prominent, relatively more obscure readers – even if, for the most part, they still belonged to social and intellectual elites. Among a motley array of library owners, ranging from schoolmasters and clergymen, sawmillers and insurance brokers, to Catholic archbishops and novelists, the dataset (at July 2020) includes also – purely coincidentally, given the criteria used to randomly select the initial MEDIATE corpus – the collections of two published Qur'an translators, the Dutch Mennonite translator-polymath Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker, whose library was sold at auction in Amsterdam in 1683, and Anglican translator George Sale, the author of the first English-language translation of the Qur'an, whose library was the object of a public sale in London in 1737 that included both books and manuscripts.

The MEDIATE corpus was drawn up to ensure an even distribution of collections for the period after 1700, by which date the practice of selling private libraries by auction had become well established in all the regions studied by the project.⁸ For the earlier period, Dutch catalogues are predominant, since this was the only country, aside from Denmark – which is not covered by the MEDIATE project – in which the practice of auctioning libraries had gained commercial traction before 1700. The July 2020 dataset includes 90 collections from the period 1665–1700 (60 Dutch, 20 British, 10 French), 150 collections from the period 1701–50 (50 for each of these three regions), 180 collections from the period 1751–1800 (60 for each of the three regions) and 90 collections from the period 1801–30 (30 for each of the three regions).⁹ In addition, the dataset includes 32 Dutch Hebrew-language collections from 1662–1831 and 10 Italian collections from 1701–1839 (3 from 1701–50, 2 from 1751–1800, 5 from 1801–30).¹⁰

Among the 530,000 book items currently recorded in the MEDIATE database, there are 267 (or possibly 268) individual copies of the Qur'an.¹¹

⁸ The collection count differs slightly from the catalogue count because some catalogues contain multiple collections, while conversely, some collections were not sold all at once, but were the object of multiple catalogues drawn up at different moments.

⁹ Including one colonial Dutch collection, sold in Batavia (present-day Jakarta) in 1731, one colonial British collection, sold in Boston, MA, in 1693 and one British collection sold in 1831.

¹⁰ The remaining eight catalogues are from the northern French border region, or present-day Belgium, and from Spain, but because their numbers are too small to warrant statistical comparisons, these are omitted from the dataset used in this chapter.

¹¹ On early modern and eighteenth-century engagements with the Qur'an, see, among others, Denise A. Spellberg, *Thomas Jefferson's Qur'an: Islam and the Founders* (New York, 2002).

The exact number depends on the identification of the book described as 'Mason's Alcoron,' listed under the heading 'Divinity, English Folio's and Quarto's' cited in the auction catalogue of the library of the Puritan divine and one-time Rhode Island resident Samuel Lee and sold in Boston, Massachusetts in 1693.¹² Because faulty rendering of unfamiliar titles was common in catalogues, this may well be a misprint for 'Mahon's Alcoran,' referencing the medieval name under which Muhammad was sometimes known and thereby making this one of the earliest copies of the Qur'an recorded in the British American colonies. The 267 certain Qur'an editions comprise either the complete text in the original Arabic or in translation, or the text of one or more suras in Arabic or in translation, or other publications that contain substantial excerpts of the Qur'an. This last category is also included because, until the publication of André du Ryer's groundbreaking *L'Alcoran de Mahomet* in 1647, no full translation of the Qur'an had been available to readers in Europe, other than reworked versions of Robert of Ketton's twelfth-century Latin paraphrase-translation; subsequently, partial or excerpted versions long continued to play a role in providing European readers access to the text.¹³ These Qur'an editions figure in 183 individual libraries, roughly one third, or 33 per cent of the total corpus of libraries in the MEDIANTE database. Of the editions of the Qur'an that are reported, 230 are complete translations. About one quarter, or 49 of the collections reporting an edition of the Qur'an, list two or more copies.

To provide some context to these numbers, the single title that appears most often in the library catalogues, the Bible, is reported in 530 of the 560 libraries, or 95 per cent of all libraries, while the total number of Bibles identified so far is an impressive 7,213. All of the Qur'an-holding libraries also record multiple versions of the Bible, including individual books such

¹² London native and religious author Samuel Lee migrated to New England in 1686, where he became minister in Bristol, Rhode Island. He left his books and manuscripts to his four daughters (one of whom was to marry Cotton Mather), who sold them two years after his death in captivity in Saint-Malo. *THE LIBRARY OF The Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Lee. CONTAINING A Choice Variety of Books upon all Subjects* (Boston, 1693), p. 4.

¹³ Included in the count are the following partial translations, or books containing sizeable extracts from the Qur'an: Juan Andrés, *Confusión de la secta mahometica* (Valencia, 1515); Matthias Friedrich Beck, *Specimen Arabicum* (Augsburg, 1688); Thomas Erpenius, *Historia Josephi Patriarchae* (Leiden, 1617); Thomas Erpenius, *Rudimenta Linguae Arabicae* (Leiden, 1620); Theodoricus Hackspan, *Fides & Leges Mohammedis* (Altdorf, 1646); Johann Georg Nissel, *Testamentum inter Muhamedem Legatum Dei et Christianae religionis populos olim in initum* (Leiden, 1655) Guillaume Postel, *De orbis terra concordia* (Basel, 1544); and Christian Ravius, *Specimen or Prima tredecim partium Alcorani Arabico Latini* (Amsterdam, 1646).

as the Psalms and Jewish as well as Christian Bibles. The most frequently reported single author, Cicero, appears in 407 catalogues, or 73 per cent of the total number of catalogues in the corpus, with 2,455 individual copies of his works. Cicero is followed by Ovid, Virgil and Horace and a spate of other classical authors or religious best-sellers, such as Thomas à Kempis' perennial *Imitation of Christ*. The vast majority of authors, however, follow far behind, with 99 per cent present in fewer than 140 libraries, or one quarter or less of the total corpus. While 267 individual copies may therefore at first sight seem like a meagre harvest, in fact this puts the Qur'an among the top 1 per cent of titles, in terms of the number of library auction catalogues that report a copy of it during the long eighteenth century. This makes the Qur'an one of this period's most steady and reliable best-sellers.

Within this broad dataset spanning the period from 1665 to 1830, or the long eighteenth century, in three different parts of Europe, there are some notable geographical differences. In the total MEDIANTE corpus, the absolute number of editions of the Qur'an is highest in Dutch auction catalogues (121 occurrences), followed by British ones (80 occurrences) and then French catalogues (48 items). This corresponds to the overall catalogue distribution in the MEDIANTE database, in which Dutch catalogues are over-represented (200 Dutch catalogues, excluding Hebrew-language catalogues, versus 150 French ones). However, when the sample is limited only to catalogues published after 1700, the date from which numbers of catalogues for the three geographic regions begin to even out, differences become less salient: editions of the Qur'an are still most frequent in Dutch catalogues (66 items), but these are followed more closely by British (57 items) and French library catalogues (44 items). How can this relatively pronounced Dutch interest in the Qur'an be explained? One clue may lie in the fact that because of the specific history of auctioning practices in the Dutch republic and the early dominance established in this field by Leiden academic booksellers, the private libraries sold at auction there more often belonged to owners who had moved in scholarly or academic circles than the population of British and French collectors. This hypothesis will be explored below, when we look more closely at the professional and religious profile of Qur'an owners.

In addition to geographic differences, there were also temporal fluctuations in interest in the Qur'an. From the early eighteenth century, the absolute number of Qur'ans reported per library decreases, even if in relative terms; that is, in terms of the number of libraries reporting one or more editions of the Qur'an, figures remain comparable throughout the period – with a slight, but statistically insignificant, increase in interest at the beginning of the period, in the years 1675–99 and at the end of the period, in the

years 1800–30.¹⁴ At the same time, partial translations or excerpted versions were increasingly replaced by full translations direct from the Arabic. The two libraries reporting the largest number of Qur'an editions, that of British theologian Brian Walton in 1683 and of Dutch mathematician Alexander de Bie in 1691, listing respectively twelve and eight Qur'an editions, both date from the seventeenth century. Seventeenth-century libraries that report copies of the Qur'an are without exception scholars' libraries, and the editions listed sometimes include Arabic manuscripts as well as scholarly editions of a single or a few suras. By contrast, only a single eighteenth-century library, that of Alexandre-Louis-Marie Pétis de la Croix, interpreter and secretary of Louis XV and Professor of Arabic at the Collège de France, and sold in Paris in 1756, lists a sizeable number of Qur'an editions: four, markedly fewer than his seventeenth-century predecessors. This appears to indicate a shift from a seventeenth-century, scholarly approach to the Qur'an, based on close engagement with the text and revealed by the presence of multiple editions in collections, at times in the original Arabic, to a more superficial, belle-lettrist or amateur encounter with the text, most often mediated through a vernacular translation.

Conversely, the decline in numbers of Qur'an editions per collection may also reflect, beyond readers' interests (or even broader reading-culture shifts from purported intensive to extensive reading practices),¹⁵ booksellers' assessment of the market for second-hand books. As editions and translations of the Qur'an became more common, booksellers and, increasingly, professional auctioneers responsible for drawing up catalogues gave this work a less prominent place in their catalogues, preferring instead to foreground newer, more rare or more valuable titles. This was especially the case after the publication of Du Ryer's *Alcoran de Mahomet* in 1647 and the succession in ensuing decades of subsequent editions and new translations. Some anecdotal evidence for this scenario is indeed provided by the increasingly cavalier way in which the Qur'an was listed in catalogue lots – when these were not, in fact, descriptions of composite volumes or

¹⁴ This is evidenced by the fluctuating rank of the Qur'an on the best-seller list. It is number 37 in the period 1675–99 (out of a total of 7,460 authors), then drops to number 50 in the half-century 1700–49, dropping further to number 66 in 1750–74 and then starts to rise again, to number 43 in 1775–99 and then to number 28 – its highest position in the period covered by the MEDIAN corpus – in the years 1800–30.

¹⁵ As in Rolf Engelsing's famous 'reading revolution' hypothesis. For a critical overview of this debate, see Reinhard Wittmann, 'Une révolution de la lecture à la fin du XVI^e siècle?', in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (eds), *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental* (Paris, 1997), pp. 275–311.

Sammelbände, separately printed items that were bound together by the owner.¹⁶ While only one of the complete Qur'an translations in the catalogues before 1700 is included as part of a larger lot or *Sammelband*,¹⁷ this practice became increasingly frequent during the course of the eighteenth century. Between 1700 and 1830, the Qur'an appears twelve times as part of a composite lot or *Sammelband*. These occurrences range from thematically ordered lots, such as the lot described as 'Oorsprong, Geboorte, Opvoeding en Leere van Mahomet, Amst. 1627. Arabische Alkoran. 1641' in the library auction catalogue of Remonstrant clergyman Paulus Verryn, sold in Amsterdam in 1728, to miscellaneous lots of supposedly left-over titles, such as the lot described as 'Hollandsche Ezopus Mahomets Alkoran Napelsche Beroerte' in the library of Amsterdam physician Abraham van Moerbeek, auctioned in 1788. In a few cases, combinations may reflect more grounded intellectual judgements, such as the lot bringing together Du Ryer's *Alcoran de Mahomet*, an Orientalist fiction by Henri Lambert d'Herbigny, marquis de Thibouville, *Le Danger des passions, ou anecdotes syriennes et égyptiennes* (Paris, 1758), the works of Epictetus and one other unidentified volume in the catalogue of the library of Londoner E. Eyre, sold in 1792.¹⁸ Thrown in with a diverse range of other books, the Qur'an appears in some of these examples almost as an afterthought and suggests that by the end of the eighteenth century the book had become widespread enough no longer to merit special mention in the catalogues.

¹⁶ In most cases, it is unclear whether lot descriptions refer to separate volumes sold together, or to separate items bound together by the owner; only in some later catalogues did booksellers add details about this practice. Binding items together to create a *Sammelband* was a very common and as yet relatively understudied practice in the early modern period that reveals much about how readers organized and interacted with their books. It has been estimated that one quarter of all print publications that survive from the sixteenth century exist in this form: Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia, 2013).

¹⁷ In Alexander de Bie's 1691 library catalogue, which lists a lot described as 'Faulhabern vom Gog und Magog und Sweygern der Turken Alkoran &c.' The second item appears to refer to Solomon Schweigger's 1616 translation of Castrodardo's 1547 translation of Theodor Bibliander's 1543 translation of Robert of Ketton's twelfth-century Latin translation of the Qur'an.

¹⁸ The lot is described as 'Alcoran de Mahomet, par du Ryer, Haye. 1685. Danger des Passions, 2 tom, 1757.—Epictecte, French and Greek, par Villebrune, Paris, 1783 and I more!' A CATALOGUE OF THE TRULY VALUABLE AND ELEGANT COLLECTION OF PICTURES; Framed and unframed Drawings; A LIBRARY OF BOOKS; PRINTS and BOOKS of PRINTS, & c. By the most esteemed ancient and modern MASTERS, Which are the sole Property of E. EYRE, Esq; of Mary-le-Bone, RETIRED INTO THE COUNTRY.

From a broader book-history perspective, finally, decreasing numbers of Qur'an editions per collector might also be a corollary of the more general spread and democratization of book ownership during the eighteenth century. Not only were there fewer Qur'ans per collector in the late eighteenth century than previously, the Qur'an editions were also less scholarly and more popular kinds. Given that the most enduring interest in the Qur'an was that of confirmed scholars, the relative decrease in the proportion of collectors who were learned individuals also affected the kinds of books available on the second-hand book market. While 27 (out of 247) of the libraries sold at auction before 1750, or 11 per cent, belonged to scholars, this only held for 21 (out of 314), or 7 per cent of the libraries sold from 1750 onwards. Similarly, while only one of the Qur'an editions sold before 1700 was featured in a female-owned collection, or a type of collection typically associated not with professional, scholarly reading but with personal taste and reading for pleasure,¹⁹ the number rises thereafter, with four female Qur'an owners between 1752 and 1812. Significantly perhaps, this qualitative shift in readerly engagement with the Qur'an seems to parallel similar trends that have been noted regarding Enlightenment interest in Judaism and the decline of scholarly Hebraism, whereby 'intensive study of Jewish texts during the seventeenth century, mutated during the Enlightenment into a widespread fascination with Jewish rituals and themes'.²⁰ In other words, interest in the Qur'an appears to shift from a scholarly, theological focus to a less learned, more 'middlebrow' focus on the Qur'an as a relatively accessible product of a foreign culture.

EARLY QUR'AN OWNERS: CLERGYMEN AND ORIENTALISTS

It will come as no surprise that overall, the collectors who kept one or more editions of the Qur'an in their library belonged very largely to two professional groups that also frequently tended to overlap: Orientalists and clergymen. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, interest in the Qur'an developed primarily in a religious context, akin to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Christian Hebraism. Orientalist and Qur'an scholarship was a subsidiary interest in sources and textual traditions, such as Arabic accounts of the life of Jesus, or the so-called Infancy Gospel

¹⁹ On the female gendering of the eighteenth-century 'choice library' or *bibliothèque choisie*, see my 'Building the *bibliothèque choisie*, from Jean Le Clerc to Samuel Formey: Library Manuals, Review Journals and Auction Catalogues in the Long Eighteenth Century', in Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree and Graeme Kemp (eds), *Early Modern Book Trade Catalogues* (Leiden, 2021), pp. 426–62.

accounts paralleled in the Qur'an and deemed likely to support or enrich traditional biblical scholarship. This meant that theological interest in the Qur'an did not necessarily translate into real engagement with Oriental cultures, other than as an instrument of a missionary, proselytizing agenda. This is underlined by the polemical anti-Islam stances taken even by such knowledgeable translators as Lodovico Marracci, the author of the most scholarly Qur'an translation produced before the nineteenth century. Several of the names of the collectors in the *MEDIATE* corpus are well known to historians of biblical and Orientalist studies. These include the Anglican theologian and Cambridge professor of Arabic, Edmund Castell, and the Paris professor of Oriental languages, Alexandre-Louis-Marie Pétis de la Croix. However, there are also some surprising absences. There is, for example, no Qur'an attested in the catalogue drawn up for the 1831 auction of the books of arguably the most well-known English Orientalist of all, William Jones, together with the books of his wife, Anna Maria (née Shipley).²¹ Yet this catalogue does report other standard Orientalist fare such as Thomas Erpenius's Arabic grammar, his edition of George Elmacin (Jirjis al-Makīn)'s *Historia saracenicā* (Leiden, 1625) and (the subject of the preceding chapter) Barthélemy d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* (Paris, 1697). More tantalizingly, the catalogue also records the presence in Jones's collection of manuscripts such as 'Hamasa, a Collection of Antient Arabian Poetry, in Arabic, 2 vol. A Very Curious Manuscript', a manuscript of Sa'di's *Bostan*,²² one of the Arabian Nights, containing 222 tales,²³ and a manuscript described as 'Aba Hajaleh, Sucardan As' Soltham, Manuscript', of which Jones was supposedly planning a critical edition.²⁴ Finally, the

²¹ This is not a catalogue of the complete library: Jones had previously bequeathed a large part of his manuscripts to the Royal Asiatic Society, as attested by two printed catalogues from 1798. Juliette Reboul has convincingly argued that this later auction catalogue represented primarily the library holdings of Anna Maria Jones, an overlooked scholar in her own right: 'Forever in his shadow: (Re)establishing female intellectual identities through the study of book collecting and writing practices', paper presented in July 2019 at ISECS conference, Edinburgh.

²² Described as 'Sadi Boōstan sive Hortus (Liber Elegantissimus) Persice, cum Interpretatione Turcica Shemei, Manuscript'. *CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE LATE SIR WILLIAM JONES, Judge of the Supreme Court of Bengal and President of the Asiatic Society; WITH THE BOOKS ADDED SUBSEQUENTLY TO HIS DEATH, BY HIS WIDOW, LADY JONES* (London, 1831), p. 17.

²³ Described as 'The Arabian Nights Entertainments, in Arabic, Manuscript, written in a very neat Arabic hand, vol. 1 and 2 in 1 vol. This Ms. contains 222 Nights'. *CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE LATE SIR WILLIAM JONES*, p. 18.

²⁴ A note in the catalogue adds that 'From a Manuscript Note it appears that Sir W. Jones thought very highly of this "curious Work" and was particularly interested in it.'

catalogue also mentions his own published works, such as *Al Sirajiyyah, or Mohammedan Law of Inheritance* (Calcutta, 1792) and *Mahomedan Law of Succession to Intestates, Arabic and English* (London, 1782). In other words, it is very unlikely that the absence of a copy of the Qur'an indicates a lack of familiarity with the work. Given booksellers' negligence in reporting editions of the Qur'an in later eighteenth-century catalogues, it is conceivable that a Qur'an (or more than one) was among the dozens of unidentified books also included in the Jones sale. Unidentified books were, indeed, routinely included in most sales.²⁵

Orientalist pursuits often merged into theological ones and several of the clergymen collectors were also Orientalists, of an amateur or more professional disposition. In addition to celebrated Orientalists such as Jones or Pétis de la Croix, lesser-known figures also make their appearance among the population of Qur'an owners, such as Twickenham vicar George Costard (1710–82). Costard's Orientalist interests are evidenced by several Arabic manuscripts in his collection and by his own notes taken from works kept in other libraries. These include works in a lot described as 'Tabula Chronologica ex Abulfedae Hist. generali in Bibl. Bodl. a Geo. Costard transcripta' and two fragments of the Qur'an in Kufic script, described as 'Fragmenta quaedam Al-Korani vetusto Arabum Characterere Hamyaritico nempe, sive Cufensi, DCCC circiter abhinc Annis conscripta, & adhuc inter Cod. MSS. Narcissi Marsh, No. 2. in Bibliotheca Bodl. adservata, 8vo.' and 'Part of the Koran, in the Cuphick Character, from a wooden Table, framed.'²⁶ These Orientalist theologian-collectors frequently belonged to the same learned networks. Brian Walton and Edmund Castell, for example, collaborated in preparing Walton's Polyglot Bible, while William Jones entertained a wide-ranging correspondence with collaborators across the Anglophone world.

Clergymen are the single largest professional group among Qur'an owners. Of the 150 owners with available biographical information, 62, or fully 41 per cent practised a profession related to religion, ranging from

of printing it' *CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE LATE SIR WILLIAM JONES*, p. 17.

²⁵ The Jones–Shippey catalogue lists 699 book items, of which 60 are unidentified and described with such terms as 'A Lot of Odd Volumes' or 'and 6 more.'

²⁶ *A CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL INSTRUMENTS, Of the late Rev. and Learned GEORGE COSTARD, A.M. VICAR of TWICKENHAM and formerly of Wadham College, Oxford, DECEASED; Author of History of Astronomy; Observations on the Book of Job and other Works of Science and Criticism. The Oriental Books and MSS. in this Collection, it is presumed, are particularly deserving the Attention of the Learned and Curious* (London, 1782), pp. 19–20.

simple parish priests to Catholic archbishops, eminent theologians, rabbis and a dayan, or rabbinic judge, of the Portuguese Jewish congregation in Amsterdam. The high representation of religious professions among Qur'an owners compares to the much smaller proportion (21 per cent) of library owners in the total MEDIANE corpus who held religious office. And that the Qur'an itself fits naturally into the kind of collection of theological books amassed by religious professionals in the course of their pastoral and scholarly activities is reflected by its standard inclusion in the catalogues under categories such as 'Libri theologici'.²⁷ In some cases, the categories are especially specific, as in the catalogue of the library of Catholic canon and abbé Jean-Baptiste Souchay, sold in Paris in 1747. This catalogue listed his copy of Du Ryer's *Alcoran de Mahomet* under a subcategory of THEOLOGIE described as 'Theologiens Heterodoxes; Erreurs singulieres & Religion Mahometane'.²⁸

Such evidence, taken together, seems to support the theory that interest in the Qur'an was primarily fuelled by theological research, given that, like knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic offered access to new texts relevant to the doctrinal history of Christianity. As Alexander Bevilacqua has written about what he has termed 'an Arabic-reading Enlightenment', or 'a moment of intercultural possibility' spearheaded by Orientalist theologians, 'scholars argued that the God of the Qur'an was the same God of the Christian Bible and Islam came to be seen by many as a more intellectually sound version of Christianity because it did not require belief in the doctrine of the Trinity'.²⁹ Taking these ideas further, some scholars have argued that interest in the Qur'an was an important part of a Radical Enlightenment debate about religion that sought to renew or even replace Christianity with more rational forms of faith. In particular, Unitarian movements that traced their intellectual genealogy at least as far back as the heretical claims of the sixteenth-century humanist Michael Servetus, sought support for their views in a reading of Islam as an anti-Trinitarian, civically minded

²⁷ For example, in the library of Hebraist Ralph Cudworth, auctioned in London in 1691 and that of Gerard Schaak, of unknown profession, sold in Amsterdam in 1748.

²⁸ In some cases, however, the categories make no mention of religion at all. This is obviously the case for categorization systems based on the format or language of books, but beyond these, editions of the Qur'an are sometimes found under 'Histoires' (Ghewiet 1645) or even 'Belles-lettres. Polygraphes et épistolaires', in the case of a complete set of Claude Savary's works that also included his Qur'an translation (Lecocq 1820).

²⁹ Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, pp. 16–8.

reform movement.³⁰ Similarly, Hamilton and Richard have noted of the earlier, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century generation of French Orientalists that 'there is no doubt that a high proportion of them had some connection with the broad circle of more or less free-thinking intellectuals known as the libertins érudits'.³¹

The evidence from the MEDIATE corpus is slightly more ambiguous, and to date only 20 per cent of the collectors in the MEDIATE database have been assigned a religion and certain historical minority groups may be more easily identified than others precisely because of their exceptional status. Nonetheless, we can observe that, despite claims about the supposedly dangerous content, or the forbidden or illegal status of early Qur'an translations, there is no sign of this in the library catalogues.³² None of the Dutch catalogues, for example, with one or more copies of the Qur'an and also including a separate category of 'Forbidden books' consigned the Qur'an to that section. The *Libri prohibiti* category was also most likely a commercial stratagem to attract buyers, rather than a serious indication of any real danger booksellers may have run in selling this kind of material.³³ On the other hand, however, certain religious groups historically associated with the Radical Enlightenment did appear to own copies of the Qur'an more frequently than others. Although the religious affiliation of only 67, or 37 per cent of the population of Qur'an owners are currently identifiable, Protestants, particularly Remonstrants and especially Huguenots, appear over-represented.³⁴ Remonstrants' free-thinking views and libraries, as well as those of the broader Collegiant movement, have been

³⁰ A position elaborated, among others, by Mulsow, 'Socinianism, Islam and the Radical Uses of Arabic Scholarship'.

³¹ Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies*, p. 16.

³² Castrodardo's Italian translation was proscribed by the *Index Tridentinus* in 1564, Bibliander was careful to preface his own 1543 translation with disclaimers by none other than Luther and Melancthon, while Du Ryer's translation of the Qur'an also attracted the attention of the royal censors. Pier Mattia Tommasino, 'Giovanni Battista Castrodardo', in David Thomas and John Chesworth (eds), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 6. Western Europe (1500–1600) (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2014), p. 507; Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies*, p. 55, n. 166.

³³ Interestingly, this practice seems to be limited only to Leiden-based booksellers, raising the possibility that booksellers might have used this stratagem to pique the curiosity of the large population of students in that city, in whom, perhaps, they saw potential buyers.

³⁴ Of those owners with known religions, 16 are Anglican 15 are Protestant (with no more specific denomination), 13 are Catholic, 7 are Huguenot, 6 are Jewish, 4 are Mennonite, 3 are Remonstrant and 1 each Calvinist and Baptist. Put somewhat differently, these numbers represent, respectively, 20% of all Anglicans identified so far

amply documented.³⁵ As for Huguenots, historians have long recognized their leading role in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century transnational Republic of Letters, both as cultural mediators and as key figures in the book trade, as publishers, translators and authors of influential review journals and other publications. Huguenots represented the international intelligentsia who heralded certain strands of Radical Enlightenment, as demonstrated by Margaret Jacob and Jonathan Israel.³⁶ Religious mediation between different confessional traditions, leading in some cases to open religious contestation, appears to fit easily into this mandate.

LANGUAGES AND TRANSLATIONS: DU RYER'S *ALCORAN DE MAHOMET*

The eighteenth-century evolution of a scholarly interest in the Qur'an to a more popular curiosity is also reflected in the prevalence of vernacular translations, especially during the later period covered by the corpus. Thus, of the eighteen Arabic-only versions of the Qur'an – both printed editions and manuscript copies – twelve are reported already in collections sold before 1700. Of those eighteen Arabic versions, five are the Abraham Hinckelmann edition, published under the title *Al-Coranus, sive Lex islamitica Muhammedis, filii Abdallae pseudoprophetae*, as published in Hamburg by Schultz-Schiller in 1694. The remaining thirteen Arabic versions are described in vague terms such as 'Alcoran Arabicè' in the collection of Amsterdam clergyman Andreas Lansman, sold in 1667, and only rarely in more detail. Possibly the richest Qur'an-related collection in the MEDIATE corpus is the one assembled in the mid-seventeenth century by the eminent Anglican theologian and Bible translator Brian Walton. Besides full Qur'an editions, his 1683 auction catalogue lists several manuscripts of individual suras:

- ◆ Alcoranus Arabicè cum interlineari Versione Persicâ. 4to.
- ◆ [Greek] 30. partium Alcorani pars 9na. Arabicè, continens Suratam 7. & 8. 4to.
- ◆ Alcoranus Arab. cum Vocalibus. 8vo.

in the MEDIATE dataset, 100% of the 'Protestants', 48% of the Catholics, 87% of the Huguenots, 15% of the Jews, 50% of the Mennonites and 75% of the Remonstrants.

³⁵ Andrew C. Fix, *The Dutch Collegiants and the Early Enlightenment* (Princeton, NJ, 1991); Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 342–58.

³⁶ Margaret Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (Ithaca, NY, 1988); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*.

- ◆ Alcorani pars Arabice cum vocalibus. 8vo.
- ◆ Aliquot Suratae Alcorani Arab. 12mo.
- ◆ Aliquot Suratae Alcorani. Arab.
- ◆ Alcorani dimidium Arab. 16to.
- ◆ Prima Tredecim partium Alcorani Arab. Lat. Castelli Sol Angliae Oriens.³⁷

In addition to Arabic manuscripts of the Qur'an, a few catalogues record manuscripts of *tafsir* or Qur'anic commentaries, such as the 'Teesir fi Sureti Fatihe id est Explicat. primi Capitis Corani' or 'Kjetab el Wasihy regulae Gramm. sive Crisis in primum Caput Corani', both listed in Alexander de Bie's 1691 auction catalogue and the 'two books about some chapters from the Alkoran' and 'Tassier [sic], Alkoran or explanation about the Alkoran' reported in the library of East Indies clergyman Pieter (or Petrus) van der Vorm, sold in Batavia (present-day Jakarta) in 1731.³⁸

As a side note, this last library, that of Pieter van der Vorm, also illustrates how interest in the Qur'an evolved. Complementing his work as a pastor in the East Indies, successively in Ambon (1689), Honimoa or Saparua Island, in the Moluccas (1690) and Batavia (1698), Vorm became an adept Orientalist and corresponded with Utrecht professor Adriaen Reland, to whom he sent manuscripts he had sourced in the East.³⁹ From the mid-eighteenth century and following earlier missionary activity, colonial officers and military men increasingly make their appearance as Qur'an collectors. Thus, in 1728, the auction catalogue of the library of the Dutch West India Company official and Admiralty official Hendrik Swart lists a copy of Glazemaker's Dutch translation of the Qur'an. In 1777, the auction catalogue of the library of George Colebrooke, Member of Parliament and one-time director and chairman of the East India Company, reveals that he owned a copy of Sale's *The Koran*. And in 1813, the library auction catalogue of Louis

³⁷ The first part of this lot is Christian Ravius' *Prima tredecim partium Alcorani Arabico Latini: ubi textus Arabicus absque punctis sumtus* (Amsterdam, 1646), while the second is a tract by Edmund Castell.

³⁸ In the Dutch original, 'Twee Boekjes over eenige Cappittelen uyt den Alkoraan' and 'Tassier, Alkoraan of uytlegging over den Alkoraan'. *CATALOGUS VAN Verscheide wel geconditioneerde, zo Hebraeische, Griekse, Arabische, Chaldaise, Maleyde, Mallabaarse, Latynse, Fransche, Engelsche als Nederduytsche BOEKEN, Nagelaten by Wylen De Eerw: PETRUS van der VORM, In zyn Leven Ordinair Bedienaar des Goddelyken Woords* (Batavia, 1731), p. 16.

³⁹ His biographer J. Herderscheë mentions a 'Compendium theologiae Moh., secundum mentem Schafacorum. Conscriptum Arabice, cum versione interlineari' in this context. P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (eds), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden, 1928) vol. 4, p. 1433.

Baraguey d'Hilliers, an army general who fought in the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars, accompanying Bonaparte to Egypt in 1798, mentions on the very first page a lot or *Sammelband*, number 8 of 471 lots containing 'L'Alcoran de Mahomet, trad. de l'arabe par Durier. Amsterdam, 1746, 2 vol. in-12, v. m. – / La vie de Mahomet, par Boulainvilliers. Amsterdam. 1731, in-12, v. fil.'⁴⁰ Significantly, the lot is filed under the category 'Theology, Jurisprudence', immediately before Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* (Paris, 1748), suggesting the new, administrative uses to which knowledge of the Qur'an might also be put.⁴¹ In the biographies of these collectors, colonial interest initially fuelled by trade and religion is thus gradually transformed into more active, imperialist incursions into the Orient, epitomized by Napoleon's Egypt campaign, with the concomitant need to find practical means and legislation to govern this new empire. As Ziad Elmarsafy writes in his analysis of Claude Savary's 1783 translation of the Qur'an, 'there are few more momentous "applications" of European learning about Islam than Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. Although the Middle East was not invaded by texts and few Orientalists could have been conscious of the use to which their work would be put, there is no gainsaying the impact of the improved understanding of the Orient on the success of Napoleon's campaign.'⁴² This provides a new context, indeed, in which to view the presence of the six Qur'an translations by Claude Savary reported in the catalogues. In all these cases, these appear to be owners whose professional obligations had taken them to the colonies, where they inevitably came into contact with other religions. Increasingly, it appears, interest in the Qur'an was primarily motivated not by scholarly or theological considerations but by the practical needs of empire. This is perhaps the period, then, in which Orientalism as defined by Edward Said, that is, as a means ideologically to bolster European political agendas overseas, can really be said to make its appearance.⁴³

⁴⁰ *NOTICE DES LIVRES ET CARTES DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE FEU M. LE GÉNÉRAL, COMTE BARAGUEY-D'HILLIERS, COLONEL GÉNÉRAL DES DRAGONS, GRAND AIGLE DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR, etc.* (Paris, 1813), p. 1.

⁴¹ Baraguey d'Hilliers himself played an important role in the French imperial administration as governor of Venice in 1808, governor of Upper Catalonia in 1810 and governor of Smolensk in 1812. He did not stay in Egypt, despite his assiduous preparations. He later became the father-in-law of General Damrémont, governor-general of Algeria, demonstrating the depth of such colonial affiliations.

⁴² Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an*, p. 143.

⁴³ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, new edn with new preface (London: Penguin Books, 2003; first edn, 1978), establishing the term as a conceptual description of the West's

Finally, besides the multiple Qur'an translations, some later eighteenth-century library auction catalogues list other related material. Examples of this are the 'Ex Tabula lignea ex Syria mandata ad Bibliothecam Publicam Leidensem. V. Corani, Cap. 112. framed and glazed' listed in the previously mentioned auction catalogue of the library of George Costard, sold in 1782, and the 'Prières Mahometanes, en Langue Arabe, commentées en Langue Turque, MS. 24mo,' curiously recorded in the auction catalogue of the library of Londoner John Henderson, which was sold in 1830, but further listed no other Qur'an edition or related items.⁴⁴

Besides full versions of the Qur'an, a number of printed editions of single suras, sometimes in bilingual editions or in contexts indicating they were intended to be used for language-learning purposes, are attested in the catalogues. The most frequently cited is Thomas Erpenius's bilingual edition of the twelfth sura. The work compared the original Arabic, Robert of Ketton's medieval translation and Erpenius's own literal translation and was published as *Historia Josephi Patriarchae ex Alcorano Arabicè* in 1617. This edition figures in twelve collections, substantially more than a later publication by Erpenius, the 1620 edition of his widely used Arabic grammar, *Rudimenta linguae arabicae*, in which he included a version of the sixty-fourth sura. Erpenius's 1620 grammar book figures in five collections, although the real tally may be substantially higher, given that descriptions of this work in the catalogues often provide no information on the specific edition.⁴⁵ Finally, another volume that features four times in the catalogues is Christian Ravius's *Prima tredecim partium Alcorani Arabico Latini* (Amsterdam 1646), which contains an introduction to the Qur'an in Latin, with some Arabic excerpts in Hebrew script.

The remaining Qur'an editions are all translations. The most frequently listed language is French, followed by Dutch, Latin, Italian, two Persian translations and a single Hebrew Qur'an. Besides Brian Walton's bilingual Arabic-Persian manuscript, cited above, the other Persian translation is reported in the library of English baronet and Member of Parliament Roger Meredith, whose library was auctioned in Maidstone in 1739. Listed under the octavo volumes, the catalogue laconically reports 'Part of the Alchoran, a Persian MS.' The Hebrew translation appears in the Amsterdam catalogue of the library of an anonymous Jewish collector whose library was sold at

⁴⁴ CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY, PRINTS, DRAWINGS, PICTURES, Gems, Bromes, Antiquities COINS AND MEDALS, OF THE LATE JOHN HENDERSON, ESQ. OF CHARLOTTE STREET, FITZROY SQUARE (London, 1830), p. 7.

⁴⁵ Erpenius' *Rudimenta linguae arabicae* is reported fourteen times in the catalogues, in thirteen collections. Counted here are only those unambiguously described as the 1620 edition.

auction on 1 February 1758 and whose catalogue reports a quarto manuscript version of the Qur'an described as 'אלקוראן למחמד תורת הישמעאלים בלשון הקודש' (transliterated: Alkoran le-mahmed torat ha-ismaelim be-lashon ha-kodesh), or 'The Qur'an of Mahmed, the Torah of the Muslims in the holy language.' This might be a manuscript copy of a seventeenth-century translation from Bibliander's Latin version by Jacob ben Israel Levi from Salonika, or alternatively, in a more unlikely but tantalizing scenario, the Hebrew translation made from Glazemaker's Dutch version by Dutch East India Company officer Leopold Immanuel Jacob van Dort and copied by the copyist David Isaac Cohen of Berlin, in Kochi, India, sometime between 1754 and 1773.⁴⁶

The Qur'an edition found most frequently in the library auction catalogues is the 1649 translation by André du Ryer, originally published in a fine quarto edition in Paris by Antoine de Sommerville. This was the first complete translation direct from the Arabic to reach publication since Robert of Ketton's twelfth-century Latin paraphrase. The MEDiate database records sixty-six copies of this translation, in twelve different editions,⁴⁷ lending certain credence to Alastair Hamilton's and Francis Richard's claim that this was 'one of the great best-sellers of its day.'⁴⁸ The editions reported range from the original Paris edition to an edition published in 1770 in Amsterdam and Leipzig. The most frequently cited is the original quarto edition, published in Paris in 1647, together with two The Hague duodecimo editions, printed by publisher-bookseller Adriaen Moetjens (the elder) in 1683 and in 1685 (six occurrences each). The first occurrence of Du Ryer's *Alcoran de Mahomet* is in the catalogue of the library of Campen grammar school rector Johannes Wilhelmus Wendbeil, sold at auction in Leiden

⁴⁶ In St Petersburg a Hebrew Qur'an is preserved that was copied in 1653 in Amsterdam and was based on Levi's translation. The Indian manuscript theory is rendered problematic by the appearance of the same manuscript almost a century later, in 1831, in the Persian city of Meshhed. I am grateful to Anna de Wilde for her precious aid in figuring out this reference. On Hebrew Qur'an translations, see Aleida Paudice, 'Hebrew Translations and Transcriptions of the Qur'an', in Abdelwaheb Meddeb and Benjamin Stora (eds), *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations. From the Origins to the Present Day* (Princeton, 2013), p. 640. On the Kochi manuscript, see Myron M. Weinstein, 'A Hebrew Qur'an Manuscript', *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, 10: 1-2 (1971-72): 19-52.

⁴⁷ These are, according to the catalogues: Paris, 1647; Paris, 1649; Paris, 1651; Paris, 1672; The Hague, Moetjens, 1683; The Hague, 1685; The Hague, 1693; Amsterdam, 1719; Antwerp, 1719; Amsterdam, Pierre Mortier, 1734; Amsterdam, 1746; and Amsterdam-Leipzig, 1777.

⁴⁸ Hamilton and Richard. *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies*, p. 89.

in November 1666; the last is in the catalogue of Utrecht burgomaster Johannes van Doelen, sold in 1829.

Moetjens' 1683 edition introduced a characteristically Dutch novelty by including an original illustration, a frontispiece by Huguenot engraver Herman (or Armand) Paddebrugge depicting Muhammad reading the Qur'an. The practice of adding illustrations to Qur'an translations would later be taken up in Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker's Dutch translation of Du Ryer's translation, which was first published in 1657 by Amsterdam publisher Jan Rieuwertz under the title *Mahomets Alkoran en Tweevoudige beschrijving van Mahomets leven* and went through seven editions between 1657 and 1734. In the 1696 reissue by the Amsterdam publisher Timotheus ten Hoorn, known today primarily for his pornographic and controversial works, Ten Hoorn added six engravings by Caspar Luyken, four in the Qur'an translation and two in the additional material that Glazemaker appended to Du Ryer's text. These appendices included a biography of Muhammad, a number of Midrashic tales and the 'Questions of "Abdallah ibn Salam" or Book of a Thousand Questions', a dialogue between Muhammad and a Jewish interlocutor that results in the latter's conversion, which had first been published by Bibliander in his 1543 translation-paraphrase of the Qur'an.

Glazemaker's translation, in various editions, is reported forty-four times in the auction catalogues, making it the second most frequently reported translation after Du Ryer's. It makes its first appearance in 1668, in the library of The Hague-based magistrate Pieter van Gelre, and a last mention in 1830, again in The Hague, in the library of Judge Wilhelm Godart Johan van Gendt. Despite these numbers, however, the success of this publication appears very much a local phenomenon, as it is reported almost exclusively in Dutch collections, with only a single exception: the auction catalogue library of the Flemish *conseiller* and *avocat au Parlement de Flandres* Georges de Ghewiet, sold in Lille in 1745. Two other Qur'an translations, finally, also appear, like Glazemaker's, to be largely local phenomena. The first is the English translation of Du Ryer's *Alcoran de Mahomet*, widely known as 'the Turkish Alcoran', which was first published in London in 1649 and has been variously attributed to Alexander, Hugh or Thomas Ross.⁴⁹ According to Ziad Elmarsafy, this translation was a clear editorial success, 'one of the more popular books of seventeenth-century England'.⁵⁰ This claim is partially borne out by the MEDIANTE database numbers, for the title is indeed reported nineteen times in the catalogues, all of them in

⁴⁹ On this attribution, see Clinton Bennett, 'Alexander Ross, Hugh Ross, Thomas Ross,' in Thomas and Chesworth (eds), *Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 8, pp. 290–320.

the British Isles.⁵¹ The first mention of the Ross translation is in the 1683 catalogue of Brian Walton; the last is in the Newcastle auction catalogue of the library of insurance broker Fenwick Boyd, sold in 1821. The second Qur'an translation that similarly appears to be primarily a local success is the groundbreaking translation published by George Sale in 1734.⁵² This was, after Du Ryer's *Alcoran de Mahomet*, only the second translation to be published in a European vernacular that had been made directly from the Arabic. Widely hailed as 'a landmark in the European study of Islam', this is 'the first translation of the Qur'an in a European language not framed as a means to refute Islam or to 'expose' the errors of the Turks'.⁵³ Sale's translation appears twenty times in the British catalogues, but there is not a single appearance of this translation in any catalogue outside the British Isles. This is despite the well-documented use made of Sale's translation by Voltaire in his own reconsideration of the figure of Muhammad, laying the groundwork for important Enlightenment debates on topics ranging from the ideal legislator (in which Muhammad often featured prominently) to the universal movement of history. Enthusiastic claims by modern-day scholars that 'Sale's was by far the more popular translation, even among those who read Latin', appear unsubstantiated by the evidence in private library auction catalogues, at least when considered in a broader European, transnational perspective.⁵⁴

The prevalence of Du Ryer's translation in the private library auction catalogues, coupled with his book's border-crossing, truly international appeal, suggests that his relatively faithful, commentary-free translation quickly superseded the competing translations available to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century readers. These included most notably the truncated translation published by the Protestant scholar Theodor Bibliander in Basel in 1543, with a preface by Martin Luther, a foreword by Philip Melancthon and additional supporting material by other authors to clearly frame the work and warn readers against its pernicious ideas. This translation is

⁵¹ Somewhat confusingly, both the Glazemaker and the English translation attributed to Alexander Ross mention Du Ryer as the original translator on the title page and are hence often recorded in the catalogues as Du Ryer's translation. This has possibly led to undercounting of Glazemaker's and Ross's versions in the past.

⁵² Following upon the success of the illustrated editions of Du Ryer's and Glazemaker's translations of the Qur'an, the Sale translation published in 1734 also included illustrations.

⁵³ Tolan, *Faces of Muhammad*, p. 160.

⁵⁴ The statement is found in Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an*, p. 63, but with no supporting evidence provided. See also Hamilton and Richard's claim that 'most educated Dutchmen would have read Sale's English version of the Qur'an after 1734'.

present in eleven copies in the MEDIATE corpus, all of them sumptuous folio editions, except for a single octavo edition. Other, later translations in turn drew on this version. They included Giovanni Battista Castrodardo's Italian translation, published in Venice in 1547 by Andrea Arrivabene (who is sometimes confusingly cited as the translator),⁵⁵ and Salomon Schweigger's German translation, published in 1616 in Nuremberg. Castrodardo's translation is reported in three of the MEDIATE catalogues,⁵⁶ while Schweigger's German translation appears twice, both times in Dutch catalogues auctioned in the 1690s (possibly suggesting, by its rarity, that this may have been the same copy circulating from one library to another).⁵⁷

In the seventeenth century, only one other competing published translation was similarly based directly on the Arabic original. This was Lodovico Marracci's erudite Latin translation, with accompanying Arabic text, published in Rome in 1698.⁵⁸ Like Du Ryer, Marracci worked from the original Arabic, drawing in addition on the rich tradition of *tafsir* or Qur'anic commentary in order to explain the more obscure points in the text. This translation is present in the MEDIATE corpus in eight copies, while Christian Reineccius's abridgment of Marracci's edition is reported in a further two libraries, bringing the total to ten. Although it might be expected that the appeal of Marracci's version, as an 850-page, weighty folio work of meticulous scholarship, was restricted to an academic audience, in fact it appears in a wide range of libraries across Europe, from that of Orientalist scion Alexandre-Louis-Marie Pétis de la Croix to explorer and travel writer William George Browne, whose library was auctioned in London in 1814, and playwright François-Benoît Hoffman, whose library was sold in Paris in 1828 and who also owned a copy of Du Ryer's translation which bore a series of handwritten annotations testifying to his readerly engagement with the text. Marracci's version did seem to appeal especially to an international Catholic readership: all but Browne's library belonged to Catholic owners, one of them a Polish count based in Paris, Thomas Gaston Jean, count Wengierski, two of them Italians and seven Frenchmen.

In their seminal study of the impact of André du Ryer's 1647 translation of the Qur'an on Orientalism in Europe, Alastair Hamilton and Francis

⁵⁵ On Castrodardo, see Tommasino, 'Giovanni Battista Castrodardo,' pp. 506–11.

⁵⁶ Castell 1686, Collande 1753, Davoust 1772. Henceforth catalogue references are by the abbreviated name under which they can be found in the MEDIATE database.

⁵⁷ De Bie 1691, Mylius 1694. The likelihood of this being the same copy may be lessened by the fact that the collections were sold by two different booksellers, in two different cities.

⁵⁸ On the conception, writing and printing of this groundbreaking translation, see Raviocous, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, pp. 44–74.

Richard have described Du Ryer not primarily as a scholar but as 'a champion and above all a popularizer, of oriental literature, the forerunner of a literary genre which would become immensely popular in the eighteenth century.'⁵⁹ They point out that Du Ryer chose to publish his translation not by an academic publisher, but by a well-known publisher of literary texts, Antoine de Sommerville, thereby consolidating his move 'from the world of scholarship, of which he had been a part when he compiled his Turkish grammar in Latin, to the world of letters.'⁶⁰ Because the Qur'an translation most often found in the catalogues is Du Ryer's, this might suggest that readers were particularly sensitive to his literary approach and to the fashion for literary Orientalism that he helped to instigate. This hypothesis is not, however, completely borne out by the rest of the catalogue findings. The other major work that Du Ryer translated, the Persian poet Sa'di's *Bustan*, is reported thirty times in the catalogues. However, only one of those occurrences is Du Ryer's own translation. This is described in the auction catalogue of the library of a certain Madame Delahaye, whose library was sold in Paris in 1776, as 'Gulistan, ou l'Empire des Roses, Traité des Moeurs des Rois, par Muffadini Saadi, trad. du Persan, (par du Ryer). Paris, 1704, in-12', wedged in between a French translation of Richard Steele's *Ladies Library* and Jacques Joseph Duguet's *Institution d'un prince* (London, 1740).

Madame Delahaye's late eighteenth-century library is instructive because in some ways it is exactly what the scholarly Orientalist libraries of the late seventeenth century were not. Rather than concentrating on historical or doctrinal considerations, its focus lies squarely on Orientalist entertainment, with popular titles such as Antoine Galland's *Mille et une nuits* (Paris, 1704–17), François Pétis de la Croix (the younger's) *Mille et un jours, contes persans* (Paris, 1710–12), Thomas-Simon Gueullette's *Mille et un quart d'heure* (Paris, 1733), abbé Jean-Paul Bignon's *Abdalla fils d'Hanif* (Paris, 1712), and other similar titles. Despite the presence of some two hundred religious titles, representing 23 per cent of the total library holdings, only two reference Islam, namely Adriaen Reland's perennial best-seller *De religione Mohammedica* (Utrecht, 1705), present in a French translation, and Henri, comte de Boulainvilliers' posthumous biography of Muhammad (Paris, 1730). As Madame Delahaye's library demonstrates at a micro-historical level, there is not necessarily any overlap between a taste for Orientalist belles-lettres and ownership of a translation of the Qur'an. Indeed, while the library auction catalogues in the MEDIATE database report fifty-six occurrences of Galland's *Mille et une nuits*, in the French original or

⁵⁹ Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies*, p. 50.

⁶⁰ Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies*, p. 50.

in translation, twenty-five occurrences of François Pétis de la Croix's *Mille et un jours*,⁶¹ and nineteen occurrences of the *Fables* of Bidpāy or, as he was known in French, Pilpay (Paris, 1698), these are largely in libraries that reported neither Du Ryer's *Alcoran de Mahomet* nor any other translation of the Qur'an. This suggests, then, that it was not the literary qualities of Du Ryer's translation that were paramount in readers' minds. Rather, other aspects might have appealed, such as the religious ideas developed in the text, its status as a work of historical significance or even its potential as a work of legislation to be applied to new parts of the world to be colonized.

CONCLUSION

From the seventeenth-century Radical Enlightenment to the Napoleonic wars, from Amsterdam and Paris to Boston and Batavia and from collectors such as mathematics professor Alexander de Bie to Madame Delahaye, the data on the circulation of individual copies of editions and translations of the Qur'an in private libraries across Europe opens a window onto several related historiographic questions. Book materialities, it emerges, such as illustrations or inclusion in *Sammelbände*, provide important clues about processes of reception and cultural appropriation. Bibliometric, quantitative instruments, when used with the necessary caution, make comparison across borders possible, revealing exactly how specific editions of the Qur'an were transnational (or not). But just as importantly, the literary and intellectual networks in which books positioned themselves, as evidenced by the biographies and intellectual allegiances of their owners, tell us much about the changing uses throughout the course of the long eighteenth century to which this text could be put, from theological to administrative preoccupations. These bibliometric instruments also bring to the fore the complexities of linking a series of individual case studies to grand narratives about the spatial and temporal aspects of transnational encounters – including key terms such as 'Enlightenment', 'Orientalism' and 'religion'. By introducing the micro-historical level and agency of specific readers, producers and agents in circulating books across different parts of Europe, in a wide range of highly personal, sometimes idiosyncratic ways, in short, this mosaic of individual stories above all demonstrates how inadequate the political concept of the nation-state is as a framework to understand how books reached and ultimately moved their readers.

⁶¹ All the translations, works of scholarship and original works of François Pétis de la

The Unexpected Dynamics of Christian Text Transmission in Colonial South Asia and Myanmar

Graham Shaw

BEFORE WRITING, THERE WERE long and widespread traditions of oral composition and aural reception ... So begins the litany of textual transmission as a 'one-way' linear progression: from orality–aurality to manuscript, print and now digital. This 'technologically determinist' continuum dictates that each succeeding technology replaces its predecessor, but research is making it more and more clear that an earlier mode or modes of transmission may not be abandoned altogether but persist in parallel to their successor in a reduced or subordinate role. The dissemination of Christian literature in India, Sri Lanka and Myanmar during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provides a prime example of the way that different materialities and modalities of transmission could coexist to overlap and interplay. But let us begin at the other extreme, with a phenomenon that apparently propelled print to a stratospheric level of superiority.

In July 1833 *The American Tract Magazine* carried a communication from the Baptist missionary Adoniram Judson in Myanmar lamenting the death of a Karen man and his wife 'near the head of the Pa-tah river, who, though not baptized and never seen by any foreign missionary, both died in the faith'. The man's dying wish to his friends had been to have the printed Burmese tract entitled *View of the Christian Religion* 'laid on his breast and buried with him'. Judson was so moved by this incident that he composed a poem:

----- He never saw
The book of heavenly wisdom and no saint
Had told him how the sinner might be saved.

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Global Exchanges of Knowledge in the Long Eighteenth Century

Ideas and Materialities c. 1650–1850

Edited by James Raven