

Christian-Muslim Relations A Bibliographical History

Volume 12. Asia, Africa and the Americas
(1700-1800)

Edited by
David Thomas and John Chesworth

with Jaco Beyers, Karoline Cook, Lejla Demiri,
Martha Frederiks, David D. Grafton, Alan Guenther,
Emma Gaze Loghin, Claire Norton, Reza Pourjavady,
Douglas Pratt, Charles Ramsey, Peter G. Riddell,
Umar Ryad, Carsten Walbiner



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2018

CONTENTS

Foreword	xi
List of illustrations	xv
List of maps	xvii
Abbreviations	xviii

The Ottoman and Persian Empires

Umar Ryad, <i>Introduction: the Ottoman and Persian Empires in the 18th century</i>	3
Charbel Nassif, <i>Ottoman and Arab influences on Melkite art in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries</i>	15
Ines Aščerić-Todd, <i>Religious diversity and tolerance in Ottoman guilds</i>	29
Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1700-1800	43
The Ottoman and Arab World	45
Buṭrus Ḍūmiṭ Makhlūf	47
Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī	56
Ālim Muhammed ibn Hamza	60
Istīfān al-Duwayhī	67
Vahdetī	74
Derviş Ali Nakşibendî	80
Theodor Krump	84
<i>Suâl-i Osmânî ve cevâb-ı Nasrânî</i>	91
Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Bākiri	98
‘Abd Allāh Zākhir	101
‘Abd al-Ghanī l-Nābulusi	108
Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa	130
Joseph Moukarzel	47
Doaa Baumi	56
Emine Nureşan Dinç ...	60
Joseph Moukarzel	67
Necmettin Kızılkaya ...	74
Betül Avcı	80
Jaco Beyers	84
Marinos Sariyannis	91
Mariam M. Shehata ...	98
Ronney el Gemayel ...	101
Lejla Demiri	108
Emine Nureşan Dinç ...	130

Jirmānūs Farḥāt	Elena Sahin	135
<i>Fi mabādī wa-uṣūl al-adyān</i>	Carsten Walbiner	143
<i>al-mutafarriqa fi l-sharq al-khārija</i>		
<i>‘an dīn al-Masiḥ</i>		
İskender ibn Ahmed Feylesof et-Trabzonî	Lejla Demiri and	
	Serkan Ince	147
‘Abbūd Şaydah	Souad Slim	150
İbrahim Müteferrika	Lejla Demiri and	
	Serkan Ince	154
Istifān Ward	Joseph Moukarzel	163
Makirdij al-Kassiḥ	Carsten Walbiner	169
Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ibn Yūsuf ibn	Muhammad Fawzy	
Şiyām al-Damanhūrī	Abdelhay	173
The martyrdom of Ibrāhīm al-Dallāl	Carsten Walbiner	178
Buṭrus al-Lādhiqī	Carsten Walbiner	183
Istifānūs Akillī	Joseph Moukarzel	185
Niqūlāwus al-Şā’igh	Hilary Kilpatrick	190
Ibn al-Amīr al-Şan‘ānī	Mohamed A.	
	Moustafa	198
Būlus Yūyāqīm	Carsten Walbiner	207
‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Umarī l-Ṭarābulusī	Abdullah Omran	210
l-Ḥanafī		
Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb	R.A. Leo	214
Patriarch Yu’annis XVIII	Carsten Walbiner	221
Giritli Ali Aziz Efendi	Irena Fliter	223
Ottoman slave manumission documents	Joshua M. White	227
Islam and Muslims in the works of Christian	Hayat el Eid Bualuan ..	234
Arab historians of the 18 th and early 19 th		
centuries		
Persia		243
Mīrzā Zahirā Tafriṣhī	Mohammed Alsulami ..	245
Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khātūnābādī	Rasūl Ja’fariyān	250
Abgar ‘Alī Akbar Armanī	Alberto Tiburcio	256
Hovhannēs Mrk’uz Juḷayec’i	Dennis Halft	260
‘Alī Qulī Jadid al-Islām, António de Jesus	Alberto Tiburcio	266
Muḥammad Khalil Qā’inī	Ebrahim Ashk Shirin ..	274
Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Shah of Persia	Rudolph Matthee	278
Nādir Shah	Ernest Tucker	292
Ismā‘il Qazvinī	Dennis Halft	298
<i>A chronicle of the Carmelites and the papal</i>	Rudolph Matthee	303
<i>mission in Persia</i>		
‘Alī-Murād Khān Zand	Alberto Tiburcio	309

Armenia and Georgia		313
King Arch'il	Nana Kharebava	315
Iakob Shemok'medili	Khatuna Baidurashvili ...	319
Martyrology of Loys Grigor	S. Peter Cowe	324
Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani	Irina Natsvlshvili	330
Grigol Vakhvakhishvili-Dodorkeli	Merab Ghaghanidze	343
King Vakht'ang VI	Nana Mrevlishvili	346
Step'anos Kafayec'i	S. Peter Cowe	350
Besarion Orbelishvili	Eka Chikvaidze	354
Łukas Sebastac'i	S. Peter Cowe	363
T'eimuraz II	Saba Metreveli	373
Abraham III, Kretats'i	George Bournoutian	380
Abraham Erewants'i	George Bournoutian	386
Vakhushti Bagrationi	Ani Letodiani	391
Sēfēroli T'okat'c'i	S. Peter Cowe	396
Verse martyrologies of Xanum Vkeyuhi	S. Peter Cowe	399
Timote Gabashvili	Nana Gonjilashvili	405
Simeon of Yerevan	George Bournoutian	411
Catholicos Anton I	Gocha Kuchukhidze	417
<i>Hazar erku hariwr t'vakan</i>	S. Peter Cowe	423
Samuēl Anets'i and his continuators	Seta B. Dadoyan	426
Davit' Guramishvili	Ivane Amirkhanashvili ...	448
Besiki	Lia Karichashvili	453
Sayatnova	Zoia Tskhadaia	459
<i>South Asia, South East Asia, China and Japan</i>		
Douglas Pratt, <i>Introduction: South Asia, South East Asia and China. 18th-century contexts</i>		469
Karel Steenbrink, <i>No (longer) fear, but control and care. Europeans and Muslims in South East Asia, 17th and 18th centuries</i>		481
Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1700-1800		489
South Asia		491
Daniel Havart	Gijs Kruijtzter	493
Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg	Daniel Jeyaraj	505
Benjamin Schultze	Heike Liebau	519
Shāh Walī Allāh	Charles M. Ramsey	525
Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn Lāhijī	Reza Pourjavady	534

Alexander Dow	Joslyn De Vinney	538
I'tiṣām al-Dīn	Gulfishan Khan	544
Murtaḍā Ḥusain Bilgrāmī	Gulfishan Khan	549
Charles Hamilton	Alan Guenther	553
William Jones	Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh ..	560
South East Asia		573
François Valentijn	Karel Steenbrink	575
José Torrubia	Isaac Donoso	583
Juan de Arechederra y Tovar	Isaac Donoso	586
Muḥammad 'Azīm al-Dīn I of Sulu	Isaac Donoso	591
Muḥammad Mu'izz al-Dīn Pangiran Bantilan	Isaac Donoso	596
Pedro Martínez de Arizala	Isaac Donoso	600
Onno Zwier van Haren	Gé Speelman	604
<i>Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek</i>	Karel Steenbrink	609
'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī	Peter G. Riddell	614
<i>De Kerckenraeds van Gereformeerde Kerk te Batavia</i>	Yusak Soleiman	621
<i>Corpus Diplomaticum</i>	Karel Steenbrink	625
Javanese court chronicles on the rising power of the Dutch, 17 th and 18 th centuries	Karel Steenbrink	629
China and Japan		639
Ma Zhu	Wai Yip Ho	641
Liu Zhi	James Frankel	644
Eusèbe Renaudot	Stuart Vogel	649
The Yongzheng Emperor	James Harry Morris	653
Arai Hakuseki	James Harry Morris	658
<i>Mémoires concernant les Chinois</i>	James Harry Morris	666
<i>Africa and the Americas</i>		
Martha Frederiks, <i>Introduction: 18th century Africa and the Americas</i>		691
R.A. Leo, <i>North American perceptions of Islam in the 18th century (freed from European influences)</i>		707

Karoline Cook, <i>Contesting belonging: Relationships between Muslims and Christians in colonial Latin America</i>	725
Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1700-1800	735
Africa	737
Hiob Ludolf	Andreu Martínez 739
Michel Jajolet de la Courbe	Philip Jan Havik 745
Jean Barbot	Adam Jones 753
Jean-Baptiste Gaby	Martha Frederiks 758
Charles-Jacques Poncet	Andreu Martínez 763
Johann Heinrich Michaelis	David D. Grafton 772
Bwana Mwengo bin Athman	Clarissa Vierke 777
Francis Moore	Martha Frederiks 782
Chronicler of Iyasu II	Solomon Gebreyes Beyene 789
Nicholas Owen	Martha Frederiks 794
Abbé Demanet	Martha Frederiks 798
Joseph Alexandre Le Brasseur	Martha Frederiks 803
ʿAlaḳā Gabru	Solomon Gebreyes Beyene 807
Georg Forster and Carl Peter Thunberg	Jaco Beyers 811
The Americas	819
Cotton Mather	Sara Harwood 821
Jonathan Edwards	R.A. Leo 830
Peter Markoe	Fuad Shaban 843
New England Puritans and Islam	R.A. Leo 849
Bryan Edwards	Kambiz GhaneaBassiri and Shea McElroy 861
Legislation restricting Muslim presence in colonial Spanish America	Karoline Cook 867
Contributors	875
Index of Names	887
Index of Titles	901

Joseph Alexandre Le Brasseur

DATE OF BIRTH About 1741
PLACE OF BIRTH Rembouillet (France)
DATE OF DEATH 15 June 1794
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY

Joseph Alexandre Le Brasseur was born in Rembouillet, France, son of Pierre Le Brasseur, who was estate manager to the Duke of Penthièvre (a grandson of Louis XIV). Both 1741 and 1745 are suggested as his possible year of birth. Little is known about him before he began his career as a government employee in 1763. Le Brasseur spent most of his life in the French colonies, including Saint Lucia, Île de Gorée, Saint Domingue (now Haiti), Île de France (now Mauritius) and Île Bourbon (now Réunion), serving in a variety of capacities and eventually rising to the rank of chief commissioner of finance and later chargé d'affaires of the Île de France and Île Bourbon. He retired in July 1792 and died at the guillotine on 15 June 1794 in Paris.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

C. Becker and V. Martin, 'Détails historiques et politiques, mémoire inédit (1778) de J.A. Le Brasseur', *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*, series B (sciences humaines) 39 (1977) 81-132, pp. 83-5 (details of Le Brasseur's personal papers and reports kept in the Archives nationales de France)

Secondary

Becker and Martin, 'Détails historiques et politiques'

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Détails historiques et politiques, 'Historical and political details'

DATE 1778
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

Détails historiques et politiques (in full, *Détails historiques et politiques sur la religion, les moeurs et le commerce des peuples qui habitent la côte occidentale d'Afrique depuis l'Empire de Maroc jusqu'aux rivières de Casamance et de Gambie*, 'Historical and political details about the religion, customs and commercial activities of the peoples who inhabit the west coast of Africa, from the Moroccan Empire as far as the coasts of Casamance and Gambia') was written by Joseph Alexandre Le Brasseur, who served from 1774-9 as the French chief commissioner and later governor on Gorée Island (present-day Senegal). In its manuscript form, it is about 55 pages long, dated Rambouillet, June 1778, and dedicated to the Duke of Penthiève. No published or edited versions are known; all the three extant manuscripts seem to be draft editions, with minor dissimilarities between the texts.

Charles Becker and Victor Martin have published a critical edition of what they consider the most complete text, being the manuscript located at Archives Nationales de France, collection Colonies, série C6, box 29. They suggest that *Détails historiques et politiques* may have been part of a larger document or a collection of documents, since the numbering of the manuscript starts at page 85 (and ends at page 140). The first 84 pages seem to have gone missing. In the box, *Détails historiques et politiques* is followed by another text entitled *Nouvelles réflexions sur l'entrée de la rivière de Cazamance* (pages 141-4), possibly by the same author, and followed by an additional 12-page manuscript entitled *Mémoire sur la nécessité d'un établissement aux Isles des idoles*, also written by Le Brasseur.

Détails historiques et politiques describes the political history of the area from present-day Mauritania to Guinea Bissau and details the commercial prospects and commodities (gold, slaves, gum, millet, cattle, etc.) that were bartered at the various riverbank and coastal ports. The text is a compilation of Le Brasseur's personal observations and notes, together with oral traditions he collected during the years he served at Gorée Island. The latter make the document particularly valuable. Le Brasseur cites extensively oral traditions regarding the Trarza Moors and their relations with neighbouring groups such as the Brakna, as well as with the Moroccan Empire. He also records oral traditions about the history of the Wolof and Cayor Empires and the *gehvars* of Sine-Saloum, the Bur Niimi and the Bur Casamance, and the royal lineages of the various states. By recording the traditions, the text fixes a moment in the interpretation of the oral history of the region, and provides details that are not found in similar form in later sources. Of particular interest for the history of Islam

in the region is an oral tradition that presents Ndiandian Ndiaye, founding ancestor of the Wolof, as the son of a man called Abdulrahman, who, according to the tradition, was sent by the Prophet Muḥammad to West Africa to instruct the Wolof in the teachings and the excellence of the Qur'an (Becker and Martin, *Détails historiques et politiques*, p. 94). This seems to suggest that by the 18th century Islam had become an integral part of the foundation myth of the Wolof and therefore of Wolof identity.

Le Brasseur writes rather disdainfully about Islam: he speaks of the 'monstrous fables of the Qur'an', 'a superstition so absurd' that the mighty no longer believe it (p. 89), and mockingly describes marabouts as wine-drinking charlatans who had no knowledge of the Qur'an and swindled innocent people (p. 109). He records that Islam south of the Sahara was less influenced by Arab Islam and therefore had begun to lose some of its 'pretended purity' (p. 89).

Despite his contemptuous tone, he proves an astute observer of local Islamic beliefs and practices, and describes several local varieties of Muslim festivals, such as the celebration of the Prophet's birthday, of Tabaski (ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā) and of Tamharat (New Year). According to what he says, Wolof Muslims ate copious amounts of food during Tamharat, believing that this would bring prosperity for the coming year. Another Tamharat tradition he records is that all Wolof Muslims (male and female) covered their heads during the daylight hours of Tamharat because they believed that during this time the angels exhumed those who had died during the previous year and carried them to another place. Any sand that fell from their shrouds and touched people would bring illness and misfortune in the year to come (p. 99).

SIGNIFICANCE

The text illustrates the extent of the process of Islamisation among the Wolof, which by the 18th century had resulted in a refashioning of the Wolof foundation history to incorporate Islam.

Also, the differentiation in Le Brasseur's text between a 'pure' Arab Islam and a 'less pure' Islam in sub-Saharan Africa signals a distinction between *Islam arabe* and *Islam noir*, which later became central to French colonial policy vis-à-vis Islam and Muslims.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, Archives Nationales de France – Collection Colonies, série C6, box 29, pp. 85-140 (1778)

MS Paris, Archives Nationales de France – Collection Moreau de Saint-Méry, Colonies, F3, registre 61, fols 4-33 (1778)

MS BNF – français no. 12080, Ancien supplément français, 30 fols (1778);
ark:/12148/btv1b9061566r (digitised version available through BNF)

Becker and Martin, 'Détails historiques et politiques'

STUDIES

Becker and Martin, 'Détails historiques et politiques'

Martha Frederiks