

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 Natsvlishvili	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

Francis Moore

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1708
PLACE OF BIRTH	Worcester, England
DATE OF DEATH	May 1770
PLACE OF DEATH	Feckenham, Worcestershire

BIOGRAPHY

Francis Moore was the son of William and Elizabeth Moore. His exact date of birth is unknown, but a record of his baptism on 11 July 1708 in Worcester, England, makes it likely that he was born in that year.

Few details of Moore's life are known. His employment history suggests that he received some kind of formal education. He worked as a clerk in London, and in 1730 was employed by the Royal African Company to serve at their headquarters at James Island in the Gambia Estuary.

Moore arrived at James Island in November 1730, and by 1732 had been promoted to factor. Between 1732 and his return to England in 1735, he was stationed at various factories along the Gambia River, most notably Joar and Yamyamakunda. It was in his capacity as factor that he travelled widely into 'the inland parts of Africa'. During the four-and-a-half years that Moore worked in West Africa, he kept a private journal, which formed the basis for his book about the Senegambia, *Travels to the inland parts of Africa* (1738). The book was well-received and was reprinted and translated several times.

Only months after his return to England in May 1735, Moore left for Georgia, North America, together with the politician, philanthropist and social reformer General James Oglethorpe (1696-1785). Oglethorpe had founded the Georgia colony in 1733 with a view to resettling some of Britain's paupers. Some 200 prospective colonists accompanied Oglethorpe on his 1735 journey.

Moore served in Georgia as Oglethorpe's personal secretary and as storekeeper of Fort Frederica for a period of eight months, after which he returned to England. In 1738, he departed once more for Georgia and worked there until 1743. In 1744, Moore published an account of his sojourn in Georgia, entitled *A voyage to Georgia*.

On his return to England, Moore settled in Feckenham, Worcestershire, and on 27 January 1756 married Elizabeth Chillingworth. They had eight children together, of whom only four survived to adulthood.

Francis Moore died in May 1770 in Feckenham and was buried on 30 May.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, London, 1738

Francis Moore, *A voyage to Georgia*, London, 1744

Secondary

A. Hughes and D. Perfect, art. 'Francis Moore', in *Historical dictionary of The Gambia*, Plymouth, 2008, 148-9

C. Fyfe, art. 'Francis Moore', in *ODNB*

Family ancestry: <http://www.jacombs.co.uk/familyhistory/fhweb/fam97.html>
(provides details of his marriage and burial in Feckenham)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Travels into the inland parts of Africa

DATE 1738

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE English

DESCRIPTION

Travels into the inland parts of Africa is an 18th-century travelogue collection. The main part of the book (some 234 pages) consists of a text written by Francis Moore, who worked for the Royal African Company along the Gambia River between 1730 and 1735. Also included are an account of the voyage of Captain Bartholomew Stibbs to the Gambia in 1723 (70 pages) and translations (possibly by Moore) of older travelogues on West Africa (86 pages), among them descriptions of West Africa by Leo Africanus and al-Idrīsī. The full title of the work is *Travels into the inland parts of Africa: containing a description of the several nations for the space of Six Hundred Miles up the River Gambia; their Trade, Habits, Customs, Languages, Manners, Religion and Government; the Power, Disposition and Characters of some Negro Princes; with a particular Account of Job Ben Solomon, a Pholey, who was in England in the Year 1733, and known by the Name of the African. To which is added, Capt. Stibbs's voyage up the Gambia in the Year 1723, to make Discoveries; with an accurate*

map of that River taken on the Spot: And many other Copper Plates. Also extracts from the Nubian's Geography, Leo the African, and other authors antient and modern, concerning the Niger Nile, or Gambia, and Observations thereon. By Francis Moore, Factor several Years to the Royal African Company of England.

The work was first published by Cave in London in 1738. There is some discussion as to whether in that same year another, possibly pirated, edition with variant page-numbers appeared with Stagg in London, or whether this was in essence a reprint of the Cave edition (Hill, 'Towards a chronology', p. 355). The Cave edition was reprinted several times in the 18th century and parts of the text were reproduced in travelogue collections, such as Thomas Astley's *A new general collection of voyages and travels* (1745-7) and Christopher Smart, Oliver Goldsmith, and Samuel Johnson's *The world displayed, or a curious collection of voyages and travels* (1759-61). The book (or part of it) was also translated into French, Dutch and German.

Francis Moore's text is an edited version of the journal he kept when working as a clerk and factor along the Gambia River. Unlike most European sources from the early modern period that describe the West African coast and its peoples, Moore's work detailed 'the inland parts of Africa', *terra incognita* for Europeans. As a factor, he lived for some time in Joar (Ballanghar) and later in Yamyamakunda (Banatenda), some 150 and 250 kilometres upstream, respectively.

Moore's journal includes observations about geography, natural history and the various ethnic groups living along the river, as well as about social and economic life in Senegambia. Of particular interest are his notes concerning his interactions with Fulani Muslims, whom he praised for their literacy and assiduous religious observance: 'In every Kingdom and Country on each Side of the River, there are some people of a tawny Colour, call'd *Pholeys*, much like the *Arabs*; which language they most of them speak, being to them as the *Latin* is in *Europe*, for it is taught in Schools, and their Law, the *Alcoran*, is in that language. They are more generally learned in the *Arabick*, than the people of *Europe* are in *Latin*, for most of them speak it, tho' they have a vulgar Tongue besides, call'd *Pholey*' (p. 30). Unlike many of his contemporaries, Moore's portrayal of West Africans in general, and West African Muslims in particular are sympathetic and without bias. He calls the Fulani Muslims 'very industrious and frugal', 'very rarely angry' and 'very hospitable and kind to all', adding: 'As their Humanity extends to all, they are doubly kind to People of their own Race, insomuch that if they know one of them being made a

Slave, all the *Pholeys* will redeem him. And as they have plenty of Food, they never suffer any of their own Nation to want but support the Old, the Blind and Lame, equally with the others' (pp. 32-3).

Travels into the inland part of Africa also documents the widespread slave trade in the Gambia River basin. Of particular interest is the story of Ayuba Suleiman Diallo (known in European sources as Job ben Solomon), the son of a Fulani Muslim cleric from Bundu, who was abducted by slavers. Attempts by his kinsmen to ransom him came too late; Diallo had already been taken to Maryland and sold as a slave. There, his writing skills and strict religious observance drew the attention of Thomas Bluett of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Through Bluett's mediation Diallo was ransomed by London philanthropists, who facilitated his return to Africa via England.

While in England, Diallo was received by the royal family and other members of society; he returned to Africa in July 1734. Moore became acquainted with Diallo upon his return to West Africa and accompanied him to Bundu; it seems the two men kept in touch for business purposes for a while.

Diallo's narrative, recorded by Bluett and published as *Some memoirs of the life of Job, the son of Solomon, the high priest of Boonda in Africa* (1734), is one of the better known 18th-century Muslim slave-narratives. The inclusion of this enslavement story in *Travels into the inland part of Africa* (pp. 69 and 202) is one of the indications that Moore edited his journal upon his return to England and that he expanded his personal observations with other sources, such as Bluett's narrative. It is unclear whether, and if so to what extent, the public appreciation of Diallo influenced Moore's descriptions of the Fulani Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

Moore's *Travels into the inland part of Africa* documents the extent of Muslim literary culture in 18th-century West Africa. It is considered to be one of the most important sources on 18th-century Senegambia. Moreover, his sympathetic depictions of Fulani Muslims and his appreciation of their religious practice and literacy, their fierce stance against the enslavement of their kinfolk, their high ethical standards and their treatment of vulnerable groups such as the elderly, visitors and people with disabilities, challenged European perceptions of both Muslims and Africans.

The fact that Moore's observations did not pertain to just any West African people, but concerned kinsmen of the renowned and much



Illustration 18. Page from Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, 1738, p. 263, depicting Bur Wolof, Muslim king of the Saloum area, in battledress

celebrated highborn Muslim Ayuba Suleiman Diallo, whose tragic enslavement had captivated British imaginations, no doubt reinforced their impact. Moore's extensive documentation of the slave trade on the Gambia River, his account of Diallo's slave narrative and its happy ending in Diallo's homecoming to Bundu, as well as his portrayal of the honourable and morally upright Fulani, may all have contributed to the sensitisation of British opinion regarding the legitimacy of the slave trade.

PUBLICATIONS

The publishing history of *Travels into the inland parts of Africa* is complex, with several translations taken from an abridged 1746 edition.

These are detailed in M.H. Hill, 'Towards a chronology of the publications of Francis Moore's *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*', *History in Africa* 19 (1992) 353-68, pp. 358-67.

Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, London: J. Cave, 1738; ESTC T131766 (digitised version available through ECCO)

Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, London: J. Stagg, 1738 (uncertain)

Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, London: D. Henry and R. Cave, 1740, 1755² (pagination differs from the 1738 Cave edition); ESTC T147986 1755 edition (digitised version available through ECCO)

Francis Moore, *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, London: J. Cave, 1740²

T. Astley, *New general collection of voyages and travels*, London, 1746, vol. 2, pp. 209-33 (Astley occasionally rephrases Moore's original text and cannot be used as a proxy source for Moore)

A.F. Prevost d'Exiles (ed.), *Histoire générale des voyages ou Nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre ...*, Paris, 1746- (French trans. of Astley, appearing in various editions; see Hill, 'Towards a chronology', pp. 360-2)

A.F. Prevost d'Exiles (ed.), *Historische beschryving der reizen, of Nieuwe en volkooime verzameling van de aller-waardigste en zeldzaamste zee- en landtogten ...*, The Hague, 1746 (Dutch trans. from French edition of Astley)

- F. Moore, 'Reisen in die inländischen Theile von Africa: welche eine Beschreibung der verschiedenen Landschaften und deren Einwohner auf sechshundert Meilen an der Gambara enthalten', in J.J. Schwabe (ed.), *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande*, Leipzig, 1748, vol. 3, pp. 84-127 (German trans.); Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek – 999/4Hist.pol.80(3 12503521 (digitised version available through MDZ)
- A.F. Prevost d'Exiles (ed.), *Almindelig Historie over Reiser til Lands og Vande, eller Samlung af alle Reisebeskrivelser ...*, Copenhagen, 1750 (Danish trans. of Astley)
- T. Salmon, 'Hedendaagse Historie of tegenwoordige staat van alle volkeren', Amsterdam, 1763, vol. 30, 414-26 (narrative based on Moore)
- J. Knox, *A new collection of voyages, discoveries and travels, containing whatever is worthy of notice in Europe, Asia, Africa and America*, London, 1767, vol. 6, pp. 310-34
- C. Smart, O. Goldsmith and S. Johnson, *The world displayed, or a curious collection of voyages and travels*, London, 1767, vol. 17, p. 69-118; Philadelphia PA, 1796, vol. 6, pp. 299-337
- A.J.N. Lallement, *Voyages de MM. Ledyard et Lucas en Afrique, suivis d'extraits de voyages fait à la rivière Gambia, par l'ordre de la Compagnie anglaise d'Afrique*, Paris, 1804, vol. 2, pp. 315-510
- C.-A. Walckenaer, *Histoire générale des voyages ou nouvelle collection des relations de voyages par mer et par terre, mise en ordre et complété jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1826, vol. 3, pp. 311-487 (French trans., possibly of Astley)
- E. Donnan, *Documents illustrative of the history of the slave trade in America*, Washington DC, 1931, pp. 388-419

STUDIES

- Fyfe, art. 'Francis Moore'
- Hill, 'Towards a chronology of the publications'
- D. Grant, *The fortunate slave*, Oxford, 1968

Martha Frederiks