



Christian-Muslim Relations

A Bibliographical History 1700-1914

(CMR1900)

EXAMPLE ENTRIES

Further examples can be viewed on our website :

Click [here](#) for additional example entries from CMR600

Click [here](#) for additional example entries from CMR1900

Alternatively, please visit the online reference version of the volumes hosted at *Brill Online – Books and Journals* [here](#).

Please also refer to the Template and Guidelines for further guidance, both are available to download from our website (www.birmingham.ac.uk/cmr1900).

Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón (CMR1900 vol. 6, pp. 119-24)

DATE OF BIRTH	Before 1500
PLACE OF BIRTH	Chinchón (Castilla)
DATE OF DEATH	1548
PLACE OF DEATH	Gandía (Valencia)

BIOGRAPHY

Bernardo Pérez was born in Chinchón at the end of the 15th century. He possibly studied at the University of Alcalá de Henares, obtaining the degree of Master of Theology. A son and grandson of Jewish converts, his paternal grandfather was condemned by the Inquisition as a heretic and he contaminated all his descendants. But Bernardo Pérez was cleared by the Inquisitor General Alonso Manrique, which allowed him to hold certain positions. In 1523/5, for reasons that are not clear, he moved to Gandía in the Kingdom of Valencia, where he worked as teacher to the sons of the third Duke of Gandía, Juan de Borja. The duke was grateful for his work and appointed him first canon (1532) and afterwards precentor (1538) of the collegiate church of Gandía. In addition to this position, he enjoyed other ecclesiastical benefices, notably that of priest of Alcorcón.

Bernardo Pérez introduced Erasmianism to the ducal court of the Borjas. His sympathy for Erasmus was such that he ensured that Juan de Borja acquired numerous works by Erasmus for his library. Not satisfied with this, he translated several of Erasmus's works, becoming in this way his main translator into Castilian. He translated *Precatio dominica* (1528), the adage *Sileni Alcibiadis* (1529), *Lingua* (1531/3), *De praeparatione ad mortem* (1535) and perhaps *De immense Dei misericordia concio* (1528). He also translated *De bello Mediolanensi et rebus gestis...* (1536) by Galeazzo Flavio Capella, and *De subventione pauperum* by Juan Luis Vives, which he was not able to publish.

He was involved in the conversion of the Moriscos, participating in evangelising campaigns that were carried out in the Kingdom of Valencia, together with the Franciscan, Brother Bartolomé de los Angeles, and the Dominican, Brother Juan Micó. This commission to work as preacher to the Moriscos came his way after the publication of his two works *Libro llamado Antialcorano* (1532) and *Diálogos christianos contra la secta mahomética y contra la pertinacia de los judíos* (1534).

All his literary work was published between 1528 and 1536, which leads one to think that someone advised him or obliged him to keep silent after this, possibly because the historical circumstances of the time, after the death of Alfonso de Valdés and of Erasmus himself, were not favourable to Erasmianism. From 1536 until his death in 1548, he remained in Gandía without writing any other work, continuing in his position as precentor, and as tutor to Pedro Luis Galcerán de Borja, Grand Master of the Order of Montesa, and advisor to Duke Juan de Borja, and ensuring the future wellbeing of his family. On his death, his nephew, Diego Sánchez, who was very close to the new Duke, Francisco de Borja, inherited his position as precentor.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Erasmus, *Declaración del Pater Noster... Item el sermón de la grandeza y muchedumbre de las misericordias de Dios nuestro Señor*, trans. Bernardo Pérez?, Logroño: Miguel Eguía, 1528
- Erasmus, *Silenos de Alcibíades*, trans. Bernardo Pérez, Valencia: Jorge Costilla, 1529
- Bernardo Pérez, *Libro llamado Antialcorano, que quiere decir contra el Alcorán de Mahoma*, Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1532
- Erasmus, *La Lengua de Erasmo nuevamente romanizada por muy elegante estilo*, trans. Bernardo Pérez, Sevilla: Juan Cromberger, 1533
- Bernardo Pérez, *Diálogos christianos contra la secta mahomética y contra la pertinacia de los judíos*, Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1534
- Erasmus, *Apercibimiento de la muerte y declaración sobre los diez mandamientos de la ley christiana*, trans. Bernardo Pérez, Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1535
- Galeazzo Flavio Capella, *Historia de las cosas que han pasado en Italia*, trans. Bernardo Pérez, Valencia, 1536
- Juan Luis Vives, *Tratado del Socorro de los pobres*, trans. Bernardo Pérez (MS Valencia, Biblioteca Serrano Morales – Sig. 6495) (before 1542)
- Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano. Diálogos christianos. Conversión y evangelización de moriscos*, ed. F. Pons Fuster, Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000

Secondary

- F. Pons Fuster, 'Nuevas aportaciones biográficas sobre el maestro Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón', *Escritos del Vedat* 33 (2003) 332-67
- F. Pons Fuster, *Erasmistas, mecenas y humanistas en la cultura valenciana de la primera mitad del siglo XVI*, Valencia, 2003
- J. Parellada, 'Nuevos datos sobre la *raça* del maestro Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón', *Boletín de la Real Academia de las Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 46 (1998) 157-98
- J. Parellada, 'Una traducción inédita de Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón. El *Tratado llamado Socorro de Pobres*, de Juan Luis Vives', *Voz y Letra* 9 (1998) 75-95
- F. Pons Fuster, 'Bernat Pérez (de Chinchón). Un erasmista en la Cort dels Borja a Gandía', *Afers. Fulls de Recerca i Pensament* 11/23 (1996) 153-76
- S. García Martínez, 'Las ediciones y los traductores valencianos de Erasmo (1528-1535)', *Erasme i l'Erasmisme*, Tarragona, 1986, pp. 171-93
- M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*, Mexico, 1979
- L. Cardaillac, *Moriscos y cristianos. Un enfrentamiento polémico (1492-1640)*, Madrid, 1979
- M. Bataillon, 'La *raça* del erasmista Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón', *Libro-homenaje a Antonio Pérez Gómez*, Cieza, Valencia, 1978, vol. 1, pp. 65-89
- D. Severin, *La lengua de Erasmo romanizada por muy elegante estilo. Traducción española del siglo XVI por Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón (Anejos del Boletín de la Real Academia Española 21)*, Madrid, 1975, pp. vii-xxxiv

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Libro llamado Antialcorán, ‘The book known as Against the Qur’an’,
Antialcorano, ‘Against the Qur’an’

DATE 1532

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

Bernardo Pérez wrote *Antialcorano* as a response to a problem created by the forced baptisms of Valencian Muslims during the revolt of the Germanías (1519-22). For him the task of evangelisation of the new converts, the Moriscos, was arduous and complex since few clergy felt willing to preach to them and teach them Christian beliefs, but were content for them simply to attend Mass and fulfil the basic teachings of Christianity. The few priests who were in charge of Morisco parishes carried out minimal duties and did little beyond noting the reluctance of the Moriscos to give up their faith and customs. This was probably either because the priests’ income was low, or due to the insecurity of their work or to opposition from Valencian nobles. Armed with Christian zeal and personal commitment, Pérez set about writing *Antialcorano*, based on sermons by Martín García and also on *Confutación de la secta mahomética* by Juan Andrés, the former Muslim scholar of Xàtiva who had converted to Christianity. He also spoke to scholars in his circle, such as the judge (*alcadi*) Moscayre, Mangay and the scholar Zumilla (José Arávigo), with whom he mixed and even had friendly connections.

Antialcorano consists of 26 sermons, supposedly preached to a Morisco audience. Its style is direct and respectful to the listeners, and even though it is against the Qur’an and the principles of Islam, it is possible to find in it repeated calls for peace and agreement as necessary elements for eliminating discord between the Christian and Muslim communities. Pérez also appears to want to distinguish between Muslim teachings, which he thinks the Moriscos do not know, and their own practices, which he sees mainly as localised customs.

Pérez covers the main themes of the Qur’an and Sunna, including paradise, circumcision, fasting, prayer, holy war, slaughter of animals, not drinking wine and not eating pork, and also their reluctance to talk about their beliefs, especially with Christians (he repeats this frequently). He discusses these themes simply and literally, and refutes them by comparing them with Christian law, which he considers as the truth.

The book contains stories from the life of Muḥammad, all of which it discredits, and it also refers to Muḥammad’s dependence on Christianity for his teachings, about which Pérez comments that they were not accepted by some Muslim philosophers.

Finally, *Antialcorano* is full of everyday examples, which reinforces the impression that the sermons were really preached to the Moriscos of Valencia.

SIGNIFICANCE

The book did not have a wide circulation, despite the size of the Morisco population in Valencia. The Valencian clergy, to whom it was directed, did not use it in their evangelising work, and the second edition had as little success as the first. This second edition was brought out in Salamanca in 1595, paid for by the Bishop of Jaen, Francisco Sarmiento, for use by the

priests of his diocese in their evangelisation work with the Moriscos who had been expelled from the kingdom of Granada after the uprising of 1568.

The work was, however, cited and responded to by Morisco authors who had been exiled to North Africa after the expulsion of 1609. This indicates that it aroused some interest among Muslim intellectuals.

PUBLICATIONS

Libro llamado Antialcorano, que quiere decir contra el Alcorán de Mahoma, Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1532

Libro llamado Antialcorano, que quiere decir contra el Alcorán de Mahoma, Salamanca: Iuan y Andrés Renaut, 1595

Libro llamado antialcorano, Valencia, 1993 (microfiche of original edition)

Antialcorano. Diálogos christianos. Conversión y evangelización de moriscos, ed. F. Pons Fuster, Alicante, 2000

STUDIES

F. Pons Fuster, 'Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón y Juan Andrés. Dos escritores cristianos de polémica religiosa', *Valencianos en la Historia de la Iglesia* 4 (2013) 135-78

Pons Fuster, 'Nuevas aportaciones biográficas'

Pons Fuster, *Erasmistas, mecenas y humanistas*

Parellada, 'Nuevos datos sobre la *raça*'

Parellada, 'Una traducción inédita'

Pons Fuster, 'Bernat Pérez (de Chinchón)'

García Martínez, 'Las ediciones y los traductores valencianos'

Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*

Cardaillac, *Moriscos y cristianos*

Bataillon, 'La *raça* del erasmista'

Severin, *La lengua de Erasmo romanizada por muy elegante estilo*

Diálogos christianos contra la secta mahomética y contra la pertinacia de los judíos, 'Christian dialogue against the Muḥammadan sect and against the obstinacy of the Jews'

DATE 1535

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Castilian

DESCRIPTION

In Pérez's own words, this work is a 'dispute made by way of dialogue'. It takes the form of a dialogue between two friends, Bernardo and José. Bernardo represents Pérez himself, and José represents José Arávigo (under the name Zumilla), Bernardo's master, the former alfaquí of Gandía, who is now a Christian convert. He plays the role of defender of the Islamic position. The work is dedicated to the absent Archbishop of Valencia, Ehrard de Lamarck, appealing to his responsibility as the highest ecclesiastical authority in the Kingdom of Valencia to engage in the evangelisation of the Moors. In this appeal, Pérez reminds him that he is not meant to start this task from scratch, because Pérez himself and others (he mentions Gaspar Rubio and the Vicar General John Gay) had already been engaged in it, and besides, the archbishop had ensured that the Moors had their own pastor to instruct them in Christian

doctrine. All these efforts had been unsuccessful because the Moors raised all kinds of resistance to Christian beliefs, and were disinclined to give up their Islamic customs.

The setting of the dialogue is an orchard in Gandía, where the two friends walk together, talking throughout the conversation on friendly terms.

The work is divided into seven dialogues. In the first three, the conversation is lively and positive. In the fourth dialogue, the dialogue form breaks down and is replaced by a long doctrinal exposition from Bernardo. This becomes the fifth dialogue, which is interrupted, and the twelfth sermon from *Antialcorano* is inserted. Then, in the sixth and seventh dialogues (which are really monologues), Bernardo displays his learning by using scripture and St Augustine, as well as St Cyprian's two works against the Jews. At the end, José unsurprisingly acknowledges the superiority of the Christian law.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work went completely unnoticed at the time. No reference to it is found in any later Valencian author, or in other Muslim or Christian authors. Many expressions found in it are reminiscent of those used earlier by Alfonso Valdes.

PUBLICATIONS

Diálogos christianos contra la secta mahomética y contra la pertinacia de los judíos, Valencia, Francisco Díaz Romano, 1535

Antialcorano. Diálogos Christianos. Conversión y evangelización de moriscos, ed. F. Pons Fuster, Alicante, 2000

Francisco Pons Fuster

Castiglione (CMR1900 vol. 6, pp. 450-5)

Baldassar (Baldassare, Baldassarre) Castiglione

DATE OF BIRTH 6 December 1478

PLACE OF BIRTH Casatico, Mantua

DATE OF DEATH 8 February 1529

PLACE OF DEATH Toledo

BIOGRAPHY

Baldassar Castiglione was born in 1478 in Casatico near Mantua, to Cristoforo Castiglione, a man-at-arms of the Gonzagas, and Luigia (vel Aloisa) Gonzaga. He studied Greek and Latin in Milan under the guidance of the humanists Giorgio Merula and Demetrius Calcondila and attended the court of Ludovico il Moro. On returning to Mantua, he entered the service of the Marquis Francesco Gonzaga. In 1504, he established himself at the court of Urbino, where he remained until 1513, first employed by Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, and, after Guidobaldo's death in 1508, in the service of his successor, Francesco Maria della Rovere. In Urbino, he met Pietro Bembo, Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, Giuliano de' Medici, Bernardo Accolti (Unico Aretino), Ludovico da Canossa and the two brothers, Ottaviano and Federigo Fregoso, who would later become his interlocutors in *Il libro del cortegiano*.

During his time in Urbino, Castiglione carried out diplomatic assignments: in 1506, he visited Henry VII's court in England, and, in 1507, he was invited to Milan as an ambassador to the French King Louis XII; and he devoted himself to literature: in 1506, he composed *Tirsi*, an eclogue in the vernacular, and conceived *Il libro del cortegiano*, drafted shortly after the death of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro and completed in Rome and Mantua between 1513 and 1518.

From 1513 to 1516, Castiglione was in Rome as an ambassador of the Duke of Urbino, where he established a cordial friendship with Raphael. In 1516, he returned to Mantua to serve at the court of Francesco and later (1519) of Federico Gonzaga, where he was involved in various diplomatic missions. He married Ippolita Torelli from Mantua and, upon her death in 1520, began an ecclesiastical career. In 1523, he was appointed papal prothonotary, and travelled to Spain the following year as Clement VII's Nuncio to the court of Charles V. After the Sack of Rome (1527), Castiglione was rebuked by the pope for not being able to foresee such a tragic event, but he justified himself in a letter and earned the pope's forgiveness. He died in Toledo of 'pestilential fever' a year after the release of the *Il cortegiano*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Lettere del conte Baldassar Castiglione ora per la prima volta date in luce e con annotazioni storiche illustrate dall' abate Pier Antonio Serassi, ed. P. Serassi, Padua: Presso G. Camino, 1769

B. Castiglione, *Lettere*, ed. G. Gorni, Milan, 1969

B. Castiglione, *Le lettere*, ed. G. La Rocca, Milan, 1978 (a critical edition of the letters to March 1521)

Secondary

- G. Rebecchini, 'The book collection and other possessions of Baldassarre Castiglione', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1998) 17-52
- F.P. Di Teodoro, *Raffaello, Baldassar Castiglione e la Lettera a Leone X*, Bologna, 1994
- B. Maier, art. 'Castiglione', in Vittore Branca (ed.), *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, Turin, 1986, vol. 1, 550-4
- R.W. Hanning and D. Rosand (eds), *Castiglione. The ideal and the real in Renaissance culture*, New Haven CT, 1983
- V. Cian, *Un illustre nunzio pontificio del Rinascimento. Baldassar Castiglione*, Vatican, 1951
- V. Cian, 'Nel mondo di Baldassarre Castiglione, documenti illustrati', *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 7/1-4 (1942) 3-97
- J.M. Cartwright Ady, *Baldassare Castiglione, the perfect courtier. His life and letters, 1478-1529*, London, 1908

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Il libro del cortegiano, 'The book of the courtier', *Il cortegiano*, 'The courtier'

DATE Between 1508 and 1528

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

DESCRIPTION

Il cortegiano was written by Baldassare Castiglione between 1508 and 1516 and carefully revised until 1528, the year of its publication. It is considered one of the most representative pieces of literature of the Italian Renaissance. It unfolds in four books the conversations that took place on four consecutive nights at the court of Urbino, and the interlocutors are some of the famous people of the time, including the Duchess Elisabetha, Princess Emilia Pio, Cardinal Bibbiena, Cesare Gonzaga, Bembo, Giuliano de' Medici, Ludovico di Canossa, Federico Fregoso and Unico Aretino. The dialogue builds on the proposal made by Fregoso to dedicate each evening to constructing in words the perfect courtier, and to describe the form of courtesy most suitable to a nobleman who lives at court. The first dialogue treats the issue of the upbringing and education of the nobleman, the second focuses on his social skills and behaviour in various circumstances, the third outlines the ideal of an accomplished lady, and the fourth analyses the relationship between the courtier and the prince, ending with a discourse on platonic love placed in the mouth of Bembo, the most influential theorist in this matter. The four books are divided into chapters, totalling 351 pages in Prezzolini's edition. In the final version, the issue of conquering the Muslims and converting them to Christianity takes up a passage in Book 4, ch. 38.

As Olga Zorzi Pugliese has demonstrated in her study of the manuscripts containing either autograph versions or revisions of *The courtier*, the importance Castiglione attributes to Christian-Muslim relations varies. In an early poem that he later discarded, he presents the 'Moors' as gentler than the French, Germans or Swiss (Zorzi Pugliese, 'French factor', p. 28). Zorzi Pugliese also stresses that Castiglione originally exhorted King Francis I of France, *re christianissimo*, to lead a religious crusade in order 'to remove from the world the Muslim sect that is so engrained and powerful' ('French factor', p. 33), following the example of the Hungarian king who had defeated the Turks in the mid-15th century. In this version of the text, Castiglione seems to be involved personally in the holy mission, saying that 'our' army is stronger than that of the infidels, and speaking of recovering Christ's burial

place and repaying the injuries inflicted on the Christian religion by ‘these treacherous dogs’. Castiglione later deleted these references.

‘In the final version of the treatise, the question of the religious mission against the Muslim world stands much differently. After the revisions, the sole references remaining to the crusades in the vulgate are much muted, ultimately occupying a rather unimpressive brief passage in the section on politics in Book Four, where it is stated, in a pseudo-prophetic manner, that the crusade could succeed if Monsignore d’Angolem [Francis I] were to become king of France: “What more noble, glorious and profitable undertaking could there be than for Christians to direct their efforts to subjugating the infidels? Does it not seem to you that such a war, if it should meet with good success and where the means of turning so many thousands of men from the false sect of Mohammed to the light of Christian truth would be as pleasing to the defeated as to the victors?” (IV, 38: 321-2)’ (Zorzi Pugliese, ‘French factor’, p. 33).

SIGNIFICANCE

Zorzi Pugliese gives a number of explanations for the final changes to the text, mentioning the views of Pierantonio Serassi (18th century) and others. It seems that the crusading ideal had diminished in urgency by the 1520s, as France had established friendly relations with the Turks (1519). Zorzi Pugliese also points out that ‘by reducing the emphasis on crusades, Castiglione was also rejecting more medieval values. (...) Glory for Castiglione, as has been seen, is to be achieved not through crusades or feudal loyalty or other chivalric ideals, but through intellectual, worldly accomplishments. Letters, in as much as they commemorate events, provide true lasting glory, true salvation and eternity: “It is true glory”, he writes, “that is entrusted to the sacred treasury of letters” (Book 1, ch. 43: 69). Moving beyond the medieval glorification of chivalry and the crusades, he transfers his focus and the concept of glory to cultural and artistic activities, thus attaining a system of thought that can safely be labelled as high Renaissance ideology, and eminently characteristic of Italy. As the early clarion call for a crusade is whittled down in the vulgate, there is also evidence of Castiglione’s growing indifference to the topic of the orders of chivalry’ (Zorzi Pugliese, ‘French factor’, pp. 33-4).

PUBLICATIONS

For details of the four MSS of the work (including Castiglione’s autograph), see O. Zorzi Pugliese et al., *Transcription of the early extant manuscripts of Baldassar Castiglione’s ‘Il libro del cortegiano’*, University of Toronto Library T-space, 2012, <http://hdl.handle.net/1807/32401>; and O. Zorzi Pugliese, *Castiglione’s ‘The book of the courtier’ (‘Il libro del cortegiano’)*. A classic in the making, Naples, 2008.

Translations were made from an early time, among them into Spanish by Boscán (1534), into French by Colin (1546) and English by Hoby (1561). For the reception and translations of the work, see P. Burke, *The fortunes of the courtier. The European reception of Castiglione’s Cortegiano*, Philadelphia PA, 1996.

Modern editions and translations include:

Baldassar Castiglione Giovanni della Casa, *Opere. Il Cortegiano - Egloga Tirsi - Canzoni - Sonetti – Lettere*, ed. G. Prezzolini, Milan, 1937

V. Cian, *Il libro del cortegiano del conte Baldesar Castiglione*, Florence, 1947

- C.S. Singleton, *The book of the courtier*, Garden City NY, 1959 (English trans.)
 G. Ghinassi, *La seconda redazione del Cortegiano*, Florence, 1968 (edition of the second redaction)
 F. Baumgart, *Das Buch vom Hofmann*, Munich, 1986 (German trans.)
 A. Pons, *Le livre du courtisan*, Paris, 1991, 2007² (French trans. based on Gabriel Chappuis 1580 edition and trans.)

STUDIES

- O. Zorzi Pugliese, 'The development of dialogue in *Il libro del cortegiano*. From the manuscript drafts to the definitive version', in D. Heitsch and J.-F. Vallee (eds), *Printed voices. The Renaissance culture of dialogue*, Toronto, 2004, 79-94
 O. Zorzi Pugliese, 'The French factor in Castiglione's *The book of the courtier* (*Il libro del cortegiano*). From the manuscript drafts to the printed edition', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 27 (2003) 23-40
 O. Zorzi Pugliese, 'Renaissance ideologies in *Il libro del cortegiano*. From the manuscript drafts to the printed edition', *Studi Rinascimentali. Rivista Internazionale di Letteratura Italiana* 1 (2003) 35-42
 U. Motta, *Castiglione e il mito di Urbino. Studi sulla elaborazione del 'Cortegiano'*, Milan, 2003
 O. Zorzi Pugliese, 'Time and space in the composition of *Il libro del cortegiano*', *Italian Studies in Southern Africa/Studi d'Italianistica nell'Africa Australe* 14 (2001) 17-32
 O. Zorzi Pugliese, 'L'evoluzione della struttura dialogica nel Libro del cortegiano', in W. Geerts, A. Paternoster and F. Pignatti (eds), *Il sapere delle parole. Studi sul dialogo latino e italiano del Rinascimento*, Rome, 2001, 59-68
 A. Quondam, '*Questo povero Cortegiano*' *Castiglione. Il libro, la storia*, Rome, 2000
 Burke, *The fortunes of the courtier*
 F. Massimo Bertolo, 'Nuovi documenti sull'edizione principe del *Cortegiano*', *Schifanoia* 13-4 (1992) 133-44
 C.H. Clough, 'Francis I and the courtiers of Castiglione's *Courtier*', *European Studies Review* 8 (1978) 23-70
 J. Guidi, 'Baldassar Castiglione et le pouvoir politique. Du gentilhomme de cour au nonce pontifical', in A. Rochon (ed.), *Les écrivains et le pouvoir en Italie à l'époque de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1973, vol. 1, pp. 243-78
 P. Floriano, 'Idealismo politico del Cortegiano', *La Rassegna della Letteratura Italiana* 76 (1972) 43-52
 P. Floriani, 'La genesi del *Cortegiano*. Prospettive per una ricerca', *Belfagor* 24 (1969) 373-85
 G. Ghinassi, 'Fasi dell'elaborazione del *Cortegiano*', *Studi di Filologia Italiana* 26 (1967) 155-96

Katarzyna Krystyna Starczewska

Theodor Bibliander (CMR1900 vol. 6, pp. 675-85)

Theodor Buchmann

DATE OF BIRTH Possibly 1505
PLACE OF BIRTH Bischofszell, Switzerland
DATE OF DEATH 26 September 1564
PLACE OF DEATH Zurich

BIOGRAPHY

Born in the eastern Swiss land of Thurgau around 1505, Theodor Buchmann (who later changed his name to its Greek form, Bibliander) went to Zurich in 1520, where he began learning Greek and Hebrew under Oswald Myconius. He moved to Basel in 1526 to study theology and languages with Konrad Pellikan and Johannes Oecolampadius, but the following year, on the recommendation of Huldrych Zwingli, he travelled to Liegnitz (modern Legnica) in Poland to serve as a schoolmaster. After further journeys, he returned to Zurich after Zwingli's death at Kappel in October 1531. Bibliander was appointed Zwingli's successor for the *lectiones publicae*, public lectures on the Old Testament, and for over 30 years he was the principal teacher of Old Testament in Zurich. His weekly lectures in Latin were attended by students, colleagues and educated laypeople.

Bibliander taught the whole of the Old Testament three times, and notes taken from his lectures fill over 30 volumes in the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich. He was an accomplished Hebraist and worked closely with his former teacher, Konrad Pellikan, to offer instruction in grammar and exegesis. He was the preeminent translator of the Bible into Latin in Zurich, playing a major role in the completion of the 1543 *Biblia sacrosancta*.

Bibliander published 24 books, of which the best known today concern Islam and the Qur'an. In his time, however, he was regarded as an expert linguist. In 1548, his *De ratione communium linguarum et literarum* (Zurich) argued for the common heritage of all languages, with Hebrew as the ultimate source. Most of his works were printed in Basel by Johannes Oporinus, with whom he enjoyed close relations. In addition to the exegetical writings, Bibliander published extensive works on theology, such as his *Christiana et catholica doctrina* (1555) and *De mysteriis salutiferae passionis et mortis Iesu* (1555). Bibliander's theological views have been much debated. Without doubt, he opposed Calvin's doctrine of double predestination, but the extent of his alleged universalism awaits full investigation. The arrival of Peter Martyr Vermigli in Zurich in 1556 led to an open quarrel and, ultimately, Bibliander's retirement in 1560. He died four years later from the plague that swept the city.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

C. Christ-v. Wedel, *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564). Ein Thurgauer im Gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit*. Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zurich, 2005

E. Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria, II. Biographien. Bibliander, Ceporin, Bullinger*, Zurich, 1901

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De monarchia totius orbis suprema, legitima et sempiterna ‘On the supreme, legitimate, and eternal monarchy of the whole world’

DATE March 1533

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

De monarchia was written by Bibliander in 1553 (its full title is *De monarchia totius orbis suprema, legitima et sempiterna: quod regnum est et sacrodotium Messiae. Vaticana patriarchum, prophetarum, apostolorum, Iudaeorum, consilium, Mahumedicorum, Christianorum, et ipsius in primis D. Iesu Christi*), but was never printed. A manuscript of 93 unnumbered sheets in Bibliander’s hand is in the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich. It is a preface to another manuscript with which it is bound, *Vaticinia domini Jesu Christi, patriarcharum, prophetarum, apostolarum, Christianae ecclesiae doctorum, Iudaeorum, Mahumedicorum et Gentilium*. *De monarchia* follows themes developed by Bibliander during the 1540s and 1550s: the unity of all religions and the desire to convert Jews and Muslims to Christianity. The year 1553 was thought by Bibliander to be significant for several reasons, not least because he believed it to be the thousandth lunar year, according to the Islamic calendar, since Muḥammad’s emergence as a prophet. Muḥammad was also said to have predicted the destruction of the Qur’an after 1,000 years (Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, p. 93).

Bibliander opens the work with two passages from the Bible. He quotes Ezekiel 37:23, ‘They will be my people and I shall be their God’, by which Bibliander understood the messianic promise that all would be gathered together. The second passage is John 10:16, ‘I have other sheep that are not of this sheep pen. I must bring them also.’ Bibliander’s intention to demonstrate the unity of religions is indicated in his choice of passages from the Bible and by his greeting: ‘Theodor Bibliander greets all Christians, Jews, and Muslims wishing them mercy, freedom, and blessings from the Lord God’ (Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, p. 90). The manuscript contains the introduction and much of the intended book, and is dated 12 March 1553.

Bibliander’s goal was to compare the wisdom of the holy books of the faiths on what they had to say about Christ, Antichrist and contemporary times. As Egli has shown, *De monarchia* argues for the universal nature of religion and that God is the God of all. All the nations reveal God’s goodness, and Christ is the promised Messiah for all peoples, not just Jews and Christians. Bibliander wanted *De monarchia* to demonstrate to Christians, Jews and Muslims the similarities between their religions. As in his earlier works, he identified Muslims as those who saw Muḥammad as a prophet and regarded the Qur’an as their holy book, including Turks, Saracens and Arabs.

De monarchia refers to the arrival of a world monarch, the Messiah, who would usher in an age of peace, justice and unity. This monarch would rule over a kingdom that included Christians, Jews and Muslims and that would extend to the ends of the earth. By casting aside the Christian doctrine of predestination, Bibliander held out the possibility of reconciliation between the great religions. The arrival of the Messiah was part of his apocalyptic vision of the end times that would result in the defeat of Antichrist and the conversion of all people to Christianity. It was to be the fulfilment of all ancient prophecies.

SIGNIFICANCE

De monarchia belongs to a series of works in which Bibliander expressed his fervent belief that the coming of Christ was at hand, that all the great religions would be summoned together, and that it was the duty of Christians to evangelise Islam. Central to Bibliander's thought was his universalism, which brought upon his head the ire of other Protestant reformers, including John Calvin. All religions, Bibliander argued, shared a consensus on the fundamental principles of salvation. Christ would be the common monarch in whom the similarities between the three faiths would be revealed (Felici, 'Universalism and tolerance', p. 100). Although Bibliander spoke freely of the errors and 'lies' of Muḥammad and the Qur'an, he was adamant that Muslims could be converted to the teaching of Christ, the Messiah. God spoke through the prophets of Judaism, Islam and Christianity, though it was to the last that the full truth was revealed.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Zurich, Zentralbibliothek Zürich – Car. I 92 e (1553)

There are no editions or translations of *De monarchia*.

STUDIES

L. Felici, 'Universalism and tolerance in a follower of Erasmus from Zurich. Theodor Bibliander', in K. Enenkel (ed.), *The reception of Erasmus in the early modern period*, Leiden, 2013, 85-102

K. Vehlow, 'The Swiss reformers Zwingli, Bullinger and Bibliander and their attitude to Islam (1520-1560)', *ICMR* 6 (1995) 229-54

E. Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria, II. Biographien. Bibliander, Ceperin, Bullinger*, Zurich, 1901

Ad nominis Christiani socios consultatio, qua nam ratione Turcarum dira potentio repelli possit ac debeat a populo Christiano, 'Consultation to the people of the Christian name, on the means by which the fierce power of the Turks can and should be repelled by Christian people'

DATE March 1542

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE: Latin

DESCRIPTION

Printed in Basel by Nikolaus Brylinger, *Ad nominis* is an octavo volume that runs to 86 pages (Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, pp. 50-2). The work opens with a letter from Bibliander to the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, followed by the 'Consultation to those of the Christian name by Theodor Bibliander on how the cruel power of the Turks is to be resisted'. The letter is dated from Zurich, 1542.

In 1536, Bibliander had already sought Christian works on the Qur'an from the Basel printer Oporinus. With the 1541 defeat of the Hungarians by the Ottoman army, he believed, like many others, that the end was near and the Last Judgement was at hand. He accordingly sought to write a short work that would instruct Christians on how to resist the evil forces of the Turks. He wrote with speed, preparing Latin and German editions that were to be

available at the spring book fair in Frankfurt. In the end, only the Latin version appeared from Brylinger's press in Basel.

The themes of *Ad nominis* are clear. Bibliander wanted to explain to his readers the nature of and the background to the struggle between Islam and Christianity and, moreover, by what means the enemy could be overcome. Bibliander sought to return to the wisdom of the Church Fathers, particularly Jerome, for guidance on how to face the opponent. Christians needed to reform their ways, for the advances of the 'Turk' were God's punishment upon the unfaithful churches.

There was little that was original in Bibliander's arguments in this work; as in many works of the time and earlier, Islam is presented as the religion of Antichrist. The book provides a detailed account of Christian attitudes, but with little attention to the nature of Islam, other than to characterise it as heresy. Bibliander does not instruct his readers in *Ad nominis* about Muslim practices. Rather, through continuous references to Jerome and other seminal figures, he maintains that the Christian defeat in Hungary was God's punishment for sin. If the people engaged in prayer, as they are required to do, the Turks would be driven back. Central to *Ad nominis* was Bibliander's concern to evangelise the Islamic world. He himself had wanted to go to Egypt even to martyrdom, and was only dissuaded by Heinrich Bullinger.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ad nominis was Bibliander's first publication on Christian-Muslim relations, although he had been working on the subject for some time. The work has a strong pastoral quality in that it was written to calm the fears of the people and to present them with a course of action. They were to turn to true religion and Christian devotion. Bibliander draws upon the medieval tradition of anti-Islamic writings as well as a wide body of patristic sources to portray Muslims as agents of the devil and instruments of God's judgement. The book survives in numerous copies and was translated into English as *A godly consultation unto the brethren* (Antwerp: Martin Crom, 1542). The translator is unknown.

PUBLICATIONS

A godly consultation vnto the brethren and companyons of the Christen religyon By what meanes the cruell power of the Turkes, bothe may, and ought for to be repelled of the Christen people, Theodore Bibliander beinge the author....., Basill [i.e. Antwerp]: Radulphe Bonifante [i.e. M. Crom], 1542 (English trans.)

Ad nominis Christiani socios consultatio qua nam ratione Turcarum dira potentia repelli possit ac debeat a populo Christiano, Basileae: [Nicolaus Brylinger], [1542], http://www.e-rara.ch/bau_1/content/titleinfo/643739

STC (Short Title Catalogue) (2nd ed) 3047 (lists locations of copies, digital version available through Early English Books Online)

STUDIES

C. Moser, *Theodor Bibliander (1505-1564). Annotierte Bibliographie der gedruckten Werke*, Zurich, 2009

Vehlow, 'The Swiss reformers Zwingli, Bullinger and Bibliander'

Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*

Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran, 'The lives and teaching of Muḥammad, leader of the Saracens, and of his successors, and the Qur'an itself'

DATE 1543

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE: Latin

DESCRIPTION

The folio edition of *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* appeared in Basel from the press of Johannes Oporinus in 1543. The project was nearly stopped by the censors in the city, who seized all copies of the text and briefly put Oporinus in prison. Their central objection was that *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* contained a Latin translation of the Qur'an, which Bibliander claimed to have revised. Only after leading reformers, such as Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon and Bibliander himself, interceded were the Basel magistrates prepared to allow the work's publication. Owing to the fact that the project was begun and interrupted several times, creating printing problems, the result was seven versions of the first edition in 1543.

Machumetis Saracenorum principis is three books bound together, running to over 600 folio pages. Oporinus printed the text in double columns with extensive marginal notes. The use of the name of Muḥammad in the title was intended to indicate that the so-called holy text of Islam had a human author (in contrast to the Bible). In the preface, Bibliander writes that the Qur'an contains many heretical things, but that this was all the more reason for Christians to be familiar with the book. Just as classical or Jewish texts were allowed to be printed, so the importance of the Qur'an should be recognised, since it belongs to Christian history. By reading the book, Bibliander writes, Christians will learn how God punishes those who reject the truth and how the faithful suffer at the hands of the Turk; thereby readers will come to revere the Bible all the more.

The work appeared in 1543 without the printer's name or the place of publication on the title page. What was claimed, however, was an imperial privilege for five years. The first volume contains a series of texts by Melanchthon and the editor that preface the Qur'an itself. In the table of contents, the translation is listed as the 'authentic book of the teachings of Mohammad, translated out of Arabic verse'. The term Qur'an is translated as 'collection of precepts' and 'law of the Saracens'. Muḥammad is said to have invented the contents and pretended to have received angelic inspiration.

The first volume of *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* was the 12th-century set of translations made in Toledo at the request of Peter the Venerable, known as the *Collectio Toletana*, to which Bibliander had added a few items. The *Collectio* included Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an as well as a series of polemical texts. Following the table of contents in Book 1, Bibliander provides an *Apologia* for the edition. The tone is polemical: Islam is poison and it is essential for Christians to be aware of the dangers it poses. Repeating arguments from *Ad nominis*, Bibliander claims that, as the Church Fathers had not hesitated to study pagan literature, so contemporary Christians should inform themselves about the contents of the Qur'an.

Once again, Islam is a heresy and the Qur'an stands in a long tradition of heretical literature. Bibliander believed that Muḥammad and Islam belonged to the history of Christianity. Muḥammad was a prophet, though a false one, and if one was to understand the work of Antichrist one had to know his words in the Qur'an. Bibliander attributes the success of Islam in Arabic-speaking lands to the weakness and errors of Christians in these lands, whose faith was superficial. Another prominent theme found in all of Bibliander's writings on Islam was his eagerness to help missions to the Islamic world. Knowledge of the Qur'an, he believed, was essential to the success of these missions.

Bibliander claimed that the Ketton translation of the Qur'an had been emended by consulting Arabic and Latin manuscripts, but this seems somewhat unlikely. At least, Bibliander himself could not have carried out such scholarship as his Arabic was rudimentary. He did, however, manage to produce 25 pages of textual variants. He claims that he was not satisfied with the Ketton translation, but was compelled to use it for want of an alternative, and he made some significant alterations to the text. He removed the marginal notes from the *Collectio* and replaced them with his own, which were largely descriptive and non-polemical. As Miller has noted ('Theodor Bibliander's *Machumetis Saracenorum*', p. 246), Bibliander was eager to draw attention in these notes to parallels between the Qur'an and the Bible. At times, he was willing to comment positively on the qur'anic text, and the moderate spirit of his marginal notes contrasts with the polemical character of the prefatory material.

The first book begins with texts by contemporary writers, and then presents the Qur'an surrounded by the *Collectio*. Bibliander uses the writings of fellow Reformers together with patristic and medieval authors to justify his project. In two of the seven variant volumes, a preface by Martin Luther appears, in which he equates the Turks with the Jews as servants of the devil. There is, according to Luther, no better way to defend against the Turks than to study their law book.

The second volume of *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* is constituted by theological texts gathered by Bibliander, including works by Nicholas of Cusa and Ludovico Vives, and most importantly the *Confutatio* of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce. The third volume is a history of the 'Saracens', drawing for its sources on the better Turkish books of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The 1550 edition of *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* was significantly altered by the inclusion of important contemporary texts: *De rebus Turcarum* (1540) by Christoph Richer, and the bestselling *Türkenbüchlein* of the 16th century by Bartholomew Georgijevitz. Richer had been an ambassador in Constantinople, and his work was an extremely rich account of Turkish culture.

SIGNIFICANCE

Bibliander's edition of the Qur'an appeared at a moment when Europeans believed that the Ottoman armies might overwhelm them. In Zurich, his colleague Konrad Gesner was preparing his *Bibliotheca universalis* to record for posterity what might be lost should Europe be conquered. Bibliander shared with others a strong sense that events in Hungary presaged the Last Judgement, and, as in *Ad nominis*, there is a strong apocalyptic tone to his edition of the Qur'an.

Gregory Miller has persuasively argued that Bibliander's intention was to produce an encyclopedia on Islam. To this end, he gathered all the information he could and sought to put together the most authoritative ancient, medieval and contemporary sources. The translation of the Qur'an itself, he claimed, was the best possible, based on rigorous philological work. All in all, it was what Christians needed in order to defend themselves; they must dispel their ignorance of Islam, the great enemy. In its time, *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* was regarded as a major scholarly work with invaluable information, though such was the thirst for knowledge of both Islam and Muslims that Bibliander's volume was soon overtaken. Nevertheless, it was reprinted in the 17th century (1617), and Bibliander's extensive preface, 'Apologia pro editione Alcorani', appeared in 1638.

Bibliander did not possess much Arabic and his edition was largely an unaltered version of Ketton. In his 'Apologia' Bibliander provides powerful arguments for why the Qur'an should be printed and why Christians should be familiar with its contents, but his arguments are not original. He treats Islam as a heresy, associating it with Nestorianism, and the 'Turks', he argues, were agents of the Antichrist. Muḥammad was a fraud, and the Qur'an is largely a book of laws, instructions without divine inspiration. For the most part, Bibliander marshals familiar forces and well-known views.

Nevertheless, the achievement of this polemical work is remarkable. Bibliander brought to his edition the humanist principles of textual scholarship he had employed to great effect on the Bible. He was an extremely accomplished Hebraist and his philological work, by the standards of the day, was impressive. In his marginal notes for the Qur'an, as Miller shows, he demonstrated a distinctly moderate attitude towards the text, often looking for points of contact with Christian scripture. Although he largely remained within the mental confines of his age, there are signs in Bibliander of a changing view towards Islam.

PUBLICATIONS

Bibliander's lectures and letters have survived, but there are no known MSS of the work on the Qur'an.

Machumetis Sarracenorum principis vita ac doctrina omnis, quae & Ismahelitarum lex, & Alcoranum dicitur: ex Arabica lingua ante 400 annos in Latinam translata, nuncque demum ad gloriam Domini Iesu, & ad Christianae fidei confirmationem, doctorum ac piorum aliquot virorum, nostraeque a deo religionis orthodoxae antistitum studio & auctoritate, velut è tenebris in lucem protracta atque edita : quo volumine perlecto, pius & studiosus lector fatebitur, librum nullum potuisse vel opportunè vel tempestivè magis edi hoc rerum Christianarum & Turcicarum statu. Adiectae quoque sunt Annotationes, Confutationes, Sarracenorum ac rerum Turcicarum à 1400 annis ad nostra usq, tempora memorabilium historiae, ex probatissimis autoribus tum Arabibus, tum Latinis & Graecis, quorum catalogum versa in singulis tomis pagina prima reperies. Item, Philippi Melanchthonis, viri doctissimi praemonitio ad lectorem, cum primis pia & erudita. Theodori Bibliandri, sacrarum literarum in Ecclesia Tigurina professoris, viri doctissimi pro Alcorani editione Apologia, multa eruditione & pietate referta, lectuque dignissima: quippe in qua multis ac validiss. argumentis & vitigatorum calumniis respondetur, & quam non solum utilis, se & necessaria hoc praesertim seculo sit Alcorani editio, Basel: Johannes Oporin and Nikolaus Brylinger, 1543, http://www.e-rara.ch/bes_1/content/titleinfo/1696541

Machumetis saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina, ac ipse Alcoran : his adiunctae sunt Confutationes multorum, & quidem probatiss. auctorum, Arabum, Graecorum, & Latinorum, unà cum doctiss. viri Philippi Melanchthonis praemonitione : adiuncti sunt etiam De Turcarum, siue Sarracenorum / haec omnia in unum volumne redacta sunt, opera & studio Theodori Bibliandri, s.n., 1550

Bibliander's 'Apologia pro editione Alcorani' printed in Johann Fabricius, *Muhammedis testamentum*, Rostock: Michael Meder für Johann Hallervord, 1638

A.J. Lappin (ed.), *Alchoran Latinus*, Rome, 2011 (based on the 1543 and 1550 editions)

A modern copy of the *Apologia* in French is found in *Le Coran à la Renaissance. Plaidoyer pour une traduction. Introduction, traduction et notes de H. Lamarque*, Toulouse, 2007 (French trans.)

STUDIES

- G. Miller, 'Theodor Bibliander's *Machumetis Saracenorum principis eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina ac ipse alcoran* (1543) as the sixteenth century "Encyclopedia" of Islam', *ICMR* 24 (2013) 241-54
- L. Felici, 'Una nuova immagine dell'Islam (e del Cristianesimo) nell'Europa del XVI secolo', in G. Abbattista (ed.), *Encountering otherness. Diversities and transcultural experiences in early modern European culture*, Trieste, 2011, 43-66
- Moser, *Theodor Bibliander*
- J. Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam. Eine Untersuchung zum Türken- und Islambild Martin Luthers*, Gütersloh, 2008
- T. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom 1140-1560*, Philadelphia PA, 2007
- C. Christ-v. Wedel, *Theodor Bibliander (1505-1564). Ein Thurgauer im Gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit. Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Zurich, 2005
- V. Segesvary, *L'Islam et la Réforme. Etude sur l'attitude des Réformateurs zurichoises envers l'islam, 1510-1550*, San Francisco CA, 1998
- H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa*, Berlin, 1995
- H. Bobzin, 'Über Theodor Bibliander Arbeit am Koran (1542/43)', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 186 (1986) 347-63
- J. Pfister, 'Das Türkenbüchlein Theodor Biblianders', *Theologische Zeitschrift* 9 (1953) 438-54
- M. Köhler, *Melanchthon und der Islam. Ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Verhältnisses zwischen Christentum und Fremdreigionen in der Reformationszeit*, Leipzig, 1938
- Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*

Bruce Gordon