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THE LEGACY OF A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
ORIENTALIST

Scholarly interest in oriental affairs in 17th century Holland centred in the university founded at Leiden in 1575. The first professor of oriental languages was appointed in 1586. Printing in Arabic type was begun in 1595 by Franciscus Raphelengius (d. 1597) the pioneer of Arabic studies. The field was not left in abeyance thanks to the care of the »Arabisantium Princeps« Joseph Scaliger who coached young Thomas Erpenius.

The latter was appointed as the first full (ordinary) professor of Arabic a.o. oriental languages of Leiden University in 1612, the year when Holland acquired its first Capitulations from Sultan Ahmed I. Erpenius established Arabic printing in Leiden again in imitation of the French undertaking by ambassador Savary de Brèves. The Dutch ambassador in Istanbul, Cornelis Haga, helped in buying lettercopies to be used in the printing types¹.

A truly academic interest in the broadening of knowledge of Islamic languages and civilisation was thus able establish itself at Leiden. At the death of Erpenius in 1624 Jacobus Golius, his beloved pupil (1596—1667), succeeded to the chair and continued to make Leiden a leading centre of oriental studies in Europa. Golius added the study of Turkish to his curriculum. He is the author of a Turkish-Latin dictionary (unpublished ms. now in Oxford). His knowledge he had acquired in the Ottoman lands. Shortly after his appointment Golius asked for leave of absence for one and a half year to travel in the Middle East studying languages and collecting manuscripts. First he went to Aleppo where he earned an extra income working as a chancellor to the Dutch consul, N. Witsen. Then Golius moved to Istanbul where he also did diplomatic

¹ H. F. Wijnman, 'The Origin of Arabic Typography in Leiden' in *Books on*

the Orient, published by E. J. Brill Leiden, Holland, Leiden 1957, VII—XV.

work for ambassador Haga. During his stay in the Levant (1624–1627) Golius was able to establish friendly (and business) contacts with Ottoman scholars, not in the least thanks to his knowledge of astronomy, which he was able to demonstrate at the court of Murad IV².

Following the example of Golius a number of orientalists and scholarly merchants came to the East e.g. David de Wilhem, Willem Merula, Georg Gentius, Christian Ravius, the latter two of German origin and Father Petrus Golius O.C.D., a brother of the Leiden professor (d. 1672 in Aleppo)³.

The most important and best known of Golius' pupils was Levinus Warnerus (1619–1665), a German by origin who came to Leiden University in 1638. Here he studied oriental languages and theology till 1642 in which year he published his doctoral dissertation *Qua de Vitae Termino utrum fixus sit, an mobilis, . . . ex Arabum et Persarum scriptis . . .* (Amsterdam 1642, 24 p.). Three other minor works followed. *From his Compendium Historicum eorumque Muhammedani de Christo . . . tradiderunt* (Leiden 1643, 56 p.), more precisely from its *Appendix*, p. 49f. it is evident that Warner had already studied Turkish in Leiden. In this way he was prepared for his journey to Istanbul in December 1644, encouraged and instructed by Golius, financially supported by David de Wilhem⁴ a rich Levant merchant, amateur orientalist and influential figure at the court of the Dutch Stadtholder. Warner travelled overland via Danzig and Lemberg arriving in Istanbul around June 1645⁵.

The Dutch diplomatic representatives at the Porte, Henrico Cops, and Theodoro Kroll died one after the other in 1647. Warner's expectations of holding their function become evident from his beginning a series of newsletters to the States General a.o. Dutch authorities on Ottoman affairs⁶. For the time being he was to be disappointed. Nicolo Ghisbrechti in whose house he was living, a jeweller and merchant, got the post and Warner worked as his oriental secretary till 10 November 1654. After Ghisbrechti's death at that date, the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Bendysh, appropriated the diplomatic protection of Dutch subjects in the Ottoman Empire. This led the States General to appoint Warner as provisional Dutch representative in 1655⁷, who continued living in Pera (Beyoğlu) and married a woman of local origins »Cocone

² W. M. C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche Beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland*, Utrecht 1931, 141.

³ *ibidem*, 121, 154, 188, 192, 199, 215ff, 217–224.

⁴ Levini Warneri, *de Rebus Turcicis Epistolae Ineditae*, ed. G. N. Du Rieu, Leiden 1883, no. I (1645).

⁵ L. W. 's diary, UBL Ms. Or. Cod. 385.

⁶ K. Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel I (1590–1660)*, 's-Gravenhage 1910, 413: first letter (in Latin) d. d. 6. May 1647 in N. Ghisbrechti's house.

⁷ Heeringa, *ibidem* I, 415.

de Christophle«. His brother Frederico Warner joined him in 1657 to take control of the business interests of the diplomatist now officially forbidden to exercise private trade⁸.

Life in the Levant must have been good to Levinus Warner. In 1648 he declined the offer of the Leiden professorship of Hebrew, although he accepted in 1650 from the same source an allowance of Dutch Fl. 300,— to support his travelling expenses for studious purposes.

From 1657 Warner enjoyed the official position of Dutch envoy (Dutch: *resident* Turkish *elçi*) to the Ottoman Porte. His salary amounted to Dutch Fl. 7500.— yearly plus embassy and consulate dues from all consuls, Aleppo included. With this the Resident could live in a style not easily equalled by Leiden professors. His household in 1657 comprised, according to a Dutch physician who lived in Istanbul at the time, Theodoro Ketjis, besides Warner's wife and his relations (his brother and his wife, Ghisbrechti's daughter and an adoptive daughter Elizabeth (d. 1735) later married to the English merchant Thomas Savage (d. 1709)⁹: a chancellor, three dragomans, a Turkish scribe and more than twelve domestic staff to which must be added a varying number of house guests, among whom were Dutch subjects bought free from slavery. Daily expenses would never be less than eight *Reichstaler* which according to our source was nothing exorbitant in Istanbul then for an average legation, contrary to many allegations made against Warner by his adversaries¹⁰. All the same complaints of lack of money occurred¹¹.

Levinus Warner's diplomatic activities (1654—1665)

When succeeding his host Ghisbrechti as protector of the Dutch Nation in the Ottoman Empire (1654) Warner was already an experienced Levantine. His knowledge of Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Armenian and Greek made him an exceptionally qualified observer of affairs, at the same time free to continue his scholarly pursuits. In the absence of a defined Levant policy of the Dutch Republic his only tasks were the protection of Dutch trade and shipping, not easy at the time of the Ottoman war with Venice (1645—1669), and of Dutch subjects and *beratlı* nationals, and further the collecting of news. An extra difficulty in negotiations with the Sultan's government was the latter's frequent absence from the capital which necessitated travelling up and down to Edirne at least. A real setback was the appointment by the States General

⁸ *ibidem* II, (1917), 176 ff.

⁹ A. H. de Groot, »Old Dutch Graves at Istanbul«, *Archivum Ottomanicum* V, (1973) 7—8.

¹⁰ A. R. A. S. G. 12578—40 (=General State Archives, The Hague).

¹¹ *Epistolae*, 64, 65.

of a fully employed Dutch consul in Izmir, Michel du Mortier, a Levant merchant from Leiden with years of experience behind him. Warner's activity as a diplomatist was limited to contacts with the successive Swedish embassies to Turkey in 1648 and 1657 about the common interest in the Protestant Cause in Transylvania.

Commercial activities

To explore further trading possibilities Levinus appointed his brother Frederico who had established himself in Istanbul and married Nicolo Ghisbrechti's daughter Annetta, as Dutch consul in Aleppo in 1661. This turned out not to be a commercial success and the same was made consul in Athens in 1665 where he stayed till 1666 only. The difficulty of collecting the consulate dues from other posts produced a conflict with the Izmir consul who was somewhat independent towards the envoy because of his holding his appointment from the States General directly for the fixed time of 4 years. Although Levinus Warner rightly claimed his dues, collection could not be enforced not even by having recourse to the *cadi* of Izmir¹². Dutch commerce and Warner's position suffered a severe blow when on 7 May 1663 a Dutch merchantman, the »Caesar Octavianus« lying at the Abukir roadstead was seized by Venetians and Maltese corsairs and carried off to Crete. The owners of its cargo, among whom were the *sheykh ül-islām* and perhaps the Sultan himself, claimed damages up to Lion Dollars 78,445 (\pm Dutch Fl. 200,000) from the Dutch Nation. The Dutch merchants' community in Izmir had to bear the greatest share of this burden. The Dutch resident, being considered guarantor, was summoned to the *diwān* in Edirne and kept there under forced residence in the house of the *çavuşh bashu* from 13 July to 30 August 1663 till he agreed to pay the indemnity demanded. This was an *avania in optima forma*, a collective charge on Dutch finances which the envoy should have been able to avoid. Payment to the Turks was prompt, but the overall settlement of the expense lasted till years later. The merchants' comment was that their protector was rather *studiose* than *habile*.

Scholarly activities of Levinus Warnerus

Jacobus Golius and his pupil Levinus Warnerus marked the zenith of seventeenth century Dutch orientalism and at the same time its turning point. The main evidence of Warner's learning are not his four small printed books but the legacy of about 1000 oriental manuscripts to

¹² Heeringa, *op. cit.*, II, 159f.

Leiden University. In many of this well chosen collection one can find his notes, markings, excerpts and translations. We have seen the lack of appreciation of these efforts by his countrymen in the Levant like Mortier who took Warner for a bookworm interested only in Professor Golius' and his own hobbies. In the miscellanea of Warner's papers there is evidence of advisers, book buying agents and scholarly friends in contact with foreign colleagues. A certain Es'ad Efendi, cadi of Urfa, wrote letters to Warner e.g. in 1660¹³; other names are Sālih Efendi, Sidkī Efendi, Wānī Efendi, shaykhzāde Meḥmed Efendi (in 1657–8) and Meḥmed al-Ḥuseynī. Warner had special relations with two well known interpreters at the Ottoman Porte: Panaiotti Nikusios for whom an Orthodox book of Catechism was printed especially in Leiden¹⁴ and 'Alī Bey alias Albertus Bobovius, the Polish renegado (1610–1675). Golius in Leiden and Warner in Istanbul cooperated with 'Alī Bey in the translation of the Bible into Ottoman Turkish, which work was completed by 'Alī Bey in 1664 and sent to Leiden later¹⁵. Other assistants were Meḥmed ibn 'Umar al-Urḍī al-Ḥalabi (1658) and an Orthodox deacon of Aleppo, Nicolaos Petri, who worked both in Istanbul and in Leiden in the years 1641 to 1658. An Armenian, Shahin Kandī, did like services for Warner and Golius.

Other persons in contact with the Dutch orientalist were: Lārī Meḥmed Efendi, the known agnostic executed in 1075/1665, and the »Aga Major Regis Turcici« who provided Warner with some manuscripts¹⁶.

Warner's discrimination, indicating his expert knowledge and/or use of good advice is evident also from the number of Turkish works. Of the works of Kātib Čelebi there are the Naval History, the *Takvīm*, the Turkish *Fedhleke* and some manuscripts bearing the bookmark of that great scholar's library¹⁷. Many books concern contemporary Ottoman history and statecraft and there are a good number of *insha'*-collections. Ottoman poetry is represented by a *divan* of Bākī and by two collections of Nef'ī's satirical poetry, which Warner read, some verses being quoted in Latin translation in one of his letters¹⁸.

The non-muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire also formed the object of Warner's studies. The passing of a comet led to the study

¹³ U. B. L. Cod. Or. 1163.

¹⁴ Heeringa, *op. cit.*, II, 136 and n. 4; Juynboll, *op. cit.* 231f.

¹⁵ cf. M. E. H. N. Mout, »Calvinoturcisme in de zeventiende eeuw«, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 91 (1978), 576–607.

¹⁶ Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman XI*, 205f; H. Wurm, *Der osmanische*

Historiker Hüseyin b. Ga'fer genannt Hezārfem und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts, Freiburg i. B., 1971, 68 n. 3.

¹⁷ cf. i. a. U. B. L. Cod. Or. 695: al-'Āmirī, *Kitāb sharḥ shawāhid at-talkhīs* a commentary on 'Abd ar-raḥīm al-'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid at-tansīs 'alā Ṣhawāhid at-t.* bought for 4,5 piastre by al-Urḍī.

¹⁸ *Epistolae*, 103.

and collection of astronomical works. The use of coffee stimulated the Dutchman to write a long essay on the coffeeshrub. Many excerpts and translations from and into a number of languages are witness to Levinus Warnerus' wide range of interests.

When he died in Istanbul on 22 June 1665 his testament prescribed that the collection of all manuscripts and miscellaneous papers should be a legacy, the *Legatum Warnerianum*, to Leiden University. Levinus Warner's Legacy arrived in Leiden at last in the years 1668–1674 too late to be received by Jacobus Golius who died in 1667. A catalogue was made, the books were stored away in the library to be of use for later generations of orientalist scholars¹⁹.

S u m m a r y

THE LEGACY OF A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ORIENTALIST

Ottoman studies in Holland began in the first years of the 17th century at Leiden University within the framework of the Islamic studies done by Josephus Scaliger, Thomas Erpenius and especially Jacobus Golius.

Commercial and diplomatic relations between the Dutch Republic and the Ottoman Empire made it feasible for scholars to acquire practical experience in the Levant. Golius lived and worked some years in Aleppo and Istanbul. His most promising pupil, Levinus Warnerus arrived in Istanbul in 1645 where he died in 1665. His aim was to get a thorough training in written and spoken Arabic, Persian and Turkish as well as to collect manuscripts for the Leiden Library. Warner did much more. He assisted the successive Dutch diplomatic representatives at the Porte and became minister resident himself in 1654. While safeguarding Dutch interests he became involved in commerce as much as in oriental studies. At his death Warner left a considerable fortune and a sizable collection of Turkish, Arabic, Persian and other oriental manuscripts.

From his extant correspondence and miscellaneous papers Warner's scholarly activity becomes evident. He must have been a familiar in Ottoman intellectual society in Istanbul. It seems to be a worthwhile investigation to find out how Warner established his scholarly relations across the high cultural barriers of his time.

¹⁹ cf. H. J. Witkam »Johannes van Hell en het Legatum Warnerianum« offprint from *Dagelijkse Zaken van de Leidse Universiteit van 1581 tot 1596*, vol. 6, part 2,

Leiden 1973, pp. 1¹–10¹; *Levinus Warner and his Legacy . . . Catalogue of the commemorative exhibition . . . 1970*, Leiden 1970.

R e z i m e

OSTAVŠTINA JEDNOG ORIJENTALISTE IZ SEDAMNAESTOG VIJEKA

Izučavanje turkologije u Holandiji počinje prvih godina sedamnaestog vijeka na univerzitetu u Leiden-u u okviru studija islamistike zahvaljujući Josephus Scaliger-u, Thomas-u Erpenius-u i naročito Jacobus-u Golius-u.

Trgovački i diplomatski odnosi između Holandije i Turske carevine omogućili su učenicima da steknu praktično iskustvo na Levantu. Golius je živio i radio nekoliko godina u Aleppo-u i Istanbulu. Njegov učenik koji je najviše obećavao, Levinus Warnerus, je došao u Istanbul 1645 godine, gdje je umro 1665 godine. Cilj mu je bio da dobro nauči pisani i govorni arapski, perzijski i turski jezik, kao i da sakuplja rukopise za Leiden-sku biblioteku. Warner je učinio mnogo više. Pomagao je holandskim diplomatskim predstavnicima u Porte-u, a 1654 je i sam postao ministar-rezident. Štiteći holandske interese postao je podjednako zaokupljen trgovinom koliko i izučavanjem orijentalistike. Poslije Warner-ove smrti ostalo je veliko bogatstvo i prilično velika kolekcija turskih, arapskih, perzijskih i drugih orijentalnih rukopisa. Iz njegove prepiske koja i danas postoji kao i raznih dokumenta, meri se njegova naučna aktivnost.

Pretpostavlja se da je bio prihvaćen od strane turskog intelektualnog društva u Istanbulu. Izgleda da bi bilo značajno istraživanje da se sazna kako je Warner uspio uspostaviti naučne relacije preko visokih kulturnih barijera toga njegovog vremena.