

AN UNSUNG HERO OF ORIENTAL STUDIES IN LEIDEN: ANTON DEUSING (1612-1666) AND HIS PERSIAN AND TURKISH DICTIONARIES¹

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Abstract

The article brings to life the now forgotten Deusing, a protégé of Golius in 1630s in Leiden who made substantial contributions to the study of oriental languages in Western Europe. He was influential in putting together the expanded edition of Erpenius's Arabic grammar and the publication of the first Persian grammar in Europe. Yet his most enduring and profound legacy lies in the Turkish and Persian dictionaries he compiled, which, this piece argues, formed the basis of Golius's dictionaries.

Keywords: Oriental studies, Turkish, Persian, Thomas Erpenius, Jacobus Golius

It is not uncommon that modern historiography obscures illustrious scholars of the past and reduces them to footnotes, when they were, in fact, pivotal players within their intellectual milieu. Anton Deusing (1612-1666) is one such elusive figure, whose name is hardly ever mentioned today among those who advanced the study of oriental languages in early modern Europe.² Deusing read medicine in Leiden between 1630 and 1637, and resided in the house of the celebrated orientalist Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) along with other promising young men who took private lessons from him.³ Deusing learned Arabic from Golius and was given access to his teacher's extensive library of oriental manuscripts, the majority of which were collected in the Ottoman Empire during Golius's stay there. The evidence from Deusing's personal library suggests that Golius tasked him with copying, compiling and translating oriental texts from his own and the University library. In 1636, while still a student, Golius entrusted Deusing with

¹ Alastair Hamilton and Alexander Bevilacqua read and commented on an earlier version of this article. I am grateful to them and the anonymous readers for their comments. The research for this article was supported by funding from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

² Deusing is not mentioned, even in passing, in survey books or articles such as A. Vrolijk and R. van Leeuwen, A. Hamilton, tr., *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands: A Short History in Portraits, 1580-1950*, Leiden and Boston, 2014 or J.T.P. Bruijn, 'Iranian Studies in the Netherlands', *Iranian Studies* 20:2, 1987, pp. 161-177.

³ Golius extended his hospitality to numerous other students who later became orientalist scholars including Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620-1667), Levinus Warner (c. 1618-1665) and Johannes Fabricius of Danzig (1608-1653), not to be confused with the Frisian astronomer of the same name.

preparing the second edition of Thomas Erpenius's Arabic grammar for print. He was a receptive student and completed his medical degree successfully. Shortly after leaving Leiden, he embarked on a successful career as a professor of medicine and a practising physician in Groningen. He published numerous medical treatises. Yet, it emerges now that he also made outstanding contributions to oriental scholarship. The most remarkable of his works was a set of Persian-Turkish-Latin and Turkish-Latin dictionaries that he compiled, during his leisure hours, from the original sources available in Leiden. These manuscripts are now housed in the Bavarian State Library (hereafter BSB) in Munich and they have never been studied before.

The editions, translations and the reference tools Deusing prepared in Arabic, Persian and Turkish suggest that he had an excellent command of each of these three languages. In what follows, I show that Deusing authored several seminal works including a new Latin translation of Avicenna's *Poem on Medicine* from its Arabic original and an expanded edition of Erpenius's *Grammatica Arabica*. Moreover, the first printed Persian grammar was substantially enhanced by Deusing's input, although it only carried the name of Louis De Dieu (1590-1642), the headmaster of the Collège Wallon.⁴ Deusing transliterated a Judaeo-Persian translation of the Pentateuch from Hebrew into Arabic script, and vocalised it for beginners. The first two chapters from the Book of Genesis formed the reading sample provided in De Dieu's Persian grammar. Most importantly, Deusing compiled both a Persian-Turkish-Latin dictionary and a Turkish-Latin dictionary, which collectively comprise over 35,000 words, and espoused a methodology unsurpassed until the nineteenth century. These two manuscripts not only contain the most accurate, detailed and comprehensive account of Persian and Turkish recorded in Europe by that time but also tell us much about the sources and methodologies of early modern lexicography of oriental languages. Having perused Golius's manuscript library collected mostly during the latter's stay in the Ottoman Empire and having observed his teacher's methodology in reading and editing texts, Deusing came to appreciate the importance of Turkish dictionaries of Arabic and Persian as primary reference tools for comprehension of texts in these two languages, as well as Turkish. Tapping into this vast yet hitherto underused collection of source material enabled him to make remarkable progress all at once in what the Ottomans collectively referred to as 'the three languages (*elsine-i selāse*)'.

⁴ On the Collège Wallon, see G. Meyjes, 'Le Collège Wallon', in: T. Scheurleer and G. Meyjes, eds, *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning*, Leiden, 1975, pp. 111-135; idem, *Geschiedenis van het Waalse College te Leiden, 1606-1699, tevens een bijdrage tot de vroegste geschiedenis van het fonds Hallet*, Leiden, 1975.

This article begins with a short survey of secondary sources on Deusing, followed by an account of Deusing's life and outputs. After a brief probe into the reasons why he was overlooked by modern scholarship, Deusing's work on oriental languages will come under scrutiny. I shall examine his printed editions and manuscript library, and consider the historical and linguistic value of the Persian-Turkish and Turkish dictionaries he compiled, as well as their organisation and sources.

My comparison of the Arabic and the Latin hand of the two Munich codices with a Qur'ān copied by Deusing, now Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek (hereafter GUB), MS 469, confirmed that the Munich dictionaries are autographs.⁵ I have also examined further manuscripts associated with his name at Göttingen's Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (hereafter GÖSUB), all beautifully written in Deusing's clear and consistent Arabic hand. These manuscripts and the works contained therein will be discussed below. What is important to note is that Deusing's hand appears to be the primary copyist of Golius's Persian-Turkish and Turkish dictionaries, now Oxford, Bodleian Library (hereafter OBL), MS Marsh 213 and Marsh 193, respectively.

Deusing's contributions to oriental studies are now forgotten owing to various factors including his move out of Leiden at an early stage in his career, the fact that he did not claim authorship of some of his published work, and that he did not pursue to publish many of his complete dictionaries, translations and edited works in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Deusing slowly moved away from oriental studies because of his success as a medical author and a practicing physician. Deusing was a prolific author but his medical opinions, mostly based on classical

⁵ Deusing produced his copy by collating two copies of the Qur'ān that were available to him in Leiden. The first one is Thomas Erpenius' lavish and gold rubricated tome, which was a gift from Isaac Casaubon and is now Oxford, Bodleian Library (hereafter: OBL), MS Marsh 358. Deusing marks the variants in this copy with an 'e.s.' (= [in] exemplare suo) to differentiate it from the other copy that was kept in the University Library, the 'e.b.' (= [in] exemplare bibliothecae). See R. Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505-1624)*, unpublished PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies (hereafter: SOAS), University of London, 1988, p. 61, 149 and p. 62, n. 158.

Before his death in 1624, Erpenius passed the Qur'ān to his favourite student and successor Golius as a token of friendship. This made the manuscript available to Deusing who lived at Golius's house between 1630 and 1637 while studying in Leiden. The existence of the Erpenius Qur'ān in the private collection of Golius is documented both in the eyewitness account of the Swiss orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620-1677) and the auction catalogue of Golius' books. See A. Hamilton and A. Vrolijk, 'Hadrianus Guilielmi Flessingensis: The Brief Career of the Arabist Adriaen Willemsz', *Oriens* 39, 2011: pp. 1-15 (10-12).

I thank Gerda C. Huisman of Groningen University Library for making the images of the Deusing Qur'ān available to me.

sources in Greek and Arabic, became outdated towards the end of his career. His treatises were widely read and often challenged by his younger colleagues which led him to issue responses regularly. These refutations of refutations added to his publication count but it also added to his notoriety as a bitter polemicist. The changing trends in seventeenth-century medicine and iatrochemistry marginalised his scholarly legacy. The vilifying remarks of a nineteenth-century medical historian put the last nail in the coffin. My examination of the manuscript evidence recovers Deusing's contributions to oriental scholarship and presents his work in its historical context.

Deusing in secondary sources

While Deusing's name is missing from the histories of oriental studies in Leiden, medical histories often present him in an unflattering light. Frank Sobiech describes him as a curmudgeonly physician who 'excelled at producing large numbers of technically mediocre writings of usually polemical content'. Quoting his adversary, Franciscus Sylvius (1614-1672), professor of medicine at the University of Leiden from 1658 onwards, Sobiech continues to say that Deusing's 'manner of writing' was 'truly diabolical'.⁶ Another historian, John Powers, calls Deusing an 'orthodox quarreler', again, quoting Sylvius.⁷ It does little justice to evaluate a scholar through the eyes of a bitter rival. Sylvius and Deusing are known to have engaged in a heated dispute on the former's speculative iatrochemical theories towards the end of the latter's life.⁸ We must leave it to historians of science to assess whether Sylvius's radicalism or Deusing's conservatism made the better argument. But it is clear that Sylvius's condescending attitude towards his colleague had more to do with professional rivalry than with the quality of Deusing's polemical attacks. Sylvius evidently perceived Deusing as a serious contender to his own privileged position at the University of Leiden rather than merely a nuisance. When Deusing was offered a professorship at Leiden in 1666,⁹ Sylvius, fearing that he would lose his dominance over the medical faculty, threatened to resign his chair — only to be appeased when Deusing's untimely death removed the threat.¹⁰

⁶ F. Sobiech, *Ethos, Bioethics, and Sexual Ethics in Work and Reception of the Anatomist Niels Stensen (1638-1686)*, Berlin, 2016, p. 49.

⁷ J. C. Powers, *Inventing Chemistry: Herman Boerhaave and the Reform of the Chemical Arts*, Chicago and London, 2012, p. 49.

⁸ G. C. Lokhorst. 'Antonius Deusing (1612-1666)', in: W. van Bunge et al., eds, *The Dictionary of Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Dutch Philosophers*, Bristol, 2003.

⁹ See pages 13-14 below.

¹⁰ Powers, *Inventing Chemistry* (as in n. 6), p. 49.

Was Deusing really an insignificant figure whose contributions were only tangential to the intellectual disputes and the scholarly output of his time or was he simply forgotten due to a series of mishaps? Deusing's career certainly began with much promise. At the tender age of twenty-four, he was tasked by Golius to prepare the second edition of Erpenius's *Grammatica Arabica*, the most influential Arabic grammar of the century.¹¹ At twenty-five, he became a doctor of medicine. Deusing enjoyed a long and fruitful career as a professor at the University of Groningen and was chosen as personal physician by William Frederick, Prince of Nassau-Dietz after successfully treating him in 1647. Had he not died unexpectedly from an infectious disease at the age of fifty-four, he would have ended his career at the highly reputable medical faculty of Leiden.

The above-mentioned secondary sources give little credit to Deusing's studies in mathematics, philosophy, oriental languages, law and medicine; his outstanding publication record, and his professional achievements. One needs to dig beyond his supposed cantankerousness to understand the man and why he was on the receiving end of a series of disparaging remarks from some of his colleagues throughout his professional career. We also need to understand why only these negative remarks endured the test of time while his achievements are now forgotten.

Deusing's life and achievements

In the absence of a modern biography, a short outline of Deusing's life is expedient. My biographical sketch mainly depends on two sources: (1) his official biography printed in *Effigies et vitae professorum Academiae Groningae et Omlandiae* (The Portraits and Lives of Professors of Groningen and Ommelande), published during his lifetime,¹² and (2) the funeral oration read by his theologian colleague Samuel Maresius (1599-1673) in Groningen on 5 February 1666.¹³ These two contemporaneous sources give us the most detailed first-hand information on Deusing's life and achievements, whilst all the subsequent accounts

¹¹ T. Erpenius, *Grammatica Arabica ab autore emendata et aucta. Cui accedunt Lokmanni Fabulae et Adagia quedam Arabum*, Leiden: Johann Maire, 1636. Description in R. Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis: A Description of Books Illustrating the Study and Printing of Oriental Languages in Europe, vol. I: Sixteenth Century*, Leiden, 1976, no. 20.

¹² *Effigies et vitae professorum Academiae Groningae et Omlandiae cum historiola foundationis ejusdem Academiae*, Groningen: Johan Nicolai, 1654; facsimile edition with Dutch translation, Groningen, 1968. On the history and significance of this publication, see K. van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: Vier Eeuwen Academisch Leven in Groningen, vol. 1: De Oude Universiteit*, 1614-1876, Hilversum, 2014, pp. 186-189.

¹³ S. Maresius, *Oratio funebris in obitum luctuosum clarissimi D. Antonii Deusingii, Philosophiae & Medicinae Doctoris*, Groningen: Johan Cöllén, 1666.

are derivative.¹⁴ These two primary sources can further be corroborated by Deusing's own account, as we shall see below.

Maresius informs us that Deusing was born in Moers on 15 October 1612, 'when the Sun was in the constellation of Libra' to which he owed his 'pleasing forbearance'.¹⁵ His German father, Johann Otto Deusing, was a military officer of the Dutch Republic, while his mother Agnes Vermeren belonged to a well-known family of Delft.¹⁶ In 1628, he registered at the Harderwijk Academy and, in 1630, he matriculated at the University of Leiden, where he stayed for seven years.¹⁷ The young and studious Deusing 'progressed in all subjects' under the instruction of the best teachers that Leiden had to offer. He read philosophy with Franco Burgersdijk (1590-1635); he studied mathematics and Arabic under Golius, yet he learned Persian and Turkish 'from elsewhere (*aliunde*)'.¹⁸ He also made the acquaintance of some illustrious orientalist scholars including the theologian and hebraist Constantijn L'Empereur (1591-1648), De Dieu, and Johann Elichmann (c. 1600-1639), as well as the celebrated humanist Claude Saumaise (1588-1653),¹⁹ whom Maresius terms the 'phoenix' of the age.²⁰

The biography in the *Effigies* confirms what Maresius recounts and elaborates on Deusing's Leiden years spent studying Arabic, Turkish and Persian. According to this account, soon after arriving at the 'Dutch Athens', Deusing became a protégé of Golius who 'came to be on intimate terms with him and admitted him to his house.' Deusing 'benefitted greatly from this intimacy' and considered Golius 'a second father who moulded his abilities'.²¹ In 1629, the year prior

¹⁴ For instance, W.M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1931, pp. 190-191.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, sig. A4r: 'Natalis illi dies fuit 15. Octobris, anno 1612. Sole adhuc in Libra constituto; quod generosam illius aequanimitatem, quam toto suae vitae tempore servavit, portendere visum est.'

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, sig. A4r.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. A4r-A4v.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, sig. A4v: 'Ibi *Burgersdico* praeceptore usus est in Philosophicis; *Golio* in Mathesi & lingua Arabica, cui aliunde adjecit Persicam & Turcicam.'

¹⁹ Two letters that Deusing wrote to Saumaise survive. These are now in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter: ÖNB), Cod. 10093, Nr. 58, Deusing to Saumaise, 22 Aug 1645 and Cod. 10093, Nr. 59, Deusing to Saumaise, 2 Nov 1645.

²⁰ Maresius, *Oratio funebris*, sig. A4v, ll. 12-15: 'Quin magnam illic familiaritatem contraxit, cum Constantino Lempereur, Ludovico De Dieu, Ioanne Elichmanno, ipsoque Claudio Salmasio saeculi nostri phoenixe.'

²¹ *Effigies*, p. 213, ll. 21-32: 'Inde missus Athenas Batavas, ad inclytum illud totoque Christiano orbe celeberrimum Sapientiae ac Eruditionis Emporium, illico animum Philosophiae adjecit, Praeceptore Clarissimo Celeberrimoque Philosopho, D. Francone Burgersdicio, Physices ac Logices Professore. Mox vero in domesticam familiaritatem, intimaque benevolentiae & amoris penetralia admissus ab incomparabili Viro, D. Jacobo Golio, L.A.M. Matheseos & Arabicae

to Deusing's arrival, Golius had returned to Leiden from the Ottoman Empire with an exceptional collection of oriental manuscripts. Deusing attended his informal private lectures and perused Golius's oriental manuscripts, including his Turkish dictionaries, regularly. Deusing began studying medicine mostly through the encouragement of his teacher and because 'the knowledge of Arabic promised to yield many discoveries in this area of study'.²² He then got the opportunity to make progress during his 'leisure hours (*succisivis horis*)' in Persian and Turkish, two languages that were 'rarely mastered' in these circles. In a short period of time, Deusing was able to learn enough to be able to transcribe the Judeo-Persian rendering of the Pentateuch by Jacob Ṭāvūs into the Arabic script in its entirety.²³ Maresius records that he 'knew not only Latin, which is shared by all learned people, perfectly but also Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, not to mention Coptic.'²⁴

Deusing became a doctor of medicine in 1637, and a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at the Harderwijk Academy in 1639.²⁵ He moved to Groningen in 1647 and became professor of medicine at the University of Groningen.²⁶ According to Maresius, Deusing was a doting father to his four children from his two marriages. He was liberal and generous towards his offspring, especially his two sons Johann and Hermann, who later became scholars in their own right.²⁷ Maresius claims that Deusing's name 'was known and celebrated in England, France, Italy, Germany and Denmark', and that he was 'regarded and

Linguae in eadem Lugd. Batava Academia Professore, (cui tantum se debere profitetur, ut alterum Parentem, ingenique formatorem, multoties eundem depredicet,) Matheseos studium reliquae Philosophiae caepit adjungere.'

²² *Ibid.*, p. 213, l. 43–p. 214, l. 3: 'mox insuper ad Medicine studium adjecit animum, suasu imprimis praedicti Clariss. Viri, D.D. Golii, rerum medicarum peritâ eximie exculi, ac ratione occasionis commodissimae, quam Arabica Lingua, illi studio luculentiùs excolendo aptissima, videbatur polliceri: ...' Similar advice was given by Scaliger to the Breslau physician Peter Kirsten who visited him in Leiden in 1602. See Hamilton and Vrolijk, 'Adriaen Willemsz' (as in n. 5), p. 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 214, ll. 4-13: 'Occasionem verò nactus, in Lingua etiam Persica ac Turcica, orbi nostro rarioribus, proficiendi, iisdem succisivis horis operam impendit, in quibus brevi temporis spatio eatenus profecit, (ut Pentateuchum Persicum, ex interpretatione Jacobi Tawusi, Constantinopoli à Judæis olim excusum characteribus Hebræis, ubi ex multiplici literarum confusione, quâ plures literæ Persarum paucioribus Hebræorum exprimuntur, permagna existit difficultas,) Persico characterè consignare distinctè, & vocalibus accuratè illustrare, aggressus fuerit, ...'

²⁴ Maresius, *Oratio funebris*, sig. B4v, ll. 1-3: 'At is callebat accuratè praeter linguam Latinam omnibus Eruditis communem, Graecam, Hebraicam, Arabicam, Persicam & Turcicam; ne quid dicam de Coptica.'

²⁵ Maresius, *Oratio funebris*, sig. B1r.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, sig. B1v.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. B2r.

worshipped everywhere as a Hippocrates resurrected and a second Galen'.²⁸ Owing to his fame and eminence, he was invited to Leiden to occupy the chair of medicine and offered 'most generous and splendid conditions' (*amplissimis & Attalicis conditionibus*).²⁹ Had he not died on 28 January 1666 after a long illness marked by bouts of fever and sweating, Deusing would have ended his remarkable career at the most prestigious university of the Low Countries.³⁰

From these two accounts Deusing emerges as a respectable physician who spent most of his career at a provincial university. His return to the fold in Leiden was blocked by his illness and unexpected death. While it is possible to find very many sympathetic mentions of Deusing by his contemporaries and Leiden friends, modern scholars — almost unilaterally — brand him the most mediocre of physicians and the most despicable of polemicists. This disparity mystified the present author until she came across the *Geschiedenis van de geneeskunde en hare beoefenaren in Nederland* (History of Medicine and its practitioners in the Netherlands) by Jelle Banga (1786-1877). This book contains an eleven-page section devoted to Deusing which dismisses him completely. Its author was neither interested in nor qualified to assess Deusing's work in oriental languages. Therefore, he only mentions his printed treatises and the reception of his medical opinions by his contemporaries. Even there, it seems, Banga was not impartial. We can only speculate why this short account profoundly influenced subsequent studies that touch upon Deusing's medical work and his correspondence, but the reason may well have been that it is the earliest account of him in a vernacular language.³¹

A physician himself, Banga belonged to the last generation of doctors whose training heavily depended on classical texts.³² Having read Galen and Hippocrates not with historical interest but as textbooks in his youth, Banga applied himself, at the ripe age of eighty-two, to scouring hundreds of early modern medical treatises derived from classical Greek and medieval Islamic sources. We cannot

²⁸ *Ibid.*, sig. C1r, ll. 24-26: 'Notum & celebre fuit Deusingii nomen in Anglia, in Gallia, in Italia, in Germania in Dania. Deusingius passim pro Hippocrate redivivo, alteroque Galeno, & priscae ac solidioris Medicinae vindice solidissimo, habitus & cultus est.'

²⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. C1v. A copy of the written decision of the Leiden Curators to employ Deusing is printed on sig. C2v.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. B2v-B3r.

³¹ J. Banga, *Geschiedenis van de geneeskunde en van hare beoefenaren in Nederland*, 2 vols, Leeuwarden, 1868, vol. 1, pp. 344-355.

³² On Banga, see S. Thomas, 'Banga, Jelle', in: P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok, eds, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 4, Leiden, 1918, p. 85, available online at http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/molh003nieu04_01/molh003nieu04_01_0134.php, accessed on 23 January 2020.

comment on whether Banga desperately needed a recondite hobby to fill the long afternoons of his retirement days or whether reading these obscure treatises filled his heart with a sense of nostalgia for the dying art of classical medicine, but he was likely the last person to have read Deusing's abundant output, especially the medical treatises the Groningen professor quickly churned out whenever a colleague developed an interesting theory or conducted a new experiment. Banga's disdainful view of Deusing's personality, writing style and medical opinions has single-handedly set the tone for later publications. Banga, whose dislike of Deusing is somewhat extreme, describes him in the following terms:

... as a medical man, he hardly deserves to be recorded separately. His heavy-handed character bent on dispute may well have made him famous, but as a human being we cannot commend him, even if some have decided to spare him because of the circumstances in his age, which we also take into account. All his contemporaries speak loudly and negatively about him, and his own writings testify to the fact that his heart was full of bitterness which also poured abundantly from his mouth. An exaggerated self-worth, a righteous national pride combined with feigned humility, a learnedness that, although versatile, has not been cleansed through the lens of quiet reflection and research, and an envious disposition made him see an enemy, whom he would treat with the greatest harshness, in anybody who commented and criticised the confused, gullible, and contradictory concepts in his many minor works.³³

Banga's bias against Deusing is most apparent when he twists the words of the Danish anatomist Nicolas Steno (1638-1686) explaining why he wrote the *Responsio ad vindicias hepatis redivivi* (*Answer to the Claims of the Liver Reborn*), a refutation of Deusing's treatise on the liver.³⁴ The Latin original clearly expresses admiration for Deusing's work and ascribes the fallacies of the treatise to the fact that Deusing had a busy practice and that he read abundantly

³³ Banga, *Geschiedenis* (as in n. 30), vol. 1, p. 345: '[...] als geneeskundige verdient hij naauwelijks eenige bijzondere vermelding. Zijn hooghartig twistziek karakter maakte hem wel befaamd, doch als mensch kunnen wij hem niet prijzen, hoezeer ook sommigen hem om de tijdsomstandigheden, die ook wij willen laten gelden, getracht hebben te verschoonen. Al zijne tijdgenooten spreken te luid tot zijn nadeel en zijn eigene geschriften getuigen, hoe zijn hart vol bitterheid was, waarvan de mond overvloedige.'

'Een overdreven zelfverheffing, een regt nationale trots, bij schijnbare nederigheid, een wel veelzijdige, doch doorbedaar nadenken en onderzoek niet gelouterde geleerdheid en een afgunstige gemoedsgesteldheid deden hem in ieder, die de verwarde, ligtgeloovige en meermalen strijdige denkbeelden in zijne veelvuldige kleine geschriften opmerkte en bestreed, een vijand zien, dien hij met de grofst bitterheid behandelde.'

³⁴ A. Deusing, 'Dissertatio Epistolica de Hepatis Officio' in *Exercitationes Physico-Anatomicae*, Groningen: Franciscus Bronchorst, 1661, pp. 287-357 and idem, *Appendix ad Dissertationem De Hepatis Officio seu Vindiciae Hepatis Redivivi*, Groningen: Franciscus Bronchorst, 1661.

and wrote prolifically which inevitably led to some small errors.³⁵ Yet, Banga, seemingly quoting Steno, voices his own criticism that Deusing read ‘everything that he could lay his hands on’ and ‘dug up small pieces of information’ from them which left him with ‘little time for testing things himself’ and with treatises ‘that were written hastily, without much care, and provided only superficial insights’.³⁶

Banga found Deusing’s medical opinions too traditional and his writing too pedestrian. He was unfairly critical of Deusing’s treatises and he wrote the short biographical account from a subjective viewpoint. Banga still felt obliged to acknowledge in passing that ‘as an oriental linguist, an ability that was then rare’ Deusing was ‘undoubtedly regarded a man of extraordinary learning’ by his contemporaries.³⁷

Deusing’s oeuvre

A prolific author, Deusing published over fifty books comprising medical treatises and essays. When one takes a glance at his printed editions, Deusing comes across as a very bookish man who spent most of his time at his desk, combing literature, classical, oriental and contemporary. He makes, for instance, frequent references to Dioscorides, Galen and Hippocrates, as well as to Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā), Averroes (Ibn Rušd) and Ibn al-Bayṭār and many other medical texts from both Western and Eastern traditions in his *Dissertatio de Manna* (Essay on the Manna), while discussing the names given in different languages to the mythical edible substance that, according to the Bible and the Qur’ān, God provided to the Israelites.³⁸ In the second part of the volume, containing the *Dissertatio de Saccharo* (Essay on sugar), he uses both classical Greek and medieval Arabic medical sources with ease while listing the different types of sugar and sugary substances mentioned by their

³⁵ N. Steno, ‘Responsio ad vindicias hepatis redivivi’ in *Observationes Anatomicae* Leiden: Pieter de Graaf, 1680, pp. 55-78 (57).

³⁶ Banga, *Geschiedenis*, vol. 1, p. 354, note 6: ‘Hiertegen schreef N. Steno eene uitgebreide en bezagdigde *Resposio* [sic] *ad vindicias hepatis redivivi*, waaruit wij zien, dat Deusing steeds eene drukke praktijk uitefende, alles wat in ’t licht kwam las, zelf eene menigte kleine stukjes uitgraf, zoodat hem weinig tijd overbleef om de zaken goed de onderzoeken, en hij dus met overhaasting, achteloos en oppervlakkig oordeelde en schreef.’

Sobiech, who never references Banga in his book, also describes Deusing’s response as a ‘hastily composed and unobjective polemical pamphlet’ and goes on to quote the exact same passage from Steno, repeating the translation mistakes. Sobiech, *Ethos* (as in n. 6), p. 49.

³⁷ Banga, *Geschiedenis*, vol. 1, p. 345: ‘Als oostersch taalgeleerde, eene toen zeldzame kennis, ..., werd hij ongetwijfeld beschouwd als een man van buitengewone geleerdheid [...]’

³⁸ A. Deusing, *Dissertationes De Manna Et Saccharo*, Groningen: Johan Cöllén, 1659, pp. 1-7, 9-14 and passim.

authors.³⁹ Similarly, in the *Dissertatio de Lapide Bezaar* (Essay on the Bezoar stone), he provides a long list of sources mentioning this particular stone, ranging from the *Compound Book of Simple Drugs* (*Liber aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus*), attributed to Serapion the Younger,⁴⁰ to the *De Medicina Indorum* (On the Medicine of the Indians) by his contemporary and the pioneering Dutch physician of tropical medicine Jacobus Bontius (1592-1631).⁴¹ Admittedly, most of Deusing's treatises are catalogues of references to recondite sources, diligently compiled and accurately put down — books full of facts that would have satisfied even Mr Gradgrind! Creative thinker he may not have been, but Deusing was an industrious scholar who relentlessly collected words and references, especially from Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources that were largely inaccessible to his medical colleagues. This kind of information was becoming increasingly irrelevant to the younger generation of physicians as a result of the changing trends in the study and practice of medicine during the first half of the seventeenth century. After all, the earlier part of the century was, as Dag Hasse aptly puts it, 'the crucial period in which the West began to disconnect from its Arabic sources' when it came to medicine and life sciences.⁴²

Now we shall focus on Deusing's printed output and manuscript works related to his study of oriental languages. These were recorded in the list of Deusing's complete works appended to the funeral oration.⁴³ In 1649, Deusing published Latin translations of Avicenna's *Poem on Medicine* (*Urġūza fī l-ṭibb*) and Yaḥyā ibn Māsawayh's *Medical Aphorisms* (*Kitāb al-Nawādir al-ṭibbīya*).⁴⁴ More than a decade after leaving Leiden, Deusing dedicated this volume to his teacher Golius.

³⁹ In these two treatises, Deusing comes across as no less learned than his contemporaries. His much-criticised encyclopedic writing style is also very similar to the comparable works of authors who are considered today to be very erudite and competent. Compare with, for instance, Claude Saumaise, *De manna et saccharo commentarius*, Paris: Charles du Mesnil, 1663.

⁴⁰ This work is, in fact, a Latin translation of the *Book on Simple Drugs* (*Kitāb al-Adwiya al-mufrada*) by Arabic author Ibn Wāfid (d. 1067); see P. E. Pormann, 'Yuḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn: Further Studies into the Transmission of his Works', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 14 (2004), 233-262 (237).

⁴¹ A. Deusing, 'Dissertatio de Lapide Bezaar' in *Fasciculus Dissertationum Selectarum*, Groningen: Johan Cöllén, 1660, pp. 320-382.

⁴² D. N. Hasse, *Success and Suppression: Arabic Sciences and Philosophy in the Renaissance*, Cambridge, MA, 2016, p. xii.

⁴³ Maresius, *Oratio funebris*, sigs D2r-D4v.

⁴⁴ A. Deusing, tr., *Canticum Principis Abi-Alis, Ibn-Sinae, vulgo dicti Avicennae De Medicina Seu Breve, perspicuum, & concinnè digestum Institutionum Medicarum Compendium. Cui adjecti Aphorismi Medici Iohannis Mesuaei, Damasceni*, Groningen: Johan Nicolai, 1649. Incidentally, this edition was used as language learning material by Georg Hieronymus Welsch, who translated the Latin text back into Arabic and into Latin once again; see Keller in this issue, pp. 201-231 below.

From this dedicatory epistle we learn that Deusing always wanted to work on Avicenna since he considered him of primary importance for medicine.⁴⁵ In Leiden, Deusing first began to translate the *Canon* but his friend Elichmann told him that the Louvain professor Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius (1601-1671) was already working on it,⁴⁶ so he stopped and moved on to the *Poem on Medicine*.⁴⁷

I had recently prepared a copy of the text on the basis of manuscripts which your eminence [sc. Golius] had brought from the East together with many others, for it was not available in the Rome edition [of Avicenna]. I was able complete the translation quickly.⁴⁸

Now let us have a look at the working copy that Deusing produced from Golius's manuscripts and annotated in Latin. This is now extant in GöUB, MS arab. 97, a paper manuscript, measuring 21.5 cm × 16.5 cm, consisting of 48 folios.⁴⁹ Folios 1-28 contain the *Poem on Medicine*, here entitled 'Didactic poem by the master Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā on Medicine (*Manzūmat al-ra'īs Abī 'Alī ibn Sīnā fī l-ṭibb*'); folios 29-41 contain a treatise on sphygmology by Abū Sahl al-Masīhī; and folios 42-8 Aṭīr al-Dīn Al-Abharī's *Introduction to Logic* (*Īsāgūḡī fī l-mantiq*) in Arabic and Latin copied from Thomas Obicini's 1625 Rome edition.⁵⁰ According to the *ex-libris*, the manuscript belonged to the Duisburg orientalist Johann Peter Berg (1737-1800) before it was purchased by the Library in 1801.

Deusing appears to have produced his copy of the *Poem on Medicine* by collating two independent Arabic manuscripts. On fol. 1b, he first copies the introduction, which after the basmala and the name of the author consists of 17 rağaz verses, beginning thus:

الحمد لله العلي القادر، ذي الطول والحوال العزيري القاهر،
خلقنا في أحسن التقويم، مرشدنا لترتبة التعليم،

⁴⁵ Deusing, *Canticum*, sig. *2v, ll. 12-14: '... Medicinae Principem, quem post Galenum ac Hippocratem non sine ratione censeo primarium, ...'

⁴⁶ Plempius translated the first two books and part of book four of the *Canon* over thirty years using the manuscripts Golius brought to Leiden from the Ottoman Empire. See J.P. Tricot, 'Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius', *Vesalius* 6.1 (2000): 11-19.

⁴⁷ Deusing, *Canticum*, sigs *3r-v.

⁴⁸ Deusing, *Canticum*, sig. *3r, ll. 11-17: 'cuius mihi dudum propriâ manu comparaveram Apographum ex M.S. Exemplaribus à T[ua] Clar[ita]te ex Oriente cum caeteris voluminibus quam plurimis allatis, (nam inter opera Autoris olim Romae edita Arabicè non extat;) eiusque versionem faciliè absolvi, [...].'

⁴⁹ *Die Handschriften in Göttingen. Vol 3: Universitätsbibliothek. Nachlässe von Gelehrten, Orientalische Handschriften. Handschriften im Besitz von Instituten und Behörden*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 355-356.

⁵⁰ Al-Abharī; T. Novariensis [Obicini], ed. and tr., *Isagoge. Id est, breve introductorium arabicum in scientiam logices*, Rome: Stephanus Paulinus, 1625.

Praise be to God, high and mighty, who has great length and strength, the conquerer, He created us in the best possible way, and guides us through the different levels of instruction, etc.

These verses are completely different from those printed in the modern edition by Jahier and Noureddine.⁵¹

On fol. 2a, what Deusing considers to be the actual poem begins with a title ‘The Discussion of the Division of Medicine (*dīkr qismat al-ṭibb*)’, followed by eighteen verses with two numbering systems. Deusing gives a variant reading already for the title: ‘The Discussion of the Definition and Division of Medicine (*dīkr ḥadd al-ṭibb wa-taqṣīmihī*)’, which he notes in the margin with the letters ‘al[iter]’. Likewise, in the opening verse, he gives a variant:

الطب حفظ صحة براء مرض، من سبب في بدن منه عرض

Medicine is the preservation of health, and the cure of disease caused by something in the body through which it occurs.

The variant here is ‘through which (*minhu*)’ and Deusing notes ‘*anhu* al[iter]’ above this word. At the end of this page in the left margin, we also find an explanatory note, also presumably copied from one of the two exemplars employed by Deusing. There are some 10-20 variant readings recorded per page, and the counting of the verses differs by ten at the end of the first part on theory (fol. 18a: 480 versus 490), yet in the second part on practice, it is much greater (39 versus 250). For the first part, the first number section corresponds exactly to Deusing’s own translation as printed in the 1649 edition. He clearly produced the Arabic manuscript to prepare his own Latin rendering, — an independent version significantly different from the thirteenth-century translation.⁵² For instance, at the beginning of ‘the third section of part one on unnatural things, that is, symptoms (*al-tāliṭa min al-umūr al-ḥāriḡa ‘an al-ṭabī‘a wa-hiya l-a‘rād*)’, the medieval Latin version has:

Quaedam ex accidentibus reperiuntur in operationibus, et quaedam in quibusdam corpori contingentibus, et quaedam in egredientibus ab eodem, puta in sputo, faecibus, sudore, et urina.⁵³

⁵¹ Ibn Sīnā; H. Jahier and A. Noureddine, eds, *Poème de la médecine*, Paris, 1956, p. 11.

⁵² Printed in Jahier and Noureddine, *Poème de la Médecine*, pp. 109-183.

⁵³ Jahier and Noureddine, *Poème de la Médecine*, p. 130.

Deusing translates much more idiomatically:

Inveniuntur Symptomata in functionibus; et in qualitibus quae corpus per vices invadunt: nec non in iis quae excernuntur, veluti in faecibus, sudore, et urinis.⁵⁴

Deusing's manuscript runs as follows:

وتوجد الأعراض في الأفعال، وما ينوب الجسم في أحوال
وفي الذي يبرز كالأنف، والنفث، والعرق والأبول⁵⁵

We will not go into much detail but suffice it to say Deusing was capable of producing a fresh translation of a didactic poem in Arabic that was independent of earlier Latin translations.

Another Göttingen manuscript associated with the 1649 edition is GöSUB, MS arab 99,⁵⁶ copied in 1635 by Deusing from Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek (hereafter LUB), MS Or. 128. It consists of 176 folios, 20 cm x 15.5 cm and is divided into two parts, like the manuscript from which it was copied. The first part (fols 1-169) comprises the *Book of Aphorisms* by the twelfth-century Jewish physician and philosopher Maimonides (Mūsā ibn Maymūn, 1135-1204); and the second (fols 170-76) the *Medical Aphorisms* of Yahyā ibn Māsawayh (Mesue, d. 857). It is a neat copy transmitting the text correctly, demonstrating a mastery of both Arabic and medicine. Deusing offers occasional corrections and emendations to the text in the margins. These are not always correct yet they suggest an acute awareness of the subject matter.

We will now look at two marginal notes that exemplify his close reading of a difficult text. Maimonides' *Aphorisms* 1.19 reads as follows in Deusing's copy:

في العروق الضواري وغير الضواري الدم والروح جزآن إلا أن ما في العروق الضواري من الدم قليل
لطيف قريب من طبيعة البخار ...⁵⁷

Within arteries and veins are two parts: blood and pneuma; however, the blood in the arteries is little, thin, and vaporous ...⁵⁸

Deusing underlined the phrase 'the blood (*min al-dam*)' and noted in the margin that one 'probably (*fort[asse]*)' should read 'the pneuma (*min al-rūh*)'. In this

⁵⁴ Deusing, *Canticum*, p. 42.

⁵⁵ GöSUB, arab. 97, fol. 8r, ll. 11-12.

⁵⁶ *Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preussischen Staate*, pp. 356-57.

⁵⁷ GöSUB, arab. 99, fol. 4v.

⁵⁸ Translated in Maimonides; G. Bos, ed. and tr., *Medical Aphorisms, vol. 1: Treatises 1-5*, Provo, UT, 2004, p. 11 (with modifications).

instance, Deusing's surmise is incorrect; as Bos shows, the aphorism is extracted from Galen's *On the Usefulness of the Parts* 6.10, which reads: 'The arteries share in a little, fine, vaporous *blood* (αἷ μὲν [sc. ἀρτηρίαί μετέχουσι] ὀλίγου καὶ λεπτοῦ καὶ ἀπμόδου αἵματος)'.⁵⁹ Yet Deusing's conjecture shows that he thought hard about the text whilst copying it.

Aphorism 1.54 talks about 'the membrane of fat that completely surrounds the *stomach* (*al-ma'ida*)',⁶⁰ and Deusing comments in the margin: 'ita m[anu] s[criptum] sed forta[sse] potius *al-am'ā*' (thus in the manuscript, but perhaps rather *intestines*).⁶¹ Here, Deusing clearly has a point, since Galen himself asserted that the first use of peritoneum is 'as a cover of all the parts of the body that lie underneath in the belly and the intestine (ὡς σκεπάσματος ἀπάντων τῶν ὑποκειμένων μορίων κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ ἔντερα)'.⁶²

The second part of the manuscript clearly served as the copy from which Deusing produced his Latin translation of Māsawayh's *Medical Aphorisms*. Here, too, we find similar corrections in the margin, and some of them were also used for his Latin translation. For instance, Aphorism 14 reads:

الأطباء الأعميون المقلدون الأحداث ومن فَلَئَتْ عَنَائِيَهُ وَكَثُرَتْ شَهَوَاتُهُ قَتَالُونَ.

Physicians who are incompetent, who imitate [others], who are young, and whose care *is blunt* (*fallat*) and passions many are murderers.⁶³

In the margin, Deusing notes that one should perhaps ('*fort[asse]*') read whose care 'is little (*qallat*)' instead of 'is blunt (*fallat*)'. This is also the reading underlying his Latin translation 'quique *parum* solliciti sunt'.⁶⁴

Deusing's editions and translations of Arabic medical works deserve a separate study that lies outside the scope of the present inquiry. Yet Deusing's annotations in the Göttingen manuscripts show, once again, that he was a competent Arabist.⁶⁵ Now we shall return to the dedicatory epistle to the *Canticum*, which tells us much about Deusing's difficult personal circumstances and how he had very little time to dedicate to oriental studies.

⁵⁹ Galen; G. Kühn, ed., *Opera Omnia*, 20 vols, Leipzig, 1821-1833, vol. 3, p. 450.

⁶⁰ Bos, *Medical Aphorisms* (as in n. 58), p. 20.

⁶¹ GöSUB, arab. 99, fol. 9a

⁶² Galen, *On the Usefulness of the Parts* 4.9. See Kühn, vol. 3, p. 288.

⁶³ GöSUB, arab. 99, fol. 171v, ll. 3-4. For a modern edition, see Yaḥyā ibn Māsawayh; D. Jacquart and G. Troupeau, eds, *Le Livre des axiomes médicaux (Aphorismi), édition du texte arabe et des versions latines avec traduction française et lexique*, Paris, 1980.

⁶⁴ Deusing, *Canticum*, p. 166 (my emphasis).

⁶⁵ I thank Peter E. Pormann for his help in evaluating Deusing's grasp of classical and medieval Arabic medical literature.

After finishing his studies in Leiden, Deusing went to Moers to teach at the Gymnasium there, thence to Harderwijk Academy where he replaced the deceased Johannes Isacius Pontanus (1571-1639) as teacher of mathematics and natural philosophy. He was also the chief physician of the town and kept a busy private medical practice.⁶⁶ In other words, he held down three demanding jobs at the same time. This took its toll on Deusing's philological studies:

But I was burdened by the various tasks that I had to perform that arose from the situation itself. My former zeal for studying languages, therefore, began to abate quite a bit. For I had to put my mind to those things with which I was to 'embellish my manifold Sparta'⁶⁷, as they deserved to be done, and it was my duty. In the meantime, whilst I spent more than seven years in that post, the tools that I developed for the purpose of studying Persian and Turkish needed to rest.⁶⁸

After these years of toil, Deusing moved to Groningen where he landed a prestigious position that gave him more time for his own interests. He went beyond the call of duty and devoted his leisure hours to publishing his previous translation.⁶⁹

There are a number of printed editions to which Deusing contributed without claiming authorship such as Erpenius's *Grammatica Arabica*, which he 'published with corrections and emendations, without revealing his own name'.⁷⁰ The work Deusing undertook for the revised second edition of Erpenius's grammar was not inconsequential: he collated Erpenius's interleaved and heavily annotated copy of the first edition,⁷¹ with another grammar by Erpenius, the *Rudimenta linguae Arabicae*.⁷² He added a new section of reading samples comprising

⁶⁶ Deusing, *Canticum*, sigs *3r-v.

⁶⁷ The expression *Spartam nactus es, hanc orna* (You have obtained Sparta; embellish her) from the Greek 'ἦν ἐλαχες, Σπάρτην κόσμει' enjoins one to look well after what one has acquired; see Erasmus, *Adages*, II.v.1; R.A.B. Mynors, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Adages III to IIVI100*, Toronto, 1991, p. 237.

⁶⁸ Deusing, *Canticum*, sig. *3v, ll. 11-21: 'Sic verò sub multiplici labore, à rebus ipsis mihi incumbente, Linguarum studium antiquum haud parùm coepit deferverscere, dum magis ad ea animum adjicerem, quibus Spartam multiplicem pro rei merito meoque debito ornarem. Interea verò, dum sic integrum septennium, et quod excurrebat, in illustri illa statione labeatur, non ea modò quae ad Persicae Turcicaeque Linguae commoda cultumque adornare aliquando coeperam, quiescere necesse habuerunt; [...].'

⁶⁹ Deusing, *Canticum*, sigs *4r-v.

⁷⁰ Maresius, *Oratio funebris*, sig. B4v, ll. 5-7: '[...] Erpenii *Grammatica Arabica*, quam correctiorem & emendationem, tacito tamen suo nomine, cùm adhuc studiosus esset anno 1636 emisit in publicum; [...].'

⁷¹ T. Erpenius, *Grammatica Arabica, quinque libris methodice explicata*, Leiden: Officina Raphelengiana, 1613.

⁷² T. Erpenius, *Rudimenta linguae Arabicae. Accedunt eiusdem Praxis grammatica, et consilium de studio Arabico feliciter instituendo*, Leiden: Typographia Erpeniana, 1620.

excerpts from the *Tales of Luqmān* and the *Proverbs of the Arabs* already published by Erpenius.⁷³ Deusing provided the ‘vowel signs and other diacritical marks, so that they would be easier for beginners (*proprio studio & industriâ vocalibus & notis orthographicis illustrasset, sicque Tyronibus accommodatiora emitteret*)’.⁷⁴ Yet, he ‘published the whole book under the name of Erpenius only, in order not to appear to have claimed some of the credit prematurely (*ne fortè quid gloriolae immaturiùs captare videretur, in solidum universa Autoris nomini inscripsit*)’.⁷⁵ Deusing did not reveal his name even in his preface to the 1636 edition and simply entitled it ‘*Typographus ad lectorem* (Printer to the reader)’. Deusing’s modesty is in stark contrast with Erpenius’s boundless self-confidence. With a desire to outshine Scaliger, Erpenius had marked every single intervention he made to the text in his edition of *Proverbia Arabica* (1614), drawing attention to the presumed errors of Scaliger rather than silently correcting them.⁷⁶

Deusing also contributed to the first grammar of Persian printed in Europe. *Rudimenta Linguae Persicae* (Persian Primer) only carries Louis De Dieu’s name on its title-page.⁷⁷ Yet to this primer is appended a section comprising the first two chapters of the *Book of Genesis* in Jacob ben Joseph Ṭāvūs’s Persian translation provided here as reading samples.⁷⁸ Deusing had transliterated the entire Persian Pentateuch from Hebrew script into Arabic and vocalised it to make it easier for beginners to read, as we shall discuss next. This section, which carries no declaration of editorship but only a ‘Warning to the Reader’ (*Comonefactio ad Lectorem*), delineating the principles that informed the transliteration, was the work of Deusing who, once again, remained the anonymous editor of an important text.⁷⁹

⁷³ T. Erpenius, *Lokmani sapientis fabulae et selecta quaedam arabum adagia*, Leiden: Typographia Erpeniana, 1615. Golius’ 1656 edition repeats Deusing’s rendering with a few corrections. T. Erpenius, *Arabicae linguae tyrocinium*, Leiden: Johan Maire, 1656. Emil Rödiger takes a very dim view of Deusing’s (and Golius’) efforts in his nineteenth-century critical edition of Luqmān’s tales. E. Rödiger, *Locmani fabulae*, Halle, 1839, p. iv.

⁷⁴ *Effigies*, p. 214, ll. 32-34

⁷⁵ *Effigies*, p. 214, ll. 27-29.

⁷⁶ A. Vrolijk, ‘The Prince of Arabists and His Many Errors: Thomas Erpenius’s Image of Joseph Scaliger and the Edition of the *Proverbia Arabica* (1614)’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 73:1, 2010, pp. 297-325.

⁷⁷ L. De Dieu, *Rudimenta linguae persicae... Accedunt duo prior capita Geneseos, ex persica translatione Iac. Tawusi*, Leiden: Elzevir, 1639. I use the copy from BSB which carries the shelf-mark L.as.255.

⁷⁸ De Dieu, *Rudimenta*, pp. 87-95.

⁷⁹ Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars* (as in n. 14), pp. 190-191; Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis* (as in n. 11), vol. 2, p. 293.

The Persian version of the Pentateuch was first printed in Hebrew characters in the famous Constantinople Polyglot.⁸⁰ This colossal edition, published by Eliezer ben Gerson Soncino in 1546, contains the Hebrew text, Rashi's commentary, the Aramaic translation known as the Targum of Onkelos, Saadia Gaon's Arabic rendering and our Persian translation, all printed in Hebrew characters.⁸¹ The edition was produced under the patronage of Moses Hamon, the court physician to Sultan Süleymān I. Moses was a fine linguist fluent in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, a philanthropist who founded a school for the local Jews and a patron of Hebrew learning who sponsored the printing of many important titles.⁸² Although originally intended for the multi-lingual Jewish population of the Ottoman Empire, Soncino's Polyglot Pentateuch became immensely popular among European scholars who recognised the great pedagogical value it carried and hailed it as a great tool for learning Aramaic, Arabic and Persian through Hebrew. From Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637) in Marseille to Sebastian Tegnagel (1563-1636) in Vienna, anybody who took an interest in oriental languages either owned a copy or desired one.⁸³ The Persian translation made locally by Jacob ben Joseph Ṭāvūs in Constantinople, which appeared for the first time in this edition,⁸⁴ was a true gem and aided the production of other Persian learning aids. In Leiden, Scaliger used Ṭāvūs's translation to complete a Persian lexicon begun by Franciscus Raphelengius, the Elder (1539-1597).⁸⁵

⁸⁰ *Torat Hashem Temimah* [from Ps 19:8 תּוֹרַת ה' תְּמִימָה 'God's Law is complete ...'], Constantinople: Eliezer Soncino, 1546.

⁸¹ On the Constantinople Polyglot, see R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources*, Leiden, 2015, pp. 115-117.

⁸² M. Keiserling, 'Hamon: Moses Hamon (Amon)' in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ed. by Isidore Singer et al., vol. 6, p. 202.

⁸³ Peiresc received a copy from Father Théophile Minuti in Constantinople which he cherished. See P.N. Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean World*, Cambridge, MA, 2015, p. 102. Tegnagel's copy was bought in Constantinople for 13 ducats according to his autograph inscriptions on the first fly-leaf and the title-page of Vienna, ÖNB, shelfmark 3.D.29.

⁸⁴ Ṭāvūs, of whom is very little known, is believed to have moved to Constantinople in the sixteenth century from his native Persia and taught at the Jewish school there. See W. Bacher, 'Tawus, Jacob b. Joseph' in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ed. by Isidore Singer et al. vol. 12, p. 68. A critical edition by Alexander Kohut explored, for the first time, the links between Ṭāvūs's rendering and the earlier traditions of Bible translations into Persian. See his *Kritische Beleuchtung der Persischen Pentateuch-Übersetzung des Jacob ben Joseph Tawus*, Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1871. Studies on the text of the Constantinople edition include P. Orsatti, 'The Judaeo-Persian Pentateuch of Constantinople and the Beginnings of Persian Linguistic Studies in Europe', in: S. Shaked and A. Netzer, eds, *Irano-Judaica IV. Studies Relating to Jewish Contacts with Persian Culture throughout the Ages, Jerusalem, 3-6 July 1994*, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 170-178; K.J. Thomas, *A Restless Search: A History of Persian Translations of the Bible*, Atlanta, 2015, pp. 116-121.

⁸⁵ See Scaliger to Hubert, 15 October 1607 published in *The Correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger*, ed. P. Botley and D. van Miert, 8 vols, Geneva, 2012, vol. 7, p. 320, ll. 49-51 and n. 9.

The manuscript, which is now LUB, MS or. 2019, provides the Persian entries in Hebrew script following the edition, and gives Arabic and Turkish equivalents in the Arabic script.

Elichman and De Dieu also employed the Constantinople Polyglot to teach themselves Persian. Although the printed edition of a well-known text in Persian provided a valuable tool for learning the language, reading Judeo-Persian was no easy feat. As the author of the *Effigies* explains, Persian printed in Hebrew characters caused ‘great confusion’ for beginners because there were ‘more letters in the Persian alphabet than the Hebrew’.⁸⁶ Therefore, Deusing took it upon himself to ‘transcribe the work meticulously into Persian letters and to add the correct vowel signs.’⁸⁷ The complete work is extant in GÖSUB, MS pers. 37. It consists of 242 folios of transliterated and vocalised Persian text in Deusing’s hand.⁸⁸ In his dedicatory letter to Golius, Deusing reminisced about his time spent working on this manuscript in his teacher’s house:

At that time, you observed the daily efforts of your student in your home, who wanted to emulate his teacher. He did not even waste his leisure hours, but rather devoted them to similar exercises of the mind and intellect. I knew this one thing at the time, that by transcribing the Persian Pentateuch into Persian letters, I exceeded the expectations and assumptions of the most important men, among them the famous and celebrated Salmasius, and the aforementioned De Dieu.⁸⁹

Until now, scholars assumed that it was the English orientalist Thomas Hyde (1636-1703) who transliterated the full text of the Persian version of Ṭāvūs into Arabic characters for the first time for Brian Walton’s 1657 London Polyglot Bible.⁹⁰ In fact, Deusing had already produced a manuscript edition of Ṭāvūs’s

⁸⁶ *Effigies*, p. 214, ll. 7-12, quoted above in note 23.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ For a catalogue description, see [Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen], *Die Handschriften in Göttingen. Bd. 3. Universitätsbibliothek. Nachlässe von Gelehrten, Orientalische Handschriften. Handschriften im Besitz von Instituten und Behörden. Register zu Band 1-3, (Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preussischen Staate, 1, Hannover, 3), Berlin, 1894, p. 414.*

⁸⁹ Deusing, *Canticum*, sig. *5v, ll. 3-13: ‘... utpote qui tunc domestici discipuli tui studia quotidie lustrabas, cui ad imitationem venerandi Praeceptoris, ne succisivae quidem horae, similibus animi ingeniique exercitiis datae, sine fructu peribant. Hoc certè novi, me tunc temporis illâ Persici Pentateuchi in characterem Persicum conversione, opinionem atque expectationem superâsse maximorum Virorum, inter caeteros Illustris & inclyti D. Salmasii, & praedicti D. De Dieu.’

⁹⁰ B. Walton, ed., *Biblia polyglotta, complectentia textus originales, hebraicos, cum pentat[eucho] samarit[ano], chaldaicos, graecos Versionumque antiquarum ... persicae quicquid comparari poterat*, 6 vols, London: Thomas Roycroft, 1657. Hyde’s transliteration and Latin translation are in a separately paginated section of the fourth volume containing the Pseudo-Jonathan and Jerusalem Targums, and Ṭāvūs’ Persian version, pp. 1-390. The entry in the *Oxford*

Persian Pentateuch well before Hyde, and it was partly printed together with De Dieu's 1639 *Persian Primer*. Deusing reminds Golius of this fact:

An excerpt from this manuscript comprising the first two chapters of *Genesis* were appended to the end of the *Persian Primer* (*Rudimenta Persica*) by the late Louis De Dieu, a very dear friend of mine.⁹¹

A comparison of these first two chapters of *Genesis* between Hyde's version and that of Deusing reveals that the consonant text is largely the same. Hyde's text, however, is much more sparingly vocalised than Deusing's. At times, Hyde's consonant text differs slightly from that of Deusing, as for instance at *Genesis* 2.1 'وَتَمَامَ شَدْنِ' (Hyde) versus 'وَتَمَامَ شُدْنِ' (Deusing) for 'וַיְכַלּוּ' (and they were finished); or 'سپاه' (Hyde) versus 'سَبَّه' (Deusing) for 'צָבָאָם' ([their] host). What role (if any) Deusing's Persian transliteration of the whole Pentateuch played in Hyde's edition is a question that lies beyond the present article.

De Dieu had also published bilingual editions of the *Historia Christi* and another text entitled *Historia S. Petri* (The Life of Saint Peter)⁹² in Leiden in 1639. Both works were written by the Portuguese Jesuit Jerome Xavier (1549-1617) for missionary purposes.⁹³ While Father Jerome was still in Goa these were translated into Persian at the command of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Deusing tells us that De Dieu produced the *Historia Christi* (The Life of Christ) whilst studying Persian for the first time with Elichmann, or, as Deusing put it in a dedicatory letter to Golius, 'he learnt ... whilst producing knowledge at the same time (*discendo ... simul doceret*)'.⁹⁴

De Dieu's preface records that his copy of the Soncino Pentateuch was a gift from the Groningen theologian Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641),⁹⁵ 'who stayed in Leiden for a while in order to revise the translation of the Bible and produce

Dictionary of National Biography credits Hyde with the first transcription of the Persian Pentateuch. See, P.J. Marshall, 'Hyde, Thomas (1636-1703), oriental scholar', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14336>, accessed on 23 January 2020.

⁹¹ Deusing, *Canticum*, sig. *5r, ll. 19-23: 'Specimem illius exemplaris in duobus prioribus capitibus Geneseos, post Rudimenta Persica Rev. viri D. Ludovici De Dieu p[ri]m[us] m[an]u[m] scriptum. Amici nostri desideratissimi, adjectum est.'

⁹² J. Xavier, trans, L. De Dieu, ed., *Historia S. Petri Persice... Latine reddita & animadversionibus notata a Ludovico De Dieu*, Leiden: Elzevir, 1639.

⁹³ On Xavier's Persian works, see A. Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History, 1956-1998*, Leiden, 2000, pp. 33-46.

⁹⁴ See the full quotation below on p. 179.

⁹⁵ Gomarus was also the teacher of Maresius, who wrote Deusing's funeral oration. See C. Serrurier, 'Maresius, Samuel', in: *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol 2, Leiden, 1912, pp. 868-870, available online at http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/molh003nieu02_01/molh-003nieu02_01_1561.php, accessed 23 January 2020.

a new one'. The Grand Pensionary of Zeeland Johan Boreel (1577-1629), an erudite scholar and collector of oriental manuscripts, deemed the Constantinople edition immensely useful.⁹⁶ In order not to fail the recently deceased Boreel's 'heirs', in other words, 'the champions and supporters of literature and writers', De Dieu had 'accepted' this generous gift, but 'thought that such a great treasure should not lie hidden in [his] library and such a great benefit conferred upon [him] should not be without usefulness'.⁹⁷ In the same preface, De Dieu also confirmed that Deusing was 'an outstanding young man who lived in the house of Jacobus Golius and learned from him for many years'. Moreover, he praised Deusing for having 'made such great progress in Arabic and Persian that he greatly benefitted the Republic of Letters in this respect'.⁹⁸

In turn, in his dedicatory letter to Golius, Deusing reminisces about his friendship with De Dieu and an injustice done to him by a younger scholar:

As I now think of this man, who has done so much for Christ's Church and the Republic of Letters, I also remember the injustice which was done to the same great man after his death [in 1642] during an oration praising the study of oriental languages delivered recently in Utrecht by a young man who knew oriental languages extremely well.⁹⁹

This young man was the German orientalist Christian Ravius (1613-1677), who moved to Leiden in 1637 to study Arabic under Golius.¹⁰⁰ Ravius had claimed in his first panegyric celebrating oriental languages delivered in Utrecht on 5 October 1643 that Johann Elichmann had done all the work for the *Historia*

⁹⁶ F. S. Knipscheer, 'Boreel, Johan', in: *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol 6, Leiden, 1924, pp. 499-500, available online at http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/molh003nieu06_01/molh003nieu06_01_0272.php, accessed on 23 January 2020.

⁹⁷ J. Xavier, tr., and L. De Dieu, ed., *Historia Christi Persice conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata... Latine reddita & animadversionibus notata a Ludovico De Dieu*, Leiden: Elzevir, 1639, sig. **2r, ll. 19-23: '[...] neque destitissimè donec ab eiusdem Borelii haeredibus, literarum ac literatorum autoribus & promotoribus, id impetrassem, committendum non putavi ut tantus in Bibliotheca mea thesaurus inutilis lateret, tantumque in me collatum beneficium sine fructu foret.'

⁹⁸ *Historia Christi*, sig. ***3r, line 6-8: '[...] in Arabicis & Persicis sic profecit, ut de Republ[ica] literaria plurimum hîc mereri possit.'

⁹⁹ Deusing, *Canticum*, sig.*5v, ll. 13-21: 'Dum verò memoria Reverendi huiusce viri, de Ecclesia Christi, ac Republica litteraria optimè meriti, iteratò impraesentiarum mihi recurrit, recurrit simul memoria iniuriae magno illi Viro post Fata illatae in Panegyrica Oratione Linguis Orientalibus dicta dudum Ultraiecti, ab aliquo Linguarum Orientalium peritissimo Viro Iuvene; [...].'

¹⁰⁰ G.J. Toomer, 'Christian Ravius', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online version, available at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23174>, accessed on 23 January 2020. Toomer reportedly is working on an intellectual biography of Ravius. See *Lias* 43.1, 2016, p. 1.

Christi while De Dieu claimed all the glory.¹⁰¹ This was not entirely true, and Ravius ‘himself finally acknowledged openly that he was raving in this part [of his speech] and promised to restore [De Dieu’s] honour and fame publicly.’¹⁰²

Deusing was upset by the misinformation about the division of labour in this project that circulated widely. Partly to do justice to two deceased friends and partly to raise awareness about his own contribution, he decided to tell the whole story in his dedicatory letter:

The *Historia*, to be sure, was translated into Latin not by Elichmann but by De Dieu. It had already been printed together with a primer of the Persian language, which was indeed conceived by the same author. Then, whilst I was staying in my hometown of Moers, the author [sc. De Dieu] sent a copy of this book with a handwritten dedication to me through Elichmann. Elichmann also gave me a letter, dated 12 May 1639, which contained the following: ‘I am sending you a letter by the great theologian and our common friend [sc. De Dieu] together with a gift for you. He mentions you in very laudatory terms, and this will one day increase your reputation significantly.’¹⁰³

Deusing also discloses the contents of De Dieu’s letter brought by Elichmann. Here he cannot help but express his disappointment with the way De Dieu described the book which he believed was the labour of all three of them. Deusing’s asides are printed in the edition in italics:

Since I cannot write to you at length as I am so busy, I ask you with only a few words kindly to receive this sample of my work (*note that with the full knowledge of Elichmann, who was sending the letter to me together with the book, this man speaks thus*) of my work, (*he says*), as a token of my appreciation for you. Continue to love me and pursue your study of good literature. May the good and merciful God look kindly upon you and your efforts. Leiden, 11 May 1639.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ C. Ravius, *Panegyrica prima orientalibus linguis dicta in illustrissimo et frequentissimo auditorio Rheno-Traiectino, pro pridie nonarum Octobris anni MDCXLIII*, Utrecht: Johannes Waesberge, 1643, p. 12.

¹⁰² Deusing, *Canticum*, sig. *6v, ll. 11-14: ‘qui se hallucinatum hac in parte tandem agnoscebat, ac famae et honoris restitutionem publicè se praestitutum promittebat’

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, sig. *7r, l. 14–*7v, l. 3: ‘Certè *Historia* illa, non à D.D. Elichmanno, sed à D. De Dieu in Latinum versa, & iam typis excusa, unà cum Grammaticali institutione Persica, reverè ab eodem autore concinnata, ad me tunc temporis Moersae, in Patria, commorantem, ex donatione Autoris ac inscriptione eiusdem manuali, per ipsum D.D. Elichmanno ipso ad me datae 12. Maji, 1639. inter caetera haec habent: *Mitto nunc Magnifici Theologi & communis Amici literas, cum dono tibi destinato: Mentio quam is tui cum singulari praeconio fecit, haud parum aliquando famam tuam extollere poterit; ...*’

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. *7v, ll. 5-16: ‘Quum multis iam ob plurimas occupationes non liceat, paucissimè te rogo, ut hoc laborum meorum (*N.B. sic D.D. Elichmanno conscio, ac unà cum munere literas ad me transmittente, loquitur ille Vir Rev.*) laborum meorum, *inquit*, specimen meique in te animi

Deusing was saddened by the fact that Elichmann did not claim it as his own work at all, whilst he was still alive; however, he also felt that Ravius's Panegyric went too far in denying De Dieu's authorship of the translation.¹⁰⁵ To put it right, he gives a detailed account of what transpired during the preparation of the work for publication:

The whole story unfolded as follows: Around the year 1635, I obtained a manuscript of the *History* from you, most famous Sir (for even De Dieu concedes in his preface that it belonged to you) and spent my leisure hours perusing it. With your consent as the owner of the manuscript, I marked all the quotations from the Gospels translated into Persian. I thereby rendered the task of going through the text somewhat easier. My intimate friend, the blessed Elichmann, visited my study and by chance came across this book. He was delighted by the subject matter in which he was well-versed; he recommended himself and asked to borrow it. Since I was engaged in various other endeavours, and since I wanted to oblige a friend, I decided to take a break from this enterprise on which I had embarked and gladly entrusted him with the book. Yet, a little while later, Elichmann passed it on to De Dieu. Shortly afterwards, the terrible plague began to ravage more and more, so that we had to leave the town for a while. In the meantime, the theologian [sc. De Dieu] had begun this new kind of study. He was fortunate to go through the *History* in this way [i.e. through quotations from the Gospels marked by Deusing], so that he learnt (for this was his first training in the Persian language) whilst producing knowledge at the same time. He thus prepared a Latin translation and compiled a dictionary of all the words that appear in the *Historia*. Moreover, he also added some grammatical rules. Yet, in the intervening period, the theologian obtained this [i.e. the notes and vocabulary that they composed during the lessons] from Elichmann, who had remained the whole time in town. At the beginning of his work, the author himself declares in the preface that 'in the more difficult passages, his aforementioned friend (Elichmann) functioned as a dictionary and had helped him a lot with this work'. Likewise, when he [sc. De Dieu] was in the process of revising his translation, I myself supplied the more difficult words to the already mentioned friend [sc. De Dieu] with the help of your Arabic-Persian and Persian-Turkish dictionaries;¹⁰⁶ at the time, I had just finished my [Persian] Pentateuch.¹⁰⁷

tesseram benevolè accipias, meque deinceps amare & bonas literas promovere pergas. Faveat tibi tuisque laboribus clementissimus Deus. Dabam Lug. Batav. 11. Maii 1639.'

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, sig. *7v, ll. 16-22: 'Ex hisce utrinque datis, & ab ipso D. Elichmanno unà cum munere Autoris transmissis, clarum est, haudquaquam sibi tribuisse D. Elichmannum, tum in vivis etiamnum cùm iam prodiisset in lucem labor iste Rev. D. De Dieu, quod huic Panegyrica eripit.'

¹⁰⁶ Deusing refers here to the manuscripts dictionaries that Golius acquired from the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. *7v, l. 22-sig. *8r, l. 12: 'Sic autem res universa se habet: Cùm fortè Anno 1635 praedicta Historiae M.S. exemplar à Te, Vir Clariss[ime], nactus essem, (ad te enim id pertinuisse proficitur ipse D. De Dieu in sua Praefatione,) ac in eo volvendo succisivis horis subinde me exercerem, iamque passim loca ex Evangelistis idiomate Persico reddita, in M.S. margine, te libro

Evidently, while still in Leiden, Deusing also compiled two dictionaries: the Persian-Turkish-Latin and the Turkish-Latin dictionaries which we discuss in detail below. Maresius mentions ‘an Arabic-Latin medical dictionary, which he wrote a long time ago’¹⁰⁸ and *Effigies* makes reference to an Arabic dictionary ‘in which’ Deusing ‘provided explanations for the names of simple drugs and technical vocabulary in the area of medicine’.¹⁰⁹ I have not been able to locate such a dictionary, but a three folio insert appended to the end of Deusing’s Qur’ān carries the draft of an Arabic glossary of medicinal herbs.¹¹⁰ According to Deusing’s own account, the Arabic medical dictionary was still a work-in-progress in 1649, when he penned the epistle to the reader printed in the *Canticum*:

Likewise, where a longer description was needed, because a drug was entirely alien and thus did not have a proper name in either Greek or Latin, or was some other sort of compound, I refrained from rendering it, as much as the individual cases allowed. I postponed a fuller explanation, to be given in my medical Arabic-Latin dictionary, which I have recently started [to compile] and which I am slowly completing.¹¹¹

If finished, this Arabic medical dictionary has not yet come to light.

[*leg. libri*] Domino ac possessore conscio, notâsem, quò in repetitione deinde laboris parte levarer, fortè in Musaeum meum ingressus intimus meus ὁ μακαρίτης Elichmannus, librum offendit, ac illico familiari materiâ oblectatus, commendato eum sibi petiit: Facilè, tum variis studiis districtus, quò amico gratificarer, à caepta illa exercitatione aliquantisper quiescere decrevi, librumque concessi: Hic verò mox à D. Elichmanno communicatus fuit Rev. D. De Dieu; ac caepit paulò post saevire magis magisque horrenda illa lues epidemica, quae ab urbe nos abesse ad tempus cogebat: dum interea hoc novum studii genus aggressus Theologus, ita feliciter Historiam percurrit, ut discendo (primum namque hoc eius in Lingua Persica erat exercitium,) simul doceret, ac versionem Latinam concinnaret, ipsasque voces omnes, quae in historia illa occurebant, in Lexicon redigeret, ac insuper praecepta quaedam Grammaticalia arduaret. Hoc tamen interim à D. Elichmanno, qui toto illo tempore in urbe praesens erat, obtinuit Theologus, imprimis in exordio laboris, quòd in *difficilioribus Dictionarii loco estet Amicus ille praefatus* D. Elichmannus, à quo non parum se in illo opere adiutum profitetur ipse Autor in Praefatione; velut ipse quoque, cùm iam versionem suam revideret, subinde difficiliora vocabula, beneficio Lexicorum V[est]rae Clarit[at]is Persico-Arabicorum ac Persico-Turcicorum, praedicto Amico suggerebam, qui tum modò Pentateuchum meum absolveram.’

¹⁰⁸ Maresius, *Oratio funebris*, sig. B4v, l. 8: ‘Lexicon Medicum Arabico-Latinum, quod iam diu consignavit.’

¹⁰⁹ *Effigies*, p. 214, ll. 19-21: ‘in quo exhibeat Medicamentorum simplicium ac vocabulorum technologicorum ad medicinam spectantium, interpretationem.’

¹¹⁰ GUB, MS 469, fols I-III.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, sig. *10v, ll. 3-13: ‘Similiter, sicubi longiori aliquâ paraphrasi fuisset opus, quòd medicamentum planè peregrinum nec in Graecis nec Latinis genuinam appellationem habeat, vel sit res aliqua composita, abstini à versione: ipsamque expositionem pleniorum retuli in Lexicon Medicum Arabico-Latinum, quod dudum equidem exorsus pedetentim pleniùs perficio, prout res ipsa et occasio id patitur.’

Maresius's funeral oration informs us that upon Deusing's death, the above-mentioned works 'and many other similar manuscripts, which he produced without anybody's help, were left hidden in his book-chests'.¹¹² Now Deusing's personal library is dispersed to collections in Groningen, Göttingen and Munich.

The Munich manuscripts

Two oriental dictionaries by Deusing are currently housed in the Bavarian State Library (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, henceforth BSB) in Munich. They are preserved in a set of two folio-sized, vellum-bound codices with leather laces attached to the fore-edges. BSB, MS cod. turc. 270 (henceforth MS P), which contains the Persian-Turkish-Latin dictionary, comprises 317 folios. The paper of MS P carries a single watermark throughout: a crozier with a cross and the letters NCH underneath, measuring h100mm × w40mm. It is identifiable as Heawood no. 1188a, a watermark used in Holland the first half of the seventeenth century.¹¹³ With approximately thirty entries per page arranged in two columns, the trilingual dictionary contains over 19,000 entries — in other words, an immensely rich collection by early seventeenth-century standards. The entries are organised alphabetically according to the first letter of the Persian headword. A typical entry begins with the Persian headword written in brownish-red ink, followed by its Turkish equivalent in black, and the Latin or occasionally the Dutch meaning of the same. Each meaning or alternative spelling given is marked by an abbreviated title recording where that particular word occurs in the many primary sources Deusing employed. On the verso of the first fly-leaf, he provides a list of his sources, ranging from popular manuscript dictionaries procured from the Ottoman Empire to edited texts published by Leiden scholars.¹¹⁴ The list affords crucial information to help us understand which works underpinned Deusing's lexical knowledge. The volume also contains a treatise in Turkish on the grammatical rules of Persian.¹¹⁵ The manuscript is a working copy with numerous additions and emendations by Deusing in brown and black ink.

Cod. turc. 271 (henceforth MS T) contains the Turkish-Latin lexicon derived from the trilingual volume but arranged alphabetically according to the first letter of the Turkish head-word. Written entirely in the black ink of the first volume, this is a codex of 232 folios. The paper of MS T carries a single watermark

¹¹² Maresius, *Oratio funebris*, sig. B4v, ll. 11-12: '[...] & plura similia proprio Marte adornata ... latant [sic] in eius scriniis.'

¹¹³ E. Heawood, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Hilversum, 1950, no 1188a.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of these sources, see pp. 183-194 below.

¹¹⁵ On this treatise, see pages 191-192 below.

throughout: a crowned shield with a *fleur-de-lis*, featuring the letters F and S on either side of the lily, with a cross and the initials 'W.R.' underneath the shield, measuring h130mm × w80mm. There is a countermark carrying the letters N and A. The paper is datable to 1637 and comes from Wendelin Riehel's mill in the Strasbourg area.¹¹⁶ With an average of thirty-seven entries per page arranged in two columns, Deusing's Turkish-Latin dictionary contains approximately 17,000 entries, around 2,000 more than the Turkish head-words in the famous multilingual *Thesaurus* of Franciscus à Mesgnien Meninski (1623-1698), which has, so far, been widely accepted as the richest Turkish dictionary produced in Europe during the seventeenth century.¹¹⁷ Unbeknownst to Meninski, or to modern scholarship, Deusing had compiled, during his student years in Leiden, the most comprehensive record of the Turkish language of his time, far more advanced than anything produced by his Western European contemporaries.

Both volumes have descriptive titles in Latin written in Deusing's hand at the beginning recording that the dictionaries are compiled by the author.¹¹⁸ According to the ex-libris inscription on the first folio of both Munich volumes, the dictionaries came to Munich from the collection of Friedrich Carl Gottlieb von Duisburg (1765-1825). Very little is known about von Duisburg's collecting habits apart from the fact that he took up the antiquarian book trade to supply his humble salary as a teacher at the reformed school in Danzig (Gdańsk).¹¹⁹ MSS P and T were recorded for the first and last time in 1875, in Joseph Aumer's catalogue, where they appear with one-line descriptions.¹²⁰ These two early seventeenth-century manuscripts do not appear to have been called from the stacks since the preparation of this catalogue: they certainly have never been studied or published before. In fact, the volumes had to be foliated at my request to facilitate navigation and referencing. These two dictionaries carry a treasure trove of information on oriental learning in seventeenth-century Europe thanks

¹¹⁶ T. Laurentius and F. Laurentius, *Watermarks 1600-1650 found in the Zeeland Archives*, t Goy-Houten, 2007, nos 444a and 444b.

¹¹⁷ F. à Mesgnien Méninski, *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium turcicae, arabicae, persicae*, 3 vols, Vienna: [Meninski], 1680.

¹¹⁸ MS P, fol. 1r: 'Lexicon Persico-Turcico-Latinum ab Antonio Deusingio concinnatum'; MS T, fol. 1r: 'Lexicon Turcico-Latinum ab Antonio Deusingio concinnatum.'

¹¹⁹ The biographic information for von Duisburg comes from S. Schmidt und S. Gerber, eds, *Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher. Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Briefwechsel und biographische Dokumente. Part 5.10/11.1: Kommentarband zum Briefwechsel 1808-1810 (Briefe 2598-3560)*, Berlin, 2017, p. 113.

¹²⁰ J. Aumer, *Verzeichniß der orientalischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München: mit Ausschluß der hebraeischen, arabischen und persischen*, Munich, 1875, repr. Wiesbaden, 1970, p. 79.

to the variety of sources employed, the compiler's competence in both Persian and Turkish, and his copiousness and attention to detail. MS P records the source texts for each entry and its different meanings. While some of the source texts Deusing references are well known, others have only come down to us through his dictionaries.

Deusing's Persian-Turkish-Latin dictionary

Deusing's most important contribution to early modern oriental studies lies in the two manuscript dictionaries that are now in Munich. These dictionaries not only demonstrate how much Turkish and Persian knowledge had been accumulated in Leiden by 1637, but also identify the available sources that were deemed useful by early modern orientalists. The more interesting of the two volumes, the trilingual MS P, provides us with the meanings of thousands of Turkish and Persian words as they were in use in the seventeenth century and cites the sources employed for each rendering.

Deusing's dictionary heavily depends on the works of Turkish lexicographers. In most instances, the Latin equivalents or meanings for Persian head-words given are verbatim translations of the Turkish equivalents or explications provided in the original sources. For each rendering, Deusing recorded the abbreviated title of the source text. A list of these source texts are provided on the verso of the first fly-leaf of MS P. This list is somewhat cryptic to the modern reader as titles are only given in contracted and Latinised forms. We will now go through this list, attempt to match abbreviated titles to oriental works that were available to Deusing, and comment on the significance of each item. The list reads:

m.	Merula
D	Danistân
L.	Leijel
<i>Tp.</i>	<i>Tractatus philosophicus, dictus جام کیتی نما Poculum [sic] mundum monstrans</i>
ex histor.:	Pers.: Jesú { Lúci: & L. cum notis Ar. Ih. Lúcam Evangelistam notat { Matt. Matthaei Evangel: { J. Joh. { ma. Marcus
Ar.	Arabxah
Ep.	Epistola P(er)sica
Ib.H.	Ibn Hagii
<i>Log.</i>	لغت نعمت الله

The first item on Deusing's list of sources (*m. Merula*), a Persian-Dutch-Latin wordlist compiled by the Leiden professor Paullus Merula (1558-1607), is now lost. We are only able to partially re-construct the contents of this work through the entries quoted in Deusing's dictionary. Merula was, along with Franciscus Raphelengius the Elder (1539-1597) and Scaliger, one of the first scholars to develop the linguistic theory which investigated the grammatical and etymological ties between Persian and the Germanic languages.¹²¹ His son Willem published a Persian word-list which was compiled and given to Merula by Raphelengius earlier. This printed list consists of 21 lemmas that were perceived to be related to either their Dutch or Latin equivalents such as *phedar-Vater-pater* (father) and *nam-Naem-nomen* (name).¹²² When we compare the headwords from Raphelengius's printed list to the same entries the MS P, we find out that only some of them were included in Merula's list. Deusing's entries corresponding to the headwords in the printed list are as follows:¹²³

fol. 104r, col. II, line 2:

[God, *noun*]

مُحَدَا Deus. *D. Nom[en] deo o[mn]ipotentis proprium, quamvis non nunquam, Domino, possessori, principi tribuitur. Log.*

fol. 42r, col. II, line 11:

[father, *noun*]

پَدْر Pater. *m. Log. Ib.H. D. sed hic cum ۛ*

fol. 263v, col. II, line 4:

[mother, *noun*]

مَادَر Mater. *D. Log. Ib.H. Tur. اَنَا [ana], Ar. وَالِدَةٌ*

¹²¹ On the early modern discussions of the affinity between Persian and the Germanic languages, and the so-called 'Scythian Theory', a model developed by Elichmann and publicised after his death by Saumaise, see T. van Hal, 'On "the Scythian Theory" Reconstructing the Outlines of Johannes Elichmann's (1601/1602-1639) Planned *Archaeologica Harmonica*', *Language and History*, 53:2, 2010, pp. 70-80 and J. Considine, 'Why was Claude de Saumaise Interested in the Scythian Hypothesis?', *Language and History*, 53:2, 2010, pp. 81-96.

¹²² P. Merula, *Tijdt-thresoor, ofte kort ende bondich verhael van den standt der kercken ende de wereltlicke regieringe*, W. Merula, ed., Leiden: Jan Claez. van Dorp, 1614, p. 544. Also printed in T. van Hal, 'The Alleged Persian-Germanic Connection: A Remarkable Chapter in the Study of Persian from the Sixteenth to through the Nineteenth Centuries', in: A. Korangy and C. Miller, eds, *Trends in Iranian and Persian Linguistics*, Berlin, 2018, pp. 1-20, there 11.

¹²³ I provide the English translations for each Persian headword and transliterate the Turkish explications in square brackets. I use the Birnbaum system for the transliteration of Ottoman Turkish.

fol. 43v, col. II, line 8:

[brother, *noun*]

بِرَادِرُ Frater. D. sed cum بُ

fol. 118v, col. I, line 3

[daughter, *noun*]

دُخْتَرُ Filia. Dochter. *Lúc.* i[d] q[uod] دُخْتُ *Log. Ib.H.*

fol. 280r, col. II, line 6

[name, *noun*]

نَامُ Tur. اَدُ [ad] Nomen. *Log. Ib.H.*

fol. 127r, col. I, line 11

[tooth, *noun*]

دَنَدَانُ Tur. دِيشُ [diş], Dens. *Log.*

fol. 250v col. II, line 13

[lip, *noun*]

لَبُ Labium *D., m.* Ring [?] Litus *m.*

i(d est) دُدُقُ [dudaḳ] labium. *Log., Ib.H.* وَقَبُو كَنَارِي [ve ḳapu kenāri] margo ianuae كَنَارِي وَدَرِيَا [ve deryā kenāri] Litus maris. *Log. margo cuiusque rei L.*

fol. 121v, col. II, line 2

[lie, *noun*]

دُرُوغُ Tur. يَلَانُ [yalān] A veritate discrepans. Mendacium. *Log.*

fol. 288r, col. I, line 6

[new, *adjective*]

نَوُ Tur. يَكِّي [yeñi] Arab. جَدِيدُ. Novus. *Log. Ib.H.*

fol. 275r, col. I, line 9

[mouse, *noun*]

مَوْشُ Glis. mus. سِجَانُ [sican] Ar. فَارِه. mus. *Log. Ib.H.*

As seen above only three out of the twenty-one headwords found in the printed edition of Raphelengius's list is marked with an 'm.' in Deusing's dictionary, which suggests that Merula's wordlist was not derived from the one Raphelengius had given him but compiled independently. On the other hand, a typical page from MS P, for example fol. 51r, has fourteen entries marked with 'm.' to

record their appearance and the Latin or Dutch equivalent given in Merula's word-list. Three examples from this folio read:

fol. 51r, col. I, line 1:

[abstain from or avoid, *verb, infinitive*]

بَرَّهِيَزْ كَرْدَنْ zic̄h abstineren. (?) *m.* Cavere, abstinere; پَرَّهِيَزْ كَرْدَنْ, Tur. صَافِنَمَقْ [şaķınmaķ], Cavere, abstinere. *Ib.H.*

fol. 51r, col. II, line 2:

[fly, *verb, infinitive*]

پَرِيدَنْ vliegen. *m.* Volare. *D.* Tur. اَوْجَمَقْ طَيْرَان مَعْنَا سِنْدَه [uķmaķ, ŧayerān ma' nāsında] *Log., Ib.H.*

fol. 51r, col. II, line 3:

[cut or tear, *verb, infinitive*]

بُرِيدَنْ In aestivis agere. *m.* afsnijden. *m.* Tur. كَسْمَكْ [kesmek], scindere, amputare. *D. Ib.H. Log.*

Since we no longer have access to the original of Merula's word-list, the entries quoted above and the others in MS P are our only window into this important pioneer of Persian studies in Leiden.

The second item on the list (*D. Dānistan*) is identifiable as the *Tuḥfet ül-Hādiye*, a Persian-Turkish dictionary, also known as the *Risāle-i Dānistan*. Deusing evidently used Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 167, an undated and incomplete copy that once belonged to Golius,¹²⁴ which loosely follows the contents and the structure of the original work written by Muḥammad ibn Ḥāğğī Ilyās in AH 864 / AD 1460.¹²⁵ The thirty-one folio Leiden copy consists of six sections dealing with infinitives (fols 1b–5b); past forms (fols 5b–6a); future forms (fols 6a–10b); the present continuous tense (fols 10b–15a); nouns, thematically-arranged into categories of celestial and terrestrial beings and man-made objects (fols 15a–30a); and finally numerals (fols 30a–31a). Deusing

¹²⁴ Described in J. Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and the Other Collections in the Netherlands, Vol. I: Comprising the Acquisitions of Turkish Manuscripts in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Leiden, 2000, pp. 18-19.

Other copies of the *Dānistan* associated with Golius are OBL, MS Marsh 31 with his copious notes and MS Bodley or. 328, which was copied by Golius and carries an interlinear English paraphrase.

¹²⁵ Complete copies of the dictionary with a preface, additional parts and chapters and appendices, for instance, are LUB, MS or. 1028 and OBL, MS Laud or. 188.

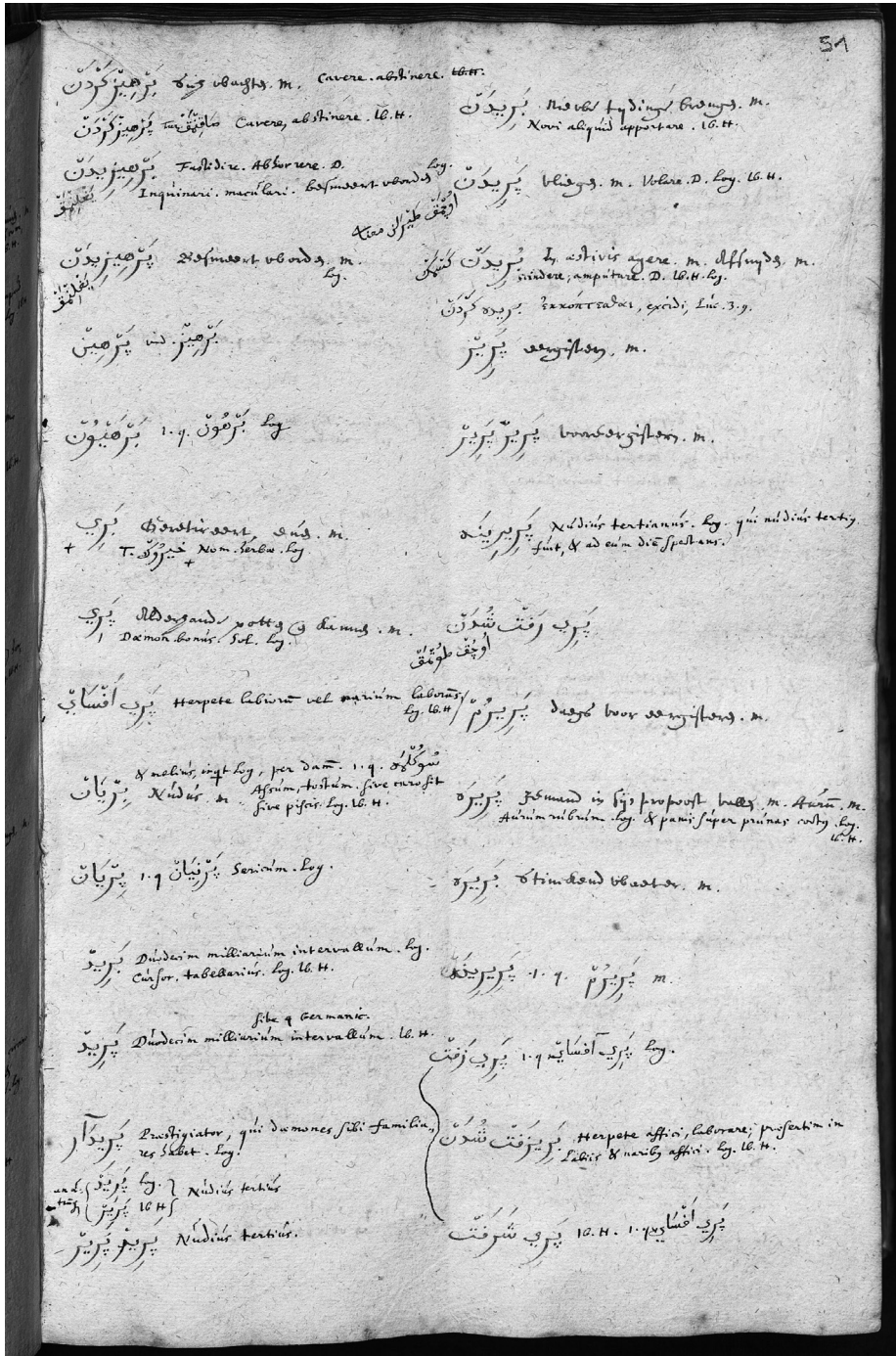


Fig. 1: Page from Deusing's Persian-Turkish-Latin dictionary (BSB, Cod. turc. 270, fol. 51r).

compiled many words out of the *Risāle-i Dānistan* as seen in the hundreds of entries marked with ‘D.’. We understand that Deusing used this particular copy from his pencilled annotations and marginal notes. Moreover, the last section featuring a list of numerals, which Deusing reproduced in his own dictionary (fol. 313r), is found in this copy but not in the original work.

The third item on the list (*Leijel L.*) is another lesser-known glossary, compiled by Willem Leyel (1593-1654), a merchant of the Danish East India Company, who was in Leiden for some time and whom De Dieu described in very favourable terms in his preface to *Historia Christi*:

Here we also have to praise the famous man Willem Leyel, a Danish merchant. Although he was fairly uneducated, his mind rose above that of common merchants. Therefore, when he stayed in Persia, he learnt not only to speak Persian, but also to read and write Persian letters most expertly. He now serves His Serene Highness, the King of Denmark, on the council charged with East India affairs. We enjoyed his company and benefitted greatly when we had the opportunity to consult him here in person on some doubtful matters.¹²⁶

The only book-length study on Leyel is Asta Bredsdorff’s *The Trials and Travels of Willem Leyel*.¹²⁷ Bredsdorff charts Leyel’s movements and commercial endeavours through the documents of the Danish East India Company in Rig-sarkivet, Copenhagen, but she has very little to say about Leyel’s knowledge of Persian and makes no mention of a Persian word-list.¹²⁸ There survives, however, three letters in Persian that were addressed to Leyel, which indicates that he was able to hold correspondence in the language.¹²⁹ The small number of references to *L.* throughout Deusing’s dictionary may suggest that Leyel’s glossary was not a major work. Deusing checked Leyel’s Persian word-list against the Leiden copy of the *Luġat-i Ni’metullāh*,¹³⁰ another source text he employed, and recorded over forty variants.¹³¹

¹²⁶ *Historia Christi*, sig. ***3r: ‘Celebrandus quoque nobis hic est Clariss. vir Wilhelmus Lyel Danus, mercator, qui, etsi alioqui illiteratus, eum tamen supra mercatorum vulgus erectum habuit animum, ut dum in Persia degeret, Persice non tantum loqui, sed & legere ac pingere exactissime didicerit. Qui iam serenissimo Daniae Regi in rebus Orientalis Indiae curandis est a consilio. quem coram hic de dubiis quibusdam consulere, eiusque consuetudine frui, magno nostro bono licuit.’

¹²⁷ A. Bredsdorff, *The Trials and Travels of Willem Leyel: An Account of the Danish East India Company in Tranquebar, 1639-48*, Copenhagen, 2009.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

¹²⁹ These letters are in GöSUB, Appl. dipl. 8J. See, [Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen], *Die Handschriften* (as in n. 87), p. 504.

¹³⁰ See below pp. 42-46.

¹³¹ It is possible to partially re-construct Leyel’s work through Deusing’s annotations on many folios of the LUB, MS or. 164, for example pages 27, 32, 162, 202, 203, 209, 262 and 265.

The fourth item on the list (*Tp. Tractatus philosophicus*) is a cosmological work entitled *Ġām-i gītī-numā* (Mirror Revealing the World) written by the fifteenth-century qadi and philosopher Ḥusayn Maybudī in Shiraz in AH 987/ AD 1492.¹³² The work, which presents a summary of the views of recent philosophers, was widely read in the Ottoman Empire, where ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad al-Ġallī, a distinguished seventeenth-century scholar, wrote an extensive Persian commentary on it.¹³³ The publication, in Paris in 1641, of the *Speculum mundum repraesentans* (Mirror Revealing the World), an Arabic version of Maybudī’s work and its Latin translation by the Maronite scholar Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī (1605-1664), also known as Abraham Ecchellensis,¹³⁴ demonstrates the pivotal place of this text among the philosophical works from the Islamic world that were known and read in Europe in the seventeenth century.¹³⁵ Yet in 1630s, when Deusing was working on the text, he must have employed a manuscript copy transmitting the original Persian without the help of a Latin translation. There are several manuscripts of the *Ġām-i gītī-numā* in European libraries including London, British Library, MS Add. 7720, which carries the Scottish orientalist George Strachan’s interlinear Latin translation completed in 1634.¹³⁶ No copy directly associated with Deusing has emerged so far,¹³⁷ but Ravius owned a copy, which is now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

¹³² On the contents of *Ġām-i gītī-numā*, see A.W. Dunietz, *The Cosmic Perils of Qadi Ḥusayn Maybudī in Fifteenth-Century Iran*, Leiden and Boston, 2016, pp. 155-158.

¹³³ R. Pourjavadi, ‘*The World-Revealing Cup* by Mīr Ḥusayn al-Maybudī and its Latin Translations’, *Oriens* 45:2, 2017, pp. 306-329 (310-311).

¹³⁴ On Abraham Ecchellensis’ life, education in Rome, his Paris years and contribution to the Paris Polyglot Bible published between 1629 and 1645, and the Arabic translation of the Bible commissioned by the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, and his many collaborations with European scholars, see the conference proceedings in B. Heyberger, ed., *Orientalisme, science et controverse : Abraham Ecchellensis (1605-1664)*, Turnhout, 2010.

¹³⁵ A. Ecchellensis, ed. and tr., *Muḥtasur muqāṣid* (leg. *maqāṣid*) *ḥikmat falāsifat al-‘Arab al-musammī* (leg. *al-musammā*) *ġām-i gītī-numā / Synopsis propositorum sapientiae arabum philosophorum inscripta Speculum Mundum Repraesentans*, Paris, Antoine Vitré, 1641.

¹³⁶ For the catalogue description, see C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols, London, 1879-1883, pp. 812-813. Pourjavady, ‘*The World-Revealing Cup*’ (as in n. 133), pp. 312-316, attributes the interlinear translation and marginal glosses found in another copy, London, Wellcome Library, MS Persian 495, also to Strachan. This manuscript is described in F. Keshavarz, *A Descriptive and Analytical Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute of Medicine*, London, 1986, p. 541. It is perfectly clear from the images which Pourjavady provides that the two hands are completely different, distinguished by dissimilar letter-forms and scribal styles. He also dismisses Keshevarz’s reading of the date AH 1128 / AD 1715 and assumes that it should read AH 1028 / AD 1618 when, in fact, the hand of the Wellcome copy is most likely an early eighteenth-century one.

¹³⁷ Other European copies of the *Ġām-i gītī-numā* are PBnF, MS persan 34; MS supplément persan 76 and MS supplément persan 1143 as described in E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 4 vols, Paris, 1905-1934, vol. 1, pp. 83-84 and vol. 3, p. 346; OBL, MS Laud A 154 (old shelfmark) as described in J. Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum*

France (hereafter PBNF), MS pers. 34. According to the catalogue description, the manuscript was copied by an inexperienced European scribe in early seventeenth century.¹³⁸ I have not examined the Paris manuscript.

Deusing's list of sources continues with a manuscript that contained a translation of the four Gospels in Persian, in addition to a tract on the life of Christ. The tract is most likely the one published by De Dieu.¹³⁹ Several Persian translations of the the Four Gospels circulated in Europe at the time, including one that was made in Lahore in 1607 by the same Father Jerome, the author of *Historia Christi* and *Historia S. Petri*.¹⁴⁰

I have not yet been able to identify the source referred to as *Ar. Arabxah* in the list, and the *Ep. Epistola P(er)sica* could be any of the very many Persian *inšā'* (letter-writing) manuals that circulated in the Ottoman Empire and were brought to Europe.

The next item on the list, *Ib. H. Ibn Hagii*, is the monolingual Persian dictionary entitled *Mağma' al-Furs* (Collection of the Words of Persians), also known as the *Ferhang-i Surūrī* (Dictionary of Surūrī) after the pseudonym of its author Muḥammad Qāsim ibn Hāğğī Muḥammad of Kāšān. Surūrī wrote the dictionary in AH 1008 / AD 1599-1600, and revised and enlarged it in AH 1038 / AD 1628-9.¹⁴¹ Golius had a copy of this dictionary (not clear which recension) according to the sale catalogue of 1696,¹⁴² but neither the Leiden nor the Oxford copy carry any Golius ownership marks.¹⁴³

manuscriptorum orientalium catalogus, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1787, pp. 283-284; OBL, MS Laud or. 313 (ff. 10b-15b and 74a-75b) as described in E. Sachau and H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Part I: Persian Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1889, p. 410; OBL, MS Arab f. 65, item 2 (ff. 21b-30b) as described in A. Beeston, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Part III: Additional Persian Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1953, p. 84.

¹³⁸ For the catalogue description, see E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 4 vols, Paris, 1905-1934, vol. 1, pp. 83-84.

¹³⁹ De Dieu's edition of *Historia Christi* is discussed on pages 176-179 above.

¹⁴⁰ On the manuscript copies and the transmission of Xavier's Persian Gospels and other seventeenth-century Persian versions, see R. Gulbenkian, 'The Translation of the Four Gospels into Persian', *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft / Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire* 36, 1980, pp. 186-218 and 267-288; 37 (1981), pp. 35-57.

¹⁴¹ On Surūrī's dictionary, see H. Blochmann, 'Contributions to Persian Lexicography', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 37, 1868, pp. 1-72, there 12 and 16-18; F. Tauer, 'Persian Learned Literature from its Beginnings to the End of the 18th Century. III: Philology', in: J. Rypka; K. Jahn, eds, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dodrecht, 1968, pp. 429-436 (430); C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey. Vol III, Part I: Lexicography, Grammar, Prosody and Poetics*, Leiden, 1984, pp. 23-25.

¹⁴² *Catalogus Librorum MSS quos Doctissimus Clarissimusque Vir D. Jacobus Golius*, Leiden: Jan du Vivie, 1669, p. 20, no. 60.

¹⁴³ LUB, MS or. 441 and OBL, MS Marsh 608.

Last but not the least, *Log. لغت نعمت الله*, is the *Luğat-ı Ni'metullāh*, a Persian-Turkish dictionary written by Ni'metullāh ibn Aḥmed ibn Ḳāzī Mübārek er-Rūmī of Sofia (d. 1561), also known as Ḥalīl Şūfī.¹⁴⁴ This was a popular work of reference with wide-spread pedagogical use in the Ottoman Empire. Many copies seem to have arrived in Europe during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. This rich reference tool, which comprised over 16,000 words in its fuller recensions, was used as a source text for many famous oriental dictionaries produced in Europe including Golius's Persian and Turkish lexica, and Meninski's *Thesaurus*. Deusing, evidently, had access to Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 164, which also carries Golius's marginal notes in pencil.¹⁴⁵ It seems that this incomplete copy of the *Luğat-ı Ni'metullāh* formed the basis of Deusing's Persian and Turkish dictionaries as almost all entries carry a reference to *Log*. Deusing not only compiled hundreds of words out of Ḥalīl Şūfī's work but also extracted a prose text from it.

A treatise in Turkish outlining the basics Persian grammar entitled *Ḳā'ide-i Zubān-i Fārsī* (Fundamentals of the Persian Language) is appended to the beginning of Deusing's Persian-Turkish-Latin dictionary.¹⁴⁶ The treatise explains how different words are formed in Persian using certain prefixes and suffixes such as the privative prefix 'nā-', as in *nā-mard* ('un-manly', coward),¹⁴⁷ and suffix *-mand* used to form adjectives, as in *ḥirad-mand* ('possessed of understanding', wise). Then, the author, whose Naqshbandi education gave him the necessary grounding in Persian poetry, supplies examples in the form of well-known couplets and quatrains for each linguistic phenomenon. The text, which was made into a cohesive treatise by Deusing, is originally found scattered throughout the second and third sections of the *Luğat-ı Ni'metullāh* dealing with particles and inflection, and nouns, respectively. The *Ḳā'ide-i Zubān-i Fārsī* in the form devised by Deusing soon became a work of reference in its own right as evidenced by the manuscript later copied for Golius by Şāhīn Qandī, an Armenian

¹⁴⁴ A critical edition collating six exemplars from Turkish libraries has recently been published. A. İnce, ed., *Lüğat-ı Ni'metullāh*, Ankara, 2015.

¹⁴⁵ For a catalogue description, see Schmidt, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, pp. 15-18. Golius also annotated the copy that once belonged to Scaliger, LUB, MS or. 227, but Deusing's hand does not appear in that copy. See Schmidt, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, pp. 26-29. Both Leiden manuscripts lack the introduction in Persian that is found in other copies.

¹⁴⁶ MS P, fols 3v-2r. The pages copied by Deusing correspond to Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 164, the second part on the grammatical rules of Persian (pp. 19-26), and the rules given at the beginning of certain letters in the third part of the dictionary, namely rules concerning affixes containing letters *ḡim*, *ḥā* and *ḥā* (p. 97, ll. 9-11), *ḍāl* and *dāl* (p. 128, ll. 8-12), *rā* (p. 128, ll. 13-16), and *fā* (p. 184, ll. 15-21).

¹⁴⁷ Similar to 'un-', '-in' or 'a-' in English, as in *unhappy*, *inefficient* and *atypical*.

Christian who came to Leiden in 1657 and was employed as an amanuensis, which follows the text found in MS P.¹⁴⁸

An examination of how Deusing used the *Luğat-ı Ni^cmetullāh* shows that his treatment of this source was very similar to the later one of Meninski in his *Thesaurus*. To demonstrate this, I will examine one of the fuller entries in MS P, comparing it to the source text and to Meninski's dictionary. I translate all the entries into English in square brackets for ease of comparison. The entry for the noun 'star' in MS P reads:

fol. 159v, col. I, line 5

[star, *noun*]

سِتَارَه Tur. يِلْدِز [yıldız] Stella. *D. Log. Ib.H.* وَطَالَع [ve ṭāli^c] stella oriens. Horoscopus. Felicitas. *Log. Ib.H.* Item Tur. فُؤُغ [ḳoğ] scintillatio *D.* وَأُوج قَاتِي [ve üç katı] Triplex دَر شَرَابِهَلرله [ve bir münakkaş perdedir şerābelerle] Cortina seu velum acú pictum; aut florum imaginibus coloratum. Item Tur. تَتُق [tutuğ], يِلْدِز [yıldız] *Log.* يِلْدِز [yıldız] et سَايَبَان [sāyebān] *Ib.H.*

sitāra: Turkish *yıldız* [star], star [according to] *D. Log. Ib.H.*; and *ṭāli^c* [rising star], rising star, horoscope, happiness [according to] *Log. Ib.H.*; Turkish *ḳoğ* [star] has the same [meaning]; sparkle [according to *D.*]; and *üç katı* [thrice] thrice; *bir münakkaş perdedir şerābelerle* [it is an embroidered curtain with tassels] a curtain or covering with needlepoint decorations or coloured images of flowers; Turkish *tutuğ* [cloak] has the same [meaning]; *yıldız* [star] [according to] *Log.* and *sāyebān* [canopy] [according to] *Ib.H.*

The entry for the same word in MS T reads:

fol. 113r, col. II, line 4

[star, *noun*]

سِتَارَه *Pers.* stella. *Túrc.* Felicitas, fortuna, felix.

There is a separate entry for يِلْدِز [yıldız], on fol. 202v, col. I, line 14, which simply gives the Latin equivalent *stella*.

On the other hand, the entry for the same word in the Leiden copy of the *Luğat-ı Ni^cmetullāh* reads:

سِتَارَه يِلْدِز وَطَالَع وُقُوع وَاوُچ قَات دِيمَكْدَر وِبَر مُنَقَّش پَرْدَه دَر شَرَابِهَلرله اُوْكَ سَقْفِنَه طَوْتَرَلر بَكَلر سَرَايَلرِنْدَه اولر وِتْتَق مَعْنَاْسَنَه دَخِي كَلور.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ This is now OBL, MS Marsh 566.

¹⁴⁹ LUB, MS or. 164, p. 156, ll. 18-20.

[**sitāra**: yıldız ve t̄ali° ve koğ, ve üç kat demekdür ve bir münakkaş perdedir şerābelerle eviñ sakfuna tutarlar begler sarāylarında olur ve tutuğ ma'nāsına dağı gelir.]

This description translates into English as:

sitāra: *star, and rising star, and sparkle, and it means thrice, and an embroidered curtain that is attached with tassels to the ceilings of grand palaces, and it also means cloak.*

As is evident from the entry in MS P, Deusing partially translated the Turkish explication given in the *Luğat-ı Ni'metullāh* into Latin and used this in his own dictionary. A comparison with the *Thesaurus* reveals that towards the end of the century Meninski would follow a similar method. Although Meninski's entry is more comprehensive and draws on additional source texts, the similarity in the use of *Luğat-ı Ni'metullāh* is striking. The entry for the same word in Meninski's *Thesaurus* (cols 2547-2548) reads:

سِتَارَه *sitāre* p. يلدز *jildyz*, طالع *tāly°*, قوغ *kugh*, تتق *tutuk*. Ni°. *Stella, pec. assurgens, astrum, horoscopus, fortuna, felicitas, scintilla, velum, umbraculum, pec. cortina aut picta, vel coloribus ornata, fimbriisve, à superioribus cubiculi partibus eam demittunt, & tapetis genus, quo operiunt sponsam. Stella, astro, costellazione, fortuna, avventura.*

sitāra *sitāre* [in] Persian; yıldız [star] *jildyz*, t̄ali° [rising star] *tāly°*, koğ [star] *kugh*, tutuğ [cloak] *tutuk* in *Luğat-ı Ni'metullāh*. *Star, specially rising, star, horoscope, luck, happiness, sparkle, covering, umbrella, especially a curtain with embroidery or embellished with colours and tassels; people hang it from the upper parts of the bedroom; and a sort of coverlet with which they hide the bride.* [In Italian:] *Stella, astro, costellazione, fortuna, avventura.*

Meninski, who makes no mention of Deusing in his long list of sources printed in the preface to the *Thesaurus*, composed a very similar entry to that found in MS P. Even though these two scholars compiled their dictionaries in two different corners of Europe, several decades apart, and independently from each other, they employed identical sources and a similar methodology. The most important conclusion to be drawn from this convergence is as follows: the key lexicographic sources for the oriental dictionaries compiled in Europe during the seventeenth-century customarily originated in the Ottoman Empire and, therefore, the Latin equivalents and explications given by their authors were mostly verbatim translations from Turkish. There is no doubt that Deusing's Turkish

and Persian lexica are among the most comprehensive studies of these two languages produced in the first half of the seventeenth century.

A brief comparison of Deusing's and Golius's dictionaries

It is difficult to reconstruct the exact sequence of events that led to the composition of the Persian and Turkish dictionaries that are ascribed to Deusing and Golius. We can arrive at certain conclusions, however, based on the archival and physical evidence. These are as follows: Deusing's is the main hand in all four manuscripts. When Deusing left Leiden in 1637, he took MS P and MS T with him to Harderwijk and eventually to Groningen, yet MS Marsh 213 and 193 remained with Golius. Golius continued to expand the Marsh MSS with corrections and emendations after Deusing's departure.

It is most probable that Golius had tasked Deusing in the first place with compiling headwords from Turkish and Persian sources, and translating the equivalents or explications given in the sources into Latin. Deusing was engaged in this pursuit not as part of his formal training but during his leisure hours as reported by both himself and by others. This long and difficult exercise formed the basis of Golius's Persian-Turkish dictionary and gave us the bulk of MS P. The base text of Marsh 213 and MS P are near-identical. MS P often incorporates the corrections made to Marsh 213 that are in Deusing's hand. We cannot say with certainty yet it would appear that Marsh 213 was composed earlier and MS P was copied from this corrected draft. Other corrections and later additions that are in Golius's hand, however, do not appear in MS P. We are to understand that these were made after Deusing left Leiden. The references attached to these later emendations also point in this direction. The multi-layered text of Marsh 213 contains, for instance, entries quoting a certain '*Hack*.' This does not refer to a written text but to a living and breathing authority. *Haḫḫ-wirdī* (Hakverdi), who stayed for a short while in Leiden in 1642, was Golius's copyist and Persian and Turkish language assistant.¹⁵⁰ Other Golius entries carry references to works that were not employed by Deusing such as a longer recension of the *Ferhang-i Surūrī* marked as '*Kax*.' after the its author's birthplace Kāšān, and the *Luġat-i Ḥalīmī*, another well-known sixteenth-century Persian-Turkish dictionary from the Ottoman Empire, marked as '*Hal*.' This is all confirmed by a note by Golius added the end of Marsh 213:

On April 23, 1643, I began to go through this dictionary word by word and to collate it with two Persian-Turkish dictionaries, namely *Luġat Ni'met[ullāh]* and *Ibn Ḥāġġī*,

¹⁵⁰ Babinski discusses *Haḫḫ-wirdī* (Hakverdi) at length in this issue on pp. 233-315 below.

from which it was compiled,¹⁵¹ as well as a large amount of Arabic-Persian [material] with the help of Ḥaḳḳ-wirdī, a Persian, the secretary of the envoy of the Persian King to the Duke of Holstein, who knew Persian and Turkish extremely well. I corrected mistakes on the basis of manuscript copies and changed things according to the information of this Persian and other authors, and finished and completed the gruesome task on 11 July of the same year thanks to God, the Almighty.¹⁵²

These and other additional material show us that Golius's Persian dictionary took a different direction after Deusing's initial but substantial input.

The relationship between the Turkish dictionaries, namely MS Marsh 193 and MS T is more complex. Marsh 193 has a different physical appearance to the other three manuscripts. It has borders in brown and green ink around the margins of each page and dividing lines marking the head-letters and columns. The headwords are in a different, unidentified European hand, whereas explications are in Deusing's. There are additional entries, explications and equivalents in Golius's hand that do not appear in MS T. For instance, on MS T, fol. 10v, col. 2, lines 7-8, the entry for the noun 'pear', gives two alternative spellings, namely آرموت [armüt] and آرمود [armūd], followed by the Latin equivalent *pyrum*. Marsh 193, page 16, col. 1, lines 12-14, in addition to what is already supplied in MS T, also records the spelling of the word in Latin script (*armout*), and that the same word is also used in Persian, whereas the Arabic equivalent is كَمْثَرِي [kummaṭrā], from the Aramaic ܟܡܬܪܝܢ.¹⁵³ We can say with certainty that, at least, some of these extra material were added around the same time as the emendations to Marsh 213, when Ḥaḳḳ-wirdī stayed in Leiden and helped Golius. Just a few lines below, MS T has the headword اَرْنَك [örnek], which can be translated into English as 'example', 'sample' or 'specimen'. Deusing provides the explication *Exemplar, forma paradæ rei*. Golius's dictionary has, in Deusing's hand, *Exemplar, forma fingendæ rei*. Then Golius added شَكْل [şekl] *Specimen rei*, monster, proeve [in Dutch], followed by a reference to *Hack*. for Ḥaḳḳ-wirdī. (See figures 2 and 3 below)

¹⁵¹ Note how Golius conveniently banishes Deusing's contribution to a marginal note accompanying a hastily written account, rendered in the passive voice.

¹⁵² OBL, MS Marsh 213, fol. 374v: 'Dictionarium hoc de verbo ad verbum percurrere, et cum duobus Persico-Turcicis, altero لغت نعمه, altero ابن حاجي, e quibus collectum fuerat, nec non magna Arabici-Persici alicuius parte, in quem adhibito Hacwardi Persa, Regis Persarum legati ad Holsatiae duces Secretario, Persice Turciceque doctissimo, confere coepi, xxiii Aprilis Anni M.DC. XLIII, et ad exemplarium fidem mendis emaculatis, pluribusque ad Persae et aliorum autorum iudicium immutatis, dei opt[imi] max[imi] gratia moestissimi laboris opus ad finem perduxi et absolvi XI Iulii eiusdem anni.'

¹⁵³ It seems, the etymology and usage of this noun still fascinates modern linguists. See U. Bläsing, 'Turkish *armut* "pear": Remarks on the Etymology and Geo-Linguistic Distribution of an Oriental Fruit Name', *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 15, 2005, pp. 5-18.

We know that Deusing left Leiden in 1637 with MS P and MS T, and consequently they became part of his private library. In his 1649 dedicatory letter to Golius, Deusing confesses that he had to leave his Turkish and Persian studies aside owing to the heavy demands of his professional life. It is likely that Deusing's dictionaries remained in a chest until his death just as described by Maresius in his funeral oration. The fate of the Marsh MSS proved better. Golius spent years enriching their contents: he only finished working on his Persian dictionary on 11 July 1643 according to the colophon, while he was still expanding his Turkish dictionary in January 1666 as reported by Šāhīn Qandī in a letter to his own family.¹⁵⁴ The final versions of Golius's manuscript dictionaries are markedly different from the first good drafts prepared by Deusing.

Although written in his hand, the Oxford manuscripts make no mention of Deusing. Golius clearly considered all the work undertaken earlier by Deusing as duties fulfilled by a student under his care rather than an independent contribution. When Golius's Persian lexicon was published posthumously and with copious additions by Edmund Castell in his *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, Deusing's input was irrecoverably obscured.¹⁵⁵ Consequently Deusing's name never appeared again in the publications of later generations of lexicographers, most of whom meticulously acknowledged their sources and the previous European dictionaries they employed. With no print publications in Turkish or Persian to his name, Deusing was effectively erased from the history of oriental studies in Europe while his work remained buried in the archives.

Conclusions

Deusing belonged to the milieu of the celebrated early modern Leiden orientalisists. During the seven years he studied in Leiden between 1630 and 1637, he was one of the promising young men who resided with Golius, enjoying his daily attention and the use of his personal library. We have seen that Deusing soon became a competent linguist who was able to read, copy, understand and translate difficult Arabic, Persian and Turkish works in various genres; suggest

¹⁵⁴ Qandī's letter is in Manchester, The John Rylands Library (hereafter JRL), MS Persian 913, f. 110. See also J. Schmidt, 'Between the Author and the Library Shelf: The Intriguing History of Some Middle Eastern Manuscripts Acquired by Public Libraries in the Netherlands prior to 1800', in: A. Hamilton, M. van den Boogert and B. Westerweel, eds, *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, Leiden and Boston, 2005, pp. 27-51 (39).

¹⁵⁵ E. Castell, *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, 2 vols, London: Thomas Roycroft, 1669, as an appendix to vol. 1 with separate pagination, cols 1-573. On Castell's polyglot dictionary, see H.T. Norris, 'Edmund Castell and his *Lexicon Heptaglotton*', in: G.A. Russell, ed., *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*, Leiden, 1994, pp. 70-86.

conjectures for corrupt passages; and make corrections and improvements to the texts he edited.

A meticulous scholar and a prolific author, Deusing left an important legacy, which has not been associated with his name so far. Apart from his contributions to the European knowledge of Arabic medicine, and his critical role in editing Arabic and Persian grammars printed in Leiden, Deusing was one of the first to learn and implement an enduring methodology in European lexicography of oriental languages that Golius developed and taught to his students. This unique method involved extensive use of the standard Ottoman Turkish reference works intended for non-native speakers of Arabic and Persian. The compiler would not only follow the selection of head-words favoured by these Ottoman lexicographers but also provide equivalents and explications in Latin that heavily drew on the Turkish synonyms and meanings provided, often translating the Turkish verbatim.

Golius's Arabic dictionary, published in 1653,¹⁵⁶ was groundbreaking compared to earlier dictionaries, even Antonio Giggeo's *Thesaurus*, published in 1632. This was in part due to the fact that Golius was able to make use of late sixteenth-century Ottoman sources, which already abridged, simplified and modernised classical Arabic and medieval Persian monolingual dictionaries and made them accessible to non-native learners. His Arabic dictionary remained relevant throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and influenced many oriental dictionaries, most notably those by Meninski and Georg Wilhelm Freytag (1788-1861), and is praised even today by Manfred Ullmann, the leading scholar in the field of classical Arabic lexicography.¹⁵⁷

A detailed comparative study of the manuscripts of Deusing's and Golius's Turkish and Persian dictionaries remains a desideratum. Yet an initial examination of the manuscripts reveals that it was Deusing himself who copied the first drafts of both dictionaries, and that Golius made numerous additions and corrections to his copies over time by perusing additional sources and drawing on the help of native speakers.

It comes as no surprise that Deusing's dictionaries were never published. Many oriental dictionaries written during this period remained in manuscript owing to the limited commercial value of such books and the difficulties of printing and setting Arabic type. The examples are manifold. The English orientalist William Bedwell's Arabic Lexicon was still unfinished at his death in

¹⁵⁶ Jacobus Golius, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*. Leiden: Bonaventura & Abraham Elzevir, 1653.

¹⁵⁷ G. Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Halle, 1830-1837. M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 2 vols, 1957-2009, vol. 2:4, p. 2460.

1632.¹⁵⁸ His Persian dictionary was also incomplete when presented to Archbishop Laud in 1633.¹⁵⁹ The dictionaries so laboriously compiled by Scaliger, du Ryer, Ecchellensis and many other orientalist never appeared in print. Golius's unfinished Turkish dictionary shared a similar fate. In fact, very few oriental dictionaries were ever published. Raphelengius's Arabic dictionary¹⁶⁰ and Golius's Persian dictionary¹⁶¹ were printed posthumously in the later decades as monuments to the great personality and learning of their authors. Golius's famous Arabic dictionary is exceptional in having made it to the printing house during its author's lifetime.

We can confidently conclude that the extensive use of sixteenth-century Turkish lexicographic works by scholars in Western Europe, especially in Leiden, improved the quality of European dictionaries immensely. It was those European scholars who were able to peruse the bilingual and multilingual sources from the Ottoman Empire who advanced oriental studies the most in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The work undertaken by Deusing as a Leiden student not only produced the finest Turkish and Persian dictionaries compiled in Western Europe in the 1630s with accurate and comprehensive entries but also laid the foundation for Golius's dictionaries and many others that followed the same methodology.

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¹⁵⁸ In 7 vols, Cambridge, University Library, MSS Hh.5.1-Hh.5.7. Another copy in 2 vols, Hh. 6.1 and Vol. 2 in Hh. 6.2. On Bedwell's Arabic dictionary, see A. Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist 1563-1632*, Leiden, 1985, pp. 85-93.

¹⁵⁹ OBL, MS Laud or. 151.

¹⁶⁰ Franciscus Raphelengius, *Lexicon Arabicum*, Leiden: Raphelengius, 1613.

¹⁶¹ See note 152 above.