The First Protestants in the Arab World

The contribution to Christian mission of
the English Aleppo chaplains 1597 - 1782

Andrew Lake

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The First Protestants in the Arab World: the contribution to Christian mission of the English Aleppo chaplains (1597-1782)

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The author requests that any use of original material in this work be duly acknowledeged.

Dedication

Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress,
or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written,
"For thy sake we are killed all the day long;
we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter."
Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us.

St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, chapter 8 verses 35 to 37

This book is dedicated to my brothers
the Reverend Serop Megerditchian of Aleppo
and the Reverend Samir Yacco of Damascus
whose faithful and courageous witness
through the tribulations of Syria's Civil War
is writing a new chapter in the story of
Protestant Christianity in the Arab world.

Figure 1 ***The Eastern Mediterranean and the Levant.***[1]

English Levant Company factories are underlined. Other places are commonly mentioned in the travels of chaplains.

COVER ILLUSTRATION

Background: Aleppo at the close of the seventeenth century

Inserts: five of the chaplains. From left to right Edward Pococke, Robert Frampton, Henry Maundrell, Henry Brydges, Samuel Lisle.

These are portraits of the chaplains in their later years when they had achieved high office in the Church, excepting Maundrell who is buried in Aleppo.

Preface

I remember the exact time and place when this doctoral thesis was conceived. It was Thursday 3rd June 2010, six months after my arrival in Syria, and as instructed I had presented myself to the main Immigration Office in Damascus to apply for a residency visa. The official called me to the counter and informed me that the "Security" (secret police) had issued a new regulation, that Protestant churches were prevented from having foreign workers. After that heart-dropping news I contacted American, British and Canadian diplomats in Damascus, as well as the Anglican bishop of Jerusalem and a friend who was a bishop in England.

Then on 23rd June I heard from Lambeth Palace, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Office. Rowan Williams intended to write a letter to an acquaintance of his, the President of Syria, appealing for me to be given a residency visa to carry out the role as chaplain to the foreign Christians in Syria. The basis of the appeal was that there had been an Anglican chaplaincy in the city of Aleppo since the 1600s so Lambeth Palace tasked me with finding physical evidence, specifically chaplains' graves. Three days later we were in the Aleppo Protestant cemetery, hunting around for chaplain's gravestones. Our guide happened to be our good friend Serop, the Armenian pastor who not only hosted our church services in Aleppo but was also trustee of the cemetery. The very next day we enthusiastically pored over maps, located and explored the old quarters of the English Levant company.

This inspired me to track down all the chaplains and write some ripping yarns about their adventures in the Ottoman Empire. Eventually I was to identify 24 of them, between the late 1500s and the late 1700s, at which time the Levantine spice and silk trade petered off. Some of their achievements had been recognized by academics such as helping introduce coffee-drinking and Arab horses to England, pioneering biblical archaeology and bringing valuable early Samaritan, Jewish, Christian and Muslim manuscripts to the scholars of Oxford and Cambridge.

But then, something really exciting happened. I started to unearth long-forgotten missional initiatives: the translation and publication of the first Protestant apologetic literature into Arabic going back to the mid-1600s, the advocacy by chaplains for the local Christians who, failing to pay the exorbitant dhimmi tax, lost their children to enslavement, and best of all the successful translation, printing in London and distribution in Syria in the 1720s of the Arabic Psalms and New Testament at the request of the Patriarch of Antioch. My wife Pam said "Darling, I feel a thesis coming on." For the next fourteen months after that fateful day at Immigration we ministered in Damascus and Aleppo to foreign workers and refugees and forged some lasting friendships with Syrians, both Christian and Muslim. The Archbishop's letter was written and eventually noted by the Council of Ministers, but the Civil War precipitated our departure from the country and people we had grown to love.

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(Andrew is currently the vicar of the Anglican parish of Mentone in suburban Melbourne. Prior to that he served in Anglican ministries in Syria, Tasmania, Indonesia and the New England area of NSW. Other publications include *Changes and Chances: a personal history of All Saints Jakarta; Lake's View: thoughts on practical spirituality;* and *Christian Mission for Tasmanians.*)

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to family, friends and colleagues who have supported and encouraged me in this endeavour which began in Damascus, continued in Tasmania and finished in Melbourne. The following people are singled out for their specific contributions.

My wife, Pamela Lake, gave me the initial encouragement to tackle this project and also took the photographs of the Khan al-Gumruk and the Protestant Cemetery in Aleppo.

The Reverend Canon Joanna Udal of Lambeth Palace first alerted me to the existence of the Aleppo chaplains.

The Reverend Serop Megerditchian of the Immanuel Armenian Evangelical Church in Aleppo introduced me to the Protestant Cemetery in that city and assisted me in locating chaplains' gravestones.

Mrs Margaret Collis translated parts of the Latin work *Memoria Negriana*.

Mrs Ross Devenish, Head Librarian at the Melbourne School of Theology, obtained for me *Memoria Negriana* from Yale University, *A Biographical Sketch of Chaplains to the Levant Company* from Trinity College Dublin and the Letters of John Hussey from Queen's University Belfast.

Dr Simon Mills has been particularly helpful in exchanging information and generously passed on to me his transliteration of three Letters of Robert Frampton from the Library of Lambeth Palace. In so doing he has shown himself to be a true citizen of the "Commonwealth of Learning".

The Right Reverend Suheil Diwani provided me with accommodation when I was researching at the Near East School of Theology in Beirut.

Dr Darrell Paproth has performed the hat-trick of lecturing me in undergraduate New Testament, and supervising both my Master's and Doctoral theses.

Contents

List of Illustrations

Glossary

Basha/bashaw/pasha: a high rank in the Ottoman Empire political system, typically granted to governors, generals and dignitaries.

Berat: a document issued by the Ottoman Sultan in order to grant a privilege.

Cadi/qadi: a judge in a Muslim community.

Caphar: a post or station where money is collected from passengers for maintaining the security of the roads.

Capuchin: The Order of Capuchin Friars Minor (OFM Cap) is an order of friars in the Roman Catholic Church, among the chief offshoots of the Franciscans. Founded in 1520, they became an independent order in 1619 and were one of the chief tools in the Catholic Counter-reformation, the aim of the order being to work among the poor, impressing the minds of the common people by the poverty and austerity of their life. They were a leading force in Catholic missions.

Carmelite: The Order of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. They reached their zenith in the mid seventeenth century when they were involved in controversies with the Jesuits which had become so bitter that in 1698 the Pope decisively intervened. Many of the leading Catholic scholars in the Middle East were Carmelite.

CCED: The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835. Launched in 1999 and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the UK, it makes available and searchable the principal records of clerical careers from over 50 archives in England and Wales with the aim of providing coverage of clerical lives from the Reformation to the mid-nineteenth century.

CMS: The Church Missionary Society. The "Church" denoted Church of England as opposed to Non-conformist.

Dhimmi: a non-Muslim, either a Jew or Christian, living in the Muslim world. The dhimmi was accorded protection, but at the cost of discrimination. For instance dhimmis could not carry arms, had to wear particular clothes and had to pay a special tax. Dhimmitude is a recently coined term to describe their predicament

Dragoman/druggerman: interpreter used by diplomats and traders in the Ottoman Empire

Emir: an Arabic word for the equivalent of a prince.

Fatwa: a legal judgement or learned interpretation given by a mufti on issues pertaining to Islamic law. In Sunni Islam it is non-binding.

Firman: a mandate or decree issued by the Ottoman Sultan

Hatti-sherif: (Turkish, "noble writing"), any ordinance written by the sultan's hand, or which contains his paraf, or flourish, and the words, " Let this my order be obeyed."

Sometimes it is called hatti-humayum, "august writing." A hatti- sherif is irrevocable.

Librorum Prohibitorum: List of Prohibited Books issued by the Council of Tent in 1564

Jacobite: in Britain, the supporters of the Stuart dynasty after the overthrow of James II. In the Middle East another name for Syrian Orthodox Church, which rejected the teachings of the Council of Chalcedon in the Monophysite controversy.

Janissary: an elite Ottoman soldier, regarded as the most loyal of troops. The practice was to take boys from Christian families, primarily from the Balkans, and circumcise them, thus alienating them from their own community and ensuring their undivided loyalty to the Ottomans.

Melkite: derived from the Greek form of the Syriac adjective *malkaya* meaning "imperial". It was first applied to the Christians of the Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Aleppo who accepted the Chalcedonian definition (451), and later a synonym for the Greek Orthodox of the Patriarchate of Antioch. In 1724 the Patriarchate suffered a schism. The Uniate party, representing those who chose to be in communion with Rome, took the name Greek Catholic and now is commonly called Melkite, which is resented by the party that stayed in communion within the Greek Orthodox fold.

Millet: literally "nation" was the political unit of non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman. The three millets were the Greek, covering all the Chalcedonian Orthodox communities, the Armenian, covering the non-Chalcedonian Orthodox communities, and the Jewish.

Mufti: a Sunni Islamic scholar who is an interpreter or expounder of Islamic law

Prebendship: effectively this is synonymous with a canonry, which was an endowed and often lucrative appointment to a Cathedral with generally minimal responsibilities.

SPCK: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge

SPG: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

Suq/ souq/souk: Arabic term for a market.

Sublime Porte: the Ottoman government based in the capital Istanbul. It is a French translation of the Turkish term meaning "High Gate", the entrance to the residence of the Grand Vizier, or Prime Minister.

Ulema: a Muslim scholar and lawyer trained in Islamic law who functions as an arbiter of sharia law.

Chapter One

Introduction: The forgotten English chaplains of Aleppo

Surprise is the usual reaction when people hear that 24 Church of England priests served as chaplains to the English Levant Company factory in Aleppo from 1597 to 1782. For two centuries this succession of Church of England clergy lived and worked in this most cosmopolitan of cities in the Arabic-speaking world that had a foreign community of around 5,000. These Anglican clerics included the greatest English Arabist of the seventeenth century, as well as a number who were to take high office as bishops and royal chaplains, fellows of the Royal Society and friends of notables such as Samuel Johnson and Robert Boyle.

Yet eminent missiologist Norman Horner (1913-97), who spent eight years in the same part of the Middle East, declared "Anglican involvement in the Middle East can be traced to Henry Martyn (died 1812)".[46] This ignorance about the Aleppo chaplains is typical of mission histories of the Middle East. Henry Jessup (1832-1910), the doyen of the American Presbyterian missionaries in Syria, in his otherwise exhaustive two volume *Fifty three years in Syria* completely ignored the contribution of the first Protestants in the Middle East, the Aleppo chaplains. Hence, in extolling a fellow pioneer Presbyterian missionary who was author of *The Land and the Book* (1858), wrote: "Dr. Thomson found in Syria and Palestine a vast unexplored field of Scriptural illustration. The land of the Bible, its topography and customs, were well-nigh unknown among the great Christian nations of the West".[47] This is a surprising statement because a number of Aleppo chaplains as far back as 1607 had written and been published about this very topic, the most famous of which was Henry Maundrell's travel classic *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A.D. 1697* which was reprinted numerous times and translated into a number of languages.

In describing how his fellow American Presbyterians Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck undertook a new translation of the Bible into Arabic, Jessup listed the Arabic versions they had access to.[48] Yet there is no mention either of the first Protestant publication of the Arabic Psalms or the New Testament, which had been printed and distributed by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge over a century before. It was a combined Anglican and Greek Orthodox effort which had involved a number of Aleppo chaplains and had attracted significant public attention including sponsorship by King George I and all the bishops of the Church of England.

John Pearson and Stephen Neill are the only known church historians who have acknowledged the existence of the Aleppo chaplains. In 1883 Pearson[49] wrote *A Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains to the Levant Company Maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna 1611-1706.* In the Introduction he explained that his purpose in studying the chaplains was to shed fresh light on the religious usages and ideas of the seventeenth century English as well as to explore ways to strengthen British foreign chaplaincies.[50] Unfortunately he delivered far less than he offered as he only dealt with 13 of the known 24 Aleppo chaplains and assumed that there were no more chaplains after Thomas Owen who commenced in 1706. His explanation is disconcerting because he first stated that his sources, the minute-books of the Levant Company, were missing from 1707 onward, and that in any case Company trade by then had declined so much they probably did not bother with chaplains. He then mentioned that there was a chaplain in Aleppo in 1740 but gave no details about his name or tenure.[51]

In 1958 Stephen Neill in his panoramic *Anglicanism* mentioned Pococke and Frampton, just 2 of the

24 Aleppo chaplains in his chapter on "Anglicans Abroad".[52] He noted that there was no book written on overseas chaplains and that he had to resort to the *Dictionary of National Biography* for information. [53] The only other chaplains mentioned in the *Dictionary* are Huntington, Lisle and Maundrell.

a. The Misunderstood Chaplains

The scholars who do seem aware of the Levant Company chaplains of Aleppo, Constantinople and Smyrna are those who in recent times have been studying the European interest in the Ottoman Empire during the Early Modern Era. They have tended to look upon them as chiefly scholars, collectors and travel-writers and to soft-pedal their role as Christian clergy. "Their reasons for travelling to the East more often than not appear to have had less to do with preserving the spiritual health of their mercantile countrymen, and more concerned the opportunities for discovery which a sojourn in the Levant would present"[54] wrote Simon Mills[55] in his conference paper "The Chaplains to the English Levant Company at Aleppo (1625-1695): Mapping the Geography and Antiquities of Syria in Seventeenth-Century England."

What modern scholars tend to overlook is that the Early Modern Era was an age of faith and that Englishmen, both lay and clergy, had a particular fascination with the Levant as the lands of the Bible. Furthermore, as Protestants, they had an interest and sympathy with the local forms of Christianity that were more ancient than the reviled Roman Catholic Church. Consequently, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most English merchants in Aleppo would have at least on one occasion made an Easter pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the company of their chaplain who enriched the journey with his knowledge of the Bible and early Church history. One of the only chaplains whose motivation for taking up the Aleppo post is on record was Robert Frampton, who explained to his patron that one of his reasons was "an oppertunity [*sic*] of visiting the places mention'd in the Scripture, which...he had always had a desire to do from the time of his childhood when he read the historical part of the Bible...."[56] When this same chaplain visited Jerusalem in Easter 1660 he urged his fellow Englishmen "not to content themselves with the observation of the present noveltys and ceremony of the festival" but to seek spiritual benefit from recollecting the Scriptures.[57]

It should be noted that the most illustrious of the Aleppo chaplains, Edward Pococke, was an anti-traveller. Any spare time in Aleppo was devoted to the study of Arabic, but that did not detract from conscientiously pastoring the English bachelors. Two months after he arrived in Aleppo he wrote to a young scholar back in Oxford:

> My chief solace is the remembrance of my friends, and my former happiness, when I was among them. Happy you that enjoy those places where I so often wish myself as I see the barbarous people of this country. I think that he that hath once been out of England, if he get home, will not be easily persuaded to leave it again. There is nothing that may make a man envy a "traveller". [58]

Some scholars have fallen into the dangerous trap of making sweeping and uncomplimentary generalisations about the chaplains. Take for instance James Mather[59] in his *Pashas: Traders and Travellers in the Islamic World.* Commenting on early European observers who wrote disparagingly about Muslims, James Mather negatively caricatured the chaplains: "Aleppo's chaplains were numbered amongst those keen to shore up this seam of vituperation", and then quoted three of the chaplains: Biddulph, Robson and Maundrell.[60] It was unfair of Mather to use the term

"Aleppo's chaplains" not "some of Aleppo's chaplains" because other Aleppo chaplains like Pococke, Frampton and Huntington deserve special note for their cordial relations with Muslims and their testimony to the integrity and goodwill of many Muslims they encountered.

Alastair Hamilton,[61] a foremost scholar in the history of relations between Europe and the Arab world, also made erroneous generalisations about the chaplains. These are found in the five pages specifically on the chaplains in his contribution to Gul Russell's *The 'Arabick Interest' of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*[62]. Of the twelve seventeenth century chaplains he only seemed to be familiar with Robson, Pococke, Frampton, Huntington and Maundrell. His most glaring generalisation is that, as a group, the chaplains attempted to propagate the Anglican faith among the Eastern Christians.[63] The second is that the chaplains tended to acquire a sound knowledge of Arabic.[64]

Christine Laidlaw [65] devoted a chapter of her *British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*[66] to the Company chaplains. Whereas Hamilton focused on the seventeenth century chaplains in Aleppo, Laidlaw focused on the eighteenth century chaplains in Smyrna and Constantinople as well as Aleppo. In both cases they had incomplete lists of chaplains. Whereas Hamilton seemed unaware of seven of the twelve seventeenth century chaplains, Laidlaw scored better, being unaware of only two of the twelve eighteenth century chaplains.[67] More to the point, they had insufficient evidence to prove their conflicting generalisations: Hamilton's, that the chaplains proselytised; Laidlaw's, that they did not proselytise. Both missed the mark, because they failed to realise that a number of the chaplains were intentionally missional yet did not set out to proselytise. This paradox will be resolved by a close examination of the mindset of the chaplains, as well as by some case studies of missional activity by the chaplains.

b. Why these Particular Chaplains Deserve Attention

The outstanding and intriguing fact is that the Aleppo chaplains were the first Protestants to live and work in the Levant. Inevitably, any history of Christian mission in the Arab world will be appreciably enriched and better balanced for a serious attempt at describing and assessing their work. So it is not just a matter of setting the record straight and doing justice to the memory of these score or more English clergy. They provide a valuable case study in Protestant missiology over the two centuries prior to the Evangelical Revival and the subsequent Great Era of Protestant missions. They are particularly interesting because of their location in the Middle East, with its unique challenges for Christian mission. The greatest challenges facing Christian mission in the Middle East have always been the evangelisation of the Muslims and the strengthening of the dwindling Christian communities. The question is: "Did the chaplains leave a legacy of literature or praxis for later generations?"

The difference between the Aleppo chaplains and the other Levant Company chaplains

From the outset it should be understood that there were also English Levant Company chaplains in Constantinople (Istanbul) and Smyrna (Izmir), some of whom were distinguished scholars. However this thesis has been limited to the Aleppo chaplains less because dealing with all the Levant Company chaplains is too broad an area to cover, than because only the Aleppo chaplains were embedded in the Arab-speaking world. Constantinople and Smyrna did not provide environments where the chaplains could observe and interact with the Arab world because until the early years of the twentieth century Smyrna was a Greek enclave amidst the Turkish majority of Western Anatolia, while Constantinople had a significant Greek community under the Turkish

overlords. By contrast even the Greek Orthodox Church of Aleppo was made up of Arabic-speaking bishops, clergy and people.

This is not to downplay the achievements of the Constantinople and Smyrna chaplains. A number collected significant manuscripts for the English universities and contributed to studies of Turkish language and culture. The most noteworthy work of the Constantinople chaplains was some significant interactions with the Greek Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchs in Constantinople, while the Smyrna chaplains pioneered the archaeology of New Testament sites in Western Anatolia, particularly the locations of the Seven Churches of Revelation. It needs to be added that a number of Aleppo chaplains also served in Constantinople (Edward Pococke) and Smyrna (Samuel Lisle and Robert Foster).

c. Method

In order to assess the contribution of the Aleppo chaplains to Christian mission four areas need to be covered. The first is clarifying the terminology applied then and now to the geographic and cultural landscape of the Levant. This will avoid the confusion that arises from the fact that terms like "Turk", "Greek", "Frank" or "factory" meant something very different three centuries ago. The second is setting the chaplains in the context of Aleppo in the Ottoman Era. The third is providing a narrative of the life and work of the successive chaplains over the one hundred and eighty-five years. The fourth is gaining insight into their attitudes towards their identity and role, as well as towards other Christians and Muslims.

After this necessary background follow some case studies. The first is a comparison with their contemporaries, the French consular chaplains in Aleppo, who were in fact engaged as missionaries of Rome. The second case study is two Arabic publishing projects that involved Aleppo chaplains, one in the seventeenth century and the other in the eighteenth century. The third case study is a comparison with the attitudes and practices of the Protestant missionaries who began arriving a generation after the last chaplain left Aleppo.

Finally, conclusions are drawn about why the Aleppo chaplains have been forgotten and why they should be remembered for being conduits of the cultural riches of the Middle East and, most importantly, for their contribution to Christian mission.

Chapter 2

The Geographical, Cultural and Religious Nomenclature of the Levant

Having the world's richest and longest Christian history, it is no surprise that the Middle East has a bewildering diversity of Christian communities, differentiated by theology, geography, language and ethnicity. Furthermore there is a disparity between what the various ethnic and religious groupings call themselves and what others call them. To avoid ambiguity and confusion, the following is a succinct explanation of terms.

First, there is the geographical term "Levant". In Roman times it comprised the province of Greater Syria which covers modern-day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and Palestine together with parts of south-eastern Turkey such as Antakya (Antioch) and Sanliurfa (Edessa). The area is united by the Levantine Arabic dialect, which is different to other languages such as Turkish to the north, and other dialects such as Egyptian Arabic to the southwest, Gulf Arabic to the southeast and Iraqi Arabic to the east.

However, the Levant is not united by religion. Other than last century's influx of Jews into the Israel-Palestine area and the consequent decline of Jewish communities in the rest of the Levant, the religious demographic of the area has changed little in the last five hundred years. The dominant sect is Sunni Islam, with a far smaller number of Shiites including the Ismailis concentrated near Hama. In the northwest of the Levant, concentrated in the hills around the port of Lattakia, there is a syncretistic sect known nowadays as the Alawi and formerly as the Ansari or Nusayri. Another syncretistic sect concentrated in the mountains of southern Lebanon and Syria is the Druze. We will come to the Christians later.

During the era dealt with by this thesis the Ottoman Empire ruled over the Levant as well as North Africa, Mesopotamia and the Balkans. At that time the English generally called any Muslim in the Ottoman Empire a "Turk" even if they were an Arab or a Kurd, as can be seen in the *Book of Common Prayer*.[68] Englishmen who had firsthand experience of the complexities of the Middle East were more able to make distinctions. Thus, in the early seventeenth century the second chaplain, Biddulph, distinguished between the "Saracens" or "Turks" and the "Moors" (Arabs).[69]

a. The Eastern Churches

Ever since the Christological controversies of the early Byzantine Era the churches of the Middle East have suffered deep divisions. Recent attempts at reconciliation have shown that the root of these divisions is more cultural than theological. The great Christological debates were carried out in Greek, and involved very subtle distinctions such as between ὁμοουσιος (*homoousios)* and ὁμοιουσιος *(homoiousios).* It is no surprise that Armenian, Coptic and Syriac Christians, in attempting to describe the two natures of Christ, ended up with definitions that were unacceptable to the Greek Christians. With the rise and spread of Islam the Arabic and Syriac Christians found more sympathetic treatment from the Muslim rulers, who were fellow Semites, than from their co-religionists, the Greek-speaking Byzantine rulers. Following the Great Schism of 1054 AD between the Latin and Greek churches, which again was more cultural and political than theological, Latin crusaders invaded the Middle East. In some cases they made friends among

the Eastern Christians such as the Maronites, but more often they made foes such as the Greek Orthodox, often by arrogant and unprincipled behaviour. Finally, the era dealt with in this thesis saw active attempts at proselytising Middle Eastern Christians, first by the Catholics and later by the Protestants, with the effect of tripling the number of denominations. It is heartening that in recent times ecumenical initiatives have helped improve mutual understanding and cooperation.

Aleppo, because of its ancient Christian heritage and its location, is a home to all of these groupings. The biggest Christian sect in the Levant derives from the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch which honours the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople as the Ecumenical Patriarch. Because of its roots in the Byzantine, or Eastern Roman Empire, this was commonly called the *Rum* (Roman) Church. From the early 1600s Roman Catholic diplomatic machinations and missionary work started to bring a significant part of the Greek Orthodox Christians under Rome, creating the Greek Catholic or "Melkite" sect. The Maronite sect, concentrated in the coastal range known as Mount Lebanon or "Libanus", also follow an Eastern rite and are in communion with Rome. By contrast the Latin Catholic sect follows the western Catholic rite. In the northern half of the Levant are the Armenian, Chaldean and Syrian or Syriac Orthodox. Chaldeans are also known as "Assyrians" and Syrians as "Jacobites". They are non-Chalcedonian churches as opposed to the Chalcedonian churches such as the Greek Orthodox sect and the Catholic sects. Like the Greek Orthodox Church, these three Churches also fractured in the seventeenth century into Orthodox and Catholic versions. There is also a small number of Protestants, including Presbyterians, Lutherans, Anglicans, Baptists, Nazarene and Alliance, whose origins go back to the mid-1800s.

b. The Foreigners

Ever since the Crusades, Western Europeans were regarded by the Levantines as "Franks". Much to the chagrin of the French, English, Italian, Dutch and German merchants they found themselves sharing this label. In reality, in spite of the bitterness of the Reformation, they were all united by the culture of the former Roman Empire of the West with its Latin-based education system. In the seventeenth century Latin was still the language of learning across Europe and the basis of Protestant secondary education and academic publishing such as Isaac Newton's *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* and Hugo de Groot's *De Jure Belli ac Pacis.* In subtle ways Europeans preserved elements of the Crusader culture such as the heraldic devices that can still be traced out on their graves in Aleppo and the assumptions about the behaviour of a Christian gentleman that were derived from the ideals of Christian knighthood. A less subtle evocation of their Crusader heritage was their invention of the rituals of the whimsical Order of the Knights of the Salt that is mentioned by Henry Teonge in the 1670s.[70] The Anglican chaplains to the Levant Company were commonly known as "Church of England preachers to the Turkey Company". Merchants were often called "factors", because they were working on behalf of the great merchants who were members of the Company in London. Hence their "factories" had nothing to do with manufacturing but were rather trading posts comprising living quarters, warehouses and stables.

c. The Challenge of Transliteration

Finally, transliterations of Arabic terms, including place names, are notoriously inconsistent and disconcerting. Even today the traveller to Syria will encounter on the one road the name of a destination in Roman letters spelled successively three different ways. For instance, the river flowing through Aleppo is the Queque or the Kowicke or the Kwecke, and Saladin, the great sultan of the Crusades, is also Salah-ud-din or Salah ad-deen. The recent trend is to transliterate Koran as the

Qu'ran with the apostrophe representing the Arabic *hamza* that has no equivalent in English. Another example is the caravanserais of Aleppo, which were called Canes by the early chaplains and Khans by the latter chaplains. It is the same word, just different transliteration. To avoid unnecessary confusion transliterations are consistent with the exception of quoted works such as chaplains' letters.

Chapter 3

Where the Silk Road ended: Aleppo in the Ottoman Empire

a. Aleppo's Geographic and Cultural Significance

Known in Arabic as *Halab* and in French as *Alep*, English has adopted the Italian form of the name due to the Italian republics of Genoa and Venice being the major Western trading presence in the region from the Crusades to early modern times. The city's significance in history has derived from its location at the end of the Silk Road, which passed through central Asia and Mesopotamia. Its prosperity was at its height during the era of the chaplaincy (1597-1782). There is a wide range of causes for Aleppo's decline including devastating plagues of the mid 1700s, a disastrous earthquake in 1822, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the loss to Turkey of its northern hinterland in the 1920s and its coastal access in the 1940s. The upside of this was the survival of the city's ancient *suq* (market) and citadel, popular with tourists who also took the opportunity to venture out on day trips to the countless ancient ruins of the upper Euphrates, debrief afterwards over drinks at the legendary Baron Hotel with its memories of TE Lawrence and Agatha Christie, and at nights luxuriate in the boutique hotels of the beautifully restored Christian suburb of Jedaydeh. The observant tourist would have noted that Turkish and French, the languages of the distant imperial and more recent colonial past, had been usurped by English as the second language. They would also have been surprised to find in the heart of the Middle East numerous Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant churches. Their communities had been weakened over the previous fifty years by migration to Europe, the Americas and beyond.

Nevertheless, Aleppo Christians still made a disproportionate contribution to Syria in terms of modern businesses and professions. The secret to their survival had been a strong commitment to education evident in the well-stocked church libraries of mostly Arabic and French books. This all changed in 2011 with the Civil War that has seen not only the historic citadel and *suq* seriously damaged but the devastation of one of the only truly industrial cities in the entire Arab world and the contraction of the Christian community.

b. The English Levant Company

In 1581 Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the world culminated in his being knighted on the deck of *The Golden Hind* by Queen Elizabeth. In the same year another sign of England's widening reach was the granting of a charter by the Queen to the Levant Company giving it a trading monopoly over the vast Ottoman Empire. It was an amalgamation of two companies involved in the lucrative Mediterranean trade: the Venice and the Turkey Companies. Thanks to the burgeoning silk trade, the Levant Company quickly became the richest and most powerful of the

London-based companies with the resources and authority to appoint and fund the English ambassador to the Sublime Porte. Yet it was Aleppo, and to a lesser extent Smyrna, where the Company made its profits. Unlike the other two cities Aleppo was landlocked, being three days ride east of the Mediterranean port known at different times as Alexandretta, Iskanderoun or Scanderoon. In its heyday the caravans to Aleppo from the east had up to two thousand camels.[71] The merchants who engaged in the Aleppo trade represented some of the wealthiest and most influential families in London and the same names keep cropping up in the annals of the Company as directors, consuls and factors. For a century the Levant trade was immensely profitable with English woollen cloth and tin being traded initially for pepper and later for cotton and silk. Aleppo was the source of raw silk, which was then processed in England. In 1600 three hundred people were employed in London in manufacturing silk cloth. By 1640 this number had grown to ten thousand.[72] However, as English trade with India and the Far East increased so the Levant trade waned and petered out by the late 1700s.

Figure 2. The Company's crest with a ship bearing the St George's flag of England between the Pillars of Hercules, symbolising its monopoly over the English Mediterranean trade

Throughout its 244 year history the English Levant Company had strong connections with the Church of England. This was never formalised in the sense that any bishop had a say in the appointment of these mercantile chaplains or their licensing, as was the case with colonial chaplains who came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. But in each generation there were Company members in London and factors in the Levant who were loyal and devout members of the Church of England and who saw their merchant business as Christian vocation. The Company's minute book of 25 March 1630 captures this:

> The Governor brought before the Court the question of appointing a preacher for Aleppo; "which being considered of as a matter tending to the glory of God, the reputation of the Company and the benefit of the English Nation there resident, was with free and full consent approved of and resolved by the whole vote of this Assembly..." [73]

The Company minute of 11 December 1678 recorded that "Lady Ricard offers the last three vols. of Poole's Synopsis, to be sent to Aleppo: it is agreed to purchase the other two vols. At the Company's charge".[74] Lady Ricard was the widow of a Governor of the Company and her gift was the magisterial, five volume Latin work *Synopsis criticorum biblicorum* recently completed by Matthew Poole, a leading Puritan scholar. The work summarised the views of one hundred and fifty biblical critics. The Company's acceptance of Lady Ricard's gift as well as supplementing it implies that the London merchants expected that even when far from the Protestant stronghold of England that biblical scholarship was to be encouraged.

c. Expatriate Life in Aleppo

Figure 3. The author at the entrance of the Great Khan where the chaplains lived

Figure 4. The courtyard of the khan

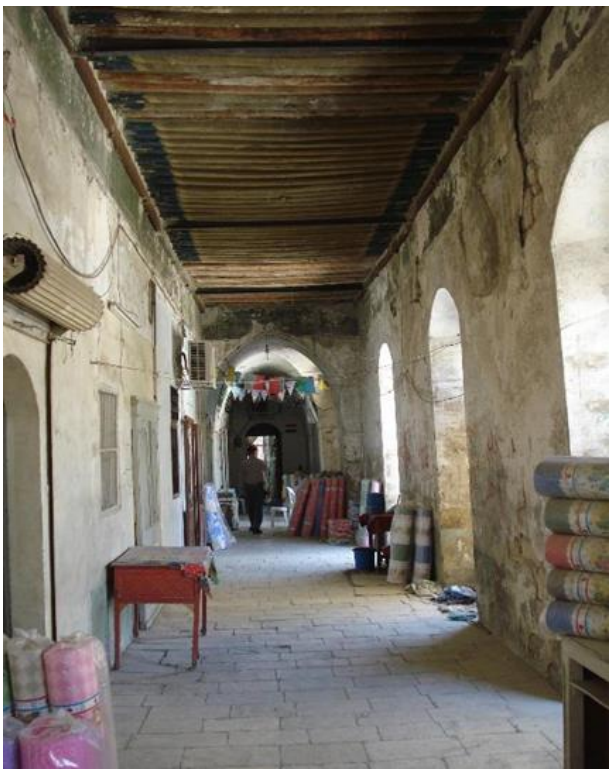


Figure 5. Upstairs, above the warehouses, there was a cloistered atmosphere redolent of an Oxbridge college

Figure 6. The chaplains were accommodated in upstairs rooms similar to this one

Aleppo was a long way from London. Often the only break from the voyage was a few days on the Ionian island of Zante, a Venetian possession and the centre of the currant trade. Many chaplains recorded their visit to this island where they were confronted with Greek Orthodoxy, and consequently their first dose of culture shock. With favourable weather the voyage from England to Scanderoon was six weeks, but frequently bad weather, piracy and shipwreck disrupted the mails. The usual time for the exchange of letters between Aleppo and London was four to five months, but it was not unusual for a merchant to be several years without any news from home.[75] This was the emotional lifeblood of Englishmen who, as one of the chaplains observed, invariably had as their first question "What news?"[76]

The regulations of the Company with regard to their employees were very strict in the early days. In Aleppo they were based in the caravanserai known as the Great Khan, which dated back to 1574, and which also housed the French and Dutch trading firms. Until the destruction of the current Civil War it had changed very little in four centuries. Its present name, *Khan-al-Gumruk*, the Customs Khan, comes from its use by the customs authorities at the end of the eighteenth century. (Figures 3, 4, 5 and 6)

Company records tell us that in 1600 usually about 14 or 15 merchants lived, ate, slept, and kept their goods in the Company quarters in the Great Khan. Among the Englishmen living in Aleppo there were also numerous independent expatriates. Biddulph, the chaplain at the time, mentioned that a man named James Stapers was keeping a house where Englishmen sometimes stayed, suggesting an informal community living outside the Company quarters. As the silk trade grew, merchant numbers grew to about 40 by the 1670s.

Owing to Company policy the factors, or merchants, in the early days were invariably bachelors and frequently received admonitions from the governing body at home against "sensuality, gambling, Sabbath-breaking, neglect of public worship."[77] The directors knew that low morale brought about by weak or tyrannical leadership, conflicts between merchants, drunkenness, gambling and venereal disease could easily destroy a factory in an alien environment months away from England. Whereas if the factory community was a happy environment marked by good food, hard work, sobriety, adequate rest, healthy recreation, intellectual stimulation and spiritual solace, then the Company would be able to sustain its source of profits. So with the morale of the factory community in their sights the General Court of the Company elected and stipended chaplains for the factories at Constantinople, Smyrna and Aleppo. However, that is where the Company's spending stopped. In poring over its minute-books Pearson noted: "the repeated disallowance of any monies either for building or fitting up a chapel at any of the factories."[78]

The subsidiary factories like Zante were too small to justify the expenses of a chaplain, but demonstrated why employing a chaplain was a good investment. Writing of the Zante factory in 1675 the English traveller Sir George Wheler said of its members that they:

> Have left few marks of their religion in their life or in their death, as well as in some places where they trade, to the great dishonour of the reformed religion, having no one to console their spirits either by the preaching of the Word, nor by the administration of the sacraments during health, nor even in the last extremities of their illness nor at death. For they have neither church, nor chapel, nor pastor, so that seems to the people of this country that they live without religion and die without hope; which is a great scandal to their neighbours and exposes our church to much contempt.[79]

By contrast, Wheler adds: "You will not see a single merchant of the Roman faith who has not at

his house one or more priests." It was a good thing that the Company took the initiative in providing chaplains for the bigger factories rather than relying on the efforts of the English factors because, as Wheler continues, "ours do not want one, although they are rich, opulent, and able to maintain several."[80]

A C Wood, in his definitive history of the Levant Company, commented that "where there was a chaplain his reception depended on his character", citing contemporary sources about how the factors who were mostly high spirited young men would scorn and deride a schoolmasterly chaplain but would respect and take advice from a chaplain who treated them with respect. Moreover, such chaplains were likely to receive generous gifts.[81]

d. The Prospect of Aleppo

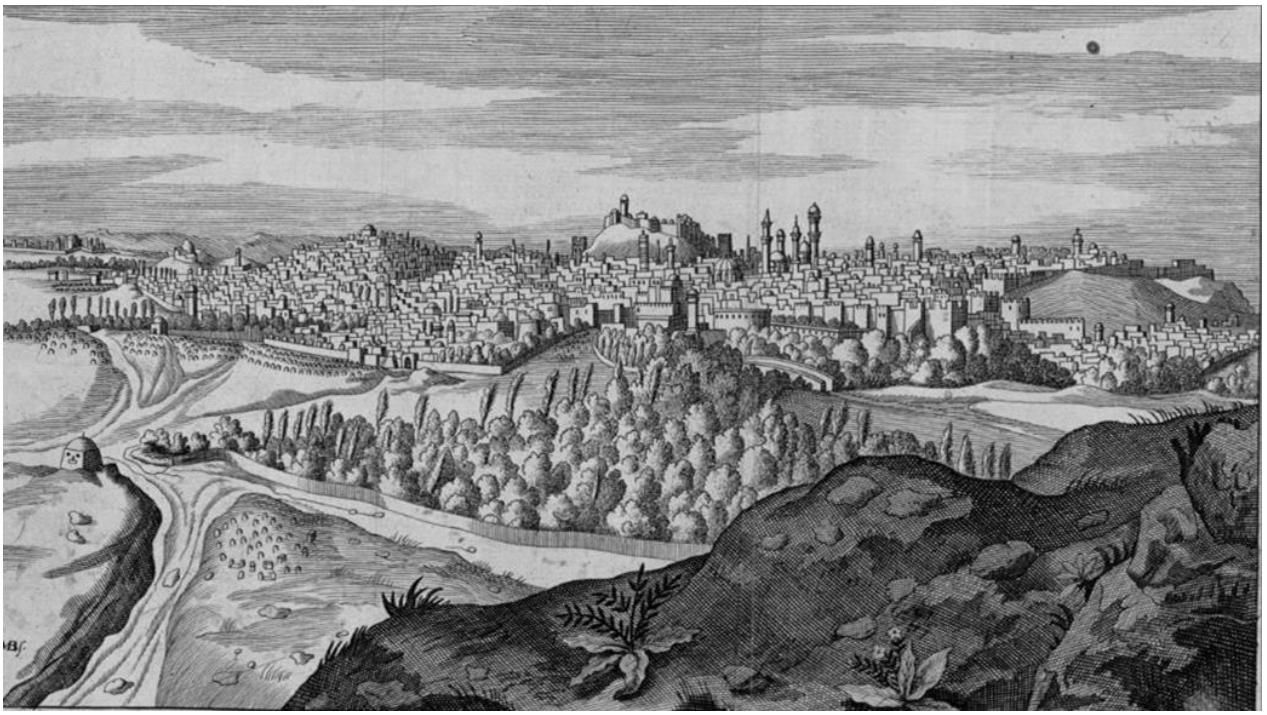


Figure 7. The Prospect captures Aleppo's distinct skyline

Some early editions of Henry Maundrell's travel classic *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem Easter 1699* included this engraving of the city. The modern visitor to Aleppo will still be able to recognise most of these features of the extensive "Old City" quarter. The artist's perspective was from a hill outside the city walls and looking south-south-east. Being a panorama, distances are foreshortened but two features of the skyline stand out. In the middle of the scene is the defining feature of Aleppo, the ancient Citadel perched on an enormous mound. To the right and slightly to the foreground are the minarets of the Grand Mosque, otherwise known as the Umayyad Mosque, venerated by Muslims as the resting place of the head of the prophet *Zakariya* (Zechariah), father of the prophet *Yahya* (John the Baptist). The River Queque flows from the bottom left of the picture and then turns right and disappears into a large grove of trees. The bridge over the river can be seen in the foreground below the minarets and city walls. Further to the right are the battlements of *Bab Antakya* (Antioch Gate) which was the portal for the road to the Mediterranean seaport of Skanderoon (Alexandretta), a three day's ride away.

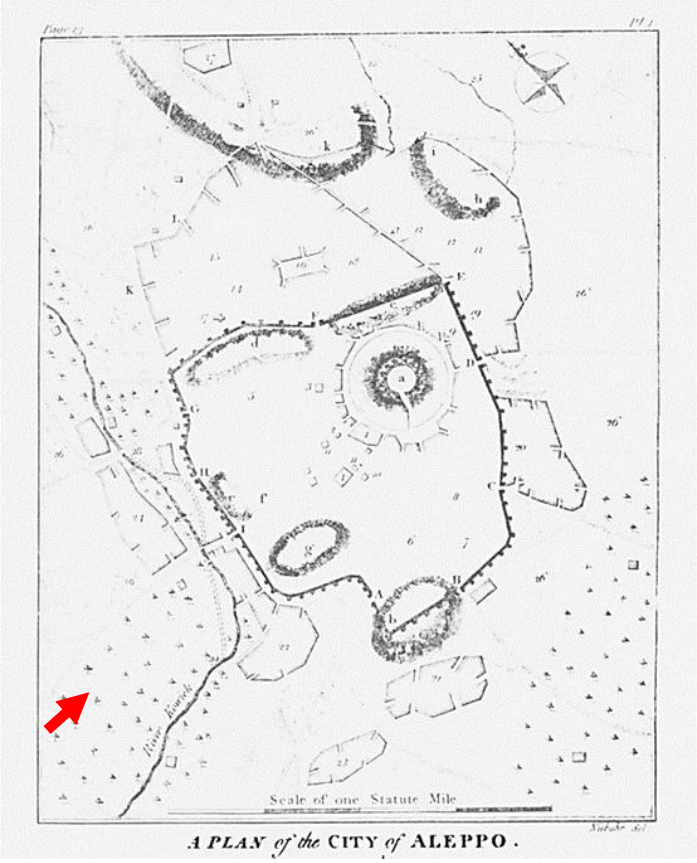


Figure 8. Alexander Russell's map of the mid-1700s shows the predominantly Christian suburbs of Jedideh to the north of the city walls. This was the site of the Protestant cemetery from 1592 to 1939. The arrow marks the approximate spot from where the above "Prospect" was viewed.

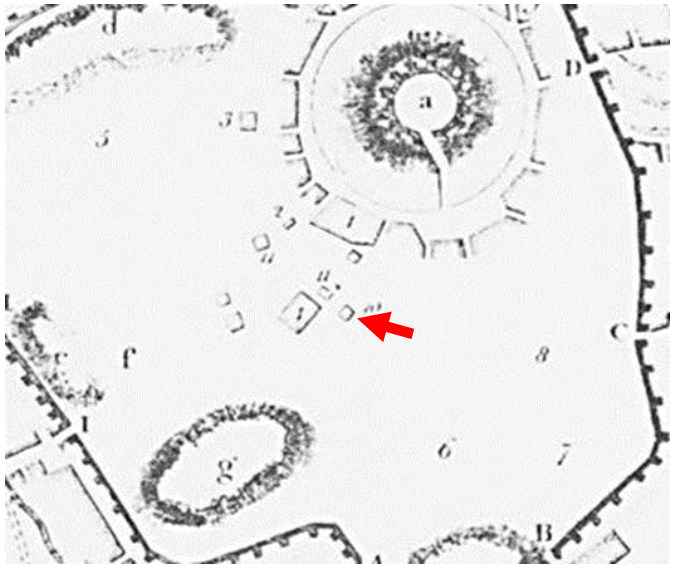


Figure 9. Detail from the map. The location of the Khan al-Gumruk where the chaplains resided is indicated by the arrow.

A map of the city (Figure 8) shows that running east-west between the Antioch Gate and the Citadel is the axis of Straight Street, a common feature of all Roman-designed cities. The Grand Mosque is on the north side of the Street, while just opposite on the south side is the *Khan al Kabir* (Great Khan or Grand Caravanserai) (Figure 9), otherwise known as the *Khan al-Gumruk*, which housed the English Levant Company factory. To the north of the city are the "new" suburbs including in the foreground the Christian quarter of Jedaydeh. The Christian cemetery is outside the city walls. The dry, khaki-coloured hills, the wide skies, the massive gates, the numerous minarets and most of all, the imposing citadel, reminded the newly arrived chaplains they were a world away from the green fields and church spires of Christian England and in a far more ancient land, known to Abraham, Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander.

In the English imagination the name "Aleppo" has alluringly exotic connotations, as far back as 1603 when Shakespeare referred to the city in *Othello* and *Macbeth*, and as recently as 1934 when Agatha Christie made it the setting for the opening pages of *Murder on the Orient Express*. However the modern-day traveller seeking exotic charm is likely to be dismayed by a monotonous vista of drab, sandy-coloured apartment blocks, imprisoning the ancient districts of Jedaydeh and the Old City. These old quarters, with their narrow, cobbled lanes, together with the imposing citadel and the trickle of the channelled Queque River are the remaining ancient features of an otherwise unremarkable Middle Eastern city.

It was different in the days of the Levant Company. Alexander Russell, the Company physician, resided in Aleppo in the middle years of the eighteenth century, towards the end of the Company era. He gives us an idea of the city:

> Aleppo, the present metropolis of Syria, is deemed in importance, the third city in the Ottoman dominions. In situation, magnitude, population, and opulence, it is much inferior to Constantinople and Cairo; nor can it presume to emulate the courtly splendour of either of those cities. But in salubrity of air, in the solidity and elegance of its private buildings, as well as the convenience and neatness of its streets, Aleppo may be reckoned superior to both; and, though no longer possessed of the same commercial advantages as in former times, it still continues to maintain a share of trade far from inconsiderable.[82]

Outside the city walls the River Queque provided a green belt of gardens and beyond that, "the banks of the river being remarkably verdant, the Franks, or Europeans, often, in their excursions, choose this as a pleasant situation for their tent."[83] The Dutch artist and traveller Cornelis de Bruyn (Corneille le Brun) who visited Aleppo in 1682-83 was much taken with the English love of hunting with greyhounds in these environs which they enjoyed twice a week. According to the English fashion they took their sport seriously, annually electing a "capo" who had two assistants and a treasurer to organise the hunt as well as the merry post-hunt wining and dining in the large tent on their favourite spot they called the "Green Hill".[84]

Russell estimated the population did "not exceed two hundred and thirty five thousand: of which two hundred thousand are Turks, thirty thousand Christians, and five thousand Jews".[85] The term "Turk" here did not refer to ethnicity but adherence to Islam, because in the next sentence he went on to explain that "the language universally spoken by the natives is the vulgar Arabic. The people of condition are also taught Turkish."

Russell did not specify the numerical breakdown of the Christian communities. However, sixty years later the English missionary James Connor estimated there were "4 000 Greek Catholics, 500 Greek Orthodox, 8 000 Armenian Catholics, 2 000 Armenian Orthodox, 5 000 Syrian Catholics, 2 000 Maronites, 100 Nestorians, also called Chaldeans".[86] The distinction between Catholics and Orthodox dated only from the schisms of the first half of the eighteenth century. Russell explained that each of these communities had a church in the suburb of Judida (Jedaydeh) in which vicinity most of them lived. Most of the Armenians spoke Armenian. The others spoke the local dialect of Arabic, with some of the Syrians speaking Aramaic, but hardly any of the "Greeks" understood a word of Greek, either ancient or modern.[87]

The constant influx of traders ensured that Aleppo had a persistent cycle of devastating epidemics. On the other hand the Aleppine diet was far better than the European diet with ample supplies of meat, rice, bread, vegetables, dairy and fruit. Russell observed "that a greater quantity of fruit is consumed at Aleppo, than in any three cities in Europe of equal size."[88]

The markets of Aleppo remain nothing less than impressive. Were any of the twenty- four chaplains transported to the vast covered *suq* of the Old City in 2011 they would have found much that was familiar and, moreover, be able to make their way back to their quarters through the labyrinth of narrow, shop-lined streets. Aleppo was safer than most European cities or Asian cities of the time. Its numerous gates that enabled each section of the city to be locked up every night ensured the safety of residents and goods, and its stone construction reduced the danger of fire. This also meant that any major earthquake would bury much of the population alive, and this happened fifty years after the last chaplain had departed. Then as now the streets were well-paved and clean, and the roofed markets protected from sun and rain but with apertures to provide ventilation and light. Abraham Parsons, the British consul at Scanderoon, towards the end of the Company era, recorded 37 arched markets, each of which specialised in a particular product such as boxes, footwear, second hand clothes, pistols, copper, gold, silver, saddles, cloth, embroidery and spices. One bazaar for

fruiterers and confectioners was over half a mile in length.[89]

e. Life under the Ottomans

Figure 10. The Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the chaplaincy era was vast. The European parts from Hungary across to Crimea were vassal states rather than under direct rule.

A conservative regime

As already mentioned by Russell, throughout the chaplaincy era Aleppo was the third city of the Ottoman Empire after Istanbul and Alexandria. In the timescale of the Middle East, when the English Aleppo factory opened in 1582, Ottoman occupation was relatively recent, having supplanted the Arab Mamelukes in 1516. Bernard Lewis describes the Ottomans as inward-looking and unwilling to engage with Europeans by learning their language or adopting their technology, at least up until the 1680s, as long as they continued to defeat the European powers in Eastern Europe.[90] Furthermore, their Councils of Ulemas[91] forbade close contact with the Christians because they had corrupted the teachings of God's prophets. Following their military victories over the Mamelukes and the southern and eastern European powers the Ottomans became complacent and their vast domains stagnated. At the same time the northern and western European powers colonised the Americas, underwent Protestant and Catholic Reformations and made great leaps in technology, albeit slowed down by wars of religion and succession.

The treatment of non-Muslims

Being a military regime with huge standing armies, the Ottomans relied on exacting heavy taxes from their subjects.[92] Unlike the blinkered Greek Orthodox Byzantine regime they replaced, the Ottomans recognised that minority Christian sects and Jews were economically important for the Empire with their expertise in areas like the crafts, agriculture and finance. So only eight years after the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmet II established the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, a complete turnaround from the Byzantines' ban on the "heretical" Armenian Church

from building churches inside the city walls. Thirty-one years after that, when the Spanish Inquisition pushed Muslims and Sephardic Jews from Spain, his son Bayezid II sent his fleet to save them and granted the refugees the right to settle in the Ottoman Empire.

The taxation of these minorities was facilitated through the establishment of the *millet* (nation) system whereby non-Muslims minorities, known as *dhimmi*, were organized into smaller nations within the greater Ottoman nation. Until the nineteenth century there were only three millets: the Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish. They were based on religion rather than ethnicity so their leaders exercised religious as well as civil authority over their subjects and in turn reported directly to the Ottoman Sultan. This dual role made perfect sense to the Ottomans whose Sultans assumed the religious title of the Caliph of Islam, literally the "Successor" of Mohammed. Only three days after conquest of Constantinople Mehmet II set the precedent for all his successors by personally investing the new Greek Orthodox Patriarch, Gennadius II, with the crosier and mantle of office. The Sultan had made a cunning choice as this former monk was the leading anti-Western cleric and thus guarantee against the Eastern Christians appealing for a new Crusade. He and successive Greek Orthodox Patriarchs of Constantinople as leaders of the *millet-i Rum* (literally the Roman nation) were the civil and spiritual heads of not only Orthodox Greeks, but Orthodox Bulgarians, Albanians, Vlachs, Macedonian Slavs, Georgians, Arabs, Romanians and Serbs. During the whole of the Aleppo chaplaincy era the millets set their own laws based on the Justinian Code (529-34 AD) and collected and distributed their own taxes. The Armenian millet included non-Armenians from churches which were theologically linked to the Armenian Church by virtue of being non-Chalcedonians. Although under the authority of the Armenian Patriarchate, groups such as the Syriac Orthodox and Copts maintained a separate hierarchy with their own Patriarchs.

Timothy Ware explained how the millet system led to the Church's higher administration to become caught up in a "degrading system of corruption and simony"[93] In particular there was the vicious triangle whereby each new Patriarch had to pay for a very expensive *berat* (authorisation letter)[94] before he could assume office. To pay for the *berat* the Patriarch exacted a fee from each bishop before instituting him into his diocese. In turn the bishops taxed the clergy who fleeced their flocks. To make it worse there were often rival candidates for Constantinople and other patriarchal thrones and of course the winner was the highest bidder. In a brutally mercenary manner the Ottomans changed the Patriarchs frequently to maximise profits. Some were executed and a large number deposed and often reinstated when they could outbid their supplanter. During the chaplaincy period there were 50 different Patriarchs of Constantinople, Cyril Lucaris holding the record of being deposed and restored five times. By comparison, the same era saw 15 Archbishops of Canterbury and 14 Greek Orthodox Patriarchs of Antioch, showing it was a blessing to be far away from Constantinople where the Patriarchs and would-be Patriarchs expended much time, energy and money on the scrabble for power. But any amusement with the predicament is met with the sobering words of Sir Paul Rycaut, the English Consul at the Smyrna factory (1667-1679):

> Every good Christian ought with sadness to consider, and with compassion to behold this once glorious Church to tear and rend out her own bowels, and give them for food to vultures and ravens, and to the wild and fierce Creatures of the World.[95]

Harsh measures against non-Muslims

As dhimmis Christians and Jews were not considered equals to Muslims. Testimony against Muslims by Christians and Jews was inadmissible in courts of law. They were forbidden to carry weapons or ride atop horses, their houses could not overlook those of Muslims, and their religious practices had to defer to those of Muslims, in addition to various other legal limitations. This got

worse in the seventeenth century when a number of the sultans were strongly influenced by conservative clerics who declared that Christians and Jews should be treated with contempt. Notable among these were Sultans Ahmed I (1603-17), Murad IV (1623-40) and Mehmed IV (1648-87). In 1631 Murad IV decreed:

> Insult and humiliate infidels in garment, clothing and manner of dress according to Muslim law and Imperial statute. Henceforth, do not allow them to mount a horse, wear sable fur, sable fur caps, satin and silk velvet. Do not allow their women to wear mohair caps wrapped in cloth and 'Paris' cloth. Do not allow infidels and Jews to go about in Muslim manner and garment. Hinder and remove these kinds. Do not lose a minute in executing the order that I have proclaimed in this manner.[96]

In 1670 Sultan Mehmed IV decreed that the sale of wine be banned, penalising Christians for whom the production and trade in wine had been lucrative. In the 1660s he also presided over the confiscation of many churches.[97]

The treatment of Europeans

Nor were foreigners exempt from humiliating treatment at the hands of the Ottomans. Until the nineteenth century even European ambassadors were introduced formally to the Sultan as "naked and hungry barbarians", who had ventured "to rub the brow of the Sublime Porte".[98]

However on the whole the implications of Ottoman policy for European foreigners in Aleppo were quite tolerable. Abraham Parsons described how foreigners had to wear distinguishing hats to save them from the discrimination against local Christians and Jews. The wearing of a hat, regardless of whether European dress or local robes were worn, indicated that the person was under the protection of one of the four foreign consuls, namely French, English, Venetian or Dutch.[99]

Modern Aleppo has quickly forgotten its four hundred years of Ottoman rule, which is a mere blip in its four thousand year history. Turkish language, architecture and culture is regarded of minimal value. The French, the Mameluke, the Byzantine and the Roman rulers are more fondly remembered. It is also no surprise then that the foreigners, including the chaplains, engaged with the Ottoman authorities as little as possible.

f. Relationships among the European Traders

Their treatment by the Ottoman authorities brought the "Franks" together. Towards the end of the Company era Abraham Parsons summed up a situation that had changed little in two centuries:

> Upon the whole, the French, English, Italians, and Dutch, live as comfortably as in any foreign factory whatever, as there is always a good harmony subsisting between them, and even if their countries are at war at home, they not only live peaceably, but amicably here; with this difference only, that the consuls of the belligerent powers cannot visit each other publicly.[100]

Excursus: the missing element from the Orientalism debate

This description of the entrenched European merchant community in Aleppo is a timely reminder that modern Western engagement with the Middle East extends further back than Napoleon's invasion of Egypt which was the starting point for Edward Said's

"Orientalism" hypothesis. Orientalism is not to be confused with the traditional term "orientalist" which described the study of Arabic and other languages of the Middle East and beyond. Rather it features in a book[101] by the same name by Columbia-based Arab American scholar Said who uses it to describe patronizing Western attitudes towards Middle Eastern, Asian and North African societies, caricaturing them as stagnating and undeveloped. By contrast Western society has been portrayed as developed, rational, flexible, and superior. These caricatures helped provide a pretext for Western imperialistic expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By beginning with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, Said overlooks the previous centuries of Western engagement with the Levant mediated through the thousands of European merchants who for three centuries linked Aleppo with the West. Their milieu was the Western mercantile era, which had transitioned from the crusade era, and was succeeded by the imperial era beginning with the French, followed by the British, Russians and Americans. In his book *What went wrong*, Bernard Lewis[102] responded to Said with the argument that the Ottoman Empire was stagnating by the time of Napoleon's expedition but did not challenge his convenient neglect of the previous centuries of European mercantile presence in the Levant which was a far more positive engagement and would have been more difficult to caricature.

Chapter 4

Writing the Forgotten Chapter: the Life and Work of the Chaplains

Figure 11.
The most concrete evidence of the chaplains is the "new" Protestant cemetery in Aleppo which contains a number of chaplains' gravestones. In 1939 the old cemetery was razed for roadworks and the gravestones relocated to the present location.

Figure 12.
The author with Rev Serop Megerditchian the trustee of the Protestant cemetery locating chaplains' gravestones

Until now a comprehensive and continuous narrative chronicling the twenty-four chaplains has not been successfully undertaken. This attempt adds a chapter to at least four histories: Protestantism in the Middle East, Anglican missions, Western contact with the Arab world, and relations between the Eastern and Western Church.

As mentioned, the first effort was carried out by J B Pearson in his *A Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains to the Levant Company Maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna 1611-1706*, and as the title shows, failed to record the nine chaplains who served from 1716 to 1783. Furthermore, Pearson relied almost entirely on the minute- books of the Levant Company, and

did not access primary sources such as church registers and letters as well as secondary sources such as biographies. As a result he made some glaring errors such as the dismissal and return to England in 1650 of Bartholomew Chapple, who in fact died and was buried in Aleppo in 1685. Pearson's table[103] is [*sic*]:

When elected:	**Name:**	**Degree, if any, &c**	**When vacated:**
22 Dec.1625	Charles Robson.	M.A. Queen's Coll. Oxon.	not mentioned
25, 31 March, 1630	Edward Pocock.	M.A. Fellow of C.C.C. Oxon.	not mentioned
not apptd by the company	Mr Prichard.	not identified	April 18,1640
19 May, 1640	Bartholomew Chappell.	Exeter Coll. Oxon	17 Dec. 1650
17 Dec. 1650	Nathaniel Hill	Pemb. Or Queen's Coll. Oxon.	not mentioned
7 Dec. 1654, but not apptd	Mr Ashley (pro tem.)	uncertain	not mentioned
30 Aug. 1655	Mr Robert Frampton	C.C.C. & Ch.Ch. Oxon.B.A.1641(afterwards Bp. of Gloucester.)	Still there in 1666
1 Aug. 1670.	Mr Robert Huntington	Fellow of Merton Coll. Oxon.	14 July, 1681
6 Sept.1681	Mr Guyse	not identified	Died before 18 Nov.1687
18 January, 1687-8.	Mr Hallifax	C.C.C.Oxon.M.A.1678 B.D.1687 D.D.1695	Resigned,27 Nov.1695.
20 December,1695	Mr Henry Maundrell.	Fellow of Exeter Coll.Oxon.	Died before 15 May,1701
20 June,1701	Mr Henry Brydges.	Christ Church, Oxon.M.A.1698.	resigned 22 Feb. 1702-3
25 March,1703	Mr Harrington Yarborough.	Trin.Coll.Oxon.M.A.1695	died before 18 June, 1706"
1706-	Mr Thomas Owen.	Fellow of Peterhouse, Camb.	still there.

The second effort at a comprehensive list of Aleppo chaplains was the March 1915 edition of the Oxford journal *Notes and Queries* which did not explain the sources for the information but did make the comment that "the later history of the famous Levant Company is but little known, and the fragmentary series of Letter-Books and papers at the Public Records Office is awaiting arrangement and publication".[104] From this list [*sic*] have been gleaned the names and dates of the

following chaplains:

> John Udall "...probably the first chaplain" William
> Biddulph "...about 1600"
> Charles Robson. 1628.
> Thomas Pritchett. 1636.
> Bartholomew Chaffield. 1641-85 "Tomb in the Aleppo cemetery"
> "About this time the famous Bishop Frampton (Nonjuror) visited Aleppo, and acted as chaplain."
> Henry Maundrell. 1695-1701.
> Thomas Owen. 1706-16. "buried at Aleppo" Edward Edwards.
> 1729-42. "buried at Aleppo" Charles Holloway. 1742-58.
> "buried at Aleppo" Thomas Dawes. 1758-69.
> Eleazar Edwards. 1769-70.
> Robert Fosten. 1770-78.
> John Hussey. 1779-82. "This is apparently the last on the list."

The record can now be significantly amended. John Udall, who had been imprisoned for his involvement in the Martin Marprelate controversy, died in London before he was able to embark for Aleppo. Bartholomew Chaffield was actually Chapple or Chappel and, as has already been pointed out, although he died in Aleppo in 1685 he had been dismissed as chaplain in 1650. Eleazar Edwards was a servant of the Company but never a chaplain, an error due to his frequent mention in the Aleppo church register. Robert Frampton, long before he became a bishop served two successive terms from 1655-1670.

Missing from both lists are Maye (1597-1600), Samuel Lisle (1716-19), Joseph Soley (1719-?), John Hemming (1742) and Thomas Crofts (1750-53).

In spite of small gaps in the record, a coherent narrative of the life and work of the Aleppo chaplains is now possible. One caveat is the problem with identifying chaplains from the *Clergy of the Church of England Database* (*CCED*) and the records of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Name spellings are annoyingly inconsistent. Some are easily resolved like Halifax and Hallifax. Others like Chaffield and Chapple are more confusing. Then there are the downright misleading, such as Biddulph and Beadle. As a result the biographical details of some chaplains like Maye, who has no recorded Christian name, or Thomas Pritchett, whose name may have also been spelled as Prichard or Prickett, remain a matter of mystery and provide ample opportunity for speculation.

In describing the chaplains there is a variety of primary and secondary material to analyse. With the notable exception of the second chaplain, William Biddulph, their letters were published in their own names.

Chapter 5

The Early Chaplains

The only primary source with contemporary comments about the first two chaplains is the correspondence of John Sanderson. The twentieth century editor of his work described him as "scarcely an attractive figure; passionate, self-centred, and suspicious he reaped the natural harvest of such qualities and went through life a lonely man."[105] He and his correspondents like the Company physician, John Kitely, engaged in slanderous attacks on colleagues like the chaplains Maye and Biddulph. Sanderson, the brother of a clergyman, displayed a particular dislike for Puritans against whom he warned Sir Thomas Glover, the Consul at Constantinople, "Harken to no fantasticall Puritan counsell, for they ar tratorouse knaves, desembling wretches, asses and patches [ie boobies]".[106]

1. The Mysterious Mister Maye (1597-1600)

Maye is only known by his surname. There are a number of clergy with the surname Maye, Maie or May from the *CCED* who are contenders for the first Aleppo chaplain. It needs to be pointed out that the dates after each name refer to any appointments known to the compilers of *CCED*:

Georgius Maye (1603 - 1603)
Johannes Maye (1562 - 1598)
Radulphus Maie (1581 - 1581)
Radulphus May (1584 - 1621)
Ricardus May (1586 - 1636)
Richardus Maye (1593 - 1593)
Thomas Maie (1597 - 1631)
Thomas Maye (1554 - 1589)
Thomas May (1608 - 1608)
Timotheus Maie (1589 - 1619)
Valentinus Maye (1583 - 1605)
William May (1603 - 1603)

Also there is a " _ Maye" who was admitted as a pensioner at Peterhouse College, Cambridge, in 1595. Like the chaplain he is missing a Christian name, which is very unusual for records of the time. However the date barely allows enough time for him to have finished his degree and been ordained. Another is Ricardus May who in 1586 was ordained both deacon and priest by the Bishop of Gloucester and whose only recorded appointment was Vicar of Berwick St James, in Wiltshire, from 1613 until his death in 1636. Another possibility is Valentinus Maye or May. What we do know about Maye is that he irritated many of his peers. The merchant John Sanderson described him as "that factiouse man and peevish humorist".[107] This is also supported by an official letter from the Levant Company to Maye, following his dismissal from Aleppo, demanding that he return to London from Constantinople immediately, and reminding him that his ministry in Aleppo "toke not soe good effecte as I for my part and the residents of the company could have wished it had. So as by the discontentement and disagreement between our factors and you wee were occasioned to sende Mr Beddle to supply your place..."[108] When Maye was finally on his way, Sanderson expressed concern in a letter to an English Aleppo merchant that if the ship stopped at Zante Maye would "come heather againe to trouble Israell." He explained

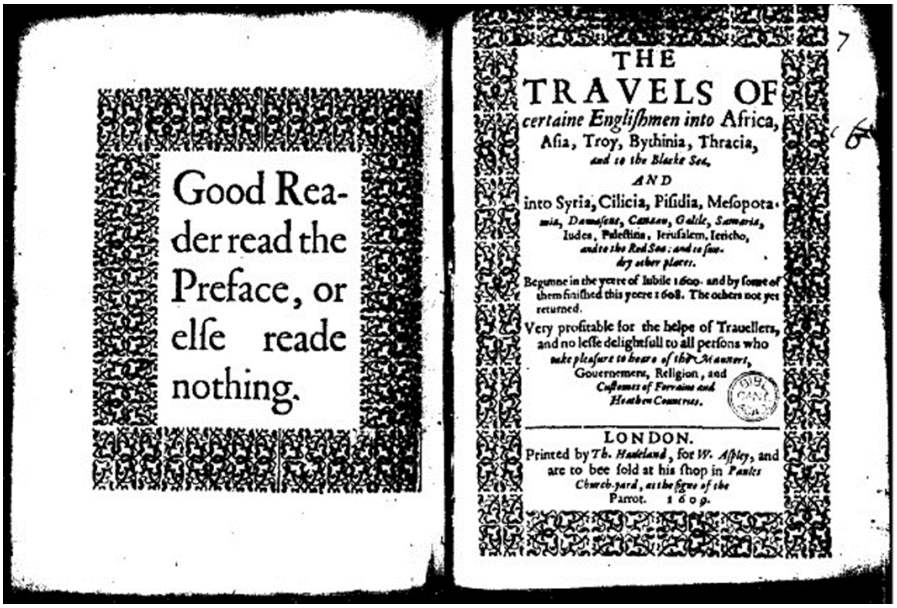
how in Constantinople Maye had unsuccessfully disputed in the main synagogue with a Christian convert to Judaism.[109] The conversion of the Jews as a precondition of the return of Christ was a preoccupation with English Puritans at the time. The probability that Maye was a Puritan is confirmed by Sanderson who, later reminiscing about his experience of Maye, commented that "some have lamentable experience of Puritan cariadge".[110]

To add injury to insult, on his return voyage to London Maye was temporarily taken as a hostage on the island of Rhodes because the English captain had unknowingly slighted the Turkish Deputy-Governor by only giving presents to the Governor of the island.[111] He was the first but not the last Aleppo chaplain to experience the capricious behaviour of greedy Ottoman officials.

2. William Biddulph (1600-8): aka Theophilus Lavender

The "Mr Beddle" who replaced Maye was in fact William Biddulph who seems to have been sent out from England to be chaplain at Constantinople but, delayed at Aleppo by sickness, was appointed there in Maye's place. Biddulph was also known as Beedell, Bidulfe, and Foster records him as the William Biddells (Bedells) who was awarded BA from Brasenose College Oxford on 15 February 1586-7 and MA in 1590.[112] He had been ordained deacon and priest by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1587.[113] The next time he appeared in records was after his return to England when on 9 January 1609 he was licensed as Preacher in the dioceses of Canterbury, Chichester and London. His next and final appointment was as Vicar of West Deane in the diocese of Chichester from 1613 to 1628. Unlike Maye he could not have been a Puritan because he had the patronage of that scourge of the Puritans, Archbishop Bancroft, who as well as licensing him as Preacher in three dioceses granted him "an advowson of six score pounds per yeare".[114]

Pioneer travel writer


Good Reader read the Preface, or else reade nothing.

THE TRAVELS OF certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea, AND into Syria, Cilicia, Pisidia, Mesopotamia, Damascus, Canaan, Galile, Samaria, Iudea, Palestina, Ierusalem, Iericho, and to the Red Sea: and to sundry other places.

Begunne in the yeere of Iubile 1600. and by some of them finished this yeere 1608. The others not yet returned.

Very profitable for the helpe of Trauellers, and no lesse delightfull to all persons who take pleasure to heare of the Manners, Gouernement, Religion, and Customes of Forraine and Heathen Countries.

LONDON.

Printed by Th. Haueland, for W. Aspley, and are to bee sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Parrot. 1609.

Figure 13. The title page of Biddulph's travelogue with its claim to be "very profitable" and "delightfull, which is a fair assessment

Biddulph began a tradition of chaplains' writings which over two centuries were consistently fresh, frank and engaging, and written with the ease of Oxford or Cambridge fellows who were writing to colleagues to entertain rather than impress with their scholarship. He and the adventurer Henry Timberlake were among the earliest Englishmen to give first-hand accounts of the Middle East in the Ottoman era. The ingenuous Timberlake, whom Biddulph misnamed "Timberley", was a merchant who had travelled from Cairo and got himself into trouble in Jerusalem by declaring that he was an Englishman and a Protestant, and recorded how he met Biddulph, whom he misnamed "Bedle". Timberlake's account was published in 1609 as *A true and strange discourse of the travailes of two English pilgrimes: what admirable accidents befell them in their journey towards Jerusalem etc.*[115] In his turn, under the pseudonym Theophilus Lavender, Biddulph published in London also in 1609, the year after his return to England, under the verbose title: *The travels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythnia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea. And into Syria, Cilicia, Pisidia, Mesopotamia, Damascus, Canaan, Galile, Samaria, Judea, Palestina, Jerusalem, Jericho, and to the Red Sea, and to sundry other places. Begunne in the yeere of Jubile 1600 and by some of them finished this yeere 1608. The others not yet returned. Very profitable for the helpe of Travellers, and no lesse delightfull to all persons who take pleasure to heare of the Manners, Government, Religion, and Customes of Forraine and Heathen Countries.*[116]

There are differing opinions as to why he adopted a pseudonym. Maclean[117] suggested that Biddulph hid behind anonymity in order to libel his enemy Glover, but there are other possible explanations like wishing to avoid Protestant disdain for pilgrimage with its connotations of superstition and gaining spiritual merit. In his Preface his persona is very much the Church of England preacher extolling the benefits of reading "the discourse of other countries" and exhorting the reader thereby to count his blessings as an Englishman or woman.[118] Compared to countries he had visited, England had a more gracious king, more enlightened pastors, more liberal husbands, more merciful masters, more comfortable travellers, less rapacious treatment of the rich and more generous treatment of the poor. He also implied that the English should treat their pastors better when he remarked that the spiritually benighted people of the Middle East "reverence and honour their blind guides and superstitious church-men like angels and provide for their maintenance royally." This implies an element of pride or sense of entitlement in his character because he remarked that when he visited Jerusalem "many strangers of sundry nations, understanding that I was an English preacher, came and kissed my hand, and called me the English patriarch." This led on to an invective against his compatriots for doing him wrong during his travels and charging that clergy were not more mistreated in England only because they were protected by their bishops. One can only speculate what wrongs he suffered, but it is surmised that he felt them deeply because he concludes by charging that of all nations of the world clergy in England "are least of all regarded". This, he bewailed, gave ammunition to Roman Catholics he had met overseas "that, if we ourselves were persuaded of the truth of our religion, we would reverence our churchmen as they do, and not scorn and contemn them as we do".[119] However, more serious character defects than pride were attributed to Biddulph both by some of his contemporaries as well by one modern historian.

Was Biddulph a lecher and a hypocrite?

In his very entertaining *The Rise of Oriental Traveller: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* Gerald McLean devoted the second of his four-part account to Biddulph's writings. McLean had a clear disliking for Biddulph portraying him as a pompous and bigoted hypocrite. As is the trend with some modern historians, McLean indulged in psychosexual speculation about Biddulph, concluding that "one needs no training in psychoanalysis to see...what one William Blake might have called the lineaments of desire".[120] For McLean the clincher was a letter written by the Company physician Kitely to the aforementioned merchant Sanderson that Biddulph "hath shewed more beard than witt or religion in all his ten years travil". (Jokes about Biddulph's "gotes beard" reappear in other correspondence between the two). Kitely continued "Wittnes his behaviour at Aleppo, here, and now lastly at Zante..." The details are omitted by the twentieth century editor William Foster, who footnoted: "The writer accuses Biddulph of gross immorality and drunkenesse".[121] McLean, accessing the unedited correspondence, recorded what the editor omitted "...in the Lazrotto where he was found by the guardians in the very action *rem in re*[122], with that English strumpitt who I formerly described unto you." After further salacious comments Kitely accused Biddulph of "beinge thus so openly shamed became past all shame and was seene reeling-drunke publiklie every day to the scandall of our religion and shame of our whole nation..." He concluded with the comments of the Greeks that he was "the vicar of hell." This accusation seems to have remained in the preserve of private gossip because it did not affect Biddulph's clerical career on his return to England.

Furthermore, the veracity of Kitely's comments are questionable because both Sanderson and Kitely had an axe to grind, having taken opposing sides to Biddulph in a controversy between the English consul in Constantinople Sir Henry Lello and his successor Sir Thomas Glover. Sanderson and Kitely were incensed that in his *Travels* Biddulph, under a pseudonym, had obliquely accused Glover of marrying a prostitute, offering her to Ottoman officials and then discarding her for another

woman.[123] In this poisonous atmosphere Kitely had also been accused by Glover's estranged secretary, Strachey, of having conspired with Glover to dispose of a servant by poisoning him. It is certain that, like his slanderers, Biddulph engaged in backbiting. Whether he was a notorious evil-liver, based on privately shared jokes and anecdotes of enemies, is less certain. Least certain of all is McLean's imaginative psychosexual profiling of Biddulph.

Observation of novelties: coffee drinking and carrier pigeons

Not since the crusades had Englishmen closely observed the way of life in the Levant as residents rather than travellers. The advent of modern publishing based on Gutenberg's invention meant that the reading public in England could for the first time enjoy eye-witness accounts by compatriots. Biddulph's prose does not rank with contemporary writings like Shakespeare's plays or the King James Bible, however his descriptions of a variety of novelties had their own significance. He wrote the first extended description of coffee-drinking in the English language, fifty years before the advent of the coffee-house in England, which was to become a vital part of British literary and mercantile culture. These excerpts, in Biddulph's vigorous prose style, illustrate the social aspect of the Aleppo coffee houses:

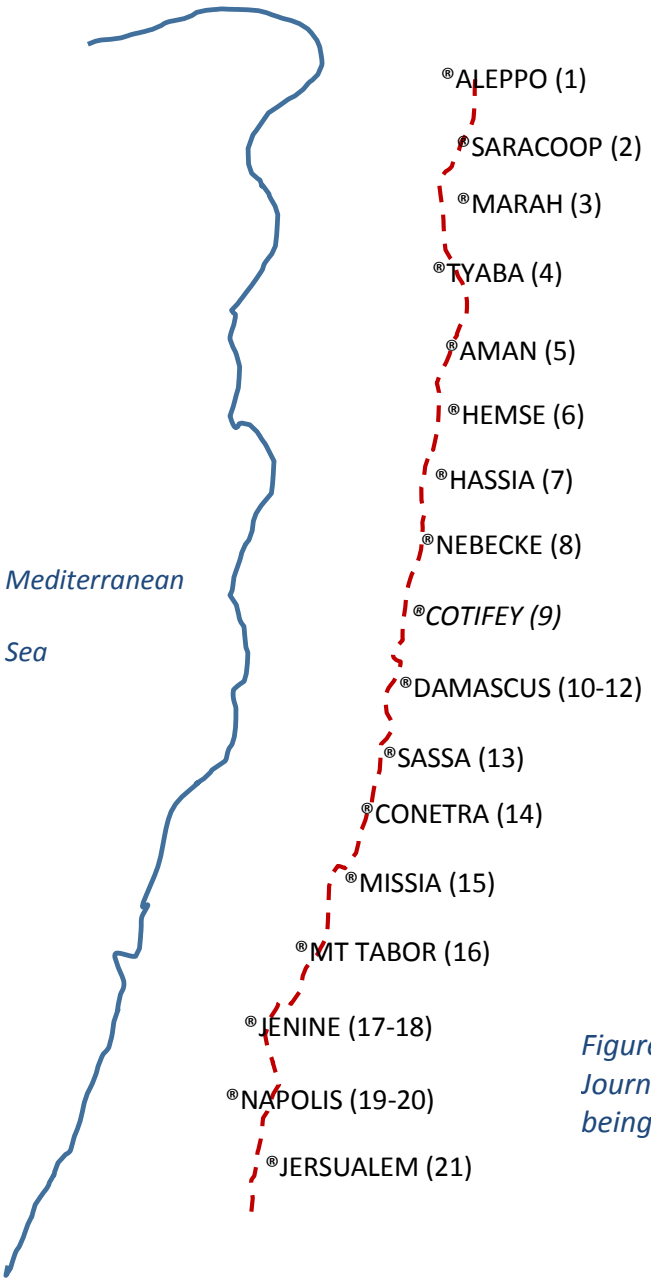
> It is accounted a great curtesie amongst them to give unto their friends when they come to visit them, a Finion or Scudella of Coffa, which is more holesome then toothsome, for it causeth good concoction, and driveth away drowsinesse....Their Coffa houses are more common then Ale-houses in England ; but they use not so much to sit in the houses, as on Benches on both sides the streets, neere unto a Coffa house, every man with his Finion full ; which being smoaking hot, they use to put it to their Noses and Eares, and then sup it off by leasure, being full of idle and Ale-house talke, whiles they are amongst themselves drinking of it; if there be any newes, it is talked off there.[124]

Biddulph's reference to "Coffa houses" is the first in English, the previous earliest known reference being 1615. [125] Later chaplains, particularly Edward Pococke developed a taste for coffee and contributed to the rise of the coffee-house as a social institution.

Another novelty that Biddulph described was the employment of *bagdat* (carrier) pigeons. This would have been of particular interest to those involved in foreign trade. He wrote of one English merchant of Aleppo who was quick to see the benefits of faster communications. He "sent a bagdat pigeon to Scanderoon, three days' journey from Aleppo, and by her return understood when ships arrived thither, and departed from thence".[126]

Jacob's journey

Biddulph was the first of a number of chaplains to record the twenty day overland journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem. He claimed that he and his four companions were the first Englishmen to travel from Aleppo to Jerusalem via Galilee, a journey he called "Jacob's journey" because he retraced Jacob's steps from Padan-Aram to Bethel.[127] As good, practical Protestant Englishmen they were not motivated "as pilgrims with any superstitious devotion to see relicks, or worship such places as they account holy", but to avoid the plague that was raging in Aleppo.[128] Pragmatism overcame principle because they went armed with letters of commendation from the Venetian consul and other Italian merchants to their "padres in Jerusalem".[129] Another mark of the goodwill among the Frankish community was that they were accompanied out of the city by a party of Italian, French and English merchants to the distance of seven or eight miles.



Modern equivalent of place names mentioned by Biddulph	
AMAN	Hama
CONETRA	Quanytirah
COTIFEY	Qutayfah
JENINE	Janin
HASSIA	Hisyah
HEMSE	Homs
MARAH	Ma'arrat an Nu'man
MISSIA	Mishmar Ha Yarden
MT TABOR	Har Tavor
NAPOLIS	Nablus
NEBECKE	Nabk
SARACOOP	Saraqib
SASSA	Sa'sa'
TYABA	Tayyibat at Turki

( ) represents the number of the day of the 3 week journey

Figure 14.
Journey of William Biddulph 9th to 29th March 1600 AD being the direct inland route from Aleppo to Jerusalem

When they bivouacked at a deserted village named Lacmine they gave food and money to the poor, fellow Christians who had suffered from the depredations of the Damascene janissaries.[130] It caused Biddulph to engage in punning about the village being both "lack-money" and "lack-men".[131] When he came to Homs, which the locals declared was Uz the city of Job, Biddulph the Bible scholar made a good case that it was not and suggested some other provenances for this city's original name.[132] In the town of Charrah it was remarked that the Church of St Nicholas was shared by the Christians and Muslims, but the Christians had to provide oil for the Muslims' lamps as well as their own.

Biddulph expressed gratitude for the protection of the janissaries from marauding Arab bands, particularly the janissary who had been assigned to accompany his party for their entire journey. At the conclusion of his Preface, Biddulph paid him a very great compliment by describing Jesus Christ as our "pilot and janizary to conduct us" towards the "heavenly Jerusalem." As an after note, it was this touching and apt metaphor at which his detractor Sanderson took great offence, writing

to Kitely "No other abhominable asse would be (I thinke) so senslesse to liken our Saviour, Jesus Christ...to a janizary..."[133]

Venerable Damascus

Biddulph enjoyed the generous welcome from Greek and Jewish merchants in Damascus.[134] He was enchanted by the gardens and orchards surrounding the city and very taken with the Biblical sites of the Temple of Rimmon, now the Ummayud Mosque, Ananias' house and the place where Paul escaped over the wall. Commenting on the number of pilgrims gathered for the *haj*, he made the usual comments about the futility of false religion, but he also gave some credit to their exemplary piety:

> ...they prepare themselves with greater care to go to worship there, than any Christians do when they come to the Lord's Supper; for they disburden their hearts of all hatred and malice, and reconcile themselves one to another, &c. Otherwise they hold that all their labour is lost, and that they shall be never a whit the better for their pilgrimage.[135]

Heading south from Damascus he came across four or five hundred Jerusalem-bound Christians kneeling for prayer at the site of the conversion of Paul. He was clearly pleased to note that "many of them knew us (having seen us in Aleppo) and saluted us by our names. We rode a while in company together, and lodged all together that night..." The significance of this incident is the evidence of the ecumenical harmony of these pilgrims who "were all Christians of sundry nations, viz. Armenians , Chelsalines, Greeks, Nostranes, and sundry others...a Greek patriarch and an Armenian bishop in their company".[136]

Into the Promised Land

At the pleasant, green, well-watered caravan town of Conetra (Quneitra) on the Golan Heights he engaged in conversation about cultural differences with some "Turks" who marvelled at the English enjoyment of exercise, their long hair and their "cut doublets". Some of the converations had a frankness that is missing from English travel writing of later eras:

> ...if a man have a fair, long beard, they reverence him, and say he is a wife man, and an honourable personage. But, if they have no beards at all they call them, if they be young, *Bardasses,* that is, *Sodomitical boys.* But if they be men grown, and have no beards, they call them fools, and men of no credit....'[137]

Commenting on the prevalent highway robbery of the Galilee region, Biddulph made fun of a Jesuit priest who suffered a beating rather than parting with his money, and then rejoiced at suffering for Christ. More usefully, Biddulph gave advice to potential travellers to the Middle East, that although it was reasonable to resist robbers it was wise to be submissive and compliant if confronted by verbal or physical abuse from any Ottoman official because of the risks of death or dismemberment. Being a good preacher he enhanced his advice about the traveller's need to be humble with illustrations and sayings, like his catchy English translation of a Latin proverb:

> *A noble kind of conquering*
> *...Is patience to see and hear:*
> *He which forbeareth, conquereth;*
> *...If thou wilt conquer, learn to bear.* [138]

Although forbidden to evangelise Muslims on pain of death Biddulph had no compunction in telling some Aleppan Jews who had retired to the hilltop Jewish university town of Saphetta

in Galilee that their existence "on a high mountain" would not bring them nearer to heaven and "they should not be nearer heaven, when they died, unless they repented and believed in Christ, &c".[139]

A visit to Mt Tabor, the purported site of the Transfiguration, was the occasion for an attack on Roman Catholicism and particularly the Jesuits about whom he set down a humorous poem, reputedly written by a "papist", despising them for their greed and power-hunger.[140]

Jerusalem at last

Nevertheless, Biddulph enjoyed the attention of the Franciscan friars Padres Angelo and Aurelio who kissed the hands of the Englishmen and welcomed them at the gates of Jerusalem. He was impressed by their generous hospitality and respect for the Protestants' freedom of conscience until it dawned on him that they played the host so well for the sake of financial gain. This was an occasion for more advice to the English traveller about not jettisoning their conscience in response to Roman "generosity".[141]

Historical Method

Biddulph was sceptical about the information given by their guide to the Holy Places, so in a rather scientific way he divided it into three categories. First, there were "Apparent Truths", confirmed by the reading of Scripture or by reason. Second, there were "Manifest Untruths", contrary to Scripture or reason. Third, there were "Things Doubtful", awaiting more evidence. [142] As one of the first Protestant visitors to Jerusalem and the Holy Land Biddulph set a new standard of travel and historical writing by deliberately setting Scripture and reason over tradition as a criterion for historical veracity.

The "Manifest Truths" Biddulph described were sites such as the Temple Mount, the Mount of Olives and the tomb of Jesus in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. "Manifest Untruths", or "false and frivolous matters" include the legend of Veronica's Handkerchief, the Magi being three kings from Cologne and Zacchaeus's tree. Doubtful matters "whereof a man may suspend his judgement, whether they be true or false, until he either see them, or receive further confirmation by reading, than he can have by the affirmation of some few supertitious persons" include Lazarus's tomb at Bethany and a marble stone where Jesus' body was prepared for burial, arguing that "if there had been any such stone, it would have been carried away by pieces, or removed whole to Rome, as other reliques have been." Moreover, he adds "this stone is too new to be of any such antiquitiy".[143]

This stands in contrast to the less educated Timberlake's description of holy sites which he mostly took at face value, on rare occasions adding the qualification "they say" as in his description of a site where "the Virgin Marie used often to pray."[144] Biddulph made a contribution to scholarship as a source for Thomas Fuller's *Pisgah Sight of Palestine* published in 1650, "the first genuine attempt in English to convey, in both textual and cartographic form, the geography of the Holy Land and as such can justly be regarded as our first modern Bible atlas".[145,146]

Assessment of other religions and races

English Protestantism had a strong identification with the Old Testament, evident in the increase of Old Testament names like Hannah, Samuel, Sarah and Benjamin in baptism registers after the Reformation. As a true English Protestant Biddulph was steeped in the language of the Old Testament. In the introduction of the third of his letters, he identified himself with the exiles of the Old Testament such as Jacob in Paddan-Aram, Naomi in "idolatrous Moab" and the Jews in "heathenish Babylon" and expressed the hope that when God brought him back safely to "Israel his people" and the "English Sion" the remembrance of Babylon would would make him "sing more sweetly".[147] His critique of other Christian and non-Christian sects was consciously and

unashamedly viewed through this lens.

The Maronites of Mt Lebanon: Arriving at Tripoli Biddulph stayed at the home of the Roman-trained Maronite bishop Franciscus Aripa at Eden in Mount Lebanon, then travelled up to see the Cedars above Bcharre and descended into the Qadisha Valley gorge where they stayed with the Patriarch at the monastery at Qanobin, which was chosen for its inaccessibility to Turkish troops. The Englishmen were reverently honoured and warmly welcomed by the Maronites whom they found to be a "very simple and ignorant people, yet civil, kind and courteous to strangers".[148]

Attending Saturday Evening Prayer and Sunday Morning Prayer at the Patriarch's monastery impressed Biddulph deeply. The readings from the Old and New Testament, the singing of the Psalms and the confessions, prayers and thanksgivings resonated with this Church of England priest for it "rejoiced" him "greatly to see their order".[149] Coming from the debate in England between the comparative value of set and extempore prayer Biddulph clearly came down on the side of the *Prayer Book*, observing in these "antient Christians...the antiquity of using set forms of prayer in churches" which encourage them to "learn to pray privately, by those prayers which they daily hear read publickly." Didactically, he concludes: "this is too much neglected in England: God grant a Reformation thereof." This is in keeping with the Anglican view that "Reformation" meant the return to earlier practices rather than innovation.

Later, commenting about the "Nostranes" (Maronites) who had migrated to Aleppo, Biddulph found them more honest than most and that among other occupations they were sometimes cooks and servants to the English.[150] He was impressed by the strength of family ties evident in the value they put on a husband's fidelity, and also by the custom of the fathers taking their name from their eldest male children eg a Maronite father named Useph when he had a son named Mouse would from then on be called Abou Mouse (Father of Moses). He expressed some puzzlement at the custom of the young men diving into cold water on Epiphany for its "extraordinary ability to wash away sins".[151] He seemed ignorant of the fact that in Eastern Christianity, Epiphany celebrates the baptism of Jesus rather than the visitation of the Magi. Owing to a genuine affection for the Maronites he expressed curiosity rather than disapproval that on the Monday after Easter and after Pentecost they went with their "cassises" (clergy) "to the graves of the dead, and there kneel down, and burn incense, and pray at every grave".[152]

Druze and Turkmen: Biddulph mistakenly described the Druze as descendants of French Crusaders who had long forgotten the Christian faith although preserving baptism and Christian names. They lived side by side with the "Turcomanni", nomadic herders who were evidently Muslim because they derided the Druze as infidels for eating swine's flesh. In his typical didactic and moralising manner Biddulph compared their industrious women favourably with the gossiping English housewives "gadding abroad from place to place".[153]

"Chelsalines": Biddulph explained that the silk trade was brought to Aleppo by Christians from "Chelsa" on the border of Mesopotamia and Persia. He was sceptical about their claims that they came from the Biblical Eden, but he was very impressed by their honesty in financial matters.[154] This is likely an early reference to the Chaldean or Assyrian Christians, the Eastern branch of the Aramaic-speaking Christians who still have a presence in Aleppo.

Greeks: Biddulph had little good to say about the Greeks of Aleppo who were mostly poor and were inclined to prostitute their women, which he attributed to "sojourning long in heathen countries".[155] He also noted that the Greeks hated the "papists". Being a Protestant he disapproved of their sharing with Roman Catholics the practices of auricular confession and transubstantiation,

but commended them for reading their "liturgy in the vulgar tongue", meaning Arabic.

Yazidi or Alawi?: Biddulph reported that in the mountains between Scanderoon and Aleppo were "Coords", descendants of the Parthians, who worshipped the devil because he was more to be feared than God.[156] He noted that Abdel Phat, one of their carriers, was reputed to be of this race. McLean assumed he was referring to the Kurdish sect of Yazidis, still commonly called "devil-worshippers", and went to some lengths to describe them, in spite of the lack of evidence that they ever inhabited that area.[157] It is more likely that Biddulph had confused reports of them with the Alawi, described by the later chaplain Maundrell as the Ansari, another unusual sect endemic to the area, who were very circumspect about their beliefs because of the threat of persecution.

The tyrannous Turks: Biddulph explained that the English, Italians, French, and Dutch were named *Ferangi* or Franks, derived from the word meaning "Freemen" because, although reviled by the Muslims as "dogs" and "hogs" and "infidels", they were not as much subject to the tyranny of the Turkish "bashaws" (pashas) or governors as the local population. He then went into nauseating detail about punishments like bastinado, strangulation, gaunching, impalement and worse. He concluded, returning to his outraged Protestant persona, that "unspeakable is their tyranny to those that fall into their hands, not unlike the tyranny of the Spaniards towards the poor Indians who never offended them".[158]

Biddulph used the Old Testament to describe the role of the Turks in salvation history. First he explained how "Aleppo is inhabited by Turks, Moors, Arabians, Jews, Greeks, Armenians, Chelsalines, Nostranes, and people of other sundry nations" and went on to explain their ancestry in terms of the three sons of Noah.[159] He then exegeted the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel for an extensive explanation about the ten-horned fourth beast being the Roman Empire and the little horn which replaced the first three horns being the Turkish Empire which originated with Muhammad.[160]

An early Protestant critique of Islam: Coming from one of the first Protestants to live among Muslims, Biddulph's critique of Islam is noteworthy. Rather than describing the Five Pillars of Islam he formulated the Eight Commandments, implicitly inviting comparison with the Decalogue. The Ten Commandments had become an important part of the English Protestant tradition, being included in the penitential part of the Holy Communion service as well as being posted up in church sanctuaries as an intentional substitute for images of the saints. Among the eight commandments Biddulph included four of the pillars of Islam, omitting pilgrimage to Mecca. The other four were obedience to parents, marriage with a view to producing children, the prohibition of killing and, intriguingly, the Golden Rule. [161] It was in the observance of these commandments that Muslims differed from English Protestants. For instance, with regard to almsgiving, "their public alms is a sacrifice, or offering of some beast for a sacrifice unto Mahomet once every year: which is...given all to the poor".[162] At this point Biddulph's ignorance is obvious; because the annual sacrifice on *Id al-Adha* was neither an atoning sacrifice to God nor homage to Muhammad. Rather it was an act of solidarity with the pilgrims at Mecca who were re-enacting Abraham's sacrifice of a ram. Biddulph was on firmer ground when he reported what he had seen as well as heard: "Their private alms - notwithstanding their law - is much neglected; for I have heard of many poor people, who have died amongst them for want of relief: and in the way as I have travelled, I have found some dead for hunger and cold."

Biddulph also addressed the issue of the Muslim world's immunity to conversion to Christianity, the conundrum that had for almost a millennium troubled the mind of Christendom and four centuries later still challenges the Church. Again, with his typically original frame of mind, he

came up with his own list of "the bulwarks" of Islam. Predictably, there is the death penalty for blasphemy against the Qur'an, the proscription of discussions with adherents of other religions and the ban on giving credit to any book other than the Qur'an. However, with an uncharacteristically fair-minded tone, he noted that "the Turks give liberty of conscience to all men, and like well of every man that is forward and zealous in his own language" hence making them better trading partners than the "Papists". [163] He added that Muhammad declared that excepting apostates, "every man shall be saved by his own religion." He also warned any English travellers coming to the Muslim world that "whosoever will live in quiet amongst them must neither meddle with their law, their women, nor their slaves."

At the time of writing there is a gap in our records of chaplains between 1608 and 1623.

3. Charles Robson (1624-30): the Black Sheep

Robson was the exception rather than the rule with Aleppo chaplains, being something of a black sheep. Born in 1598 to Thomas Robson the master of the Free School of Carlisle in Cumberland, he was deaconed in 1619, elected fellow of Queen's College Oxford in 1620 and priested by the Bishop of Oxford in 1622. In 1623 some unspecified misbehaviour prompted the college to give him three years' leave of absence to serve in Aleppo. Charles Fetiplace, a member of the Levant Company, with some difficulty secured his formal appointment as chaplain at a salary of £50 per annum. Robson's leave was extended for another three years in October 1627, allowing him to finish up in 1630.

A messy appointment

Pearson provides a trail of five entries from the Company minute book that together portray a messy appointment process. In the process we gain a rare insight into the attitudes of the powerbrokers of the Company towards their servants, the chaplains. The entry of 10 June 1624 recorded a gracious, if a little pompous, resolution that:

> Whereas the Nation at Aleppo in their letter made request to the Companie that they might have a preacher allowed them to reside there: the Court taking it into consideration, commending their zeal and forwardness to the service of God, did willingly condescend that they should have a Preacher as they desired.[164]

The entry of 22 July 1624 recorded testily that:

> Although "it was condescended unto at the last Court", that a Preacher should be allowed for Aleppo, inasmuch as information had been received to the effect that one Charles Robson, M.A. of Queen's Coll. Oxon. had gone there, and as an enquiry was also addressed to the Court, what allowance would be made him, it was resolved to refuse him anything, until satisfactory testimonials were received from Aleppo as to his fitness and ability.[165]

Even a positive response from Aleppo did not satisfy members of the Company in London who were still indignant about the irregularity of Robson's appointment, as the minute of 10 February 1624-5 implies:

> A letter from Aleppo was read, certifying to Mr Robson's fitness and also a testimonial from his University. As however it did not appear whether "he had been admitted to the Ministry by the Orders of the Church of England" or in an "irregular" way the Court, to mark their disapproval, deferred any resolution on the question.

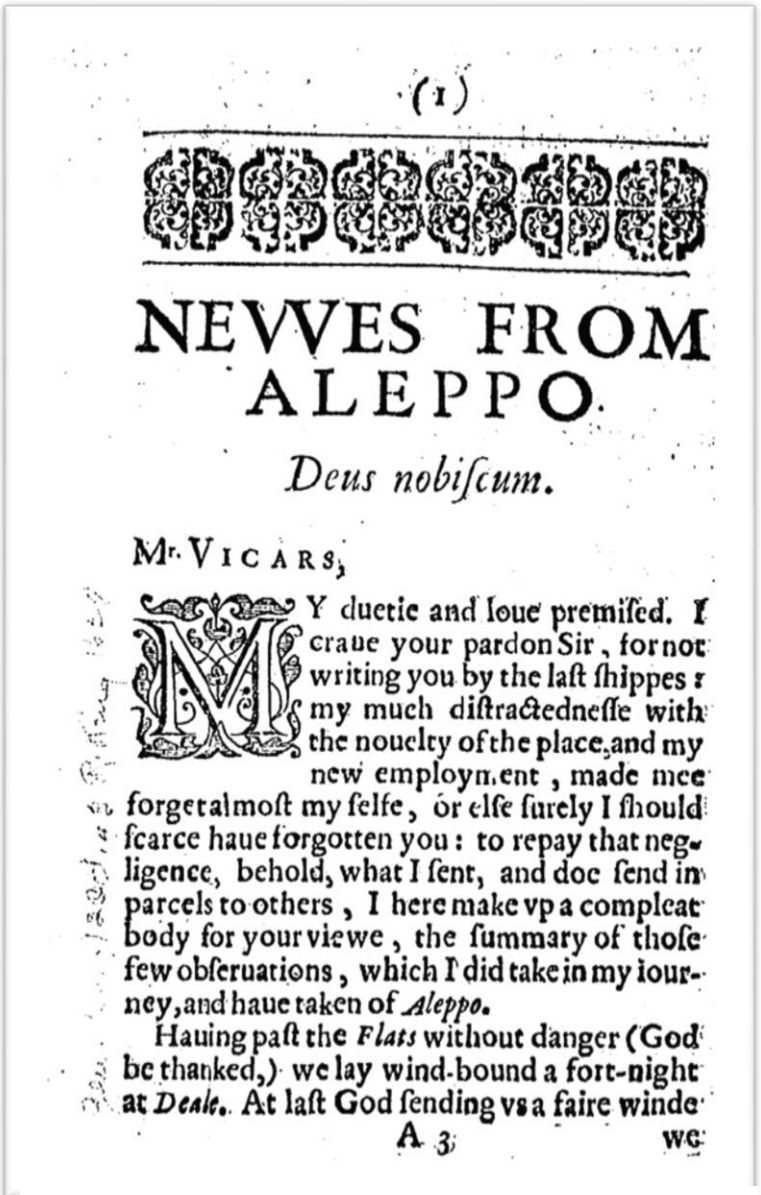
Perhaps it was a simple case of the Company members enforcing proper procedures. But it might well have been a deliberate intention to screen out Puritan preachers who would not follow the Anglican formularies in administering the sacraments and conducting the Daily Offices. In this case it represented a shift of religious opinion among the London merchants, at least of the Levant Company, who in 1592 had sought to provide asylum in Aleppo for the Puritan controversialist John Udall. By 1650, when they appointed the Royalist chaplain Nathanael Hill to Aleppo they had done an about-turn and were giving harbour to staunch Anglicans fleeing Cromwell's Puritan regime.

Presumably the issue of Robson's orders was sorted out because enquiries would have quickly ascertained that Robson was ordained by the Bishop of Oxford, first as a deacon on 19 December

1619 and then as a priest on 26 June 1622.[166] But the Company had to be propitiated. On 8 December 1625 it was minuted that: "A letter was read from Mr Robson, excusing the way in which he went to Aleppo: but no resolution was taken in the matter".[167] This got the chaplain off the hook because on 22 December 1625 it was minuted that: "It was agreed that Mr Robson should be allowed a salary of £50 pr. Ann. from the time of his arrival at Aleppo..."[168] The minute then continued with a burst of righteous anger followed by a show of mercy: "…but that, at the same time, the conduct of Mr Fetiplace, in sending him there privately, was deserving of punishment. This offence however the Court consented to condone, on Mr Fetiplace's own humble suit and apology."

A few months later Charles Fettiplace became the treasurer to the Aleppo factory and no doubt enjoyed Mr Robson's ministrations.

Newes from Aleppo



(1)

NEVVES FROM ALEPPO.

Deus nobiſcum.

Mr. VICARS,

MY duetie and loue premiſed. I craue your pardon Sir, for not writing you by the laſt ſhippes: my much diſtractednesſe with the nouelty of the place, and my new employment, made mee forget almoſt my ſelfe, or elſe ſurely I ſhould ſcarce haue forgotten you: to repay that negligence, behold, what I ſent, and doe ſend in parcels to others, I here make vp a compleat body for your viewe, the ſummary of thoſe few obſeruations, which I did take in my iourney, and haue taken of *Aleppo*.

Hauing paſt the *Flats* without danger (God be thanked,) we lay wind-bound a fort-night at *Deale*. At laſt God ſending vs a faire winde

A 3 we

Figure 15.
Robson's "Newes from Aleppo" was unremarkable except as evidence of the English fascination with the Levant

During his time in Aleppo, Robson wrote to his college friend Thomas Vickers, *Newes from Aleppo, a Letter written to T. V. B. of D. vicar of Cockfield in Southsex By Charles Robson Master of Artes, fellow of Queen's College in Oxford, and preacher to the Company of our English Merchants at Aleppo. Containing many remarkeable occurrences observed by him in his journey thither.* This was published as a nineteen page booklet in 1628 while he was still in Aleppo. His prejudices were typical for the age. On the voyage out his Protestant sensibilities were scandalised at witnessing a Catholic mass at Leghorn. He wrote contemptuously:

...we beheld with a pleasing detestation, their ridiculous superstition. The Priest he mumbled Latin, and the people as though they had been his Apes, when he beat his breast they beat theirs, when hee lifted up the Hoste, they lifted up their eyes and hands, when hee kneeled, they did, and yet understood not one word what he said. I pittied them that served the Lord of Spirits, not in Spirit and Truth, but in a mimicall action. [169]

At one of the Ionian islands he encountered an elderly Greek man reading the Septuagint but without understanding. A fellow Englishman familiar with the area told him that only

one in a hundred of the Greeks understood the "Learned Greek" of the Bible or the Liturgy, upon which Robson remarked "I did not wonder at this, calling to minde the history of our Masse-mumbling priests in Queene Maries dayes".[170]

In the tones of an Old Testament prophet Robson saved his harshest comments for the Turkish rulers of Aleppo:

> The countrey is part of Syria, and aboundeth as of old, with superfluitie of all necessaries: unhappy in nothing but the cursed Lords of it, the Turkes: The land cries out on the slothfulness of the owners; and the unhusbanded plaines, for many miles together blame their stupidity. The Lord when it pleaseth him will cast out these usurpers, (and as I hope and pray) restore it to the true owners, the Christians.[171]

Robson was the first in a long line of chaplains to collect manuscripts for the Bodleian Library, donating two oriental manuscripts in 1631, including "a fine Syriac manuscript of the Four Gospels".[172]

> ***Excursus: the Bodleian Library***
>
> Gerald Toomer writes that "much of the intellectual history of seventeenth century Oxford is connected with the growth and use of the Bodleian Library, and by the end of the century it was to contain one of the foremost collections of oriental manuscripts in Europe".[173] The huge array of valuable manuscripts in English and Irish libraries laboriously catalogued by Oxford academic Edward Bernard in *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti cum indice alphabetico* demonstrated the supremacy of the Bodleian at the century's end. This achievement is all the more impressive by the realisation that when Sir Thomas Bodley had begun the collection in 1600 the university library was bereft of any books in any language as a result of pillaging during the 1550s. One of the greatest benefactors was the Chancellor of the University Archbishop William Laud who between 1635 and 1640 presented about 1300 manuscripts.

Robson's latter years

Exile in Aleppo was not sufficient for Robson to amend his ways and on his return he was soon deprived of his fellowship at Queen's because of his neglect of study and divine worship and his dissolute haunting of taverns and "*inhonesta loca"* (disreputable places). One can only guess what dens of iniquity this Latin term implied. Still, Robson must have had friends in high places because rather than washing its hands of him on 25 May 1632,[174] the University appointed him to one of its benefices, the Parish of Holme-Cultram in his native Cumberland,[175] which is about as far from Oxford as one can live without actually being in Scotland.

Search for a replacement

On 20 July 1629 John Bainbridge, the famous Oxford astronomer, wrote to Archbishop James Ussher, the scholarly Irish Primate:

> Whereas our Turky Merchants trading at Aleppo, now being destitute of a minister, have referr'd the choice of one unto yourself, may it please you to understand that there is one Mr. Johnson a Fellow of Magdalen-Colledg, who hath spent some Years in the Oriental Languages, and being desirous to improve his knowledge therein, is content to adventure himself in the Voyage; he would take pains to preach once a week, but not oftner;

> being desirous to spend his time in perfecting his Languages, and making such other Observations as may tend to the advancement of Learning.[176]

Samson Johnson did not end up applying for the Aleppo position but instead served as chaplain in Frankfurt and The Hague where he acted as an agent for Laud purchasing manuscripts. This turned out well for the Aleppo merchants because they ended up with a devoted pastor as well as a scholar.

4. Edward Pococke (1630-35): "The Prince of Oriental Learning"[177]

On 25 March 1630 the Governor of the Levant Company put forward the name of Edward Pococke as a chaplain "of whom both himself and others of the Company had received very good testimony and recommendations both for his ability in learning, soundness in the study of divinity, conformity to the Constitutions of the Church, and integrity of life and conversation".[178] Within in a week he was officially appointed at annual salary of £50 and £20 outfit allowance.[179] However he did not arrive at Aleppo until 17 October.

Figure 16.
Pococke in his later years when he was venerated as Europe's most distinguished Arabist

The Company was not to be disappointed and in fact employed Pococke twice, first as a chaplain in Aleppo and later in Constantinople. He was undoubtedly the most illustrious Aleppo chaplain and, unlike his predecessor, brought much glory to his University. We are fortunate in having a biography by Leonard Twells which was published in 1740 as the preface of the collected works of Pococke.[180] The extensive subscription list for the two volumes reads as a "Who's Who" of mid-eighteenth century English intelligentsia, testifying to Pococke's remarkable career and sterling reputation.

Twells' account of the writing of the biography is a saga of perseverance through misfortune.[181] Humphrey Smith (1654-1708) of Queen's College Oxford and vicar of Townstall and St Saviour's Dartmouth, had commenced the biography in cooperation with Pococke's son, Edward junior. He had searched far and wide for his material and discovered that the best source was Arthur Charlett, the Dean of Trinity College, who to Smith's dismay had mislaid the Pococke manuscripts. Undeterred, Smith had continued his important work but died before he could publish. Years later Charlett's nephew recovered the Pococke correspondence and passed it on to Pococke's grandson who in turn passed them on to Leonard Twells who explained that he "pressed me to fill up and compleat what Mr Smith had so happily begun." Rather than totally rewriting the biography, Twells completed the task by supplementing and correcting Smith's draft based on the Charlett correspondence.

Early Life and Studies

Pococke was born in Oxford in 1603 and spent his childhood in the rectory of the quiet village of Chiveley in Berkshire where his father Edward was rector. He was schooled at Lord Williams' School at Thame in Oxfordshire, matriculating for Magdalen College Oxford on 4 June 1619 aged fifteen. He studied the Greek and Roman classics and was awarded a BA from Corpus Christi College in 1622, an MA in 1626 and became a Fellow of Corpus Christi in 1628. He then studied theology, with the syllabus based on the Church Fathers rather than more recent theological works as a result of King James I's recommendations to the University[182]. He was ordained as a priest by the Bishop of Oxford on 19 December 1629, just three months before his appointment to Aleppo.[183]

At Oxford Pococke's lifelong love of Arabic commenced with the lectures of Matthias Pasor from 1626 to 1627 followed by private instruction from the Arabist William Bedwell; but more of these later. Pococke made his mark early as a scholar so that by the age of twenty-six, on the eve of his departure to Aleppo, he had already published an edition of the four New Testament epistles of 2 Peter, 2 John, 3 John and Jude, which were not in the old Syriac canon and were not contained in European editions of the *Peshitta*.

> ***Excursus: Syriac language and literature***
>
> The main centres of the Syriac language were the cities of Edessa, a centre of Jacobite Christianity northeast of Aleppo now known as Sanliurfa (Turkish for "Holy" Urfa), and Mosul, a centre of Nestorian Christianity on the Tigris River. Syriac was held in great respect for being the literary form of the Aramaic language that Jesus spoke and for the genius of liturgical poets such as Ephraem the Syrian (306-373) and scholars such as Bar Hebraeus (1226-1286). The Syriac versions of the Christian Scriptures and early Church Fathers are highly valued by scholars because of their early date and the natural accuracy of Syriac scholars who made very literal translations of the Greek.[184] *Peshitta*, literally "simple", was the official text of the Bible among Syriac Christians.

First steps to an international reputation

Pococke's achievement was to find a manuscript with the four epistles in the Bodleian Library, transcribe them into Hebrew, adding pointing according to Syriac rules, then translate it into Latin, add the original Greek and enhance it with useful notes.[185] In the process he developed a very productive friendship with one of the greatest Protestant scholars of the age, Vossius (Gerhard Voss, 1577-1649), at the time a Professor at Leyden described by Twells as "a Sort of Dictator in the Commonwealth of Learning", who had won the favour of English scholars and notables for his shared respect for the Early Church which was unusual for a Dutch Protestant. When Vossius travelled to England to accept the honour and be installed as a Prebend of Canterbury Cathedral he took the opportunity of visiting Oxford where he was so impressed with the young Pococke's scholarship that he organised for his work to be printed in Leyden. Henceforth the two maintained a lifetime correspondence.

From the fact that he had spent most of his adult years in the quiet village of Childrey in Berkshire, one could assume that Pococke was a homebody. This was true at one level because, like his father, he happily served for many years as the Rector of a bucolic parish a day's walk from Oxford. Furthermore he did not enjoy travel and did not have that adventurous spirit evident in many of the other chaplains. On the other hand he had a Europe-wide reputation as an "orientalist", which at that time meant a student of Semitic languages such as Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic and Ethiopic (Amharic). This was his passion and his purpose, and which motivated him to live and work in Aleppo and Constantinople.

The Archbishop's Passion

Pococke's appointment to Aleppo was the opportunity William Laud had been waiting for. At the time he was Chancellor of Oxford University and Bishop of London and soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury (1633). History judges this strong-minded prelate to be both the greatest Chancellor of Oxford and the most unpopular Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1624 the scholarly Irish Archbishop James Ussher had written to the Aleppo factor Thomas Davies requesting manuscripts in Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac but received a discouraging reply about the difficulties.[186] Laud was a more determined character and organised for a letter under the King's name to the Levant Company

dated 15 February 1634[187] commanding that:

> every Shippe of yours at every Voyage that yt makes should bring home one Arab or Persian MS Booke to be delivered presently to the Master of your Company, and by him carried or sent to the Lord ArchBishop of Cant. for the time being, who shall dispose of them as Wee in our Wisdome shall think fitt.[188]

The preamble left no doubt as to where the manuscripts would end up, expressing Laud's indomitable will to see the English universities, particularly his beloved Oxford, become the greatest in Europe:

> There is a great deal of Learning and that very fit and necessary to be known, that is written in Arabicke, and there is a great defect in both our Universityes, very few spending any of theyr time to attain to skill eyther in that or any other Easterne Languages. Which Wee impute not soe much to the fault of the Students there, as partly to the great scarcity and want of Arabicke and Persian Bookes, in which they might spend theyr paines, and partly to theyr lack both of opportunity and means to provide and furnish themselves with such Bookes.[189]

This met with little success until scholars committed to the cause, such as Pococke and his friend John Greaves, went to the Middle East to pursue the matter. On 20 October 1631 Laud had written to Pococke commissioning him to purchase ancient Greek coins and manuscripts in Greek or oriental languages for the University library.[190] Pococke had more success acquiring coins than manuscripts, and in a letter of 21 May 1634 Laud thanked him for the coins, recognising that the French and Venetians had made the prices for manuscripts prohibitive but encouraging Pococke to persevere and "send him Word when there was Hopes of getting any good ones at a 'tolerable Rate'". To which he added the message that must have excited the chaplain "I hope you will, before your Return, make yourself able to teach the Arabick Language".[191]

At the time, Aleppo was the best place for a European to learn Arabic from native speakers. Pococke made the most of his six years in Aleppo to master written and spoken Arabic first under a Jewish teacher and then under an Arab, Sheikh Fathallah. He also studied Hebrew, Samaritan, Syriac and Ethiopic, and associated on friendly terms with learned Moslems and Jews and collected many valuable manuscripts. He was assisted in this by a Muslim scholar, al-Darwish[192] Ahmad, whom he employed as a copyist.[193] Ahmad's first letter to Pococke after his return to England has come down to us in a translation by his eldest son, an Arabic scholar also named Edward Pococke. The following excerpt gives some insight into what was involved in the literary acquisitions, beginning with al-Darwish's description of the acquisition of a wife:

> We also give you to understand, that we have taken to Wife a *Camel* Woman riding on a Camel, that she may look after our Affairs. We have also gotten *Echwans Sepha*, which you saw formerly, fairly drawn for sixty *Garshes*; and we had not gotten it for that Price, unless *Hieronymo* had gotten it for us; for how we could buy that which I saw the Day that I went from *Aleppo*, you know. And, as for the History of *Al Jannabi*, the *Kadi*, of which I saw some Pieces, you told me that we should tarry till the transcribing it was finished, and when it was finished we should buy it, if the most high God please. The Commentary on *Gubstan* is also finished, which we will send you; and, if it please God, we will do our Endeavour to send you the History of *Ebn Chalecan* and any Book that we shall see, which is convenient for you, we shall send to you.[194]

Back to Oxford

Pococke lost no time on his return to England hastening to Oxford to prepare for the examinations for Bachelor in Divinity to which he was admitted on 8 July 1636. Exactly a month later Dr. Baylie, the Vice-chancellor, declared in a Convocation that:

> whereas their much honoured Chancellor, the Archbishop, had lately given to the publick Library a considerable Number of Arabick Books; he was now to acquaint them, with an Addition to that Bounty. For, that those Treasures might not continue lockt up, and so useless, his Grace had been pleased to settle 40/. per Annum, during his Life, on a Person, who should read a Lecture in that Tongue. And the Man, whom he nominated for the Approbation of that House, was, he told them, Mr. Pocock, of Corpus-Christi, lately return'd out of the Eastern Parts, who was, as he assur'd them, and they very well knew, eminent for his Probity, his Learning, and Skill in Languages.[195]

Two days later he lectured in Latin on the nature and usefulness of Arabic and introduced as the text the *Proverbs* of Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad. He conscientiously adhered to the statute of lecturing every Wednesday morning for an hour "explaining the Sense of the Author, and the Things relating to the Grammar and Propriety of the Language; and also shewing the Agreement It hath with the Hebrew and Syriack as often as there was Occasion."[196] His enthusiasm for the subject was evident in how he waited behind to answer questions and then tutored in his room from one to four in the afternoon.

Constantinople

However after only eleven months this scholar who disliked travel was on the move, this time to Constantinople. His motives were threefold: to improve his Arabic, to procure more manuscripts, and to get assistance in a major but nameless historical translation work that he was dedicating to Laud.[197] In July 1637 he set out with his friend John Greaves who had already acted as an agent for Laud in procuring manuscripts in Italy and was on a mission to do the same in Constantinople and Egypt. Pococke had the financial means owing to an inheritance on the death of his father, the revenue from his fellowship at Corpus Christi, and Laud's permission to continue to receive the profits of the Arabic lectureship.[198] He had also arranged for Thomas Greaves to look after the Arabic lectures.

There he acted as chaplain to the English Ambassador to the Sublime Porte through whom he made the acquaintance of the "Protestant" Patriarch Cyril Lucaris and the eminent Jewish scholar Jacobo Romano, which relationships will be treated in greater detail later.

To procure books, Pococke turned to his old friends in Aleppo like the merchants Richard Hill and William Corderoy, through whom he obtained the Persian Gospels, which were to appear in the English Polyglot Bible. The Patriarch of Antioch, Euthymius III of Chios, showed his great regard for Pococke in procuring for him all the available Books of Ephraem the Syrian in the original Syriac for transcription by his own brother, Thalge. Also, his Muslim friends in Aleppo gave him all the assistance they could, particularly his old Sheikh who was overjoyed at his return to the East, and travelled to Constantinople to pay his respects.[199]

Paris

Finally, in August 1640, Pococke departed Constantinople after having spent between £500 -£600 in pursuit of his goals. Passing through Paris he had great delight in meeting the Maronite priest and scholar Gabriel Sionata (Jibrail as-Sahyuni, 1577–1648) whom he had mentioned in the preface of his translation of the four Syriac epistles. He was particularly interested in Sionata's work on the

Syriac and Arabic Scriptures in the Paris Polyglot of 1645.

His next meeting, with Grotius (Hugo de Groot, 1583-1645) the Dutchman who was the current Swedish Ambassador in Paris, dealt with a number of issues which display the range of thought of these two scholars who were leaders in different disciplines. Grotius expressed his great concern for Laud who by then was in the Tower of London and urged Pococke to suggest to him an escape to France. Next Pococke revealed his plan to translate Grotius' great apologetic work *De Veritate* into Arabic to open the eyes of Muslims to the truth of the gospel. Not only did Grotius encourage the project but also thanked Pococke for his criticism of material which perpetuated some common European libels against Muslims and authorised him to delete or alter what he saw fit.[200] The two also conversed about the parlous state of Christianity in the Middle East with Pococke giving his opinion that the deep divisions and schisms in the Church was the most "fatally mischievous" factor. This inspired Grotius "with new Resolution, and Courage, to pursue the Design he was engag'd in, to promote as far as he was able the Peace and Union of the Christian World".[201]

Return to England

On arriving in London Pococke informed Laud of Grotius' offer of refuge, but the Archbishop expressed his willingness to suffer and die in England. Soon after, in Oxford, Pococke discovered that Laud had recently guaranteed the future of Arabic scholarship by sending a grant to the University of about a fifth part of his lands in Bray, Berkshire, for the maintenance of the Arabic lectureship for perpetuity.[202] Laud's thoughtfulness did not stop there. In November 1640 he presented to the University of Oxford eighty-one manuscripts including six Hebrew, thirty-four Arabic and five Persian, which had been mostly procured by Pococke.[203] Much was expected of Pococke when he returned to Oxford, as this letter from Vossius expresses:

> I give Thanks unto God for your safe Return, as upon the private Score of our Friendship, so upon the publick Account, because I well perceive how great Advantages the Republick of Letters, and the Church of God, may receive from you. For if, for more than fifteen Years ago, you could acquit yourself so well, what may we not hope from you now that Age, and the Industry of so many Years, have much increased your Knowledge, and ripen'd your Judgment? Your Return, therefore, I congratulate to yourself, to Oxford and to all England; yea, and to the whole learned World.[204]

Trials

Soon after this the Civil War broke out, and in July Oxford University declared for the king, transforming quickly from a seat of learning to a Royalist garrison. The apolitical Pococke had no stomach for politics let alone warfare so he was relieved when in 1643 the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi gave him the rural parish of Childrey, twenty kilometres south-west of Oxford and twenty kilometres north-west of Chiveley, where he faithfully ministered and quietly pursued his studies. Like most Anglican clergy who remained faithful to King and Church he suffered persecution during the Civil War and the period of the Commonwealth which resulted in "a great deal of disquiet and very melancholy Thoughts" which these days would be

Figure 17. According to unbroken tradition this Cedar of Lebanon was planted by Pococke in the garden of the Childrey Rectory in 1646

called a depressed mood. Twells explained Pococke's frame of mind at the time:

> The barbarous People of Syria and Turkey, whom he formerly complain'd of, appeared to him now of much greater Humanity, than many of those he was engaged to live with. There, his exalted Virtue had won upon Mahometans, and made even Jews and Friers revere him; but these Charms had, at this Time, a contrary Effect on the Pretenders to Saintship, and purer Ordinances, at home.[205]

He even considered leaving England forever and spending the rest of his days in Aleppo or Constantinople to avoid the daily pressures he faced. However he recovered from his depression and in early 1646, well into his forties, he took comfort in marrying Mary Burdet, daughter of a Hampshire squire, by whom he had six sons and three daughters. Some idea of the seriousness of the persecution Pococke and his new wife suffered is evident from a Letter of Protection of 5 December 1647 that his friend John Greaves, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy, had obtained from the Parliamentary General Lord Fairfax, commanding that:

> all Officers and Soldiers are forbid to plunder his House, or take away his Horses, Sheep, or other Cattle or Goods, or to offer Violence to his Person, or the Persons of any of his Family. Constables also, and Quarter-masters, are, by the same Instrument, forbid to quarter upon him above his just and due Proportion.[206]

Laud had been executed in December 1645 and soon Parliament sequestered his assets, including the lands which he had transferred to the University to fund the Arabic lectureship. The normally reticent Pococke was sufficiently incensed to write a letter of protest. He sought to appeal to the new regime for their support for biblical scholarship, arguing the usefulness:

> that Sort of Learning is, which the Income of those Lands was design'd to promote, both to Divinity and other commendable Studies; what Reputation it now had in most Universities beyond the Seas, and what large Salaries had been appointed in several of them, for the Encouragement of it.[207]

He also pleaded that he had justly earned the lectureship and its remuneration for the sacrifices he had made in residing in Aleppo as well as the hardships, time and money he had spent furthering his qualifications for the role. It was to no avail, and he lost his Chair of Arabic. Although appointed to the Chair of Hebrew and the canonry of Oxford's Christ Church cathedral in 1648 he was deprived of both positions because he refused to take the Solemn League and Covenant which sought to destroy Anglicanism by abolishing episcopacy and the *Book of Common Prayer*. No other than Cromwell's brother-in-law, John French, replaced him at Christ Church. A month later, on 30 November 1650, Pococke movingly expressed his good conscience in these matters to the German historian Georg Horn (Hornius, 1620-70), Professor of History at Leiden:

> I have learnt, and made it the unalterable principle of my soul, to keep peace, as far as in me lies, with all men; to pay due reverence and obedience to the higher powers, and to avoid all things that are foreign to my profession or studies; but to do anything that may ever so little molest the quiet of my conscience would be more grievous than the loss, not only of my fortunes, but even of my life.[208]

He also made light of the loss of income from the Chair Arabic:

> But please. Sir, to be assured, that I never followed these Studies with mercenary Views;

> and, therefore, when it shall please God (as I trust in his endless Bounty that it will) to vouchsafe me a safe and obscure Retirement, I will, with greater Alacrity than ever, apply myself to these Studies, and promote them with my best Endeavours.[209]

Even the new guard at the University despaired at the loss of the pre-eminent Arabic scholar and teacher and raised a petition, appealing to the Parliamentary Committee for the Universities' zeal for "the Advancement of Learning - this Part especially, so useful in itself, and so generally this Day promoted in these Western Nations".[210]

Pococke was good to his word and in the quiet of Childrey threw himself into his Arabic and Hebrew studies. As a result his *Specimen Historiae* was the "firstfruits" of the University's Arabic Press and his *Porta Mosis* was the "firstfruits" of its Hebrew Press.[211] But even here this unassuming and conscientious parish priest was not safe. In 1655, at the instance of a few fanatical parishioners, he was cited before the commissioners at Abingdon under the new act for ejecting "ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, and negligent ministers."[212] The leading Oxford scholars, headed by the Puritan Vice-Chancellor John Owen warned the commission of the contempt they would draw upon themselves if they ejected for "ignorance and insufficiency" a man whose learning was the admiration of Europe; and, after several months of examination and hearing witnesses on both sides, the charge was finally dismissed.

Restoration

1660 was a memorable and happy year for Pococke with the Restoration of Charles II and the subsequent restoration to the Hebrew professorship, together with the canonry and lodgings at Christ Church, and the award of the degree of DD by royal letters. To top it off he published the Arabic translation of Grotius' *De Veritate.* Henceforth he lived in studious ease at Christ Church in the lodgings of the Hebrew professor, in the garden of which is still seen the fig-tree, the famous "Arbor Pocockiana", imported by the professor from Syria, "prima sui generis" (first of its kind), according to Dr White's engraving preserved at Christ Church, and certainly the only ancient fig-tree on record still existing in England.

Figure 18. Pococke's fig at Oxford was among a number of trees of the bible that the great scholar brought to England

At any rate this is the conventional narrative. However, there is a fascinating anecdote that would revise the received opinion that Pococke's second and last visit to the Middle East was from 1647 to 1649. It appears in the biography of the chaplain of the time, Robert Frampton.[213] It mentions Pococke visiting Aleppo and being impressed by the knowledge of Arabic demonstrated by Frampton's nephew. It mentions the nephew being about fourteen which dates it to about 1661, because it is known that he died at twenty two years of age in about 1669.

Despite political vicissitudes, Pococke's passion for Arabic scholarship never waned, and his achievement in Arabic scholarship was immense. He left a fivefold legacy.

First, Arabic studies: Although Cambridge University had beaten Oxford in the establishment

of a Chair of Arabic by four years, in Pococke Oxford had the first and only professor of Arabic to have lived and studied in the Middle East and experienced the living Arabic language and culture. The rationale for the establishment of these Chairs was threefold: scholarship, trade and mission. This is clearly put in a letter from the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge to Thomas Adams, the London businessman and endower of the Cambridge Chair of Arabic:

> The worke itself we conceive to tend not onely to the advancement of good Literature by bringing to light much knowledge which as yet is lockt upp in that learned tongue; but also to the good service of the king and State in our commerce with those Easterne nations, and in God's good time to the enlarging of the borders of the Church, and propagation of Christian religion to them who now sitt in darkness…[214]

Pococke went beyond describing Arabic as merely a "learned tongue". In his Preface to the *Specimen and Notes* Pococke asserted that "the Arab Tongue contains such Riches, in every Kind of Learning, as have not yet been discovered to the Western Parts of the World".[215] His lifelong commitment to promoting and assisting the study of Arabic was best expressed in his notes to his Latin translation of the elegant poem *Lamiato'l-Ajam* or *Carmen Abu'Ismaelis Tograi*, published by the Oxford University Press in 1661. Here he spoke in superlatives commending the language for its perspicuity, elegance, copiousness and usefulness. Its perspicuity was in its unrivalled succinctness of expression. Its elegance in word formation and sound stemmed from its tri-consonontal root structure. Copiousness referred to its incomparable vocabulary, with for instance five hundred synonyms for "lion" and a lexicon of a staggering 12 350 052 words. Finally, its usefulness included its vast literature particularly that of the Abbasid era when the learning of ancient Greece was embraced and when "infinite Books were written by them in Philosophy, Astronomy, Geometry, Medicine, and all Kinds of Sciences".[216]

He also recommended the study of Arabic in assisting the study of Old Testament Hebrew. Because of its revival as the national language of the State of Israel in the middle of last century we tend to forgot that for the previous two millennia Hebrew had survived only as a liturgical language and that Arabic was its closest living cousin. Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), the most famous medieval Jewish scholar had written in Arabic, albeit using Hebrew script. Pococke also mentioned other useful Jewish writings in Arabic including Bakoda's *Chobath Hal-lebaboth* and Saadia's *Emunoth*.

Unfortunately, most undergraduates were not as convinced of the worth of studying Arabic as Pococke. In spite of Laud's regulations that the professor was to lecture weekly during Lent and between university terms on Arabic grammar and literature, and that all bachelors of arts and medical students at the university were required to attend, Pococke only had a few students in the years that he was in Oxford.

Second, historical and philosophical studies: Among the valuable manuscripts Pococke collected were Al-Waqidi's *Futuh al-Sham* (Conquest of Syria), the first Arab viewpoint of history, and also Ibn Tufail's *Haiy Ibn Yaqzan* (Alive, Son of Awake). This second work, by the twelfth century Granada physician was translated into Latin by Pococke's twenty-three year old son, Edward, under the title *Philosophus Autodidactus* (the Self-taught Philosopher). However Gerald Toomer points out that the whole project was conceived and directed by Pococke Senior, who had acquired the manuscript from which the translation was made, written the introduction and supervised the translation itself".[217] Toomer is on shakier ground when he suggests that Pococke did not put his name to it as it was a threat to established religion.[218] It would have been out of character for Pococke senior to risk his son's reputation.

It is hard to overestimate the impact of Pococke's introduction of *Haiy Ibn Yaqzan* to the West, in terms of the development of the Enlightenment. It is the story of a feral child, raised by a gazelle and living alone on a desert island without contact with other human beings who discovers ultimate truth through a systematic process of reasoned inquiry. He comes into contact with civilization and religion through a castaway named Absal and determines that certain trappings of religion and civilization are necessary for the multitude in order that they might have decent lives but that they are distractions from the truth and ought to be abandoned. This précis shows that, although a novel, it had far more than entertainment value and how its appearance in the West during the dawn of the Enlightenment would have increased its impact. It featured in the development of modern European philosophy by influencing the Quaker scholars Robert Barclay and George Keith, the Cambridge Platonists and a number of Dutch scholars. Most importantly it inspired Pococke's friend John Locke to formulate the theory of *tabula rasa* in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, which went on to become one of the principal sources of empiricism in modern Western philosophy, and influenced many Enlightenment philosophers, such as David Hume and George Berkeley. Later the theory of t*abula rasa* gave rise to the nature versus nurture debate in modern psychology.

Third, biblical studies: Pococke made a major contribution to Walton's *Polyglot Bible* including the preface to the various readings of the *Arabic Pentateuch*. Polyglots were used for studying the history of the biblical text and its interpretation. Considered as the last and most scholarly ever printed, Brian Walton's[219] *Polyglot* was issued in six volumes between 1654 and 1657 and comprised nine languages, although no single biblical book was printed in all nine. These are: Hebrew, Greek, Samaritan, Aramaic, Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Persian. It was the second book in England to be published by subscription and for centuries was a major tool for Bible scholars, especially translators. Twells enthused that it was "the Glory of that Age, and of the English Church and Nation, a Work vastly exceeding all former Attempts of that Kind, and that came so near Perfection, as to discourage all future ones." It was all the more impressive because it was produced by Anglican scholars suffering under various penalties and threats from the ascendant Puritans. The project was launched in 1657 at the height of persecution. The bitter, partisan spirit of the age is evident in the opposition by the usually reasonable Vice-Chancellor of Oxford John Owen, the most illustrious of Puritan scholars.[220]

Figure 19. Title page of Walton's Polyglot, to which Pococke made an invaluable contribution

In 1655 Pococke published *Porta Mosis*, his Latin translation of six prefatory Discourses of Moses Maimonides and a very large *Appendix of Miscellaneous Notes.* His biblical scholarship was also evident in his hypothesis in his *Notes* on the Bar Hebraeus' *Specimen* that the Magi who came to Judea to worship Christ were probably from Arabia rather than Persia or India.[221] His final

contribution to biblical studies was commentaries on Micah (1677), Malachi (1677), Hosea (1685) and Joel (1691).

Fourth, Islamic studies: Twells recorded that during his time in Aleppo Pococke read the Qur'an "with great Care and a critical Diligence"[222] which seemed to be his first serious exposure to Islam and which was characteristic of his approach. Over the next two decades his wide reading and careful research resulted in the publication of the groundbreaking *Specimen Historiae Arabum* of 1649.

An appreciation of its significance requires some background. The Syrian Orthodox bishop Abu'l-Faraj bin Harun al-Malati (1226–1286), better known as Gregory Bar Hebraeus, had written in Arabic a history of the world covering ten dynasties. Pococke translated this into Latin and published it in Oxford in 1663 as *Historia Compendosia Dynastiarum*. But, more importantly, in 1649 he had translated and published a portion of this, the landmark *Specimen Historiae Arabum*, which was the introduction to the ninth dynasty, that of the Arabs. It was not so much the Latin translation of the *Specimen* as Pococke's appended *Notes* that were ground-breaking. The scholarship was impressive, being based on over one hundred Arabic manuscripts. Largely on the basis of this particular work P M Holt[223] concluded that Pococke, together with a handful of scholars:

> …helped to change the image of Islam in Christian and European minds. This he did partly by the refutation of fables…but more effectively by making available fresh and more authentic material and by demonstrating with all the erudition at his command that Islam and its civilization were worthy of serious study by educated men.[224]

It is worth outlining some of Pococke's observations. He provided invaluable background to the rise of Islam, including the importance of poetry in the oral tradition and the value placed on oratory and astronomy during what Muslims call the "Age of Ignorance". Following a biographical treatment of Mohammed, Pococke went on to explain the development of the *Sunna* and the different sects of Islam. But it is one paragraph in Twells that represents the new attitude that Pococke introduced towards Islamic studies:

> And as he has thus given, in these Notes, a large Account of the true Opinions of the Mahometans; so he has taken Care, upon proper Occasions, to do them Justice, by vindicating them from such Things, as have been fasten'd on them, without sufficient Ground; as particularly that Charge of Idolatry, brought against them by Euthymius, and some other Greek Writers, and also those Stories, that are current in these Western Parts, of the Expectation they are under, of the Return of Mahomet; of his Body's being put into an Iron Chest, and suspended by a Loadstone; and of the Dove, that was taught by him to fly to his Ear.[225]

No doubt Pococke's years in Aleppo and deep friendship with Muslims like Sheikh Fatallah gave him a fairer appreciation of Islam and Muslims than closeted scholars in Europe or rash adventurers to the Muslim world. It also gave him a fresh perspective on the English context and Toomer suggests that Pococke's lengthy description of the sects of Islam was an implied criticism of the profusion of sects and some of their extreme behaviours under the Commonwealth seeing that he emphasised the quarrels in Islam over free will, predestination and the source of religious authority, as well as the excesses of enthusiasts.[226]

Fifth, Protestant apologetics: Pococke also saw that by a study of Arabic divines Christian scholars "will be able to know the true Opinions of Mahometism, that they may confute them"

and also the "Piety of those who are zealous for the Promotion of Divine Knowledge, may make some Provision against the Ignorance of the Eastern Christians, who are so miserably oppressed under Turkish Bondage".[227] Being such a person himself, Pococke translated some of the early Protestant classics into Arabic, namely Grotius's *De Veritate a*nd most of the *Book of Common Prayer*, including the Catechism and Articles of Religion. This will be treated at some length later in the section on the chaplains and their involvement with publishing projects.

The Commonwealth of Learning

Pococke participated all his adult life in an international cross-disciplinary network of scholars that transcended religion and was marked by generosity and goodwill, all in the name of learning. This began with his being initiated into Arabic studies by Matthias Pasor (1599-1658), the Professor of Mathematics at Heidelberg University who had fled during the Wars of Religion to Oxford and gave public Arabic lectures twice a week in the Divinity School. His inaugural lecture was entitled "A Plea for the Study of Arabic".[228] Pococke continued his studies with the first and leading English Arabist of his time, William Bedwell (1561-1632), Vicar of Tottenham High-Cross, near London. In Aleppo he employed Rabbi Samuel to tutor him in Hebrew and Sheikh Fatallah to tutor him in Arabic. In describing how in travelling to the Levant Pococke was determined to continue Jacob Golius' efforts in procuring manuscripts, Twells recounts how "he resolv'd, that, if Diligence could effect it, his Abode there should not be of less Use to the Commonwealth of Learning."[229] Pococke's "Commonwealth of Learning" was a peculiarly English synonym for what was styled on the Continent as the Protestant "Republic of Letters".

Figure 20. Cyril Lucaris, the Ecumenical Patriarch, was one of many seventeenth luminaries well acquainted with Edward Pococke.

During his time in Constantinople Pococke was able to achieve something he had failed to do in Aleppo: to work closely with some Jewish scholars whom he employed to buy and transcribe books. The Jews had been expelled from England in 1290 and from most other European countries over the next three hundred years with the notable exception of the Netherlands. This meant that until Cromwell readmitted Jews to England in 1656, English scholars had to travel overseas to interact with Jewish scholars. In particular Pococke enjoyed a friendship with the renowned Constantinople Jewish scholar Jacobo Romano, who had extensively read Catholic and Protestant authors and who found the Protestant writings more consistent with the New Testament.[230]

In Constantinople Pococke met someone else who was impressed by Protestant scholarship, the Patriarch Cyril Lucaris who in his younger years had travelled to England establishing warm relationships with the English kings James I and his son, later to be Charles I. Lucaris's great gift to Charles I in 1627 had been the *Epistle of Clement* and the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which contained both the Septuagint and the earliest known version of the Greek New Testament marking a milestone in textual criticism. In turn Lucaris was able to bring a Greek printing press from London. Not long before he was strangled at the command of the Ottoman Sultan, Lucaris attended a service at the English Chapel presided over by Pococke and became godfather to the Ambassador Peter Wyche's[231] son, who was aptly named Cyril.[232]

Twells also mentioned a large number of other people through whom Pococke acquired valuable manuscripts. Most of these could be described as citizens of the Commonwealth of Letters because their primary motivation was the love of learning rather than monetary reward. They included the Constantinople Greeks Georgio Cerigo, Segnior Dotninico and Constantinus Duca; the English Aleppo merchants William Corderoy and Richard Hill (for the Persian Gospels for the Polyglot); the Patriarch of Antioch and his brother (for the works of Ephraem in Syriac). In this Commonwealth, love of learning made cooperation prevail over rivalry as in the case of Pococke providing hospitality in Constantinople to two of the great manuscript collectors of the era, Christianus Ravius of Frankfurt and John Greaves.[233]

On his return to Oxford no less than Gerard Vossius wrote to him:

> I give Thanks unto God for your safe Return, as upon the private Score of our Friendship, so upon the publick Account, because I well perceive how great Advantages the Republick of Letters, and the Church of God, may receive from you. For if, for more than fifteen Years ago, you could acquit yourself so well, what may we not hope from you now that Age, and the Industry of so many Years, have much increased your Knowledge, and ripen'd your Judgment. Your Return, therefore, I congratulate to yourself, to Oxford and to all England; yea, and to the whole learned World.[234]

Figure 21. Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist and Christian apologist, shared a fruitful partnership in the "Commonwealth of Learning"

Indeed, back in England Pococke proved to be a magnet for scholars from throughout Protestant Europe, who corresponded with and also visited him. These included Germans from Thuringia and the Palatine, Swiss, Danes, Hungarians, Transylvanians, and residents of the Baltic cities of Danzig and Riga. Among the more distinguished scholars was John Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620-1677), successively a Professor of Oriental Languages at Groningen, Zurich and Heidelberg and translator of *Chronicon Samaritanum* into Latin. After hearing from Grotius of Pococke's undertaking the translation of *De Veritate* he undertook to translate the Helvetic Confession into Arabic.[235] The Helvetic Confession is a lengthy document that represented the earliest Reformed as opposed to Anglican or Lutheran views on the sacraments, with its distinctives such as the use of free prayer in church and the aversion to depictions of people, including Christ. This is significant because the Reformed tradition is the main expression of Protestantism in the Arabic world. There were also Jacobus Golius (Jacob van Gool, 1596-1667) the Arabic Professor at Leyden; and Ludovicus Forgius, Doctor of Physic at the Protestant Academy of Saumur in western France, one of a number of scholars who came to Pococke seeking help in researching the great Arab tradition of medicine. The number of English scholars networked to Pococke was also impressive, including Robert Boyle and John Locke.

Excursus: Pococke and Coffee Drinking

Biddulph had drawn attention to the social aspect of coffee-drinking in the coffee-houses of Aleppo over forty years before the first coffee-house was founded in England in 1652 by a Levantine Jew named Jacob, who was among the first wave of his religion to enter England under Cromwell. This coffee-house appeared not among the counting-houses of London but amid the dreaming spires of Oxford. In 1659 Henry Hall printed in Oxford an anonymous three page pamphlet *The Nature of the drink Kauhi, or Coffe, and the Berry of which it is made Described by an Arabian Phisitian*, which was a short extract from a sixteenth century work probably by Da'ud ibn 'Umar al-Antaki.[236] It was in Arabic with an English translation and was read and circulated enthusiastically by members of the budding scientific community like Boyle, Hartlib and Worthington. In fact it was translated and published by Pococke who both lauded the effects of the drink as well as warned of its dangers. This had a prophetic note according to Twells because in his old age Pococke's excessive coffee-drinking contributed to palsy in his hand, hampering his letter-writing.[237]

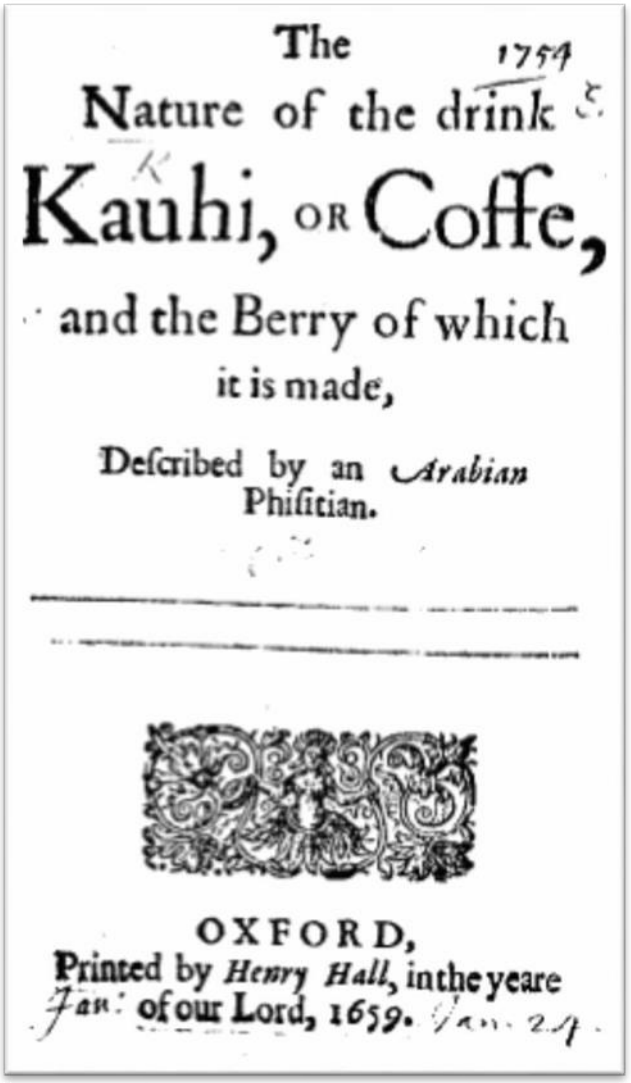

The
1754
Nature of the drink
Kauhi, or Coffe,
and the Berry of which
it is made,
Described by an Arabian
Phisitian.
OXFORD,
Printed by Henry Hall, in the yeare
of our Lord, 1659.

Figure 22. Title page of the anonymous pamphlet by Pococke which helped usher in the era of coffee- houses in England

Pococke the pastor

A brilliant scholar, Pococke was also a diligent pastor. During his time in Aleppo he first and foremost attended to his duty as a chaplain and his calling as a clerk in holy orders. For instance, when plague ravaged Aleppo many English merchants camped out in the hills two days journey from the city, while Pococke stayed at his post with the remaining merchants, who were all mercifully spared.[238] Although bookish, Pococke was good company. An Aleppo merchant, Mr Wandesford, wrote in 1632 to the famous jurist and oriental scholar John Selden in London:

> You commended a diligent and able Gentleman, Mr. Pocock, to me, who hath inabled himself very much in the Arab Tongue. I have no other Comfort but in him for Converse. And indeed his Nature is so sweet and amicable, I owe much to you for the Commands you laid upon me to receive him.[239]

In the changes and chances of the Civil War and the Commonwealth regime Pococke exhibited the same humble, steadfast tending of his flock in rural Berkshire. A case in point is that his less educated parishioners assumed that he was relatively unlearned because of his deliberate and appropriate choice of plain over erudite language.

5. Thomas Pritchett (1636- ?): a Chaplain of Little Account [240]

After the bright star of Pococke it is disappointing that so little has been uncovered about Thomas Pritchett, the next chaplain. The difficulty is increased by the possibility his name might also have been spelled Prichett, Prickett, Pritchard or Prichard. There is the solitary reference in the error-filled list of chaplains from the 1913 *Notes and Queries*. Pearson's only information is that the Company minutes of 18 April 1640 mention "Mr Prichard, late Preacher at Aleppo, is refused a gratification, on account of his having returned without leave or letters from the factory." This implies that he was regularly appointed even though his departure was irregular.[241]

The same minute recorded that a Mr Warner MA was nominated to replace Prichard and was scheduled to present himself before the Company and preach a trial sermon in ten days' time. He failed to impress the merchants and was not appointed but in fairness six months later they voted him £3 for having gone to the trouble of composing and preaching the sermon.[242]

Chapter 6

Chaplains of the Civil War and Commonwealth Era

6. Bartholomew Chappell (1640-50): the Chaplain who would not leave

Figure 23. Chappell's gravestone is in the foreground.

The first chaplain to be buried in Aleppo

On 19 May, a month after Warner's failure to impress the Company, Bartholomew Chappell was invited to preach a sermon. This time they approved. [243] A month previously it had been ordered that all Company chaplains, "especially the one about to sail for Aleppo" seek to acquire Arabic books, presumably for the English universities. This was in response to letters from William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Francis Windebank, King Charles' Secretary of State. [244] There is no evidence of Chappell's zeal or success in this task.

Figure 24.The epitaph is still visible

There are two clergy of this name appearing in records. The first is a Bartholomeus Chapell who was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter in 1612. [245] The second Bartholomeus Chappell, born in 1603, fits the dates better. He went from Milverton in Somerset to graduate from Exeter College with a BA in 1624-5 and an MA in 1627.[246] He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Oxford on 9 June 1639.[247] His dismissal by the Company is minuted on 17 December 1650 being on the advice of a letter of 10 August from Mr Barnard the Consul at Aleppo. The only other things we know are that he collected coins and manuscripts and that his gravestone can still be found in the Aleppo Protestant cemetery. He was the first chaplain to be buried in Aleppo although not the first Englishman. A century ago George Jeffery was able to partially decipher the epitaph on Chapple's tombstone:

Hic iacet

Rever modvm vir Bartholomi Chaffield Praesb . .
Minister qvondam Anglica nationis in Aleppo qvi cvm xl
pivs ……ivs annos . . . . inacerbi co . . . . ratvs est et circo
lxxx annos natvs mortem obit xxvi Febr. MDCLXXXV.[248]

The Latin inscription dates the death of the "sometime minister of the English nation in Aleppo" to 26 February 1685 which means he remained in Aleppo for thirty-five years, presumably as a merchant, after being dismissed. The Latin records his age as "around eighty years" which fits with the Bartholomeus Chappell born in 1603. "Chaffield" was a mistaken transcription of "Chappell" which is understandable from Jeffery's comment that "most of the inscriptions are illegible, owing to the poor quality of the stone."

Excursus: the Protestant Cemetery in Aleppo (see Figures 11 and 12 at the beginning of chapter 4)

There are three sources for information about the Aleppo cemetery. The first is an article entitled "English Records in Aleppo" by George Jeffery in the journal *Notes and Queries* of 6 February 1915.[249] Jeffery was the British architect who, as Curator of Ancient Monuments in Cyprus, was responsible for the preservation of many of the architectural treasures of the island from 1903 until his death in 1935. He seems to have visited the cemetery because he recorded the epitaphs from a number of tombstones including Chapple's. He described how the cemetery was entered by a gateway bearing the inscription "PROTESTANT CEMETERY 1584" surmounted by a communion-cup in stone. He lamented the fact that the greater number of the old English tombstones of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had disappeared. He also commented that the tombstones were quite unique being in the form of squared stone blocks about 6 ft by 2 ft by 2 ft, hollowed out from underneath, probably to make them more portable.

The second source is also from *Notes and Queries*, being Stephen Gaselee's article "The British Cemetery at Aleppo" of 12 August 1939 on the eve of the Second World War and the twilight of the French Mandate of Syria.[250] Here he mentions that the cemetery had been relocated in March 1939. One of the most distinguished librarians of his time, Gaselee was also librarian and keeper of the papers of the British Foreign Office.[251] He explained how the death of the first consul, William Barret, in 1584 had led to the purchase of land from the Venetians for establishing the Protestant cemetery in part of the old Christian cemetery in the suburb of Azizieh. It has been wistfully suggested that this was the first piece of foreign land acquired by England and hence the inauspicious beginnings of the Empire "on which the sun never set".[252] The cemetery remained in use until 1939 when the French Mandate government requisitioned it for road widening and the surviving forty-nine tombstones were removed to the present site in the suburb of Sheikh Maksoud. Dating between 1653 and 1901 they are mostly English but there are also Dutch, German, Swiss and American names commemorated.

The third source is the author who visited the relocated cemetery in 2010 and 2011 and was able to take photographs. Subsequently this area has been a battlefront in the Civil War and, like the Old Suq, has probably been seriously damaged. The old gravestones only occupy a top corner of the cemetery which is used by the local Protestants and is now entrusted to the care of the Armenian Protestant minister.

7. Nathaniel Hill (1650-54): the Cavalier

The same Company minute of 17 December 1650 which recorded Consul Edward Barnard's dismissal of Chappell also recorded his advice that the Aleppo Factory was satisfied with the replacement chaplain Mr Nathaniel Hill. Born in 1605, Hill was the son of Humphrey Hill, Vicar of Tingrith in Bedfordshire. He graduated with an MA from Pembroke College Oxford in 1630 and an MA from Cambridge in 1631. In 1638 he was appointed Rector of Bergh Apton in Norfolk and, probably in plurality, Vicar of Renhold[253] in Bedfordshire in the heart of Roundhead country. He took leave from his parish to serve as a Royalist chaplain and was penalised for serving on the losing side by forfeiting his property and his parish.

Undeterred, the cavalier parson took the opportunity to attend the University of Padua[254] in 1648 and to serve as chaplain at Aleppo from 1650. In 1654 he was found to be unsuitable, for undisclosed reasons, and lost his position.[255] He did not return directly to England for another three years and by then the situation had settled down enough for him to take up the rectorship of the parish of Fordwich in Kent until 1663.[256] He died on 10 October 1664.[257]

Excursus: the Remarkable Case of Isaac Basire

Although not formally a chaplain, another Royalist exile Anglican priest appeared in Aleppo at the end of Hill's tenure. Isaac Basire, a French Huguenot aristocrat turned Englishman, after serving as chaplain to Charles I went into a fourteen year exile leaving his family behind in England. Beginning in 1647, he visited France and Italy, and then the Levant. He landed at Smyrna, then travelled on to Aleppo, where he stayed for several months. During his stay he attended and conducted at least one service at the Aleppo factory for there are among his papers notes of a sermon he preached in Aleppo on Easter Day 1652. It might be that Hill was accompanying a party of English factors on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Easter being the favoured time for such journeys. We do know that in the summer of 1652, Basire himself set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and visited most of the historic sites.[258] Leaving Jerusalem in the autumn of 1652, he returned to Aleppo, and then journeyed to Mesopotamia. This appears to have been only a short visit, for he spent the winter of 1652-3 in Aleppo. In the spring of 1653 he set out on his journey of over 600 miles from Aleppo to Constantinople, to serve as chaplain there.[259] So from spring 1652 to spring 1653 Aleppo was Basire's base. It is known that during that time he engaged in conversations with the Patriarch Macarios about the doctrines of their respective churches, to see whether any form of inter-communion was possible.[260]

In the annals of Anglicanism few have shown such enthusiasm for propagating the doctrine, polity and worship of the Church of England. Basire's missionary spirit provides a standard for comparing the attitudes of the chaplains. Wherever he went he distributed translations of the Anglican Catechism: the vulgar Greek translated by himself, the Turkish which he requested the Ambassador in Constantinople to organise to be translated, and the Arabic about which nothing is known other than that Basire distributed it. His extraordinary boldness and confidence that the Anglican church was "for purity of doctrine, substance, decency and beauty, the most perfect under heaven"[261] led him to accepting from George Racoczi II, the Protestant Prince of Transylvania, the professorship of theology at the University of Alba Julia where he sought to reorganise the Transylvanian church on Anglican lines. His plans were foiled by the Turkish invasion and subsequent death of his patron in battle in 1660. His role as a self-appointed Anglican missionary will be treated at

more length in chapter 9 in the section headed "the chaplains were not missionaries".

A bastion of Anglicanism

During England's Puritan regime Aleppo remained a bastion of Anglicanism. On two successive days in 1645 Parliament effectively abolished the Church of England. On 3 January it passed a Bill of Attainder against William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, effectively abolishing the office, because it was not filled again until the Restoration in 1660. On 4 January Parliament passed an Ordinance requiring the replacement of the *Book of Common Prayer (BCP)* by the *Directory of Public Worship* and imposing penalties from 26 August of the same year. King Charles I responded with a counter-proclamation. Being staunch Anglicans and loyal subjects of the king there is no doubt that Basire, Robson and his successor, Frampton, ignored Parliament and continued to conduct services in Aleppo according to their beloved *BCP*.

Struggles of getting a new chaplain

Hill was difficult to replace, as evidenced by the Company's minute book entries.[262] On 19 April 1654, while Hill was still in Aleppo, the need for a new chaplain was considered. On 19 May a Mr Winchester was suggested, but on 25 August a Dr Dolton, or Doughton, was nominated by the Governor to succeed Hill who had by now left Aleppo. By 16 October Dolton had preached the mandatory sermon and was elected to the Aleppo position at the same time being refused the salary of $400[263] which he insisted upon. The next day a compromise offer of £100 was made and a week later his case was again considered. Negotiations must have broken down for the minute of 7 December mentioned: "a Mr Ashley had lately gone from Leghorn to Aleppo: Mr Dolton is voted £3 for his sermon". For the purposes of this work Ashley is not mentioned as a chaplain because his appointment was clearly temporary and there is no record of how long he stayed.

In fact, Ashley might have left Aleppo after a short time and been replaced by Bartholomew Chappell who since his dismissal seems to have remained in Aleppo. This is implied in the biography of the next chaplain, Robert Frampton, which mentioned a merchant named Harvey who influenced Frampton to take up the post: "to supply the deficiencys of one Mr Chappel that had long exercised his ministry there till his age and infirmitys necessitated his recess".[264]

8. Robert Frampton (1655-70): "An Englishman of the best type"[265]

Figure 25. Robert Frampton in his later years as Bishop of Gloucester

If the scholarly Pococke was the shining star of Arabic and Islamic studies, the sanguine and extroverted Frampton was the longest serving, merriest, best loved and most courageous chaplain. The upheavals of late seventeenth century Anglicanism provide the backdrop for this colourful and inspiring figure, so it is surprising that a biography was not published until 1876.[266] Like Pococke, Frampton's reputation was a casualty of the eighteenth century's determination to forget the savage conflicts and bitter controversies of the seventeenth century. The compiler of Frampton's biography, T Simpson Evans, explained that he had purchased the manuscript fifty years before from an antiquary who had received it from someone who had acquired a chest of drawers that had originally belonged to Frampton. Although the manuscript was anonymous Evans concluded from internal evidence that the author was an intimate friend, probably a layman. He conjectured that the manuscript was written eight to ten years after Frampton's death and that names and facts had been suppressed to avoid prejudicing the living, suggesting that it was intended for immediate publication. He inferred from the incomplete nature of the appendix that "circumstances must have occurred which interfered with this design".

In spite of the anonymity of the author, one can confidently concur with Evans that the biographer had direct access to his subject, with detailed narrative of events throughout his life. He, or she, also took great care with details and, unlike Pearson, did not make assumptions resulting in wrong conclusions. For instance he did not date Frampton's ordination, which was necessarily a private affair under the Puritan regime and does not appear in records of the diocese of Oxford. He did not make any obvious errors like Twells who confused Pococke's father's parish of Childrey with his son's parish of Chiveley. When he used direct speech in recounting conversations it appeared natural and in character with the Frampton he knew. Furthermore, details of Frampton's appointment to Aleppo are independently corroborated by the minutes of the Levant Company found in the appendix of Pearson's book.

Evan's summing up of Frampton's character is "that of a man of singular earnestness, honesty, and practical ability, who is never wanting in moments of danger, and who never hesitates to discharge his duty at the cost of worldly advantage."[267]

A bold and adventurous life

Born on 26 February 1622, the last of 8 children in a god-fearing Dorsetshire farming family, Frampton displayed many of the characteristics typical of youngest borns: sociable, optimistic, adventurous and resilient. Growing up in the village of Pimperne, he was educated at nearby Blandford Grammar School and graduated from Christ Church College, Oxford, with a BA in

1641. He soon afterwards set up a private school at Farnham in Dorsetshire. He then obtained the appointment of headmaster of a school of a hundred boys at Gillingham in the same county.[268]

His subsequent career demonstrated the hazards of being a loyal Anglican and royalist in the mid-1600s. During the Civil War Frampton's views led to a quarrel with a parliamentary officer named Gage in the neighbourhood. It appears that on more than one occasion they came to blows.[269] In August 1645, he and his four brothers fought with the Dorset Clubmen against the Roundheads at the Battle of Hambledon Hill and were routed. The Clubmen were mostly apolitical farmers who took up clubs and pitchforks to defend their livelihoods and womenfolk against marauding armies of either side, who through pillage, enforced quartering and coerced conscription made the lives of ordinary country folk intolerable. Rather than being incited by hot-headed rabblerousers the Clubmen were frequently led by Church of England clergy.

After work as a schoolmaster, Frampton was privately ordained by the Bishop of Oxford, first ministering as a parish priest then as chaplain to Thomas Bruce, Lord Elgin. Here he exerted a strong influence over the eldest son, Robert, a frivolous young man who initially took the side of Parliament in the Civil War. As a result he became a strong Anglican and Royalist, which convictions he fought for over a thirty year political career. [270] His biographer implies that Frampton's frequent preaching in London linked with his outspokenness in those turbulent times exposed him to danger from "successfull rebels and schismaticks".[271] So Mr Harvey, a wealthy member of the Company with Royalist leanings, confident that Frampton had the wherewithal to keep the Aleppo factory "steady to the crown and church", recommended him for the position. Lord Elgin was reluctant to lose such a gifted chaplain who explained that this self-imposed exile was due to his grief over the triumph of those who had killed the king and ruined the church as well as his desire to see the Bible lands.[272] However, leaving England did not mean escaping from civil strife and barbarity. During Frampton's first term in Aleppo the Ottomans crushed a major rebellion in Aleppo and hung the bodies of numerous rebels from one of the city gates.[273]

Although ready to face danger for a good cause Frampton was neither foolhardy nor unworldly, perhaps learning his lesson from the rout at Hambledon Hill. On his mission to Constantinople, which is dealt with in some detail in the next section, he had to lead his party through the wilds of Anatolia. As they departed Aleppo he did not mince his words to his armed band in the hearing of the farewelling merchants:

> You know you have a bountifull reward and are under my command: stand to your arms like men, and what is not in your power shall not be in your account; but if in any danger any of you shall pretend to fly depend upon it I set a bullet in his heart and reward the courage of the rest.

Then turning to the merchants he added "and you, my friends, if any of these men return without my certificate, take him up as a deserter".[274]

On his final return to England, Frampton had a steady rise in career. In 1670, two months after disembarking he was appointed preacher at the Rolls, and chaplain to the Lord Keeper. In 1671 he was made prebendary of Gloucester cathedral, and shortly afterwards of Salisbury cathedral. In 1673 he was made Dean of Gloucester and on 27 March 1681 was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester by Archbishop Sancroft in the chapel of All Souls' College, Oxford.

Frampton proved himself a great builder and restorer. He did much both at the deanery and the

episcopal palace of Gloucester, and rebuilt the house at Standish. He was a frequent preacher at Whitehall, and in the administration of his diocese was tolerant towards dissenters, and universally popular. After his accession, James II complained to the archbishop that Frampton was in the habit of denouncing popery. When the famous Declaration of Indulgence was published, and ordered to be read in churches, Frampton opposed it and spent time with other dissenting bishops in the Tower. When James was overthrown he became one of the Non-Juror bishops and was deprived on 1 February 1690–1. He was allowed to have the small parish of Standish where he still suffered persecution. Nevertheless he regarded his stand as personal and did not condemn others who swore the oath of allegiance to King William. This earned him the ongoing affection and respect of the clergy of the diocese. At her accession Queen Anne offered him the see of Hereford but he was old and frail and declined this thoughtful offer, dying at Standish on 25 May 1708, at the age of 86.

A diplomatic cleric

Frampton was by nature a diplomat and a peacemaker, which the following three incidents illustrate. First, he endeared himself to the Greek Orthodox community in Scanderoon by saving their church from confiscation by the Pasha, the local Ottoman official. [275] The saga began when the Levant Company agent Mr Hext successfully appealed on behalf of the local Christians to the Pasha for permission to rebuild their dilapidated church using his friendship with the mufti.[276] In spite of the Ottoman prohibition against rebuilding of churches the Pasha relented. However, when Mr Hext died, the Christian community refused to allow his burial in their cemetery. Frampton appealed to the Pasha who was so indignant at their ingratitude that he threatened to confiscate their church building. Finally Frampton managed to pacify both the intransigent Christians and the irate Pasha to the effect that they permitted Hext's burial and in turn were permitted to keep their church. This whole incident challenges the stereotyping of Ottoman officials as corrupt and rapacious, and the Eastern Christians as only ever the victims of injustice. It shows that the much-maligned Ottoman officials could be fair-minded while the jealously preserved sense of identity of the Eastern Christians could invite charges of intolerance and ingratitude. [277]

The second example of diplomacy is when Frampton endeared himself to the foreign merchant community of Aleppo by making the arduous overland trip to Constantinople to intercede on behalf of the merchants against the extortionate practices of the Pasha of Aleppo. The chaplain had already proved himself useful to the merchants in Aleppo in applying to the mufti for a *fatwa* (legal interpretation) that provided the legal grounds for the *cadi* (judge) to make a decision in their suits.[278] Frampton's expertise in Arabic, his knowledge of the formalities in approaching officials and his ease in relating to all manner of people proved to be a great asset for the foreign merchants. When he set off, Frampton's one demand of the merchants was that "the Consul would daily lead the prayers prescribed in the Liturgy, as far as a layman could, and that they would all constantly attend the service". [279] This quest required first a visit to the English Ambassador and then to the Grand Vizier.

This was not the end of the matter. Company minutes of 19 June 1666 record that Frampton then travelled on behalf of the Aleppo consul and merchants all the way to London and appeared before the Company Court to give an account of "the abuses the Nation at Aleppo received from the Emyn,[280] which were not likely to be remedied but by a renewal of the Hatti-scheriff[281] by authority of the regnant king", meaning Charles II. The ambassador in Constantinople had requested that Frampton travel to London to fetch the original copy which was in royal keeping.[282] The Company minutes of 1 November the same year record a meeting with Frampton when "the Company's thanks are returned him for his interest taken by him in the Company's trade, and advantage."[283] In return Frampton thanked the Company for appointing his kinsman as factor at Scanderoon. This was his

nephew William who was only to hold the position for twenty-two months before dying in his uncle's arms of the plague.[284] Frampton had looked after William in Aleppo from the age of twelve and seen him grow up to be a fine young man with exceptional skills in Turkish and Arabic language and culture. Later the same month it was resolved that "in consideration of Mr Frampton's pains in travelling from Aleppo to Constantinople, and thence home on the Company's business, and at the request of their factory, it is agreed to pay £100 at once and $500 more, on his arrival at Aleppo".[285]This money seems to have been well spent because before he returned to his post in Aleppo he married Mary Canning, whom he had been courting for twelve years, and who had to wait another three years to see her husband again.

The third example was during his diplomatic mission to Constantinople, when he helped rescue John Pitty, a deranged English Quaker who believed that God had led him to prophesy to the Sultan to wage war against Hungary so that it would not be lost to the Papists. Pitty only got as far as the English Ambassador who had him beaten, but it was Frampton's counsel that actually persuaded Pitty to change his mind and probably avoid the fatal consequences of falling into the hands of the Ottoman authorities. Always the pastor, Frampton later visited Pitty in England and was satisfied that Pitty had finally come to his senses.[286]

An exceptional preacher

During Frampton's visit to England the diarist Samuel Pepys heard him preaching at the parish church in Westminster on 20 January 1667 and wrote in heaped up superlatives:

> *Lords Day.* I to church, and there beyond expectation find our seat and all the church crammed by twice as many people as used to be; and to my great joy find Mr Frampton in the pulpit. So to my great joy I hear him preach, and I think the best sermon, for goodness - oratory - without affectation or study - that ever I heard in my life. The truth is he preaches the most like an Apostle that ever I heard man. And was much the best time that ever I spent in my life at church.[287]

Two diary entries from John Evelyn and another from Pepys also testify to the powerful effect of Frampton's preaching, with terms like "excellent in the pulpit for the moving affections" and "of a mighty ready tongue".[288]Unfortunately there are no surviving sermons. However the following incident from his later years illustrates his bold approach and uncompromising language. The elderly Frampton travelled to Bath to visit relations and encountered some old merchant friends from his Aleppo days and joined them in a coffee-house. At another table two men were arguing about the existence of God. Frampton went across and what he said is worth quoting. To one he said "God's blessing be upon the head of thee, thou defendest thy Maker's cause bravely, and by God's Grace thou shalt not want a second while I am here." To the other, lighter-hearted man, he said:

> Come, sir, what you have hitherto said hath been substantially answered. If you have any more to add (though you may well be ashamed of what you have said already) speak out and do not deceive yourself. I am ready and by God's help able to defend his being by whose mercy alone you are now out of hell, for he that denies him may be expected to be denied of him.[289]

As well as boldness and directness another ability that contributed to Frampton's reputation as a preacher was, in the words of his biographer "a peculiar facility he had in adapting Scripture to occasion" an illustration of which was the text he chose for the poignant funeral sermon in Aleppo of a travelling companion whom he buried in the desert between Cairo and Jerusalem. He used the

Coverdale version of Psalm 102 verse 23 found in the *BCP*: "He brought down my strength in my journey and shortened my days".[290]

A man of broad sympathies

In contrast to Robson, whose prejudice against Roman Catholic customs prevented him from relating to the Catholic clergy and monks of Zante at a personal level, Frampton visited the convent of Capuchins or Carmelites "who with great civility rec'd him and his company, entertaining them *della sua povertá*, as they commonly speak it, with such as they had, and an account of the extent of the Isle, the nature of the soil and its produce".[291]

Frampton had a gift for relating cross-culturally and won the love and respect of numerous foreigners. In order to minister to the German Lutheran merchants of Aleppo he learned Italian, which, oddly, was a language in which they were fluent.[292] In that city he was also frequently an honoured guest at the home of Muslim leaders including the *mufti* (professor) and *cadi* (judge).[293] On a journey through Egypt his adventures included dancing on a pyramid with a German friend[294] and bravely rescuing a drowning Frenchman in the Nile.[295]

An advocate for the Eastern Christians

Figure 26. Macarios III Zaim, Patriarch of Antioch, had a friendship with Robert Frampton that led to Frampton petitioning two Archbishops of Canterbury to assist the Christians of Aleppo

Frampton was also a friend of the Aleppo-based Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch Macarios III. The following anecdote illustrates both their intimacy and the sense of dignity of the Patriarch. In response to Frampton's extolling the virtues of England Macarios enquired of the food, apparel and fuel of the common English people. He followed up by asking about the wine and oil produced in England. Frampton countered that although England produced no wine it was well supplied by its merchant ships and that its excellent butter substituted for oil, to which the Patriarch replied, "Ay son, but what a country art thou boasting of, to which God Almighty hath deny'd the two great blessing of Oil and Wine".[296]

On a more serious note Frampton learned from the Patriarch the predicament of the local Christians who were subjected to a crippling poll tax. The penalty for failing to pay was to give up their children to be "sold as slaves to the Mahometan service and Religion".[297] Frampton financially assisted the Patriarch in order to save a number of Christians and on departing Aleppo left a bequest of $500 to continue the work.[298] It is not to be assumed that these children ended up in the exalted class of janissaries, who were taken from Christian families in the Balkans through the *devsirme* system. Rather they ended up as regular slaves. This matter provided the circumstance for two of the few primary documents relating to his time in Aleppo.

Letter to Archbishop Juxon: The first is his letter of 4 March 1662 to no less than William Juxon, the eighty year-old Archbishop of Canterbury.[299] Juxon was one of the great survivors. He

had been chosen by Charles I to be his First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord High Treasurer and finally chaplain at his execution. Unlike his brilliant but cantankerous colleague, William Laud, Juxon avoided conflict with those who rebelled against the King, living in quiet seclusion through the Commonwealth and surviving to serve Charles II. His entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* resonates with Frampton's character: "he had a reputation for tolerance, and this fact, combined with his integrity and generosity, led him to be trusted by Churchmen of all types".[300] However by the time Frampton wrote to him he was in failing health and in the midst of directing the rebuilding of the Church of England after its devastation during the Interregnum, which may explain his failure to respond to the pleas of the Patriarch of Antioch.

Frampton's introduction was very pointed: "I once more with all humility cast myselfe at your Graces feet, in behalf of our Easterne Christians". This was followed by a charming metaphysical conceit, characteristic of his era,[301] in describing how "The Patriarch of Antioch, with such concernment, as the needle trembles to the north turns his hopes and desires on England, asking me a thousand questions about his majesty." Niceties dealt with, the chaplain became direct and personal with the Primate of all England. He explained, without disguising his disappointment at Juxon's failure to respond to the Patriarch's letter, how that besieged Christian leader:

> Manifests noe small astonishment that your Grace hath not hitherto (for aught we know) vouchsaft him any, the least, salute[.] He doubts that he is despisd therefore, unpittyed, and never thought on, and sinkes mor under the conceit, then under any hardships w[ha]tever from his oppressors...

Then was outlined the imprisonment and extortion inflicted on the Patriarch by the Pasha of Aleppo, and the intervention by the Duke of Winchelsea, English Ambassador to the Porte, to rescue him. In spite of this, the extortion continued and Frampton described his own exertions on behalf of the Greek Orthodox, echoing the biblical parable of the Sheep and Goats about feeding, clothing and visiting distressed brothers to the limit of his resources.[302]

As mentioned, there are no surviving sermons of the man who preached "the most like an apostle" that ever Samuel Pepys had heard. What did Pepys mean, bearing in mind that it was his private thoughts in his secret diary? What was apostle-like about Frampton's preaching? This letter provides a clue. In particular it captures the boldness and passion of a man who was entreating his audience not for personal gain or reputation but to help the desperate by moving Christian men to do good works. This is well illustrated in the next part of Frampton's appeal to the Archbishop. It is imbued with the spirit of Saint Paul and has many echoes of the Apostle's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, which like Frampton's epistle was a plea for generosity in helping fellow Christians. There is heart-wrenching pleading: "If therefore your Grace have any tendernesse, any bowels of mercy for them....if you would not have these Easterne parts f[or]sake their Saviour, and fall into the snare of the Devill".[303] Then, with Pauline flourish, he described this as an opportunity "to sow the seeds of a mighty recompence a weighty glor[y] both in this world, and the world to come".[304]

Like the Apostle's plea that he not "be ashamed in this same confident boasting",[305] Frampton appealed to the "good name of our English Church" which up until then he asserted had rested entirely on the chaplain's endeavours. Like Paul, Frampton's boldness also lay in setting forth his achievements, in this case to have "an unblameable reputa[ti]on, with all the nati[ons] of the place, even the very Turkes and Jewes as well as Christians and [am] on such terms with the Latine fathers whose [love?] o[f] others is the [poorest?] yet I am rather envied then desp[ised] by them." As with Paul he never resorted to such boasting to promote himself, but rather to further his argument. In this case it was that the Eastern Christians saw Frampton as "the sonne of a flourishing churc[h] not

an afflicted opprest, and broken one" and hence expected him to have unlimited resources to assist.

Again, like the Apostle Paul, Frampton did not employ rhetoric for its own sake. Words served action and he had a clear proposal in mind. In outline, donations needed to be in small amounts to avoid the attention of rapacious Ottoman officials and to prevent the Christians from developing a dependency syndrome. Rather than giving the funds directly to the Patriarch, who only represented a proportion of the Christians, they should be entrusted with the English consul at the Aleppo factory because of his proven circumspection and integrity. To avoid a run on his generosity by others, Juxon should collect the funds secretly by targeting specific donors or by allotting one hundred pounds per annum from a sinecure for between five and ten years. An annual accounting of the disbursement should be sent to Juxon. Frampton concluded with an offer to be the archbishop's agent in the disbursement until such time as Juxon ordered him to some other role in the Church of England. Even the typical humble valedictions about "casting my selfe at your Graces feet and begging pardon for the errours of this letter" were balanced by a bold appeal "to let me understand by your chaplains hand and that as soon as may be with convenience what I am to hope or despair in this busynesse..."

Letter to Archbishop Sheldon: The second primary source relating to the same issue is an "extract" of a letter from Frampton to the next Archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon.[306] Sheldon's career was much like Juxon's and during his time at Lambeth Palace was so focussed on helping restore the Church of England after the catastrophe of the Commonwealth that he had little time for the crises of the Eastern Churches. The *Extract* is actually an executive summary presumably written by a secretary for the archbishop because it commences in the third person "That he had written twice to Arch Bp Juxon, twice to Bp Duppa, and often to the now Bp of Chester..." The rest of the introductory paragraph is a summary of the first letter. Then the intent of this letter was outlined "now he shows, how they (the Eastern Christians) suffer fro[m] their sp[i]r[itua]ll Guides, and Governors the Bishops. There follows the summary of the corrupt behaviour of the patriarchs of the four main sects in Aleppo: the Syrians, the Armenians, the Maronites and the Greeks. It is an important document because it provides an on the spot overview of all the Christian churches with a unique degree of detachment. Ever since the time of the Cyril Lucaris, the pro-Protestant Patriarch of Constantinople who had died in 1638, the Church of England had been vitally engaged with the Greek Orthodox, but there was little interest or opportunity in intervening in the affairs of Eastern Churches. By contrast, the Ottoman rulers, the Roman Catholic Church and the other Orthodox nations like Russia and Georgia were vitally interested and had political stakes in the affairs of the Churches in the Levant. Frampton's critique is valuable because he was neither blind to the faults of his own countrymen in England, nor had an axe to grind in Aleppo.

Frampton described how the interference of the Roman Catholics in the persons of the missionaries and the French consul plagued the Syrian, Armenian and Maronite Christians. The pattern was that they set up their own man as a rival to the Patriarch. Paying off the Ottomans was the key to success, so whichever of the rivals won then recouped the bribe by taxing his own flock with the threat of excommunication and imprisonment. In the case of the Greek Orthodox, instead of being extorted by rival claimants to the patriarchate they were afflicted by the Patriarch's corrupt son. "Patriarch John" (Macarios III Zaim), was the one who had been so despondent about not getting a reply from Juxon. Frampton explained that because Georgia was an old appendix to Antioch, the Patriarch had collected a large amount of money from the both the Duke of Russia and the Prince of Georgia when he conducted the wedding of the Duke's daughter to the Prince. This may have dealt with old debts but not new debts which Frampton was assisting with paying, bypassing the corrupt priests, in order to give alms directly to the people. He concluded that this was bringing

"much Renown to the English church" to contradict the "misrepresentations, which the Romish Emissaries were want to cheat them with."

Resonance with the Levantines

Frampton's empathy for the local Christians was accompanied by keen cultural insight that deeply impressed the Greek and other local Christians. The fasts and feasts of the Christian year were a great source of community solidarity for the Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire. So, "finding him a regular observer of the fasts of the Church, abstaining in the midst of plenty, they were the more confirmed in their religious abstinence and the patient bearing their lot under the enemys of the Christian name; as his charitable bequests upon the festivals gave them occasion to bless God who gave such grace to men".[307]

An unforgettable character

Throughout his life Frampton was ruled by principle and seemed immune to ambition, so it is not surprising that he was prepared to forsake the adulation of large congregations and the popularity of the Restoration Court to keep his promise to return to his little flock in Aleppo. His time there was marked by his characteristic courage and magnanimity which stands in contrast to the spirit of that age of bitter conflict. The same care and generosity he showed to the hard-pressed Eastern Christians in Aleppo he showed in the Non-Juring crisis to clergy who were evicted from their livings. Such was his generosity that in spite of many opportunities to become a wealthy man, by the time of his death he had expended almost all his money on charity.

Frampton left his mark on many men including Archbishop Sancroft who referred to him as "the facetious, merry, witty, contented Robert of Gloster".[308] But perhaps the best measure of the man is the comment by Evans that Frampton's friendship with his flock in Aleppo was long remembered, perhaps the longest by Timothy de Lanoy who as the young son of the consul in Aleppo was instructed by Frampton "in the first rudiments of the Christian religion and learning".[309]

The missing element

What must be added to the assessment of Frampton's legacy is that in spite of his obvious intelligence and knowledge of Arabic he made no tangible contribution to Arabic scholarship. His production in Aleppo of a comprehensive list of Arabic proverbs was, through a series of misfortunes, never published and never recognised. Therefore he has been of little interest to scholars. In G J Toomer's definitive work on English-Arabic scholarship in the seventeenth century Frampton does not rate a single mention.[310] So it is timely to recognise the role of someone who left no written legacy of his fifteen years engagement with the Middle East other than a few unpublished letters stored away in Lambeth Palace.

Chapter 7

Chaplains of the Restoration and Settlememt Era

9. Robert Huntington (1671 to 1681): the Great Collector

The Company minutes relating to Frampton's successor begin with the entry of 15 November 1669 about a Mr Denton, formerly at Constantinople requesting the position, a decision being deferred. Then a series of minutes between March and August 1670 mentioned three candidates: Daniel Agas, former Fellow of Corpus Christi College Oxford, John Owen, a minister from Suffolk, and Robert Huntington, Fellow of Merton College Oxford. Following Huntington's trial sermon he was selected for the position.[311]

Huntington's biography was written in Latin and published in 1704 by his friend and colleague Thomas Smith (1638-1710) who had been chaplain in Constantinople from 1668 to 1671 and who had been awarded a DD from Oxford at the same time as Huntington. The anonymous English translation was finally published in three parts in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1825.[312] Although only fourteen pages, the style was remarkably longwinded with the extravagant encomium describing Huntington's death comprising a single sentence of two hundred and forty nine words.[313]

Huntington (1637-1701) was the second son of the Reverend Robert Huntington, vicar of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire.[314] After schooling at Bristol Grammar School he was admitted to Merton College Oxford in 1652, awarded a BA in 1658, an MA in 1663 and a Fellowship soon after. There he applied himself to the study of oriental languages under Edward Pococke who encouraged him to apply for the post of Aleppo chaplain on Frampton's return, which he was awarded on 1 August 1670. After a four month voyage Huntington arrived in January 1671 and remained in the Eastern Mediterranean for more than ten years, paying visits to Palestine, Cyprus and Egypt, and acquiring rare manuscripts. His chief correspondents in England came from the top strata of clergy and academics including Narcissus Marsh, Provost of Trinity College Dublin and later Archbishop of Armagh, John Fell, Bishop of Oxford and re-founder of the University Press, Edward Pococke and Edward Bernard, author of the famous catalogue detailing all the manuscripts in the English universities. Huntington made many purchases for Marsh and Fell.

He resigned from the Aleppo position in July 1681 and took a leisurely return journey through Italy and France back to his Fellowship at Merton College where he took the degrees of BD and DD in 1683. The same year, with Bishop Fell's recommendation, he replaced Marsh as Provost of Trinity College Dublin. Marsh, now Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, worked with Huntington on a translation and publication of the Old Testament into Irish which Robert Boyle funded. He fled Ireland in the troubles of 1688 and resigned from the position in 1692. The same year he declined the bishopric of Kilmore choosing instead to become Rector of Great Hallingbury. Soon after, the ageing bachelor married, but hidden away in the Essex countryside he missed the social and academic stimulation of university life. In 1701 he finally escaped rural obscurity by accepting the bishopric of Raphoe but died in Dublin before actually reaching his seat in County Donegal.

The Great Collector

Huntington's outstanding contribution to English and Irish universities as a collector featured in his epitaph in the chapel of Trinity College Dublin:

Searching the works of Nature here
(not pleas'd in a too narrow sphere)
He saw the corners of the earth
And brought from all peculiar worth.[315]

He was the supreme collector. Smith described his collection of coins "such as Christendom before had scarce seen, and were hardly to be equalled in the treasuries of Kings".[316] As well as birds and insects, he collected the seeds of plants from Syria, Palestine and Egypt including grains, flowering shrubs, berry bushes and trees. Being "as well delightful to the eye as very medicinal"[317] they were a valuable addition to Oxford University's physic garden.[318]

Like Frampton, Huntington's facility with spoken Arabic put him in good stead in gaining access and freedom of movement in Aleppo's Public Library. Furthermore, his experience of the manuscripts of the Bodleian Library enabled him to distinguish "what was useful, rare, and estimable, and what might be equivalent to so laborious a search, and so great expenses".[319]

During his time in the Middle East, Huntington established a formidable network of advisers and informants across the region. Jesuits in Mardin, Franciscans in Damascus, Capuchins in Rosetta, Maronite monks in the Lebanon and Coptic monks in Egypt assisted him in his quest for manuscripts and knowledge. Thanks to the Discalced Carmelite missionaries in Basra, particularly Angelus a S Joseph and Agathangelus a S Theresia, he acquired books and information about the Mandaeans of Iraq.[320] With the help of the Maronite chronicler and Patriarch of Antioch, Estefan al-Duwayhi, he collected a number of codices, including some important texts by Ephraem. He also corresponded with the Greek Orthodox Primate of Cyprus, Hilarion Cigala.[321]

Figure 27. Among the vast number of manuscripts Robert Huntington collected is an illustrated twelfth-century manuscript on weaponry commissioned by Saladin for his own library. It is one of the treasures of the Bodleian Library

The Samaritan Connection

During his first year in Aleppo Huntington initiated a correspondence with the Samaritans of Nablus which was kept up between English and Samaritan scholars for many years. He was not the first Westerner to acquire Samaritan manuscripts. That was Guillaume Postel [322] in 1537, followed by Pietro della Valle [323] in 1616 whose collections were published in Paris in 1645 and London in 1657.[324] In a letter of 1672, Mavhir ben Jacob told of the visit of Huntington to Nablus to ask for a copy of the Samaritan Torah. The Samaritans did not believe that Huntington was sent to them by their brothers in England until he had shown his ability in writing in the Samaritan script and made mention of Mount Gerizim. A complete copy of the Samaritan Hebrew Torah was given to Huntington for the sake of the "British Samaritans" even though such a deed through the agency of an uncircumcised person was considered blasphemy by the Samaritans.[325] This apparent deception of the Samaritans was uncharacteristic of such a distinguished scholar and bishop. In his biography of Pococke, Twells mentioned this incident and explained how the Samaritans had asked Huntington if there were any "Hebrews" in the country, meaning exclusively Samaritans, and

that Huntington, assuming the term included Jews, replied in the affirmative. Twells continued, "they cried out with Transports of Joy, These are truly Israelites, and our dearest Brethren. The Doctor took Pains to undeceive them, affirming, that the Persons, to whom his Answer related, were unquestionably Jews; but they hugged their Mistake, and would by no Means be set right".[326] Huntington established a correspondence with his friend Dr Thomas Marshall,[327] Rector of Oxford's Lincoln College, in which Marshall sought to show how Christ fulfilled their prophecies. Unlike Huntington, Marshall could be accused of being disingenuous in not spelling out to them that he was not a Samaritan.

English scholarship was substantially enriched by his collecting so many manuscripts during his time in Aleppo and by generously donating them to university libraries. As a result of his travels throughout the Levant, Huntington assembled over 700 manuscripts, mainly Arabic and Hebrew, but also Coptic, Syriac, Samaritan, Persian, and Turkish. He gave to Merton College 14 oriental manuscripts, and to the Bodleian Library 35 more. A much larger number, 646 in all, was purchased from him in 1693 for the Bodleian at a cost of £700. Huntington was also a liberal contributor of manuscripts to Trinity College, Dublin. Impressive as this was, his legacy did not stop here because Thomas Marshall in 1685 donated to the Bodleian many manuscripts, including some Coptic copies of the Gospels procured for him by Huntington, and Archbishop Marsh, on his death in 1713, left to the same library many oriental manuscripts which he had acquired from Huntington. These are all described in Bernard's Catalogue of 1697.

Huntington's purposefulness

Behind the cataloguing of Huntington's imposing collections there is a dedicated persistence that is often missed. The first example relates to his untiring efforts to procure Syriac and Greek versions of the *Letters* of Ignatius of Antioch. One of the battlegrounds of the English Reformation was the validity of the episcopacy. At first the anti-episcopal Puritan party had the stronger case until developments in Patristic scholarship provided the pro-episcopal party with fresh ammunition. The Ignatian Letters written in Greek in the early second century describe a monarchical episcopate with roots going back to the apostolic era. A Latin version had been printed by Lefèvre of Étaples in 1484, but nearly all Protestant scholars, starting with Luther, believed the letter to have been forged in favour of bishops. Their scepticism was seriously challenged in 1644 when James Ussher found and published an uninterpolated Latin translation made by Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, or one of his circle, around 1250. Tantalisingly there were a few extant fragments of a Syriac version dating back to around the fourth century and it was recognised if the entire version could be found it would have been invaluable as an independent check on the Greek, Latin and Armenian versions. [328] Huntington first asked Stephanus Petrus, the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch, holed up in the virtually inaccessible mountain monastery of Qanobin, who regretted that the "ten ages past" of plunder by the Turks had left little in the way of ancient writings. Undeterred, he turned his attention beyond Syria to Palestine, Mesopotamia and Mt Sinai, still to no avail. Smith concluded that "after a long and sedulous search, he was forced unwillingly to desist, leaving this work to the care and diligence of others who should succeed him".[329]

The second evidence of purposefulness is Huntington's collecting three copies of the Coptic Gospels from Cairo, the desert of Nitria and Jerusalem, for Thomas Marshall who edited a Coptic edition of the New Testament and began the printing of it under the patronage of Dr Fell, the Bishop of Oxford. The death of Marshall in 1675 and Fell in 1686 led to the abandonment of the project which Smith suggested was intended to assist "the afflicted Coptick Communion, for the gratification of whose sons abundance were designed".[330] With regard to Huntington's acquisition of the copies, Smith pointed out that Huntington was a responsible collector who purchased

manuscripts from private individuals but made copies of Christian writings that were designed for use by the Christian public or by religious societies, to ensure they kept the originals.[331]

Both of these examples are consistent with Huntington's outlook as an Anglican priest: seeking to promote episcopacy and to strengthen the national Christians of Egypt. In a similar vein Huntington lobbied Pococke for Arabic translations of Protestant classics for distribution among the Christians in and around Aleppo and as far afield as the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Mount Sinai, Johannes Lascaris, whom he had met on his first visit to Cairo in 1680, and who was astounded to discover that there was such a thing as the Church of England.[332] This will be treated in some detail in the section about the chaplains' involvement with Arabic publishing projects.

The bachelor life

The naval chaplain, Henry Teonge, visited Aleppo in 1676 and in his diary captured the spirit of camaraderie that Huntington shared with his bachelor flock. One entry is very important in the history of sport:

> 6 May 1676: This morning early (as it is the custom all summer longe) at the least 40 of the English, with his worship the Consull, rod out of the cytty about 4 miles to the Greene Platt, a fine vally by a river syde, to recreate them selves. Where a princely tent was pitched; and wee had severall pastimes and sports, as duck-hunting, fishing, shooting, hand-ball, krickett, scrofilo; and then a noble dinner brought thither, with greate plenty of all sorts of wines, punch, and lemonads; and at 6 wee returne all home in good order, but soundly tyred and weary.[333]

This passing reference to "krickett" in the list of sports is the first reference to this most English of games being played outside England. Bouts of sport and feasting among the Frankish merchants in Aleppo compensated for the lack of home comforts and female company. In his description of the farewelling of his party Teonge gives us another insight into the life of the Aleppo factory, characteristic of the bonhomie of an all-male society in any era:

> Mr. Huntington preacht a farewell sermon; occasioned by the departure of those 4 gentlemen which cam with us, for England; the text was Genesis xxxii. 9: "Returne unto thy country."....I was invited to dine with Mr. Delew, where wee had an excellent dinner, and store of good canary. After dinner wee walked about a myle from the cytty, and saw severall gardens, and pleasant plantations; and so returned. Now intending for Scanderoond tomorrow morning, (according to the custom of the place,) being accompanyd by Mr. Huntington, I goe to most of the Franks' houses to take my leave; and this was a hard taske. Now also I received presents from many of them; who presented mee with 5 dollars for the most part. At 4 a clock, at Assera, the whole nation was invited to a treate at the present Captaine's house, Mr. Browne, whoe, because he was now to goe for England, made this feast to take his leave of his friends; but it was the greatest that ever I saw.

Teonge goes on to describe the spread that would have impressed any naval chaplain:

> The table was made 24 yards in length...They were furnished with the best things that could be procured there, with greate plenty of wines of all sorts. There were above an hundred princely disshes, besyds cheese, and other small dishes of rare kinds of sweete meats. And 60 and od Franks sate downe, besyds many that would rather stand, or walke about. This did far exceede the Consull's feast. Here wee dranke parting healths, till many could drink no longer; thinking wee should have taken our jurney the next morning.

Less comfortable than the weekly excursion to the river flats or the regular feasting was an expedition

150 miles into the Syrian desert south-east of Aleppo. An anonymous participant wrote that it was not unusual for the foreign merchants of Aleppo to make "Voyages of Curiosity to visit the celebrated Remains of Antiquity in those Parts…And being inform'd by the natives that the Ruins of the City of Tadmor were more considerable than they had yet seen, they were tempted to enterprise this hazardous and painful Voyage over the Desart".[334] So it was in 1678 Huntington with 15 other Englishmen and 24 muleteers and servants reached the ruins of Palmyra, known to the Arabs as Tadmor, only to be robbed, even of their clothes, before fleeing back to Aleppo. In response to this and other outrages by the Bedouin Emir of Tadmor, the Pasha of Aleppo attacked and killed him. Consequently the English were better received by the Bedouin on their second, more successful expedition thirteen years later.

The historian

Huntington only ever wrote one published work, a short paper in the Royal Society's magazine *Philosophical Transactions* entitled "A Letter from Dublin concerning the Porphyry Pillars in Egypt".[335] He explained that he wrote this at the insistence of members of the Society, and did so with some reluctance because of the amount of time that had elapsed since leaving the Middle East. It is an interesting but inconclusive discussion of the provenance of some ancient porphyry pillars which could not have been quarried locally. The greater interest is the light it casts on the author. Huntington modestly explained to the scientists that he was not a geological expert being an historian rather than a "philosopher", the seventeenth century equivalent of a scientist. What is impressive is his observations of archeological sites he had visited in Alexandria, Bethlehem, Ephesus, Palmyra and Baalbek, showing a better knowledge of the Levant than probably any other Englishman of the age. Equally impressive is his personal acquaintance with early explorers such as the Capuchin priest Carlo Francisco d'Orleans who travelled to the Upper Nile in 1569.

It is important to be reminded that this was the seventeenth century and that in spite of his academic prowess, eclectic habits, and wide circle of acquaintances Huntington was no proponent of freedom speech or expression. Following the Rye House Plot in 1683 by Whig extremists to overthrow Charles II and the Duke of York, the future James II, he participated in the public burning of books by "democratists, schismatics, and fanatics" in the Oxford University quadrangle. Then he delivered on behalf of the University a declaration to the King and the Duke explaining the book burning. Soon after he was rewarded with the Provostship of Trinity College Dublin.[336]

The traveller

Reference has been made to Huntington's travels in the account of his collecting manuscripts across the region. He visited Palestine, including Jerusalem, Syria, Baalbek, Palmyra, Sinai, Constantinople, Egypt and Cyprus. Yet the chaplain was surprisingly reticent about it and, as Gerald Toomer suggests, we are the poorer for it. Toomer's access to Huntington's letters gave him this insight into the chaplain's mind:

> His surviving letters reveal his sharp eye, curiosity, and ironic wit, but also a diffidence concerning his own abilities and a constant self-deprecation. Even after he had returned to England, he declined requests to publish accounts of his travels, although these would have been of the greatest interest.[337]

The Company minute book recorded on 14 July 1681 that Huntington "requests leave to return", which was the proper way of resigning. The Company moved quickly so that on 9 August it was reported that candidates Birch, Guise and Rogers would preach before the Company, and on 6 September Guise beat Rogers by 49 votes to 45.[338] This implies that at that time candidates had the

intimidating experience of preaching before a critical congregation of close to a hundred of the wealthiest and most powerful men in London.

10.John Guise (1681-87): in the Shadow of his Brother

Guise (or Guyse) was the son of Sir John Guise of Ablodes Court Gloucestershire. In 1671, at age sixteen, he matriculated for Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he attained a BA in 1675 and an MA in 1678.[339] The Bishop of Oxford ordained him deacon in 1678 and priest in 1681, the same year he voyaged to Aleppo.

The only Company minute relating to his time there was the 3 March 1684-85 which baldly noted that a large Bible and Prayerbook were allowed for Aleppo.[340] The absence of any minuted request for these books implies that it was a magnanimous gesture from the Company. It was likely to have been the magnificent, illustrated volume of 1683 that contained the Bible and the *BCP*. The full-page engravings reflected the spirit of the era, illustrating not only biblical scenes but some Anglican hagiography like the Martyrdom of Charles I and the Restoration of Charles II.

The Company minutes of 7 December 1687 mention the vacancy at Aleppo due to the "death of the late minister".[341] Guise's brother, William, a Fellow of All Soul's Oxford, had also suffered an untimely death four years before. He is remembered for his translation of two important Arabic dictionaries. Besides having access to the various Oxford libraries, both public and private, William appeared to have had a collection of his own, and when Abraham Hinckelmann published his Arabic edition of the Qur'an in Hamburg in 1694 he collated it with a manuscript that had belonged to Guise.[342] It is known that he corresponded with Huntington while he was still in Aleppo.[343] One can only speculate whether John had acquired the manuscripts of those dictionaries and the Qur'an for his scholarly brother during his time in the Middle East or, more likely, that he was in the process of acquiring more manuscripts when he got news of his brother's death.

11. William Halifax (1688-95): the Rediscoverer of Palmyra

Halifax was listed in the Company minutes of 15 December 1687 as one of four candidates for Aleppo, of whom three were invited to preach before the Company. After that hurdle their testimonials were read and Halifax was elected by ballot on 18 January 1687-88.[344]

Halifax, also spelled "Hallifax", son of a clergyman, was born in Springthorpe, Lincolnshire, on 15 August 1655. He matriculated for Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1671, became a Scholar of Corpus Christi College in 1674 and was awarded a BA in 1675, an MA in 1679, a Fellowship in 1682 and a BD in 1687. Seeing that Guise and Halifax were both Corpus Christi men, and both ordained priest by the Bishop of Oxford on 27 February 1681, it may be inferred that Guise had corresponded with Halifax from Aleppo and had influenced his decision to apply for the position. Narcissus Marsh commissioned Halifax to buy manuscripts for him at Aleppo.[345] Following his time in Aleppo there is a gap in our records until he was appointed Rector of Old Swinford in Worcestershire in 1699. He was Chaplain to the Speaker of the House of Commons in 1706, and Rector of Salwarpe in Worcestershire from 1713 until his death in 1722. His biographer, Donald Gray, produces evidence for Halifax leaning towards Puritanism with a German Pietist influence rather than High Church principles.[346] His bequests to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, seem to hark back to his Aleppo days, including a manuscript of the Qur'an and a Persian version of part of the Psalms of David, a silver-gilt basin bought in Aleppo and a collection of coins and medals.[347]

The Company minutes reflect his contribution to the factory library. On 6 June 1689 it was resolved to register the catalogue of the library that Halifax had sent over and on 28 August £20 was granted for the library in response to a request from Halifax.[348] The Company's provision for the welfare of the Aleppo factors went only as far as the provision of a chaplain and contribution to a library. On 27 January 1691-92 the consul's request for a contribution to adorning the chapel was refused and it was further added that there would not be anything forthcoming for the "forms and cushions".[349]

Palmyra unearthed

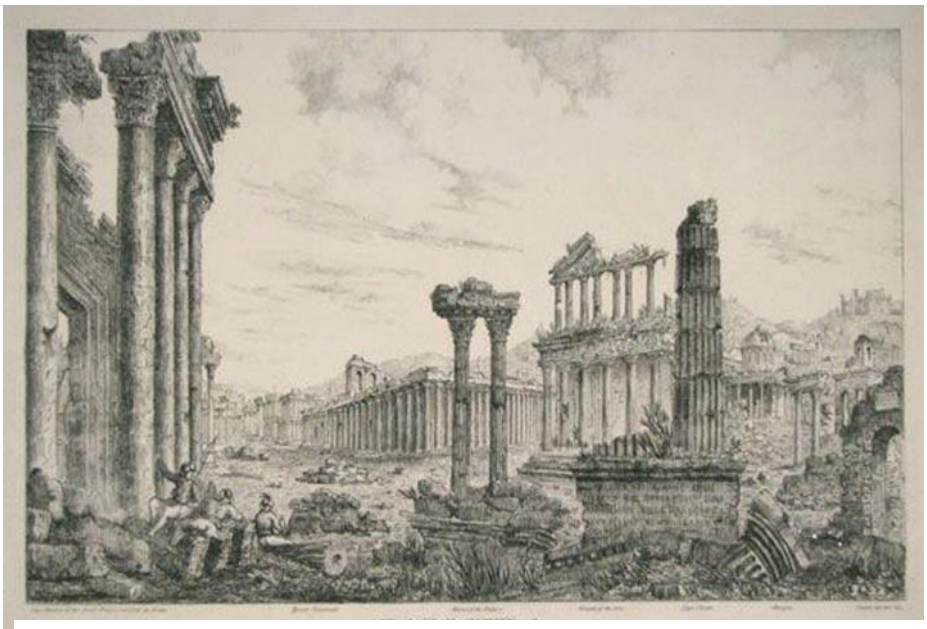


Figure 28. This lithograph was based on William Halifax's on the spot sketch of Palmyra in 1691

In 1691 Halifax led the second, this time successful, expedition to the site of the ancient city of Palmyra.[350] It was well-equipped and well-prepared "...being in all, Masters and Servants, thirty Men, well armed, having obtained a Promise of Security from Assyne, then King of the Arabs, and one of his own People for a Guide".[351] This visit resulted in Halifax sending *A Relation of a Voyage from Aleppo to Palmyra in Syria* to his friend Dr Edward

Bernard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in Oxford, with the first descriptions and drawings of the ruins of Palmyra. The chaplain was struck by the contrast between the squalor of the Arab village and the splendour of the vast Temple ruins in which it was located. It was here he found Greek inscriptions under which were the characters of an unknown language.[352] He correctly surmised that it was "the Native Language and Character of the Place, and the Matter it contains nothing else but what we have in the Greek." When other scholars later decoded these characters, they discovered the Palmyrene dialect of West Aramaic, a Semitic language that was an ancestor of Arabic.[353] They had discovered and decoded a dead language. It was a first in the history of archaeology.[354]

When his account was published in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* in 1695,[355] scholars across Europe were enthralled by news of the discovery of the Temple of Bel which Halifax lauded as having been "one of the most glorious Structures in the World".[356] Moving on to the colonnades of the main part of the town he questioned "whether any City in the World could have challenged precedence of this in its Glory".[357]

He carefully measured the dimensions of the city, as in his description of a:

> Noble piazza of more than half a Mile long, 938 yards according to our Measuring, and 40 Foot in breadth, enclosed with two rows of stately Marble Pillars, 26 Foot high, and 8 or 9 about. Of these remain standing and entire 129, but by a moderate Calculate there could not have been less at first than 560…"[358]

Thus Halifax began the rediscovery of the lost history of the early eastern Roman Empire. Like the magnificent ruins at Petra to the south and Baalbek to the west, Palmyra represented a remarkable fusion of Greco-Roman and Semitic culture. Only in the last hundred years have the sprawling ruins been uncovered from the desert sand and partially rebuilt. Until the recent demolitions by Islamic fundamentalist forces, tourists were awestruck by the extent and setting of the temples, amphitheatre, forum, colonnades and funerary towers of Palmyra. They date back to its Golden Age, from its declaration as a free city by Emperor Hadrian in 130 AD through to its destruction by the Emperor Diocletian in 272-73 AD. It has been not only Syria's premiere tourist attraction but an ongoing international archaeological project.

Particularly interesting was Halifax's discovery of Greek inscriptions alongside the then unknown Palmyrene script. He not only took measurements, but copied eighteen Greek and four Palmyrene texts and through these identified Odainat as king of Palmyra and husband of Queen Zenobia who until then had been considered a purely legendary figure. His knowledge of the Greek language and ancient history helped to not only read the inscriptions but to put them in historical context, as in his comment on an inscription:

> This is the most Ancient Inscription I met with in Tadmore, the 314th Year from the Death of Alexander the great, preceding the Birth of our Saviour about Ten Years. The other also is between Twenty and thirty Years before the Rein of Hadrian, and consequently before the Romans got footing here. And from these sumptuous Structures, and these costly Mausolea, we may reasonably concluded, they were a Potent and Opulent People, before they became subject to the Romans, and were not obliged to them for their Greatness.[359]

Halifax seems to have devoted much of his time in Aleppo to study and writing because in the year of his return he was awarded a DD. However his time in Aleppo left a bitter taste because six years after his departure he was subject to a libel which was alluded to in the Levant Company minute

book:

> March 12, 1701-2. A pamphlet having been published to the effect that Dr Hallifax had been turned out of his office as Chaplain at Aleppo by the Company for misconduct, he requests a certificate to clear him of that calumny: which is acceded to.''[360]

It is left to our imaginations whether the libel was about sexual misbehaviour, financial impropriety or something else. That Halifax was involved in some trade can be inferred from the Company minute of 1 October 1695 coming at the very end of his time in Aleppo, which simply reads "a butt of Opium is allowed to pass, for the minister at Aleppo". [361] Halifax's appointment as Chaplain to the Speaker of the House of Commons in 1706 would indicate that his name had been cleared.

12. Henry Maundrell (1695 - 1701): the Tragic Travel-writer

Figure 29. Henry Maundrell's fame rests entirely on his brilliant description of his journey to Jerusalem

Maundrell was born in 1665 to Robert Maundrell of Compton Bassett, Wiltshire.[362] He matriculated in 1682 for Exeter College, Oxford, graduating BA in 1685, MA in 1688 and elected Sarum Fellow at Exeter College in 1686, becoming a full Fellow of the college on 28 June 1697, the day on which he also was awarded a BD. In 1689 he accepted a curacy at Brompton in Kent. His father was a commoner and he owed his good connections to two of his maternal uncles who had done very well. Sir Charles Hedges was a judge of the Court of Admiralty who later served as one of Queen Anne's Secretaries of State, while Sir William Hedges, who had been a Treasurer of the Company's Constantinople factory was a director of the Bank of England. So it comes as no surprise that on 20 December 1695 when Maundrell and a Mr Wrase fronted up as candidates it was Maundrell who won the ballot. In the same minute it was recorded that "before voting, everyone is required to, in accordance with the charter, to declare that he has paid 40s. in imposition within 12 months."[363] It is unclear whether this rule related to any voting or just the voting to select chaplains. If the latter then the imposition was probably to defray expenses for printing the successful candidate's sermon and other expenses related to his appointment. Before his departure Maundrell was voted £20 to buy books to augment the library at Aleppo.[364] His appointment paid him £100 per annum with room, board and perquisites.

An obsequious foreword

In such a hierarchical society Maundrell was careful to show due deference to his employers and not to presume on his good connections. This is clear from the Foreword to the published version of the trial sermon he preached before the Company, which to modern ears is so fawning as to be humorous:

> ....I am too sensible, how ill I have, in this mean Performance, answer'd the Character given of me, to you Honourable Company, by some Worthy Members of it, my Incomparable Friends: Persons of such Improv'd Knowledge and Exquisite Judgment, that it may perhaps be wonder'd how they should come to be so mistaken; but you will be the less surpriz'd, when you consider, That it was a mistake arising from those Virtues in them, which are so Illustrious in your whole Society, Friendship and Generosity. However, this Advantage I shall make of their kind Error, to use it as an Admonition, what sort of Person he ought to be, and how well qualified, who should pretend to the honour of being your Chaplain. And thus far I hope I may assure you, That, what I want in Learning or Abilities, I will endeavour, by the Grace of God, to make up and supply, by Diligence, and Probity, and Zeal, for the Service of God, and of your Honourable Society, in this Important Station, in which your great Goodness has place me.
>
> I am my LORD, and GENTLEMEN,
> your most Obedient and Faithful, humble servant,
> HENRY MAUNDRELL[365]

This seems to belie the circumstances of his appointment which his biographer Butlin attributes to a romantic involvement from which he was reluctant to allow his uncle Sir Charles Hedges to

extricate him.[366] Maundrell arrived in Aleppo in 1696, having travelled via Frankfurt am Main to discuss aspects of the history and topography of the Holy Land with the German scholar and orientalist Job Ludolphus.[367] Tragically, his fate was to die in this much coveted office and be buried in Aleppo.

A travel classic

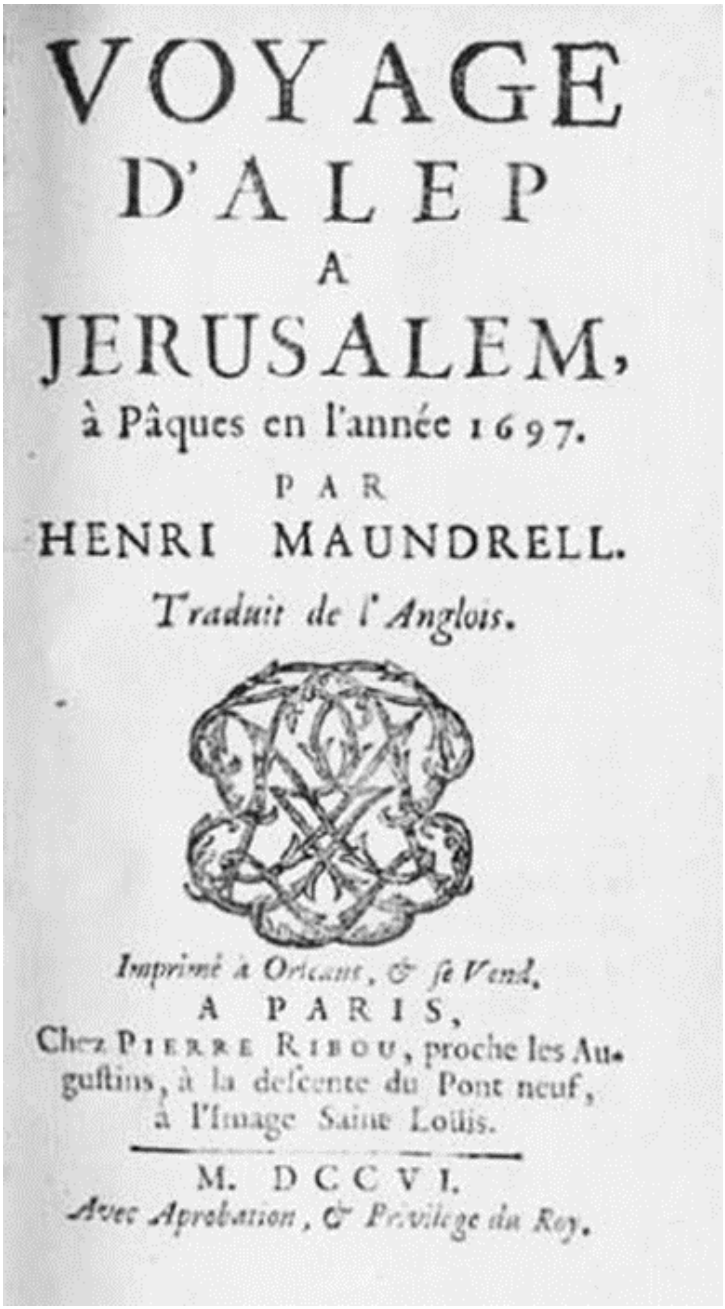
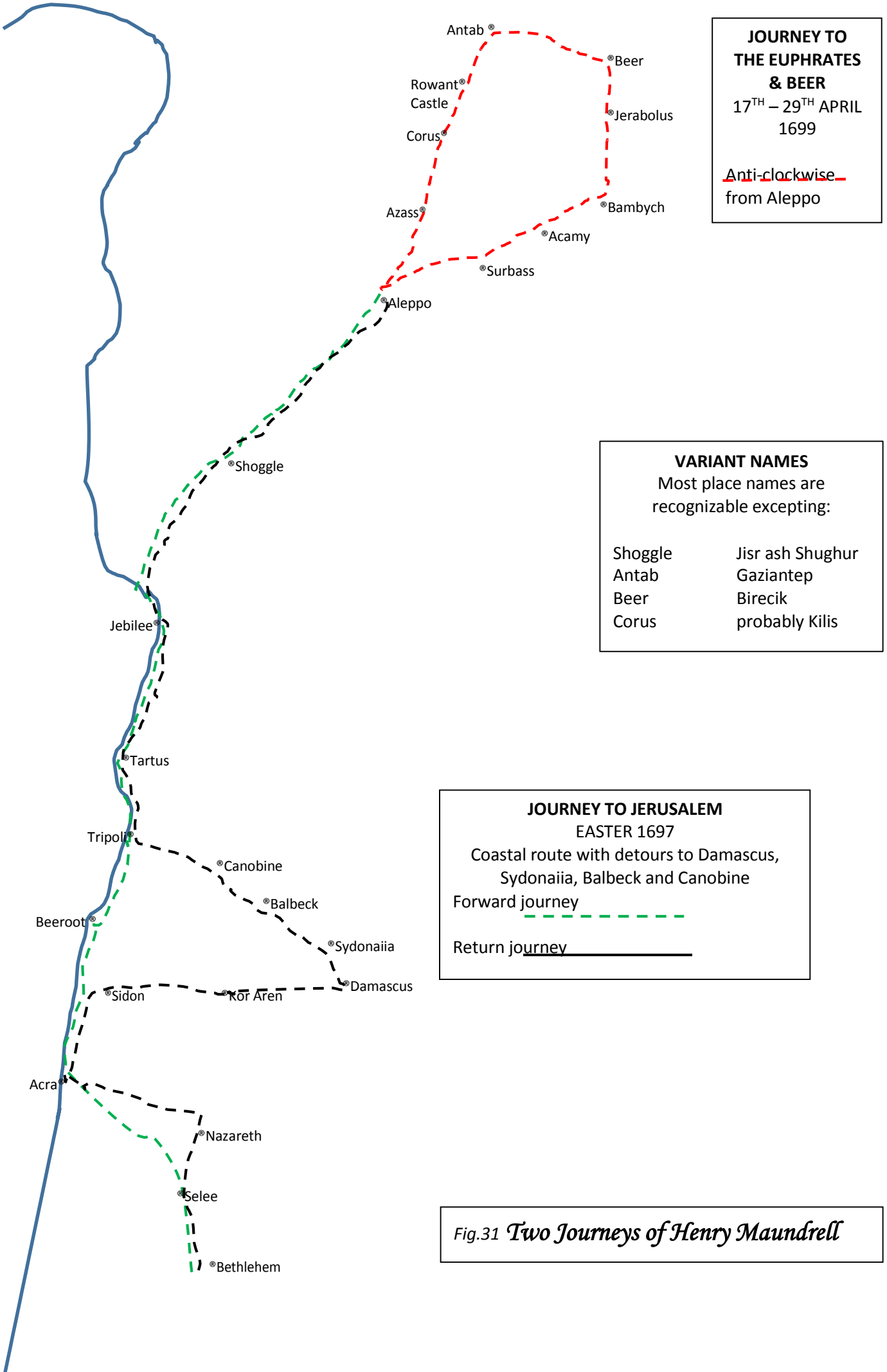

VOYAGE
D'ALEP
A
JERUSALEM,
à Pâques en l'année 1697.
PAR
HENRI MAUNDRELL.
Traduit de l'Anglois.
Imprimé à Orleans, & se Vend,
A PARIS,
Chez PIERRE RIBOU, proche les Augustins, à la descente du Pont neuf, à l'Image Saint Loüis.
M. DCCVI.
Avec Aprobation, & Privilege du Roy.

Figure 30. French edition of 1706 of Maundrell's posthumously published book

Fortunately, he left a better legacy than a trial sermon with an obsequious Foreword. His *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A.D. 1697* had its origins in the diary he carried with him on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. First published at Oxford in 1703, it became an often reprinted travel classic, being included in compilations of travel accounts from the mid-eighteenth century, and being translated into three additional languages: French (1705 and 1706), Dutch (1717) and (German) 1737.[368]

The account began with Maundrell's departure from Aleppo in February 1697 in a company of fifteen men. The route was quite different from Biddulph's trailblazing effort almost a century before. Their circuit took them westward to the port of Latakia, down the coast as far as Acre, which they found in ruinous state save for a khan (caravanserai) occupied by some French merchants, a mosque, and a few poor cottages. Thence they proceeded inland to Jerusalem, where they attended Latin-rite Easter services at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They returned via Damascus, Baalbek and Tripoli and arrived back at Aleppo on 18 May.



JOURNEY TO THE EUPHRATES & BEER
17TH – 29TH APRIL 1699

Anti-clockwise from Aleppo

VARIANT NAMES
Most place names are recognizable excepting:

Shoggle	Jisr ash Shughur
Antab	Gaziantep
Beer	Birecik
Corus	probably Kilis

JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM
EASTER 1697
Coastal route with detours to Damascus, Sydonaiia, Balbeck and Canobine
Forward journey
Return journey

Fig.31 *Two Journeys of Henry Maundrell*

Maundrell was an observant reporter with a passion for precise detail. With its plain, concise and easy style it is still interesting for modern day readers. He observed strange customs with a mixture of wry amusement and shrewd insight into not only Levantine cultures but into his own culture. In this description of Turkish hospitality, he describes the unexpected conclusion to a visit[369]:

> At last comes the finishing part of your entertainment, which is perfuming the beards of the company; a ceremony which is perform'd in this manner. They have for this purpose a small silver chaffing-dish, cover'd with a lid full of holes, and fixed upon a handsome plate: in this they put some fresh coals, and upon them a piece of lignum aloes; and then shutting it up, the smoak immediately ascends with a grateful odor thro' the holes of the cover. This smoak is held under every one's chin, and offer'd as it were a sacrifice to his beard. The bristly idol soon perceives the reverence done to it, and so greedily takes in and incorporates the gummy steam, that it retains the savour of it, and may serve for a nosegay a good while after. This ceremony may perhaps seem ridiculous at first hearing; but it passes among the Turks for an high gratification. And I will say this in its vindication, that its design is very wise and useful: for it is understood to give a civil dismission to the visitants; intimating to them, that the master of the house has business to do, or some other avocation, that permits them to go away as soon as they please, and the sooner after this ceremony, the better. By this means you may at any time, without offence, deliver yourself from being detain'd from your affairs by tedious and unseasonable visits; and far from being constrain'd to use that piece of hypocrisy, so common in the world, of pressing those to stay longer with you, whom perhaps in your heart you wished a great way off, for having troubled you so long already.

When the diary, so precise, factual and fascinating, began to circulate among his friends they quickly realized that here at last was one of the first, accurate accounts of the customs and antiquities of the Middle East. Its impact was such that he was persuaded by his uncle and several of his acquaintances to prepare it for publication. By the time it appeared, Maundrell, never in robust health, had died in Aleppo. A further travel journal was published as *A Journey to the Banks of the Euphrates at Beer, and to the Country of Mesopotamia.*[370] It was appended to the *Journey to Jerusalem* in the 1714 edition.

A picture of the Levant

As today, so three centuries ago, the Levant was a patchwork of religious and ethnic groups. Maundrell's interactions with them and observations are illuminating. Today, inhabitants of Damascus are famous for their hospitality and tolerance. But Maundrell found the Arab Damascenes xenophobic, "a very bigoted and insolent race particularly directed towards "Franks" like the English merchants".[371] By then Damascus had lost its ancient position as a capital city or a trading entrepôt. Its only significance was as the starting point for the *hajj*, and for this reason non-Muslims were officially discriminated against. Not until 1822 could foreigners enter Damascus wearing their own clothes.[372]

Nor did he have a very high opinion of the Greek Orthodox in and around Damascus. Commenting on the "great patriarch" residing in Damascus, "the place of his residence was mean, and his person and convers promis'd not anything extraordinary".[373] At the convent in the nearby town of Saidnaya he was shocked by the sight of "twenty Greek monks, and forty nuns, who seem to live promiscuously together, without any order or separation".[374]

The "Chameleon-like" Alawites

Maundrell gave possibly the earliest description in English of the Neceres (Alawites),[375]at that time a

marginalised community but now providing the ruling caste of Syria. He was intrigued by their pragmatism which has proved to be a strength in the divisive religious environment of the Levant:

> ...in part of the mountains above Jebilee, there dwell a people, called by the Turks, Neceres, of a very strange and singular character. For 'tis their principle to adhere to no certain religion; but camelion-like, they put on the colour of religion, whatever it be, which is reflected upon them from the persons with whom they happen to converse. With Christians they profess themselves Christians; with Turks they are good Mussulmans; with Jews they pass for Jews; being such Proteus's in religion, that no body was ever able to discover what shape or standard their consciences are really of. All that is certain concerning them is, that they make very much and good wine, and are great drinkers.[376]

The price of apostasy

Maundrell's feelings for Maronites ranged from irritation, to pity, to admiration. He found some, to whom his party had to pay a Caphar tax, to be "...a pack of rogues, more exacting and insolent in their office than the very Turks themselves".[377] Yet he spoke highly of the Maronites at the convent of Canobine (Qannoubin) on Mt Lebanon where he "found a kind reception", and described Estephan El-Douaihy (Stephanus Edensis), the Patriarch of the Maronites who was based there, "a person of great learning and humanity".[378] The Westward looking El-Douaihy (1630-1704) is regarded as one of the greatest of the Maronite patriarchs, who sent many clergy to train in Rome in order to improve the education of his people and to reform monastic life. At Tripoli Maundrell expressed pity and some admiration for "...a poor Christian prisoner, call'd Sheck Eunice, a Maronite. He was one that had formerly renounc'd his faith and liv'd for many years in the Mahometan religion: but in his declining age, he both retracted his apostacy, and dyed to attone for it; for he was impal'd by order of the bass[aw] two days after we left Tripoli".[379] Such observations would have made it clear to the English reading public that conversion, or in this case re-conversion, to Christianity out of Islam meant a painful death.

Sympathies for the "Latins"

Maundrell's greatest empathy was with the Roman Catholics or "Latins", who with the English shared the Western tradition of Christianity which for Maundrell seemed to override the enmity of the Protestant-Catholic divide. In Jerusalem his party was impressed with the Franciscans who invited them "into the convent, to have our feet wash'd by the father guardian himself" and their feet kissed by every friar. "All this was perform'd with great order and solemnity: and if it served either to testify a sincere humility and charity in them, or to improve those excellent graces in others, it might pass for no unuseful ceremony".[380] In Nazareth the Englishmen were entertained at the Convent of the Annunciation by seven or eight Latin fathers who "live a life truly mortified, being perpetually in fear of the Arabs, who are absolute lords of the country".[381] In Damascus they were courteously received at the convent by Father Raphael, a Majorcan, "who tho' he had dedicated himself by the contemplative life, yet is not unfit for any affairs of the active".[382] Maundrell saved his warmest feelings for the French in Sidon, whom he describes as the "worthy French consul and the rest of our other friends from that nation".[383]

A classic legacy

Later writers valued this work. Curzon, in his *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant* (1849), found Maundrell's narrative superior to others. Most of the other nineteenth-century writers on the Holy Land, including Henry Robinson, Dean Stanley, Carl Ritter, and George Adam Smith, comment positively on Maundrell's account.[384] Maundrell's work was also widely read and used as a handbook for the first Protestant missionaries to the area as is evidenced by the American missionary Pliny Fisk's diary entry for 20 November 1823. On that day he visited the Samaritan synagogue

in Nablus and observed that "on a shelf in the synagogue were a considerable number of copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch. We saw also the relic of the Polyglott Bible mentioned by Maundril".[385] This was Walton's *Polyglot* to which Pococke had contributed. Maundrell had written "This priest had shew'd me a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, but would not be perswaded to part with it upon any consideration. He had likewise the first vol. of the English Polyglot, which he seem'd to esteem equally with his own manuscript".[386] The likely source of the *Polyglot* was Huntington one hundred and fifty years earlier.

13. Henry Brydges (1701 to 1703): the Scion

Figure 32. Henry Brydges, son of Lord Chandos, was the only blue- blooded chaplain

A well-connected chaplain

Henry Brydges (1674-1728), also spelled as Bridges, was even better-connected than the unfortunate Maundrell. His father, James Lord Chandos (1642-1714) had been English ambassador at Istanbul (1681-87) and his eldest brother, James (1673 -1744), a Lord of the Admiralty (1703-04). A scholar of Christ Church College, Oxford, he took his BA at the age of twenty-one and his MA three years later in 1698. The next year he was given the position of rector of Broadwell-with-Adlestrop in Gloucester, which he held for the next eighteen years. During that time he served as chaplain in Aleppo, from 20 June 1701 to 22 February 1703. The year after his return he married Annabella who, as might be expected, was well-connected as grand-daughter of Sir Robert Atkins, Lord Chief-Baron of the Exchequer. In 1711 he was awarded a DD. Then, in quick succession, he was appointed chaplain to Queen Anne, Archdeacon and Canon of Rochester (1720), Rector of Amersham in Buckinghamshire (1721) and Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral London (1722). He died aged 53 in 1728.

The trial sermon Brydges preached before the Levant Company merchants in 1701 was on the Parable of the Pearl of Great Price in chapter 13 of Saint Matthew's Gospel.[387] It was a reasonable, orthodox and lucid defence of the Christian religion, concluding with this timely exhortation to his very affluent hearers:

> If they who are rich in this World are not high minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the Living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy: if they do good, if they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, ready to communicate; according to the decision of the Great Apostle, they are laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they lay hold on Eternal Life."[388]

Excursus: Brydges and "the Darley Arabian"

Brydges' name is chiefly remembered as a by-line in the history of horse- racing, all because of his good connections. Modern horse-racing dates back to Charles II's sponsorship of races at Newmarket. To improve speed and stamina, Arab blood was introduced to the English racehorse to create the breed known as the Thoroughbred. The Arab horse was originally bred in the desert by the Bedouin for war. The outbreak of Muslim armies from the Arabian Peninsula and rapid infiltration of the Levant, Mesopotamia and North Africa was assisted by the speed and endurance of the Arab horse. Yet they were so docile that often they would be quartered in the Bedouin tents and fed dates and camel milk. The Aleppo merchant, Thomas Darley, obtained a colt named *Ras al Fedawi* (The Headstrong One) from Sheikh Mira II of the Fedan Bedouin in 1702. This colt grew to be the magnificent stallion known to history as the "Darley Arabian". Darley faced a problem in transporting this precious animal back to the family property Aldby Hall near Leeds because Britain was involved in the War of the Spanish Succession which restricted shipping in the Mediterranean and placed restrictions on luxury items like

expensive horses. Help came in the form of his well-connected friend, the chaplain. In a letter of 21 December 1703 to his brother Richard, Thomas wrote:

> …The only fear I have about him at present is that I shall not be able to get him aboard this wartime, though I have the promise of a very good and intimate friend the Honble and Revd Henry Bridges, son of Lord Chandos, who embarks in the 'Ipswich'. Captain Wm Waklin will not refuse taking in a horse for him since his brother is one of the Lords of the Admiralty….[389]

It proved to be a happy outcome for the stallion which never raced but spent the years 1705 to 1719 siring numerous colts and fillies. Genetic testing has shown that 95 per cent of all male Thoroughbreds trace their male line back to the Darley Arabian. Tragically, Thomas Darley died, allegedly of poisoning, on his way home to his wedding.

Figure 33. The Arab breeder called the colt Ras al-Fedawi "The Headstrong One". In the history of the English Thoroughbred he is "The Darley Arabian"

Brydges also used his influence, in a more spiritual way, to help the Arab Christians he had encountered during his time in Aleppo. This is dealt with later, in the section on the SPCK Arabic New Testament project.

14. Harrington Yarborough (1703-06): the First past the Post

The Company minute book recorded that on 22 February 1702-3 Lord Chandos requested leave for his son, Mr Henry Brydges to return home and that it was agreed to "receive those who are desirous of the post".[390] It was a very competitive post with seven clergymen applying for the position. The minute book entry for 4 March 1702-3 recorded Messrs Ogleby, Barry, Wake and Uvedale as candidates and a fortnight later Woodford, Harrice and Yarborough were added to the field. Like a sporting event there were even favourites with Barry being recommended by the Bishop of London and Yarborough by the Ambassador. The 25 March minute described the election with Wake and Yarborough having the majority at the show of hands and the Ambassador's pick winning on the ballot.[391] All that is known about this chaplain is that he was the son of John Yarborough, a medical doctor of Newark-upon Trent, in Nottinghamshire. He matriculated on 7 July, 1688, aged 16, which put him in his early forties when he reached Aleppo. At Trinity College, Oxford, he gained a BA in 1692 and an MA in 1695. Ordained as a deacon by the Archbishop of York on 30 May 1697, on 14 June the same year he was appointed as curate (assistant minister) in the parish of Hawton (Houghton). Neither the *CCED* nor the *Alumni Oxoniensis* mention any other appointments.

Following Yarborough's appointment to Aleppo he is mentioned twice more in the minute books. On 19 December 1705, when he had been there about twenty months, it is recorded that he requested an "agio" on his salary, which refers to a favourable adjustment to someone being paid in foreign currency, which was refused on the grounds that it was not allowed to the Lord Ambassador or the Consul or the chaplain at Smyrna.[392] On 27 September 1706 "the death of Mr Yarborough is announced: Mr Thomas Owen offers himself to succeed him".[393] This implies that Yarborough died and was buried in Aleppo. His name was not in the 1939 list of relocated Protestant gravestones which probably just means it was one of the many that over the centuries had been scavenged and recycled by locals.[394]

15. Thomas Owen (1706 - 1716): All his Worldly Goods

Owen (1679-1716) was a Londoner educated at Charterhouse School and Trinity College Cambridge, becoming a Fellow of Peterhouse College Cambridge in 1703. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1704 and was appointed to Aleppo on 17 October 1706. The source for this information, *Alumni Cambrigensis*, adds: "Perhaps Vicar of Oswestry, Salop, 1705-13; Rector of Darowen, Montgomery, 1707-20; and canon of St Asaph, 1722".[395] This "perhaps" should be a "definitely not", because Owen died at Aleppo on 12 August 1716. This error highlights the difficulties and pitfalls in identifying particular chaplains.

An intriguing inventory

Owen is remembered not for any achievements but for the rather quaint list of worldly goods left behind by this bachelor priest. The 1915 *Notes and Queries* entry about the Aleppo chaplains provides an inventory of his personal effects and mentions that he was author of a printed sermon in the Guildhall Collection, preached at St Benet Fink. This was the trial sermon which all potential chaplains had to preach to the Company Directors. From the inventory we can infer that he was a typical bachelor:

> 5 old hatts, and 5 old wiggs in a Catramese, Basons, China-tea-dishes with Sawcers, an Earthen Monkey, 1 rummer, 2 glass bottles for waters, 10 old shirts, 8 waistcoats, 1 pair drawers, 3 pr. Shackshears, 1 fur vest, 1 fur cassock, & 1 fur vest. Also "2 fowling-pecees." In his chamber were a "large cistern with a fountain japanned," a "gilt iron bedstead," and a "Venetian chest with the Church plate and Linen." In the stable a "Canavette" with 11 empty bottles, and a horse with 2 saddles. … a collection, of books, letters, and MS. sermons, and a large number of medals and other curiosities, collected during his ten years' residence in Aleppo.

Thus he enjoyed duck-shooting; drank tea but was not a teetotaller; kept himself warm in winter; rode a horse; and had a habit of collecting things. Perhaps if we knew what "earthen monkey", "shackshears" or a "canavette" were, we would have more of a clue to his character.

Chapter 8

Chaplains of the Georgian Era

16. Samuel Lisle (1716 -1719): from Smyrna to Aleppo[396]

An Exhortation to Faithfulneſs and Conſtancy, in the Profeſſion of the Goſpel.

A

Farewel Sermon

Preach'd in the

Engliſh CHAPEL

AT

SMYRNA,

AUGUST 12th, 1716.

By SAMUEL LISLE, A. M. Fellow of Wadham-College in Oxon; late Chaplain to the Factory at SMYRNA; at Preſent Chaplain to the Factory at ALEPPO.

LONDON:

Printed for TIM. GOODWIN, at the Queen's-Head againſt St. Dunſtan's Church in Fleetſtreet. MDCC.XVII.

Figure 34. Samuel Lisle served as a Levant Company chaplain for 6 years in Smyrna and 3 years in Aleppo

Lisle was the last chaplain of any note. He was born at Blandford, Dorset, in 1683 and was educated first at the Blandford Grammar School and then at Salisbury under Edward Hardwicke, a leading educator of the time. He graduated MA at Wadham College, Oxford, in 1706 and was ordained in 1707. He was chaplain to the Smyrna factory of the Levant Company from 1710 to 1716 where he remained six years, visiting Constantinople and making several journeys into Ionia, Caria and other parts of Asia Minor with a view to collecting inscriptions. He then took up the Aleppo post, undertaking a journey to Jerusalem and surrounds. His subsequent appointments illustrate a pathway to advancement in early Georgian times. They were, in order: bursar of Wadham College (1719), chaplain to Sir Thomas Onslow, son of a governor of the Levant Company (1720), rector of the pluralities of Holwell, Bedfordshire, Tooting, Surrey, and St. Mary-le-Bow, London (1721), domestic chaplain to Archbishop Wake (1721), archdeacon of Canterbury (1724), rector of Fetcham, Surrey (1726), prebend of Canterbury Cathedral (1728), deputy prolocutor of the lower house of convocation (1728), vicar of Northolt, Middlesex (1729), prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation (1734 and 1741), warden of Wadham College whence he received the degrees of BD and DD (1739), Bishop of St. Asaph (1744), and Bishop of Norwich (1748–1749). The wardenship of Wadham College was no sinecure and demonstrated his leadership skills because he was appointed to handle a crisis. His predecessor, Robert Thistlethwayt had been accused of homosexual advances towards a student and fled to France. This scandal and the accusation against a tutor of homosexual practices gave Wadham nationwide notoriety and made it the subject of some early limericks.

Quite the scholar, during his Levant chaplaincy Lisle collected inscriptions which were printed in the *Antiquitates Asiaticae* of Edmund Chishull in 1728. Lisle left behind him several notes and observations made in his travels, particularly in Asia Minor and the Holy Land, but "by an express Clause in his Will, he ordered all his Compositions of what Kind soever to be committed to the Fire by his Executor".[397] As a result his only surviving written legacies are two published sermons. The first is entitled *An exhortation to faithfulness and constancy, in the Profession of the Gospel. A farewel sermon preach'd in the English chapel at Smyrna, August 12th, 1716. By Samuel Lisle, A. M. Fellow of Wadham-College in Oxon; late Chaplain to the Factory at Smyrna; at Present Chaplain to the Factory at Aleppo.*[398] The second is entitled *A sermon preached before the*

Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; at their anniversary meeting in the parish-church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday February 19, 1747, by the Right Reverend Father in God, Samuel Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. Like Bridges, Lisle was a keen advocate for the printing and distribution of the Psalter and New Testament into Arabic, which will be mentioned later.

Excursus: the Greek College Experiment

In his *Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains to the Levant Company* Pearson noted that from 1692 onwards there were several entries respecting a number of "Greek Youths" brought over from Smyrna to Oxford by Benjamin Woodroffe (1638-1711), Principal of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, to educate in the Greek College he was establishing.[399] Woodroffe wrote a letter in Greek to Callinicus, Patriarch of Constantinople, explaining the scheme to him. When it came to recruitment, the four Patriarchs were to send twenty youths, five from each Patriarchate or in any other proportion they pleased, giving the names and addresses to the Levant Company's chaplains in Constantinople, Smyrna and Aleppo, together with particulars of how they were to be taken to the Company's ships. The Levant Company would bring the students to London, where Woodroffe would meet them, present them to the Bishop of London, and take them to Oxford.[400]

There is no evidence of any Greek Orthodox youth being recruited by the Aleppo chaplains. However Pearson mentioned a parallel but more successful project carried out in the Protestant University at Halle in Saxony. He was able to obtain a list of students among whom was "Dadichi Carolus Rabi. Aleppo. Antioch. 1718, 14 Oct. (Syrer.)".[401] The career of Samuel Lisle intersected twice with Dadichi's. Assuming that Dadichi had travelled directly from Aleppo to Halle then it was during the time when Lisle was chaplain in Aleppo. The year after Lisle returned to London he wrote a letter to support the translation into Arabic and publication in London of the Psalter and New Testament. In the letter Lisle referred to Dadichi's Patriarch in Aleppo as "a Person never to be named without Honour".[402] Carolus Dadichi assisted in the translation and stayed in London to become the Arabic translator to the king. The extent to which Lisle interacted with Dadichi in Aleppo or London is not known.

Excursus: the Decline of the Levant trade

The Aleppo chaplains of the middle years of the eighteenth century barely figure in the history of English religion, writing or scholarship. Britain was in its ascendancy as a world power, with its colonies in North America and its nascent empire in India. By the mid-1700s the Aleppo factory had declined to the extent that in 1751 the muster was only the consul, chaplain, cancellier (chancellor), physician, cheaux (herald) and ten merchants.[403] As trade declined and the flock diminished, the chaplain must surely have had much time on his hands. However life was not necessarily easier. The decades from the 1740s to the 1770s were a grim time for Aleppines. The trade with the East that made the city great brought with it terrible epidemics through the movement of large caravans from as far afield as India. As a result the city was decimated and whole villages annihilated.

17. Joseph Soley (1719-23?): Chaplain to a Changing Constituency[404,405]

Natasha Glaisyer, Senior Lecturer in Early Modern History at the University of York, mentioned that a Thomas Andrews, chaplain at Constantinople, spent a short period in Aleppo around 1719 but nothing more has been discovered.[406] He seems to have filled in as an acting chaplain until the arrival of Joseph Soley. The son of John Soley, gentleman, of Steeple Hall, Shropshire, was born around 1690 and earned a BA at Balliol College Oxford in 1709 and an MA at Corpus Christi College Cambridge in 1718. He was ordained both deacon and priest on 20 December 1713 by the Bishop of Worcester and served as Rector of Chetton from 1715. He preached a sermon before the Governor and Merchants of the Levant Company at St Peter's Poor in Broadstreet on 22 April 1719 when he is referred to as "the chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo".[407] His next appointment was in 1723, as Vicar of Preshute in Wiltshire which suggests that he was chaplain until then and was Canon of Winchester cathedral from November 1724. Around this time his name cropped up as one of the clergy supporting the SPCK Arabic Psalter and New Testament project. From 1727 to 1729, he was Rector of Houghton and Preacher throughout the diocese of Winchester. His final appointment was as Rector of Old Alresford in Hampshire from 1727 to 1736, dying on 25 November 1737.

The community changes

In 1719 the chaplain had the sad task of burying some of the English Consul's children, whose gravestone can still be found with a legible epitaph:

Ubi Deus ibi patria[408]

> Here lie interred the bones of three children of the worshipful John Purnell Esq. and Angela his wife. The said John Purnell being Consul in the city of Aleppo, Syria, Palestine, for His Majesty the King of Great Britain, &c. and the High and Mighty Lords the States General of the United Provinces of Holland, &c 1719-21[409]

It is unknown whether the burial was conducted by the departing Lisle, the ephemeral Andrews or the incoming Soley. What is significant is that these poignant words are the earliest record so far of the burial of other than adult males and suggests the development of an English-speaking community in Aleppo from what had effectively been a bachelors' club. This development will be followed later.

18. Edward Edwards (1729 – 42): Benefactor to the Poor Christians of Aleppo

This is likely to be the same Edward Edwards from Bedford who graduated with an MA from Corpus Christi College Oxford in 1717, and was Rector of Howell in Bedfordshire from 1721 to 1725. He was buried in Aleppo, possibly a victim of the plague because the Aleppo factory physician Alexander Russell wrote of outbreaks of the plague in 1742-4.[410] Under the date 1729, a Company letter book recorded the only known Anglican baptism in Aleppo before 1758 as that of George Worsley Lloyd.[411] Edwards signed his Last Will and Testament in Aleppo on 12 November 1741 with Alexander Russell as one of the witnesses.[412] At that stage he was in "perfect state of health and sound understanding". This was not to last long because the will of the deceased chaplain was "proved" in London on 9 July 1742. The document expresses the conventional pious sentiments:

> First I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God hoping through the Infinite Merits of my B. Redeemer to be received to Eternal Life. My Body I commit to the Earth to be Buried with as small charges as is consistent with common Decency

The first call on his estate after the discharge of any debts and funeral expenses was to "give and bequeath three hundred Aleppo dollars to be distributed among the poor Christians of Aleppo at the discretion of the British Consul and Chaplain for the time being." The balance was bequeathed in equal parts to his brothers and sisters. This is the first record of any financial assistance to the poor Christians of Aleppo since the time of Frampton (1655-1670) but it hints that other chaplains, consuls and merchants at the factory may well have shared some of their bounty with the hard-pressed Aleppo Christians.

19. John Hemming (1742): the Curious Traveller

Hemming's career is well documented. He was born in Ringwood, Hampshire, in 1706 and educated at Eton and then King's College Cambridge where he gained his BA. During his time at Cambridge he was deaconed and priested by the Bishop of Lincoln and immediately went to Aleppo for less than a year. On his return he was awarded an MA and had parishes in Norfolk and Dorset. The last seven years of his life were as Dean of Guernsey where he died in 1765.

The only information about his brief time in Aleppo is three passing references in Alexander Drummond's *Travels Through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and Several Parts of Asia, As Far As the Banks of the Euphrates.* The author wrote of his "ingenious friend the reverend Mr Hemming" who explained the apparent contradictions between two ancient itineraries over the distance between Caramoot and Antioch, as result of the Roman numerals XXV having been partially erased and read as XVI.[413] Later, Drummond journeyed with three Englishmen from the Aleppo community: Pollard (the British Consul), Chitty (presumably a merchant) and Hemming (the chaplain). They explored, sketched and copied inscriptions from the Byzantine and Roman ruins at and around the extensive shrine complex commemorating St Simeon the Stylite.[414] At the ancient citadel of Chalcis Drummond recorded the discomfort he shared with Hemming of having to lie on their bellies among the dry thistles to decipher the Greek inscription on the foundation stone.[415] So Hemming serves as an example of the numerous chaplains who made some small contribution to the science of archaeology for no other reward than the joy of discovery and the camaraderie of fellow scholars.

20. Thomas Crofts (1750-53): the Dedicated Antiquarian

Thomas Crofts was born in Monmouth Wales in 1722 and died at the home of the 4th Earl Fitzwilliam at Milton Park, Northamptonshire in 1783. At the age of 17 he matriculated at Wadham College Oxford, obtaining his BA in February 1743 and his MA in 1746. In 1749 he was ordained as deacon and priest by the Bishop of Norwich, Samuel Lisle, who had been an Aleppo chaplain three decades previously.[416] The fact that he was chaplain by the next year suggests that Lisle had some involvement in his appointment. He seems to have left Aleppo in 1753 and his next appointment was 1763, when he was installed as Rector of Donyat in Somerset. Most likely he travelled around Europe during those intervening years. In 1769 he was appointed to the lucrative position of Chancellor and Vicar General of Peterborough, which seems to have given him ample scope to pursue his love of antiquities. As chaplain to the fourth Duke of Leeds he lived in Bury Street in the fashionable district of St James and became a member of the London literati and Fellow of both the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries.

Predictably, the only reference to Crofts' time in Aleppo is about his collecting, found in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* of 1771. It comes from a letter from Rev John Swinton, archivist at Oxford University, to Matthew Maty of the Royal Society on the topic of ancient Persian coins:

> The first of the medals to be considered here ...was given me some years since, by my worthy friend the Reverend and learned Mr. Thomas Crofts, late chaplain to the British factory Aleppo, and formerly of Wadham College Oxford; who brought it with him to England, out of the East.[417]

The Preface in the catalogue of his massive library, *Bibliotheca Croftsiana,* comments on the collection of oriental manuscripts, which were overwhelmingly Arabic, "it can scarcely be doubted but that some of them, from their acknowledged Rarity, will tend to enlarge the Circle of Eastern Literature".[418]

21. Charles Holloway (1756 – 58): the Conscientious Recorder

Charles Holloway was the son of Ambrose Holloway, gentleman, of Winchester. He matriculated 27 February 1735–36 aged 17 at Trinity College Oxford.[419] He commenced in Aleppo in 1756 and died there in September 1758, aged about 39. Nothing has yet been discovered about his intervening career between Oxford and Aleppo. However, he achieved one thing for which historians bless his name. In 1756 he commenced the only known register of services, which was faithfully maintained until the last chaplain departed twenty-six years later. This may have been as a response to the Marriage Act of 1753, its full name "An Act for the Better Preventing of Clandestine Marriage" spelling out its intent. It required the publishing of banns and the proper registering of marriages. When *A Register of Marriages, Baptisms and Burials in Aleppo. From the Year of our Lord, 1756* was discovered by the genealogist William Sherwood in London's Public Records Office in 1914 he described it as "a foolscap book of 17 leaves, somewhat damaged by damp. A transcript of so much as is still legible is attempted here."[420] This is an unpromising description of an intriguing document. For instance it illustrates the fraternal links between the two great Protestant trading nations, England and Holland. The name Van Meysenk is repeatedly mentioned for the entire period of the Register. First was Nicholas van Meysenk, recorded as having arrived in 1755 with his English wife. Subsequently he was widowed, remarried and had a number of children. It can be inferred that throughout this time he was a pillar of the Church of England in Aleppo. Both he and his son John, born in Aleppo, served as Dutch Consul.

The years of pestilence

Holloway died and was buried in Aleppo, possibly a victim of the plague. The Aleppo factory physician, Alexander Russell, described how 1756 was a very bad winter with heavy snow and loss of life, causing crop failure and famine. By 1757 bread was scarce and the governor sold his supplies at excessive prices. In the winter of 1757/1758 hunger was widespread and many were unemployed. As a result, epidemic diseases effected the malnourished and as many as forty thousand died of starvation, cold and disease. The church register records three deaths in close proximity in 1758:

> September the 21st. About midnight died Mrs. Elizabeth USGATE & was buried this afternoon about 4 o'clock.
> September the 23rd. Yesterday morning at 9 o'clock died & this morning at the same hour was buried Reverend Mr. Charles HOLLOWAY.
> October the 10th. This morning died & about 5 this afternoon was buried Francis BROWNE, Esqur., Consul of Aleppo.
> Memdum. As there was no Protestant Clergyman at this time in Aleppo, the Funeral Service was read over the graves of the three above-mentioned persons by the British Cancellier, Mr. Jno. Brand KIRKHOUSE.[421]

22. Thomas Dawes (1759-69): Chronicler of the Plague

Alumni Oxonienses records Thomas Dawes as a son of John Dawes of Burghclere, Hampshire, born 1726, who matriculated on 11 December 1745 and graduated with a BA from Queen's College Oxford in 1749.[422] *CCED* records his ordination as deacon by the Bishop of Winchester at the Bishop's Palace Chelsea on 18 December 1748.[423] He was in Aleppo by August 1759.

A biblical account

Dawes wrote to the Rev Charles Lyttelton, Dean of Exeter and Fellow of the Royal Society *An Account of the Plague, at Aleppo* dated 26 October 1762. It was published in the Natural History section of *The Annual Register of 1764*.[424] It was a substantial document of about two thousand words and presents the plague in a style more expressive and epic rather than objective and clinical. Indeed the plague was of biblical proportions, killing hundreds of thousands from Salonika, across Anatolia to the Upper Euphrates. The prelude to the plague was a famine:

> This unhappy country for six years past has been in a very terrible situation, afflicted during the greatest part of that time with many of the Almighty's severest scourges. Its troubles were ushered in by a very sharp winter, in 1756- 7, which destroyed almost all the fruits of the earth….Millions of olive trees that had withstood the severity of fifty winters were blasted in this, and thousands of fowls perished merely through cold. The failure of a crop the succeeding harvest, occasioned an universal scarcity…with all its attendant miseries. The shocking accounts related to me on this subject would appear fabulous were they not confirmed by numberless eyewitnesses….In many places the inhabitants were driven to such extremities, that women were known to eat their own children as soon as they expired in their arms for want of nourishment. – Numbers of persons from the mountains and villages adjacent came daily to Aleppo to offer their wives and children to sale for a few dollars to procure a temporary subsistence for themselves: and hourly might be seen in our streets dogs and human creatures scratching together on the same dunghill and quarrelling for a bone or piece of carrion to allay their hunger. A pestilence followed close to the heels of the famine…[425]

The English factory went into lockdown. Many of the merchants evacuated to the coast, but the ones who remained stayed indoors for ninety six days over summer. Dawes' description of the psychological effect of his virtual imprisonment is candid:

> ...the last month of my confinement this year passed very heavily with me indeed; for I found my health much disordered. Whether it proceeded from a cold I catched in my head by sleeping in the open air in some very windy nights, from want of exercise, or from the uneasiness of mind naturally attending our melancholy situation, I know not; but my nerves seemed all relaxed, my spirits in a state of dejection unknown to me before, and my head so heavy and confused that I could neither write nor read for an hour together with application or pleasure. Since our release, I have passed a month at a garden about an hour's ride from the city, for the sake of exercise and fresh air, and find myself much relieved by it, though my head is far from being yet clear.[426]

His graphic, emotive description stands in contrast to the more detached, scientific treatment of the plagues by the Company physician, Alexander Russell who began his description:

> It is the common opinion of the inhabitants of Aleppo, that they are visited with the plague about once in ten years, and that it is brought thither from some neighbouring city, where

> it first makes its appearance, as Antab, Urfa, etc to the northward, or Damascus to the southward: from which last place it is generally alledged that the worst plagues have been brought; though some assert that those which have come from the northward have raged with the greatest violence.[427]

The plague of 1760-2 reduced the population of the city to between 100 000 and 150 000 people. Russell gave a detailed breakdown of death rates: 7 767 in 1761 and 11 883 in 1762, which is around a 15 to 20 per cent mortality rate.

Marriage matters

As well as the already mentioned three deaths of September to October 1758 the Register records:

> 1758. July 19.—Mistress Booth, wife of Thomas Booth, merchant, "Both of them of the Anabaptists."[428]
> 1760. Jan. 10.—Anna Sophia Vernon.[429]
> 1762. Mar. 3.—Mr. Richard Newton, "died of an erysipelas."[430]
> 1762. Oct. 31.—Mr. Francis Hughes.[431]
> 1764. Feb. 6.—Mistress Elizabeth Edwards.[432]

It can be inferred from these entries that by this time there was a well-established English-speaking community that included women and presumably children, as does the following entry about the marriage of Mr. John Boddington:

> 1759. Aug. 10th. I performed the marriage ceremony according to the Church of England between Mr. John Boddington, Consul for his Britannic Majesty at Cyprus, and Maria Franchise Rhymbaud of French extraction, in the Consulary house at Cyprus in the presence of William Kinloch, Esq., Consul of Aleppo.... As witness my hand
> Tho. Dawes.
> Chaplain of the British Factory in Aleppo.[433]

This gives a clue as to how the English bachelor community acquired wives and children. In 1751 Alexander Russell mentioned that the French community had grown so large as a result of marriages between Frenchmen and local women that the French king, fearing it would cause trouble, banned such marriages. Furthermore the Italian Jewish merchants were mostly married with families. It had not always been the case. In 1677 the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa had issued an edict declaring that all Franks who married subjects of the sultan were to be deprived of the benefits of their capitulations and themselves to rank as Turkish subjects. Once this started to be enforced the ambassadors prohibited such marriages and dismissed officials for defying this rule. With the course of time this edict became obsolete, evidenced by marriages between Europeans and local Christian women.[434]

Poor Relief

Hidden away in the State Papers is a most interesting document, Dawes' *Chaplain's Book of Charitable Donations*, which extends from 1 January 1765 to 1770, after Dawes's departure.[435] Dawes assiduously recorded the receipt and disposal of charity money. The Levant Company provided the bulk with an annual donation of $180, supplemented by smaller collections made at church services, personal donations, and bequests. The annual income of the fund over the five-year period ranged between $203 and $293. Alms was distributed throughout the year, with the

specific sum of $8.20 distributed at the gates of the factory twice a year, at Christmas and in June. Recipients covered the range of non-Muslim groups including Europeans, Armenians, Maronites, Greeks, Syrians and Jews. Beneficiaries included prisoners, widows, orphans, slaves, the blind, the sick, pilgrims en route to Jerusalem, victims of robbery, and distressed families of former factory employees. It is not known when the charitable fund was instituted but it continued at least until 1783 when the Factory Assembly confirmed the annual contribution of $180.[436]

The functioning of the Chapel

The *Chaplain's Book* also recorded the Holy Communion services at Christmas and Easter. Communicants numbered only between five and eight. The infrequency of the Holy Communion and the small attendances at the sacrament were not remarkable for that era, reflecting the state of many English parishes in the mid-1700s. As well as providing welfare for the poor, the chaplain's fund financed the provision of a servant to take care of the chapel.[437]

Dawes cropped up in Benjamin Kennicott's account of gathering Hebrew manuscripts, when in 1769 he referred to "making several enquiries after Hebrew MSS … in the countries near Aleppo, by the late Mr. Dawes, Chaplain there to the British Factory".[438] This implies that Dawes had died soon after leaving Aleppo.

23. Robert Foster (1770 – 78): Chaplain to a Multicultural Community

Robert Foster was the son of James Foster of Horton, Yorkshire. He attended school at Bentham, Yorkshire and was admitted to Trinity College Cambridge on 13 March 1766, and graduating BA in 1770. He commenced as chaplain on 29 May 1770, aged only 23. The young chaplain made an impression, being mentioned in accounts by two members of the English community. In his memoirs the merchant Henry Abbott (1764- 1819) described how he was orphaned at the age of ten, was brought up by his bachelor uncle Robert Abbott in Aleppo, was educated privately by chaplain Foster, and then served an apprenticeship in his uncle's counting house. Foster's influence was probably a godsend to the impressionable young orphan who later described his uncle as a "gay and dissipated character".[439] Foster also receives a mention in the journal of Abraham Parsons, the British consul at Scanderoon, who travelled to Bombay overland to Baghdad and Bosra and thence by ship to Bombay, returning by ship to Suez. He recorded that "on Monday, at three in the afternoon, March the 14th 1774, I departed from Aleppo, in company with three friends (who were so kind as to accompany me part of the way; Charles Smith, esq. and his nephew, Mr William Smith, and the reverend Mr Foster, chaplain to the factory..."[440]

Robert Foster's youthful enthusiasm is also evident in this chapel registry entry:

> 13th February 1774.... The five children whose Names are underwritten were baptized all together in the English Chapel in the presence of all the Factory (as the above will testify) an evident Mark of the soil of Aleppo being much more fruitful at this Day than it ever has been since the Factory began; for one of my predecessors under the first Baptism that is register'd in this Book, remarks that there had not been a Baptism in the English Chapel before for 30 years, & now there have been seven within the space of eight months, which evidently demonstrates the still existing state of the Factory of Aleppo. [441]

Foster and his wife, Leonora, departed Aleppo on 18 October 1778.[442] He seems to have transferred to the chaplaincy at Smyrna because he is recorded as being there in August 1780.[443] The years of Foster's chaplaincy stand out for the number of people received into the Church of England from other faiths. In it lies an intriguing story.

On 27 June 1773 Foster publicly baptised two year old John Charles Edwards in "the English Chapel". He was the son of Eleazar and Maria Francesca Nicoletta Edwards. He had already been baptized as an infant "by padre Carlo Maria di Lodi, Guardiano of the Terra Santa Convent in the presence of Miss Leonora Parker". Apparently Roman Catholic baptism was not good enough. Young Miss Leonora Parker appears in the register a year later. We find out that she and her sister, Maria Francesca Nicoletta, were daughters of Peter Parker, an Englishman, and his Italian wife, Appollonia. Together with her sister, who was married to Eleazar Edwards, Leonora "…not only abjured the Roman Catholick Religion but was publickly received into the Congregation of Christ's Flock according to the Rite of the Church of England in the English Chapel in the presence of the Consul and all the Factory by me, Robert Foster, Chaplain." The very same day it is recorded that the chaplain and Leonora were married by Eleazar Edwards, "there being no other English clergyman upon the place but the party concerned".

Interestingly, it is only Roman Catholics who seemed to have needed to convert as a condition of being married according to Anglican rites. In 1778 Foster conducted the wedding of Mr. Jasper Shaw and Helen, daughter of Michiel "of the Greek Nation", implying the bride was Greek Orthodox. Yet later the same year when William Sholl married Maria Teresa, Foster records that "before the performance of the sacred Rite, (she) abjured the Roman Catholick Religion or the

Church of Rome, and embraced the Protestant, with all its Rites and Ceremonies".

In January 1776 a 25 year-old Italian Jew, Moise Va Islah, was publicly baptized "and received into the Church of England in the presence of the greatest part of the English Factory".[444] He took the name Eleazar, presumably out of affection or respect for one of his two witnesses, Eleazar Edwards. In an Ottoman city it was important to keep the peace by avoiding communal conflict, so proselytising was carefully avoided. That is probably why Foster was careful to record in the Register that "…the underwritten is a true Copy of a Memorial given to me the Chaplain by Moses Va Islah as may be verified by the Public Register in the English Chancery following a meeting of the Nation upon the Subject".[445] There follows in Italian a declaration to the effect that this Moses had embraced the religion of England by his own volition, hoping too that his wife also would accept it. In other words care was taken to record publicly that the young Jew had willingly converted, without any inducement or coercion.

In the account of the regular cycle of weddings, baptisms and burials similar to an English parish, it can be easily forgotten that this era was a grim time for Aleppo. Patrick Russell noted many ruined, abandoned settlements around Aleppo. By 1772 "the Olive Tree village and others are totally deserted. It is asserted that of three hundred villages, formerly comprehended in the Bashawlick, less than one third are now inhabited: agriculture declines in proportion".[446]

24. John Hussey (1779 – 82): the Fractious Correspondent

The Aleppo church register records that "John HUSSEY, Chaplain, came to Aleppo, Wednesday 9th June 1779".[447] John Hussey was the son of Thomas Hussey of Ashford, Kent. He did not matriculate at Hertford College Oxford until he was twenty-seven in 1778.[448] Most clergy seem to have "matriculated", meaning been enrolled at an Oxbridge College, in their teens. Nevertheless Hussey made up for lost time because the very same year he was ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln and by the following year he was in Aleppo. This begs the question about what career he had pursued previously. A clue may be found in a letter he received from his friend, none other than Dr Samuel Johnson, prior to his departure.[449]In prefacing this letter Boswell cryptically mentions that Hussey "had been some time in trade"[450] and that Johnson "had long been in habits of intimacy with him":

> To Mr. John Hussey Dear Sir,
> I have sent you the 'Grammar', and have left you two books more, by which I hope to be remembered: write my name in them; we may perhaps see each other no more; you part with my good wishes, nor do I despair of seeing you return. Let no opportunities of vice corrupt you; let no bad example seduce you; let the blindness of Mahometans confirm you in Christianity. God bless you.
> I am Dear Sir,
> Your affectionate humble servant, Sam. Johnson.
> December 29, 1778[451]

We do not know whether the young chaplain stayed out of trouble but we do know that he made the effort to keep in touch with his family because there survive fourteen of his letters to Charlotte Hussey and one to Harriet Hussey, his sisters. On his return to England he married and his son, Thomas, was born in 1792.[452] *CCED* records his appointment as curate of Lamberhurst in Kent in 1796 and the same year appointment as chaplain at Fort St George in Madras.[453] The final record is of his death as an East India Company chaplain in Allahabad in India in 1799. Money does not seem to have been his motivation for serving in India because his wife Catherine was a wealthy heiress.

Had Hussey's time in Aleppo been cut short because the Company could no longer justify employing a chaplain? Had he never overcome this disappointment? Was it an unhappy marriage or a moral failing he was escaping from? Or did he share the missionary zeal of later East India Company clergy Henry Martyn or Reginald Heber? Clues to his character may be gleaned from the fifteen unpublished letters that Hussey wrote during his journey to Aleppo and at the beginning of his stay. In this personal correspondence to his sisters Hussey brought to life his travelling experiences and kept them informed about his health and his day to day experiences. Only Letter 14 relates directly to his time in Aleppo and even that mainly describes his trip from Scanderoon to Aleppo.

We are left to guess whether he was chronically irritable and lazy or whether it was the effect of his illness. The two calls on his time as chaplain were to teach the children of British residents and to preach a weekly sermon. He complained that recovering from his recurrent fever was not helped by his teaching duties which he found irksome:

> I have eight children who come to school to me every day from nine o'clock until twelve when I am able to attend them. The parents will not suffer them to learn anything but English and four of them are so unsufferably stupid that they most distract me and I have

> hitherto reached no other advantage from them other than to say the alphabet as readily backwards as forwards.[454]

He regretted that he had only brought copies of two and a half sermons with him so that he had to spend time in preparing new material for each Sunday. While mornings were spent school mastering, afternoons were too hot to do anything until four o'clock when Hussey prepared his sermon. From seven to nine at night card-playing was the regular amusement, the chaplain emphasising that no gambling was involved. Travel was anticipated as a way of staving off boredom, so he jumped at the consul Mr Abbott's suggestion that he join a party of "English Gentlemen" to travel to Tripoli to help him recover from the ague which had troubled him since his stopover with the consul at Bylan, in the hills behind Scanderoon.

Hussey's observations were restricted mainly to the weather, architecture and geography, although he was very taken with sites in Antioch connected with Saint Paul. It is doubtful that he ever sought to learn Arabic or relate to the locals, whether Christian or Muslim. He clearly enjoyed corresponding to family and friends in England and expressed disappointment that in return he had hardly received any news from home.

The demise of the chaplaincy

By this time the factory was winding down as the Levant trade dwindled. On 10 June 1782 Hussey departed Aleppo[455] never to be replaced. It was exactly 200 years since the Company had been founded. By 1803 the Aleppo operation had completely shut down.

The general impression of the 185 years of the Aleppo chaplaincy is of a succession of mostly conscientious and well-educated clergy who fulfilled their commission to maintain a high level of morale in the factory. From the beginning, the tradition was established of leading a pilgrimage of the merchant community to Jerusalem, and some of the more adventurous chaplains also travelled to Palmyra, the Euphrates and Egypt. A number mastered the Arabic language. Others were more interested in collecting old manuscripts and coins. What follows is an exploration of their theology and worldview and how these affected their relationships with the diverse population of the Levant.

Chapter 9

The Chaplains' Perspective

Important factors that contributed to the chaplains' perspective include gender, social class, nationality, education and religious beliefs. In terms of gender and nationality they were Englishmen with the exception of a few anglicised Welshmen like Crofts. In terms of social class their family backgrounds were decidedly middle class, including trades (Hussey), yeomanry (Frampton), physician (Yarborough), schoolmaster (Robson), clergy (Pococke, Hill, Huntington and Halifax) and minor gentry (Guise, Holloway, Soley). The aristocratic Brydges was the exception. When there was competition for the post, candidates had to preach a trial sermon but good connections with Levant Company members would have carried some weight. Service in Aleppo was not an obstacle to career advancement, as their subsequent careers indicate. They were mostly Oxford graduates, sprinkled with some Cambridge men. In terms of religious beliefs there is no evidence that they were anything other than loyal and faithful members of the Church of England. If there were such a being as a typical chaplain he was a seventeenth century Royalist or an eighteenth century Tory. He was a bachelor and enjoyed outdoor sports like horse-riding, shooting and ball games. He was well-versed in Latin, probably in French, and possibly in Hebrew and Greek. He spent a good part of his time preparing the Sunday sermon. He enjoyed collecting antiquities whether coins or manuscripts. He wrote clear, descriptive English. He believed the Church of England was the purest, most pristine expression of Christianity and he was diligent in reading the Scriptures and praying according to the two Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer.

a. The Variables in Comparing Chaplains

Sweeping generalisations are a risk when describing the mind-set of 24 chaplains over 185 years. At this point it is useful to observe three chaplains, about each of whom there is an account of a round trip from Aleppo to Jerusalem: William Biddulph (1600-8), Robert Frampton (1655-70) and Henry Maundrell (1695-1701). To provide context, attention will be given to the differences of narrative type, era and chaplain's personality.

Differing types of narrative

Biddulph's account was under a whimsical pseudonym, Theophilus Lavender, which gave him greater freedom to express his opinions, and greater room for self-justification. Frampton's account came from a posthumous biography, assembled from his memoirs by an admiring colleague who had a penchant for anecdote. Maundrell's account was autobiographical, and so inherently more self-conscious.

Differing personalities

All three chaplains were intelligent, well-educated men with sufficient sense of adventure and personal courage to undertake a sea voyage and reside in such an exotic land. Biddulph was the best read of the three, with a talent for translating the Latin classics into agreeable English verse. His quotations and allusions ranged the classical canon from Homer to Gregory the Great. He had a quarrelsome and critical streak, and his failure to engage with Muslims and Eastern Christians can be attributed to the prejudice he first showed on his outgoing voyage when he visited Athens which he recognised as "the mother and nurse of all liberal arts and sciences" but bewailed that "now there is nothing but atheism and barbarism there: for it is governed by Turks and inhabited by

ignorant Greeks".[456]

Frampton, the West Country farmer's son, was a more winsome character. His generous, bold and humorous personality endeared him to kings and commoners alike and his sanguine nature pushed him to engage with the different ranks and races of the Middle East rather than remaining a detached observer. Characteristically he was the only one of the three who swam, and nearly drowned, in the Jordan River.

Maundrell, the scion of a well-connected London merchant family was the most meticulous, observant and objective of the three, with a whimsical bent that made light of hardship. This passage about a bivouac near Damascus exemplifies his style: "...it grew dark, and we were forc'd to stop at a very inhospitable place, but the best we could find; affording no grass for our horses, nor any water, but just enough to breed frogs, by which we were serenaded all night".[457] In concluding his account he recorded God's mercy in sparing the party from any accident or illness with the exception of "one that fell sick by the consequences of the journey after our return..." and ruefully added "...it fell to my own share to be the sufferer".[458]

Changing religious environment: the chaplains and the pilgrimage to Jerusalem

The different responses to the journey to Jerusalem as "pilgrimage" and attitudes to the Eastern Christian pilgrims reflect the changing religious environment in England.

Biddulph came from the era of conflict between Papists and Protestants, highlighted by the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 to assassinate James I. Occupying the thrones of both England and Scotland, James was seen as a champion of the Protestant cause and sought to pacify, some would say subjugate, the conflicting parties within Protestantism through the Savoy Conference and the famous Bible translation project. So the proudly Protestant Biddulph rejected the idea of his journey to Jerusalem being a pilgrimage, with its associations of superstitious devotion to relics and ignorant acceptance of apocryphal traditions. In the early 1630s pilgrimage was still a lively issue among Protestants. In his BD thesis on "Whether pilgrimages...are to be approved" the more moderate Pococke nevertheless answered with a definite "No!"

Six decades later the political and social upheaval of the Civil War, Commonwealth and Restoration had led to so much internecine conflict among the Protestants that there was little energy left to pillory Roman Catholics. Although Frampton did not portray himself as a pilgrim he identified so strongly with the Eastern Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem that he received the customary souvenir tattoo on his arm.[459] Of all of the chaplains Frampton best represented the distinctive High Church ethos of the Caroline divines. One example is the commitment to fasting. The practice of fasting had been rejected by Archbishop Cranmer among other early reformers and, although fasting continued in many quarters, it was not until 1636 that Archbishop Laud included "Tables, and Rules for the Feasts, and Fasts through the whole year" in the *Book of Common Prayer*.[460] Frampton won the hearts and minds of the Eastern Christians by his practice of fasting.[461] His anonymous friend and biographer asserted that the regular observance of fasts and feasts rather than sermons were the instrument by which Eastern Christians maintained their faith in the midst of oppression.[462] It is not known whether Frampton was able to encourage the observance of prescribed fasts among the English merchants by his example. What is known is that by the mid eighteenth century the Jesuits were able to portray the English to the Eastern Christians as lacking in religion because they did not observe the fasts.[463]

Frampton's immediate successor, Huntington, made at least one visit to Jerusalem and Smith, his contemporary and biographer, still felt he had to justify his journey to Jerusalem. "He went to

the holy city, not with a superstitious presumption of meriting thereby, but with a pious, serious and prudent thought fixed on the stupendous passages of the life and death of our most blessed Saviour...".[464] By the end of the seventeenth century, reaction to a hundred and fifty years of bitter religious conflicts manifested itself in the development of Deism among the Dissenting churches and Latitudinarianism within the Established Church. In this less religious era Maundrell was comfortable to describe his journey as a "pilgrimage", without fear of being labelled "papist".[465]

Differing spirits of the age

Another illustration of how the chaplains reflected the current conditions in England was the contrast between Biddulph's late Elizabethan pride in being English, compared to Frampton's bitter lament about the malaise of the English nation. At the beginning of the English Bible that James I commissioned, Bishop Bilson's dedicatory epistle referred to the realm as "our Sion". Biddulph used a similar term, "our English Sion" in describing his yearnings for home.[466] Biddulph was positively jingoistic in claiming that even Christians in the Ottoman Empire wept at the death of Elizabeth and said "that she was the most famous queen that they had ever hear or read of since the world began".[467]

By Frampton's time the monarchy's fortunes had plummeted, culminating in the trial and execution of Charles I. It is difficult in retrospect to appreciate the horror that the event caused many Englishmen. John Greaves' literally tear-stained letter to Edward Pococke captures it:

O! My good Friend, my good Friend! Never was there Sorrow like our Sorrow! What a perpetual Infamy will stick on our Religion and Nation! And, if God be not more merciful than Men, What a Deluge of Miseries will flow in upon us.- Excuse me now, if I am not able to write to you, and to answer your Queries.- O Lord God, if it be thy blessed Will, have Mercy upon us, not according to our Merits, but thy Mercies, and remove this great Sin, and thy Judgments, from the Nation.
Your most affectionate and afflicted Friend
J. Greaves.[468]

Although he had stayed out of the politics of the Civil War, Frampton was deeply affected by the regicide and found relief in serving his Church and his countrymen in Aleppo. He had a far greater tolerance of Turks and Muslims than did other chaplains because he saw how badly Englishmen could behave, whether as a Dorsetshire clubman defending farmers' families and fields against marauding Cavaliers and Roundheads or as a priest dealing with the attacks on the Church from the radical demagogues of the Commonwealth regime. When he eventually became a bishop his twin loyalty to Crown and Church came into conflict over James II's proclamation of indulgence to "Papists and Fanaticks", in other words Roman Catholics and Protestant Non-conformists. As one of the major champions of the Church of England the outspoken Frampton was so hard-pressed that he even considered resigning his bishopric "and once more, if possible, to settle himself among the more agreeable neighbours the Turks." It was only the persuasion of his

Figure 35. Maundrell's sketches of Baalbek enhanced his wonderful and accurate descriptions of one of the glories of the Levant

friend Bishop Fell of Oxford that prevented him from taking this escape.[469]

Maundrell lived in a happier England when its political upheavals had settled and scientific enquiry rather than religious scholarship was the fashion. For instance, Maundrell's greatest delight was not in any biblical site but in the stunning Roman ruins at the Baalbek temple complex, which had no Scriptural significance.[470] His wonderful description shows him at his closest to being the adventurer cum tourist, but his sketches and scrupulous attention to measurement make him something more: a proto-archaeologist. Like his immediate predecessor, Halifax, he took great care in scientifically measuring ancient sites: whether methodically pacing out the old walls of Jerusalem to estimate its circumference or using a quadrant to determine the latitude of Beer on the Euphrates.

Although decidedly less effusive in devotional comments about biblical sites than the other chaplains, Maundrell's one exception was his delight in the view from Mount Tabor:

> From the top of Tabor you have a prospect, which if nothing else, well rewards the labour of ascending it....all round you have the spacious and beautiful plains of Esdraelon and Galilee, which present you with the view of so many places memorable for the resort and miracles of the Son of God.[471]

The bitter fighting over issues such as church government and the sacraments in the early 1600s, in contrast to the sweet reasonableness of the scientific discoveries of Newton and Boyle in the late 1600s, led many Englishmen to seek a religion that played down miracles, banished the terrors of hell, mocked fervour and stressed the reasonableness of Christian ethics.[472] Some embraced deism, while Maundrell represented the majority who still accepted the miracles and the deity of Jesus.

Figure 36. Maundrell's description of the prospect from Mount Tabor was one of the few occasions when his persona changed from detached observer to Christian pilgrim

After the constitutional Revolution of 1689 there was a rapid decline in the number of undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge. The reasons for this are debatable, but it contributed to the deterioration in standards for the training of the Church of England clergy. This coincided with the banishment from the Established Church of many of the best bishops and clergy, including Frampton, in the Nonjuring schism of 1690. After that, the bishops and senior clergy were selected on the basis of political loyalty. For parish clergy the relative peace and prosperity of the Georgian era meant that tithes provided an increasingly comfortable lifestyle and a consequent neglect of pastoral duties. So famous clergy of the era, like Laurence Sterne and Jonathan Swift, were more likely to excel in popular literature than theology.[473] This decline in the quality, zeal and character of Church of England clergy is reflected in the lower achievements of the eighteenth century Aleppo chaplains.

Commonalities: biblical scholars

Crossing the different eras were certain features common to these clergymen. Protestant clergy were

heirs of the biblical humanist tradition. It was this tradition which inspired Luther, Erasmus and Calvin and provided the fertile soil in which Protestantism was germinated. It was also a vital and growing influence in the Roman Catholic Church until 1546 when in the fourth session of the Council of Trent the proponents of the old scholasticism triumphed in reasserting it as the basis for the education of clergy.[474] Consequently Roman Catholic biblical studies and the reading of Scripture by laity were neglected for three centuries.

To illustrate the point, all three of the chaplains displayed their biblical humanist heritage by being well versed in the Holy Scriptures and interested in any new light that the culture, geography and archaeology could cast on Biblical interpretation. Biddulph commented on the weather in Jerusalem regarding Peter's warming himself in the High Priest's courtyard.[475] Frampton discovered irrigation methods in Egypt as the explanation for Deuteronomy 11:10.[476] While it has been noted that Maundrell was less fervent in his devotional comments, he was still a serious biblical scholar. He commented on Psalm 129:6, regarding the Middle Eastern practice of harvesting by plucking, and suggested that the translation of this verse in the "new" version of 1611 was inferior to the Coverdale version of 1535 in the *Book of Common Prayer*.[477] Then there is his wonderful description of how, contrary to some contemporary opinion, the stony mountainous parts of Judea and Samaria could have supported such a large population.[478] While Biddulph and Maundrell were able to draw on an impressive array of classical writers to help them, Frampton was more interested in referring to contemporary writers with a view to correcting them. This is understandable because of his unequalled knowledge of biblical sites as well as practical details like distances, soil and products of the Middle East that came from this farmer's son's sixteen years of living and travelling in the area.[479]

Commonalities: Scientifically minded Protestants

The three chaplains in different ways illustrate some of the links between Protestantism and the development of modern science. Each was naturally curious, critical of received ideas and willing to come up with alternative explanations for phenomena, all three being marks of scientific thinking.

Maundrell was very attentive to unusual phenomena for instance in his observation "that in all the ruins of churches which we saw, tho' their parts were totally demolished, yet the east end we always found standing, and tolerably entire". In other words the sanctuary was always surviving in the hundred or so derelict churches he had examined. This aroused his curiosity and led him to speculate with a range of possible explanations, starting from the most likely which was that the Christians had paid the Muslim invaders to spare the sanctuaries. In apparent descending order of probability the other possibilities were: the invaders spared the sanctuaries out of religious feeling; the sanctuaries were better constructed than the other parts of the church buildings; or God in some mysterious fashion had providentially preserved them.[480]

In the "Preface to the reader" Biddulph, under the pseudonym of Theophilus Lavender, assured the reader of the veracity of the travel narrative because of the objectivity of the writer as an eye-witness. Here he quoted the Latin playwright Plautus's famous passage "unus oculatus..." which he translated as "One eye-witness is worth more than ten ear-witnesses, for they which hear, report what they have heard; but they which see, know plainly, and report by sight".[481] Biddulph went on to describe comparing notes about Jerusalem while there with the English adventurer Henry Timberley, who was to publish an account of a journey from Cairo to Jerusalem some time before Biddulph's account. He maintained that as Englishmen both of them were committed to the truth and explained that everything he saw or was shown in Jerusalem was divided into three categories: apparent truths, manifest untruths, and things doubtful. He finished with a castigating warning to

fellow English travellers that it would be "a foul shame that any *Christian*, brought up in so blessed a common-wealth as *England*, should be so simple to believe such untruths as the superstitious friers of *Rome*, which sojourn at *Jerusalem*, so demonstrate or declare unto them".[482]

Frampton and Maundrell also maintained the primacy of eyewitness and a healthy scepticism about traditions. Frampton was critical of writers about the Nile who "rely on report rather than observation".[483] Maundrell found contrary evidence to claims of no bird or marine life at the Dead Sea, and dismissed other tales like the existence of the "apples of Sodom", referring to the observation by Lord Bacon the great empiricist about myths perpetuated by poets seeking allusions.[484] Maundrell also suggested a case of placebo effect for "Virgin's milk" chalk helping women lactate.[485]

Conclusion

In spite of the differing personalities and eras represented by these three chaplains, they shared much common ground. One can imagine them meeting as companions in a coffee house and animatedly conversing about the geography and customs of the Bible, concurring about loyalty to King and Church, reminiscing fondly about the pleasures of good travelling companions, happily exchanging anecdotes about the misinformed superstitions concerning many of the sites in the Holy Land, and bewailing the plight of Christians under Ottoman rule.

b. The Chaplains were Church of England Priests

The clergy constituted the second estate in English society with specific privileges of power and property.[486] Their bishops had seats in the House of Lords and their source of livelihood was benefices derived from land owned by the Church. There were clear expectations of them. The parish system, of which they were the hinge, provided poor relief and primary education. They were expected to be the safeguard of morality preventing incest, marriage within forbidden degrees and "evil living". They also were expected to provide good company for the higher orders and a positive influence on younger gentry for whom they were the preferred companions during their Grand Tour. Their prayers and sermons also provided a bulwark for the Crown, an antidote to sedition, and a tonic for loyalty. These expectations accompanied every chaplain who arrived in Aleppo. During the Commonwealth, the Company deliberately chose uncompromising Royalists like Hill and Frampton for the role, and in Frampton's case resisted the pressure to have him examined by Cromwell's Triers, being content with his Episcopal ordination and excellent reputation.[487]

c. The Chaplains' Point of Reference was the Oxbridge College

As was pointed out in the Introduction, until now all the historical treatments of the chaplains have focussed on them as scholars and travellers with little appreciation of their identity and role as clergy. In an official letter from the Company, Biddulph, the second chaplain, was told in no uncertain words that "you will contyneue and proceede in your charge both in the instruccion of our people in knowledge of Religyon and in reproving and rebuking whatsoever you shall ether see or be dewly informed of to deserve reproof or admonition".[488] The hard-nosed merchants of London were not underwriting paid holidays for dilettante clerics. The regulations of the Company with regard to their employees were very strict in the early days. Life in the factory quarters in the Great Khan was quite circumscribed for this bachelor community. In 1751, towards the end of the chaplaincy era, the Company physician Alexander Russell wrote:

> The major part of the Europeans live in khans in the principal quarter of the city. The ground-

> floor serves for their warehouses, the upper story is fitted for their dwellings, by building between the pillars of the colonnade, which forms a long corridor; opening on which are a number of rooms, so that they much resemble cloister; and as they are unmarried, and their communication with the people of the country is almost solely on account of trade, their way of life also not a little resembles the monastic. [489]

So long as the English merchants lived as a community of bachelors the model for the Aleppo chaplaincy was the university college rather than the parish. All the chaplains were university graduates and many of them were dons of Oxbridge Colleges. To be a "don" or a "fellow" was effectively to be the member of an exclusive English caste. A man had to be "a clerk in holy orders", in other words, an ordained Church of England clergyman; to have been awarded a Master of Arts degree; and to have been elected by the other fellows of the particular college. It entitled him to accommodation and dining at the college in return for being a member of the teaching staff. In a letter to an old university friend, Henry Maundrell, a Fellow of Exeter College Oxford, described the life for the forty or more Englishmen of the Aleppo factory*[490]*:

> Our way of life resembles, in some measure the academical. We live in separate squares, shut up every night after the manner of colleges. We begin the day constantly, as you do, with prayers; and have our set times for business, meals, and recreations. In the winter we hunt in the most delightful campaign twice a week; and in the summer go as often to divert our selves under our tents, with bowling, and other exercises: so that you see we want not divertissements, and these all innocent and manly. In short, 'tis my real opinion, that there is not a society out of England, that for all good and desireable qualities, may be compar'd to this.

Samuel Lisle, a Fellow of Wadham College Oxford, also reflected positively on the factory life in a sermon: "What is there which gives Life a more smooth and pleasing Current than the Society of Men of friendly Minds and gentle Manners?"[491] This also impressed visiting naval chaplain, Henry Teonge when he "preacht a sermon in the factory; Psalm. Ixvi. 13., and had an audience of above 50 English men — a brave shew in that wild place".[492]

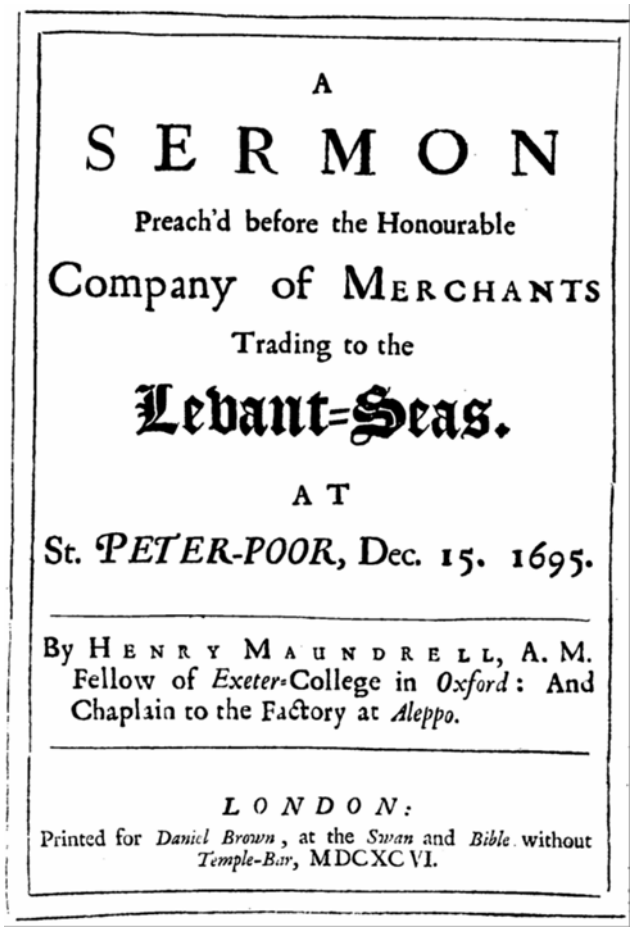
In keeping with the university college ethos the chaplains took a role in furthering the education of the young merchants. Frampton's biographer described the chaplain's "labour and pains" to "cultivate and improve" the young gentlemen of the factory so that their education was not restricted to trade, commerce and foreign affairs but also "the more polite parts of learning and ingeneous education as well as sound religion".[493]

d. The Company Perceived the Chaplains as Preachers

The early directors of the Company did not describe their clerical appointees as "priests", "clerks in holy orders", "ministers" or "chaplains" but as "preachers". The official record of Pococke's appointment illustrates this. The Governor informed those present:

> …that the speciall occasion of somoning this Court at this tyme was to make choice of a Preacher to reside at Aleppo to goe over in the next shipps, and did first move to knowe whether they would send as Preacher or noe, which being considered of as a matter tending to the Glory of God, the reputacion of the Companie, and the benefit of the English Nation there resident, was with free and full consent approved of and resolved by the whole vote of the Assembly…[494]

It was indeed a preacher they were looking for, because the minute continues that they approved of Edward Pococke in principle but wanted to hear him preach, and so he was asked to give a sermon the following Wednesday afternoon at St Andrew's Undershaft. The trial sermon seems to have been the undeviating condition for the appointment of chaplains throughout the history of the Company. There were at least three good reasons for this. First, through their sermons clergy of the established state church were expected to mould Englishmen to be loyal and law-abiding subjects of the English crown, particularly in places where bad behaviour could turn into an international incident. Second, in a socially claustrophobic environment like the Aleppo factory, the pastor was expected to maintain morale and harmony among the merchants. Third, in an age and place where there were no mass media or ready access to books, much was expected of the preacher since a good sermon was a highlight in the week. Samuel Pepys confided in his diary his disappointment with the preaching of Daniel Milles, his parish priest, using terms like "dull", "lazy", "mean", "sorry", "unnecessary" and worst of all "neither understood by himself nor the people".[495] In contrast he enthused over excellent preaching, as in the previously quoted case of Frampton who preached "like an apostle" while on leave in London between his two tours of duty in Aleppo. A likely fourth reason might be that it provided some intellectual sport for the congregation of London merchants. The Governor assigned Frampton to preach on the notoriously difficult John 16: 8-11.[496] Frampton wittily prefaced his sermon with a comment that he would not have personally chosen this or a number of other difficult passages like 1 Corinthians 15: 29, [497] 1 Peter 3: 19, [498] or a number of others he spelled out. Subsequently these thorny passages were assigned to successive candidates, Huntington ending up with the 1 Corinthians passage.[499]



A

SERMON

Preach'd before the Honourable

Company of MERCHANTS

Trading to the

Levant-Seas.

AT

St. PETER-POOR, Dec. 15. 1695.

By HENRY MAUNDRELL, A. M.
Fellow of *Exeter*-College in *Oxford*: And
Chaplain to the Factory at *Aleppo*.

LONDON:
Printed for *Daniel Brown*, at the *Swan* and *Bible* without
Temple-Bar, MDCXCVI.

Figure 37. Many of the chaplains' trial sermons before the Directors of the Levant Company were published

Figure 38. The church of St Andrew Undershaft in the City of London was a common venue for the chaplains' trial sermons. Other venues like St Peter Poor and St Benet Fink have been demolished.

Congregations were meant to "hear, read, mark, learn and inwardly digest" [500] the Sunday sermon. This raises the interesting question about how the preacher handled biblical texts, bearing in mind that the Sunday readings were rigidly prescribed by the Prayer Book lectionary. It would seem a straightforward matter to preach to high-spirited bachelors on the Epistle for the First Sunday in Advent: "Let us walk honestly in the day; not in rioting or drunkenness, not in

chambering and wantoneness…".[501] But on the Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity, the Gospel is a thorny text for a trial sermon to the well-fed, well-heeled merchants of the great capitalist venture known as the English Levant Company. The beginning and end are enough to give you the idea:

> No one can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the on and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon. Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on….Take therefore no thought for the morrow; for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself: sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.[502]

Twells' description of Pococke as a preacher relates to his preaching in the parish of Childrey but could easily apply to his preaching in Aleppo.[503] By implication he avoided some common pitfalls of current preaching. First, he pitched it to the level of his hearers:

> His Sermons were so contriv'd by him, as to be most useful to the Persons that were to hear them. For tho' such as he preached in the University, were very elaborate, and full of critical and other Learning ; the Discourses he delivered in his Parish, were plain and easy, having nothing in them, which he conceived to be above the Capacities, even of the meanest of his Auditors.

Second, he exegeted the text, and then sought to make it applicable:

> He commonly began with an Explanation of the Text he made choice of, rendering the Sense of it as obvious and intelligible, as might be: Then he noted whatever was contained in it, relating to a good Life; and recommended it to his Hearers, with a great Force of spiritual Arguments, and all the Motives, which appeared most likely to prevail with them.

Third, his delivery was unpretentious and untheatrical:

> And as he carefully avoided the Shews and Ostentation of Learning ; so he would not, by any Means, indulge himself in the Practice of those Arts, which at that Time were very common, and much admir'd by ordinary People, Such were Distortions if the Countenance and strange Gestures, a violent and unnatural Way of Speaking, and affected Words and Phrases, which being out of the ordinary Way, were therefore suppos'd to exprest somewhat very mysterious, and, in a high Degree, spiritual.

e. The *Book of Common Prayer* Shaped the Chaplains' Mindset

The comprehensiveness of the Book of Common Prayer

"Lex orandi, lex credendi"[504] is a key to understanding the mindset of the chaplains. As Church of England clergy, their beliefs, spirituality and conduct of their ministry were ordered and guided by the *Book of Common Prayer*. Despite the name this most defining feature of the Anglicanism of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries was more than just a collection of prayers. The introductory material included the Prefaces which encapsulated the principles of the reformed services, and a comprehensive Lectionary that provided for the reading of the whole Bible in one year. At the heart of the book were the Daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, a streamlined reform of the cumbersome five daily offices of the Middle Ages. Then there was the reformed administration of the two Protestant sacraments of Holy Communion and Baptism. Finally there were the other services including Confirmation, Marriage, Ministry to the Sick, Burial and Ordination. These reflected a pre-industrial society. For instance the service of Churching of

Women was a response to childbirth normally being a painful and life-threatening experience. Also the "Prayers for Use at Sea" harked back to the time when seafaring England relied on frail, wooden sailing ships to defend its shores and carry on its trade. So the following core values illustrated from the *BCP* show the primary influence on the chaplains.

Consistent, disciplined bible reading was at the core of the chaplains' spirituality. Archbishop Cranmer's preface *Concerning the Service of the Church* captured this:

> …if a man should search out by the ancient Fathers… he shall find…that all the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be read once every year; intending thereby, that the Clergy, and especially those such as were Ministers in the congregation, should (by often reading, and meditation in God' s word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine…and further, that the people (by the daily hearing of holy Scripture read in the Church) might continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be more inflamed with the love of true religion.[505]

The chaplains were implicitly Catholic

The chaplains considered themselves Catholic, but decidedly not Roman Catholic. They had a sense of connection with the worldwide Christian Church, tainted only by the bloody conflict with Rome which was perpetuated on both sides by a long list of venerated martyrs. They had a profound respect and awareness of the eastern roots of the church. Their quarters were just off Straight Street, the axis of the city, which began at Bab Antakya, literally "the Antioch Gate". This gate led to the city of Antioch and then to Iskenderun, the port for Aleppo. Antioch was the home of John Chrysostom, where he had spent most of his life and had written his liturgies and theology. Most of the Christians in Aleppo were of the "Greek faith" and held John Chrysostom in the greatest honour apart from the Apostles themselves. Every day when the chaplains conducted the services of Morning and Evening Prayer at the Levant Company factory they implicitly honoured him for they concluded each service with *A Prayer of Saint Chrysostom*: "Almighty God, who hast given grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee..."

Furthermore, their theological education was grounded in the Greek and Latin Church Fathers rather than in the medieval schoolmen or the Protestant Reformers. Pococke's biographer Twells explained that James I had influenced theological education at Oxford by recommending that the focus be on "the fathers and councils, ecclesiastical historians and other ancient writers, together with the sacred text, the word of God".[506] In Aleppo the chaplains found themselves close to where many of the Church Fathers had lived. As well as Chrysostom there were the likes of John of Damascus, Eusebius, Origen, Jerome, Athanasius, Basil, Cyril and the Cappadocian Fathers: Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus.

Diarmaid MacCulloch explained how the High Church or "Arminian" party associated with Laud had a penchant towards the Eastern Churches:

> The English "Arminians" predated Arminius's emergence as a disruptive force in Dutch Calvinism, and they had other priorities: a predisposition to emphasize the continuity rather than discontinuity in the English Church through the Reformation struggles, and a willingness to appreciate afresh the devotional traditions of the medieval West. Often this led them to an interest in - indeed, fascination with - Eastern Orthodoxy: the Orthodox world had the advantage of not having been directly involved in Reformation bitterness, and (perhaps fortunately) it was also not so readily to hand for detailed contemporary scrutiny as was the Roman Church.[507]

Throughout the period of the Aleppo chaplaincy, English church leaders and scholars were having fruitful relationships with the Greek counterparts, culminating in the foundation of the albeit short-lived Greek College in England. So it is no surprise that the chaplains had a natural affinity with Orthodox scholars. Mention has already been made of Pococke's friendship with the Patriarch of Antioch and his brother, Thalge, who provided him with the Syriac works of the Church Father Ephraim the Syrian.[508]

As mentioned above, when Pococke returned from Aleppo and studied for his BD at Oxford, one of his papers dealt with a matter which had exercised his mind in the Middle East which was "Whether pilgrimages to places, called holy, undertaken on the account of religion, are to be approved?" This was a lively issue, as the Council of Trent had declared such ventures as meritorious. Rather than relying on contemporary Protestant writings, Pococke went back to the Church Fathers, particularly the epistle of Gregory of Nyssa about pilgrims to Jerusalem, to argue against the spiritual merits of pilgrimage.[509]

The chaplains were unequivocally Protestant

This respect for the Eastern Churches was tempered by criticism. They had been taught that after Chrysostom and the other "Early Fathers" these Churches had gradually slid into error in matters of lifestyle, worship and doctrine. At the back of *BCP* among the Articles of Religion was this statement:

> The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments are duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same. As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred; so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.[510]

A deep distrust of the Roman Church was engrained in the English psyche. The commemorations of two events were incorporated into the *BCP*.[511] The first was the discovery of the Gunpowder Treason Plot, which was the attempt by Guy Fawkes and other Roman Catholics in 1605 to assassinate James I and his Parliament with a view to re-establishing England as a Roman Catholic nation. The second was the landing of the Protestant William of Orange in 1688 to oust James II from the throne and thereby foil his plans to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in England. So every 5 November the clergy and people were expected to gather in church and give thanks "…for the happy Deliverance of King James the First, and the Three Estates of England, from the most traiterous and bloody-intended Massacre by Gunpowder And also for the happy Arrival of His Majesty King William on this Day, for the Deliverance of our Church and Nation". Every year at the time of the commemoration anti-Roman feeling was refuelled with this prayer:

> God, whose Name is excellent in all the earth, and thy glory above the heavens; who, on this day, didst miraculously preserve our Church and State from the secret contrivance and hellish malice of Popish Conspirators; and on this day also didst begin to give us a mighty Deliverance from the open tyranny and oppression of the same cruel and blood-thirsty enemies; We bless and adore thy glorious Majesty, as for the former, so for this thy later marvellous loving- kindness to our church and Nation, in the preservation of our Religion and Liberties….

Loyalty to the Pope was seen as disloyalty to King of England, to the extent that it was spelled out in the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion: "The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm

of England".[512] This was so deeply entrenched in the English consciousness that someone as comfortable with Roman Catholics as Frampton reacted harshly to a fellow Englishman who venerated the Pope. In Rome, when he was invited by an old acquaintance, Lord Henry Howard, to have the honour of kissing the Pope's slipper Frampton refused "telling his Lordship he hoped 'ere long to have a greater honour which was to kiss his own king's hand", inviting the warning from Howard "remember where you are."[513]

Rather than denouncing the bloody treachery of Rome the chaplains preached against its dark errors. In his final sermon as chaplain in Smyrna before taking up the position in Aleppo Samuel Lisle denounced "the praying to or invocating Saints and Angels, as practis'd in the Church of Rome" as striking "at the Corner Stone, on which Christianity is founded".[514] Words almost failed him when it came to attacking the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation. The sheer irrationality of it led to flabbergasting, rhetorical questions about the ineffectiveness of seeking to admonish benighted Roman Catholics: "For why, on the one hand, shou'd it be suppos'd that Men will be so distracted, as to renounce both their Reason and their Senses? Or if they shou'd resolve to do so in any Instance, How can it be imagin'd that they shou'd attend to or put in practice any Admonition?"[515] Lisle then reminded his hearers that the protection against such corruption was holding to the sixth of the Thirty-Nine Articles, "That the Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to Salvation...etc." Lisle concluded with an exhortation to the English factors of Smyrna that to be faithful to Christ required being a good member of the "Protestant and Reformed" Church of England. He explained that the Church of England used those epithets to distinguish itself from Rome, "yet we mean no more by it than the Christian Church, purg'd from the Corruptions and Abuses which had over-run it, and restor'd to primitive Truth and Beauty".[516]

The chaplains were offended by some Roman Catholic practices

Some of the chaplains decried Roman Catholic practices like statues, processions, and holy legends as a stumbling-block to Muslims seriously considering Christian claims.

On his return from the Middle East, Pococke visited Genoa where at a religious procession he overhead two slaves conversing in Arabic:

> And as they rallied the Pageantry they beheld, with a great deal of Wit, so from it they took Occasion to ridicule Christianity itself, and to load it with Contempt. So unhappy has the Church of Rome been in her Practices on the Christian Religion: For whilst, to serve some worldly Designs, she hath laboured to engage the Minds of the vulgar Sort, by empty Shews, and superstitious Solemnities, she hath, by those corrupt Additions, expos'd what is infinitely rational, wise and good, to the Laughter and Reproach of Infidels, who will not take the Pains to distinguish in the Professors of Christianity what hath, indeed, the Warrant of the Gospel, from what hath not.[517]

With similar concern, Frampton upbraided a Latin friar in Jerusalem who showed him the impression on a rock made by Mary dropping her girdle "to confirm St Thomas in her Assumption". He advised him "to consider whether such fabulous relations might occasion the Infidels among whom they liv'd, to call in question the Verity of those the holy Scripture attested to".[518]

The disdain for such things that were central to the popular spirituality of the Catholic West and Orthodox East is enshrined in the Thirty-nine Articles: "The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God".[519] However this reforming spirit did not necessarily leave the

Protestant spirituality of the period dry and joyless. For one thing it brought the focus back from legends and traditions to the Jesus of the Gospels. Frampton's response, on being shown by the friars the miraculous impression of Christ's last footstep at the reputed site of the Ascension, was to consider that:

> the marks the holy Apostles saw in our Saviour's hands when he lifted them up in giving his last blessing upon earth had a better foundation and afforded a more comfortable meditation then such a precarious mark could do: for tho' we were well assured of the Mount, yet of the particular part there was less certainty.[520]

Frampton's fourteen years in the Bible Lands brought him to the conclusion that visiting places associated with Jesus' life and ministry "if they were not proper to beget, yet they would mightily heighten the devotion of anyone that meditated upon such passages of the Gospel which set out the infinite condescension of our blessed Lord, the marks of which were before their eyes".[521] In other words, the Protestant pilgrim went with open Bible in hand and let the experience of the little-changed environment deepen his appreciation and understanding that the Word had truly dwelt among men.

The chaplains believed that followers of non-Christian religions were in spiritual peril

The chaplains were programmed to seek the salvation of all people as they prayed to "the Creator and Preserver of all mankind "for all sorts and conditions of men; that thou wouldest be pleased to make thy ways known unto them, thy saving health unto all nations".[522] On Good Friday they would pray for the "lost" by category:

> O Merciful God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live: Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart and contempt of thy word; and so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, world without end.

It is a tender-hearted and compassionate prayer. The harsh and judgemental phrase, "take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart and contempt of thy word" jars modern sensibilities. But it needs to be seen in the context of the chaplains' and the people's awareness of their own shortcomings in the prayer in the Prayer Book Litany: "from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism; from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy Word and Commandment, Good Lord, deliver us."

Proselytising Muslims under a Muslim regime was too dangerous to even consider. However, at least one chaplain was willing to take risks to help bring a Christian, who had fallen away, back into the fold. Not unexpectedly it was Frampton. On a journey to Egypt he was surprised to meet in a company of Turks a young Frenchman who confided that as a Venetian mercenary he had nearly starved to death in a siege, thrown himself on the mercy of his Turkish enemies and joined them. Either in French or Italian they then got into an intense conversation. He told Frampton he was now content to be a Muslim and have his liberty and money in his purse. Frampton's reply to the apostate was uncompromising:

> Friend, I bepitty thy case; 'tis the misfortune of your nation, not to have the Scripture in your own language, otherwise you might have read therein, that A man is not profited, tho' he gains the whole world, and lose his own soul. What the bulk of thy body, the fatness thou

> boastest of, when God sends leaness with all into thy soul, what tho' thou livest merrily now, what wilt thou when thou shalt undergo weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth? Didst thou ever consider that to gain friendship of men thou hast deny'd the Lord of Glory before men? And the consequence is, He will deny thee before his Father and holy Angels.[523]

Unfazed by the Frenchman's defence of the morality and justice of his new religion the chaplain continued with this severe warning:

> Thou callest thyself a Musselman, that is a true believer, but thou hast deny'd the faith, and thy end will be confusion of face for evermore, for there is no other name whereby man shall be saved but the name of Jesus, and him thou hast denyed, woulds't not that he should reign over thee, and therefore will he command thee to be slain before his face.

His conscience pierced, the man repented and begged the chaplain's absolution. Frampton warned him against deceit:

> God only knows thy sincerity; it may be thou dost this only to ensnare me by informing against me, but know, thy single testimony will not avail; I know your courts, and have language enough to plead in them, here is not witness but God and thy own conscience, the one to accuse thee, the other to justify me, who have endeavoured to deliver my own soul and to bring thine out of that gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity in which thou and by which thou are bound without repentance and amendment of life unto eternal perdition.

The young man convinced Frampton of his sincerity by offering to present himself before the *cadi* the very next day to renounce Islam and face the consequences, and by promising never again to enter a mosque. The pastor then spoke words of assurance about God's mercy and proposed to help him escape back to France to avoid dying for his newly renewed faith:

> tho' the greatest hazard must not be refused when a soul is at stake, yet there seems a less difficult way for thee to extricate thyself; thy habit is thy protection and thy freedom enables thee to pass the Ottoman Empire; leave then the tents of these wicked men and repair to Christendom where a life of piety may ascertain thy repentance, qualify thee for absolution, and God may save thy soul; and if thou wilt come to Aleppo, thou shalt find me upon such a day at the French Consul's, where thou shalt be supply'd with clothes and by the first ship sent off either to thy native country or elsewhere at thy own choice, where I shall leave thee to the guidance of thy own conscience, the direction of the priest, and the mercy of God.[524]

It is worth quoting Frampton in full because it gives some important insights. This is unique as a detailed and early account of a Protestant, specifically Anglican and Arminian, response to apostasy to Islam. The severity of the response may seem intolerant to a modern audience, yet Frampton was using the language of the New Testament. It shows that the tone of Anglican and Arminian spiritual conversation in the mid seventeenth century was as biblically literate and direct as the better known Puritan discourse. It was in no way latitudinarian except in one way which leads to the third observation. This is that the willingness to commit the Frenchman to the spiritual direction of Roman Catholic priests showed a surprising generosity of spirit that would probably not have been reciprocated.

The chaplains had a Protestant ecclesiology and missiology

Unlike the Church of Rome, the Church of England harboured no ambitions of religious imperialism. As members of the ancient but reformed Church of England the chaplains would have cherished two assumptions.

First and foremost they were committed to the integrity of the national church as having the right to develop its own culture and self-government. This is summed up in the 34th Article of Religion: "Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by men's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."[525] Therefore they had an inherent respect for the integrity of the Eastern churches and their right to organise and govern themselves and to have their own customs. This laid the groundwork for later Protestants like the nineteenth century missionary statesmen, John Venn and Rufus Anderson, to develop the "Three-Selfs Principles" as a goal of missions: to grow indigenous churches that were self-governing, self-financing and self-propagating. In the twentieth century the Fourth-Self of self-contextualising or self-theologising continues to build on that underlying assumption of classical Protestantism.

The second assumption of the chaplains was that, as in the case of North Western Europe, if the Eastern Christians had access to the Scriptures in their vernacular through translation, printing, widespread distribution and universal literacy then they would naturally reform their Churches, bringing them out of error and superstition into a lively faith and godly, sober lives. They would also have a desire to convert their Muslim neighbours and further, reduce the stumbling blocks like devotion to the saints and veneration of images. It was not until the Evangelical Revival of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that this old missiology was challenged and a missiology closer to that of the Roman Catholics emerged. This will be examined in chapter 10.

The chaplains were expected to be model Christians

The basis of their pastoral care of the Company employees and other Europeans who associated with the factory was by exemplifying the Christian life. At their ordination they had promised "to be diligent to frame and fashion" themselves and their families, "according to the doctrines of Christ; and to make" both themselves and their families, to the best of their ability, "wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ". Further, they promised to "maintain and set forwards...quietness, peace and love, among all Christian people, and specially among them that are or shall be committed to their charge".[526]

In the midst of the commercial activity of the Aleppo factory the chaplain had his own business. This is described by Pococke's biographer:

> Above all other Things he carefully applied himself to the Business of his Place, as Chaplain to the Factory; performing the solemn Duties of Religion in that decent and orderly Manner, which our Church requires. He was diligent in Preaching, exhorting his Countrymen, in a plain, but very convincing Way, to Piety, Temperance, Justice and Love, and all those Christian Virtues or Graces, which would both secure to them the Favour and Protection of the Almighty, and also adorn their Conversation, rendering it comely in the Sight of an unbelieving Nation. And what he labour'd to persuade others to, he duly practised himself proposing to his Hearers, in his own regular and unspotted Life, a bright Example of the Holiness he recommended.[527]

f. The Chaplains as Scholars

Biblical scholarship and the chaplains

This was touched on previously, but deserves further exploration. At their ordination as priests the chaplains had promised to focus their studies on the Bible "diligent in prayers, and in the reading of the holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside study of the world and the flesh."

Their education at Oxford or Cambridge prepared them well to pursue *in situ* subjects as diverse as archaeology, geography, church history and Semitic languages, which all contributed to a better knowledge of the Bible. Edward Pococke, like most other chaplains, took a natural interest in phenomena that threw new light on biblical interpretation. Two examples are particularly interesting. First, he concluded that the howling and wailing dragons of Micah 1: 8 of the Authorised Version were actually a wild dog that the locals called "jakales":

> For abiding in the fields and waste places, they howl so lamentably, that persons unacquainted with them, would conclude that a company of women and children were wailing one to another....These jakales are so ravenous, that they will prey on dead bodies, yea, dig them out of their graves if not well covered.[528]

Hence the dragons of Psalm 44:19 and the foxes of Psalm 58:10 were also probably jackals.

The other example is Pococke's observation that the Middle Eastern method of threshing grain was totally different to the English custom. Rather than using a hand-held flail to just separate the grain from the husks, the Arabs used treading oxen, studded sledges or iron wheels to not only separate the grain but also to cut the straw into small pieces to store for fodder. This gave new meaning to the references in the Old Testament prophets to "thrashing with instruments of iron, of thrashing the mountains, and beating them small, and making the hills as chaff".[529]

Scholarly objectivity

As university graduates the chaplains were among the tiny, educated elite of English society and the objectivity of their observations, opinions and writing about the Middle East stands in contrast to the sensationalist and bigoted writings of popular travellers' accounts. Some examples are William Lithgow's perpetuation of the myth of the magnetically floating coffin of Muhammad, Lady Wortley Montagu's salacious descriptions of Muslim harems where "even the cucumbers are cut",[530] as well as numerous lurid accounts of English folk kidnapped by Barbary pirates.

The typical chaplain was naturally curious. For instance the bookish, self-confessed anti-traveller Pococke enjoyed keeping a chameleon in a box and commented in a letter to a friend in England on its behaviour from his own observation and from information he received from the gardeners. As a result, he concluded that Pliny and other ancient writers were wrong in declaring that this reptile neither ate nor drank but only lived on air, for he had observed that "it darted out a long sharp Tongue and caught Flies: And, was assur'd by the Gardeners, that it frequently did Mischief to some of their Plants".[531]

g. The Chaplains Showed a Variety of Attitudes towards Muslims

Although the chaplains as a whole were critical of Islam as a religion, their opinions of Muslims varied. Modern ears would be offended by the harsh language that a number of the chaplains used in describing the Turks, for instance Maundrell's measured opinion:

> They are a perfect visible comment upon our blessed Lord's description of the Jewish

> pharisees. In a word, lust, arrogance, covetousness and the most exquisite hypocrisy compleat their character. The only thing that ever I could observe to commend in them, is the outward decency of their carriage, the profound respect they pay to religion and to everything relating to it, and their general temperance and frugality.[532]

Racial and religious vilification is repugnant to modern civilized people who have witnessed the appalling effects of such attitudes. So it is easy to criticise those chaplains who made censorious remarks about the Turks, which ended up being published and widely read in England and beyond. In response it needs to be said that in the mind of the chaplains their cultural links with the Bible Lands of the Levant, Egypt and Mesopotamia were far stronger and more ancient than that of the occupying Ottoman Turks. To be treated as barbarians by relative newcomers like the Ottomans must have been galling for the chaplains who read, wrote and spoke Latin, and frequently were familiar with biblical Hebrew and Greek. As mentioned, at every service of Morning and Evening Prayer they prayed the *Prayer of Saint Chrysostom*, who had lived in nearby Antioch six hundred years before the arrival of the Arabs and a thousand years before its conquest by the Turks. In the correspondence of the chaplains one detects a deep sympathy for the Christians of the East enduring dhimmitude, the second-class status imposed on non-Muslims.

This distaste for Turks and sympathy for Christians was shared with English laymen as in the case of Timberlake who met Biddulph in Jerusalem and whose virulence was unmatched by any chaplain. Commenting on the barrenness of the land around Jerusalem Timberlake suggested it was cursed by God "for that they use the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah very much in that Country, whereby the pore Christians that inhabit therein, are glad to marry their daughters at twelve years of age, unto Christians, lest the Turkes should ravish them, and to conclude, there is not that sinne in the world, but it is used there amongst those Infidels that now inhabit therein..... Then in even stronger terms he pointed out the irony of the term "holy Land" because "all holinesse is cleane banished from thence by those thieves, filthy Turkes and Infidels that inhabit the same".[533]

Because Islam developed after Christianity it has an inbuilt critique of Christianity and also provides Muslims with a sense that their religion is the final and complete revelation of God's truth. But the chaplains readily found within the Gospels a critique of Islam and Muslims in Jesus' clash with the Pharisees, as evident in the quote from Maundrell's letter.

The language differential

In all this there is an important and salutary exception: the chaplains who learned to speak Arabic and made the acquaintance of individual Muslims were the least harsh in their judgements. Frampton, Pococke and Huntington exemplify this. Presumably using Pococke's own expression, Twells wrote of his "Turkish and Arabian Friends at Aleppo" mentioning by name Sheikh Phatallah.[534] Speaking of such friends Pococke told Grotius in Paris that "He had observ'd, in many that profess'd this Religion, much Justice, and Candor, and Love, and other excellent Qualities, which seem'd to prepare them for the Kingdom of God… "[535]

As a linguistic phenomenon, Arabic is fundamentally different to languages like English. It is commonly regarded as existing in three variants. First, the language of the Qur'an and Classical Arabic are one and the same. Second, development of Western-style education and the Arabic press in the nineteenth century has given rise to Modern Standard Arabic which spans the Arabic world. Third, Vernacular Arabic is spoken in dialects that vary as much as the Romance languages. So a Moroccan has as much difficulty in conversing with an Iraqi, as a Portuguese with an Italian. By contrast, English does not have a classical standard parallel to the Qur'an and despite its geographical spread and range of dialects it is mutually intelligible across the dialects because its

global expansion began in the seventeenth century and was accompanied by the standardising influence of the printing press, whereas the expansion of Arabic began in the seventh century.

Contemporaries like Pococke and Frampton had expertise in different variants of Arabic. Pococke's focus was on Arabic literature while Frampton's was on the colloquial. Pococke studied Arabic in order to translate it primarily into Latin, then the language of learning for Western Europe. Frampton learned vernacular Arabic in order to relate to the people he lived among. In the account by Evans of the visit by Pococke to Frampton in Aleppo, the latter expressed doubts to the former that his formal Arabic studies put him in good store for conversing with local people.[536] To prove it Frampton invited his teenage nephew to converse with Pococke in the local language. The lad's superior grasp of the local language prompted Pococke to ask how the teenager had acquired such a grasp of this difficult language, to which Frampton replied "by playing in the street". Pococke replied that there were so many dialects that he had to content himself with book learning. Frampton then explained the inadequacies of book learning with an amusing story about his delightfully candid Arabic servant Ramadam:

> When I first set upon the study of this tongue, I endeavour'd it by book. And reading one day, in comes Ramadam, quoth he, Master art thou studying our language? Well I will tell thee for thy comfort one of our proverbs, if a stranger applys himself carefully to our tonge for threescore years, he may know something of it. Says he, I took the man right, and threw down the book, and said, Thy language go to the malora, I will take another way, and being master of their alphabet, I came soon to read, but found observation the readyest way to an ability of converse.[537]

Frampton's biographer went on to explain that his fluency in the vernacular was worthwhile because it enabled him to get "many accounts in his travels that might otherwise have escaped his notice".[538]Although not in the same league as Pococke as a scholar, Frampton's facility with Arabic enabled him to produce a "laborious collection of the Arabick proverbs with an account of their original and present use and application, with a parallel of the European in various languages".[539] Unfortunately it has been lost.

h. The Chaplains were Loyal Englishmen

As clergy of the Church of England the chaplains sought to instil in their flock loyalty to the English monarch and his ministers. For instance, Frampton's biographer maintained that his pastoral care, integrity and loyalty to the crown deeply affected the young merchants in Aleppo who "pursued him with their kind acknowledgments to his death, and beyond it too, in retaining a respect to his memory that instructed them in their younger years in the principles of true Religion and Loyalty..."[540]

This loyalty became problematical on two occasions in the seventeenth century. The first was during the conflict between King and Parliament which led to the Civil War, the execution of Charles I, or "the Regicide" as Royalists called it, and the subsequent rule by Oliver Cromwell's military junta known as the Commonwealth era. The second occasion was at the time of the "Glorious Revolution" when James II was deposed and replaced by his son-in-law William of Orange, creating a painful dilemma for Church of England clergy. Ironically, the same courageous and high-principled bishops, including the former Aleppo chaplain Frampton, who were imprisoned by James for protesting his pro-Catholic policies, were dethroned by William because their consciences forbade them to revoke their oath of loyalty to James. Not all bishops and clergy became Non-Jurors. Many were "trimmers" like the legendary Vicar of Bray who when asked

about his principles explained that no matter what happened his overriding commitment was to remain the Vicar of Bray.

i. The Chaplains were not Missionaries

It may be definitely stated that the Aleppo chaplains neither perceived of themselves nor acted as missionaries. It would be an anachronism to describe even the more zealous and mission-minded chaplains like Pococke and Huntington as missionaries. There was such reluctance among Anglican clergy to accept the role of missionary that it was not until two decades after the founding of the Church Missionary Society that William Jowett (1787-1855) became the first Oxbridge graduate to serve with the Society. We will hear more of him later, in chapter 12.

To understand the mindset of the Anglican clergy it is helpful to examine Ralph Winter's distinction between "modalities" and "sodalities".[541] Winter defines a modality as an institution and a sodality as a voluntary organisation. The former is oriented more to maintaining the status quo, the latter to changing the status quo. The chaplains saw themselves as belonging to a modality, the Church of England, and furthermore as being answerable to their employer, the English Levant Company. Their constituency was the English merchants of Aleppo and by extension the handful of other Protestant merchants namely the Dutch and Germans. As they understood it their role was the cure of souls. As we shall see, a number did involve themselves in activities that could be described as missionary or missional, but this was a matter of personal choice and predisposition. These missionary activities arose from cordial relations with the local Christians and resulted in sharing the resources and technology of the West by providing printed Scriptures and other Christian literature to assist their worship and strengthen their churches.

By contrast missionaries typically belong to sodalities whether it be the Roman Catholic religious orders, like the Capuchins, Carmelites and Jesuits who were active in Aleppo during the chaplaincy era or the Protestant societies like the Church Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of a later era. This leads naturally to comparisons, which will be covered in subsequent chapters.

Unlike the Roman Catholics, the Anglican clergy saw themselves as belonging to a national church with their ministry restricted to subjects of the British crown. When the British crown's sovereignty expanded to territories like the American and Caribbean colonies, the Church of England clergy ministered to heathen like African slaves. This is illustrated by the explanation in the 1662 version of the *BCP* that the *Service of Baptism of such as are of Riper Years* "may be always useful for the baptizing of Natives in our Plantations, and others converted to the Faith".[542] However in places like India where the clergy were chaplains of the East India Company they were actively discouraged from seeking the conversion of the heathen for fear of upsetting the status quo and subsequently trade. This remained the situation until Wilberforce and fellow members of the "Clapham Sect" forced through Parliament changes to the East India Act in the early nineteenth century.

The already mentioned Royalist chaplain Isaac Basire was the one exception to all this. The nineteenth century scholar James Crossley put it most succinctly: "Upon the surrender of the Oxford garrison to the Parliament, he resolved, with all the zeal of a missionary, to propagate the doctrine of the English Church in the East, among the Greeks, Arabians, etc".[543] This singlehanded mission took him as far afield as Transylvania and Mesopotamia. A French Huguenot by birth, a Dutch Arminian by education and an English Anglican by choice he was totally convinced of the rightness of Anglicanism. One of his students, Miklos Bethlen (1642-1716),

who rose to become Chancellor of Transylvania, described him as pleasant, moderate and of sober habits. He was well-behaved, affable and a good conversationalist, gracious and eloquent. He was a fine Latinist, speaking fluently and elegantly, and a good preacher.[544] This may explain why he was well-received by Orthodox, Protestants and even Roman Catholics like the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. Shortly after Basire's return, John Evelyn wrote in his diary entry on 10 November 1661: "In the afternoon, preached at the Abbey Dr. Basire, that great traveller, or rather French Apostle, who had been planting the Church of England in divers parts of the Levant and Asia. He showed that the Church of England was, for purity of doctrine, substance, decency, and beauty, the most perfect under Heaven; that England was the very land of Goshen". [545] This reference to "planting" the church seems positively anachronistic to those of us who were introduced to the concept of "church planting" in the closing years of the twentieth century, thus highlighting Basire's unique stature among seventeenth century churchmen.

Much more typical was the attitude of the former Aleppo chaplain, Samuel Lisle. As Bishop of St Asaph and pillar of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1748 he preached to the Society's Annual Meeting about the missionary imperative. In doing so he criticised the Roman Catholic missions in China, the Middle East and Americas, each on different grounds. He commented on the Middle East:

> Nearer Home, in those Parts of Asia where their Practices are better known, their Missions do not seem to be managed with an Apostolical Simplicity. They settle themselves in Nations which are Christians already, and have been so from the Beginning, and under Pretence of converting the Infidels which are among them, their chief Business seems to be, to apply themselves with all their Arts to pervert the Christians themselves from their ancient Faith, and to draw them over to a Subjection to the Pope: The Want of which submission is what they think the greatest Error they find among them, and which they endeavour zealously to eradicate, while the Infidels are very sparingly (if ever) applied to by them. This I think may be truly said concerning their Eastern Missions.[546]

No doubt Lisle was drawing on his own observations of the Roman missionaries in Aleppo. In fact Aleppo was the first place outside their homelands where Protestant and Catholic clergy lived side by side. This leads on to a fascinating comparison of attitudes and practices.

Chapter 10

Comparison of the English Protestant and French Catholic Aleppo Chaplains

The Pasha's joke

Abraham Parsons, the Company man in Scanderoon from 1767 to 1773, related an amusing and insightful exchange between the newly arrived Pasha of Aleppo and the French consul. At his first meeting with the French consul and his entourage the Pasha had noted the presence of the thirty or more Italian missionaries who received protection as French consular chaplains. The following day he had observed that the English consul only had one chaplain. Parsons related:

> Some time after the French consul demanded an audience on some national business, and went attended in the usual manner, and was thus addressed by the pasha: "The next day after you were here, the English consul and the merchants visited me, and I could not help noticing that they had only one chaplain, although beside the consul, there were twelve merchants; now here I see with you above thirty chaplains, and only eighteen merchants; I am told that among Christians there are many different sects, and that each has a different way of worshipping God, and that the French and English differ much: I don't pretend to know who is most in the right, but must observe, that if eighteen French men must have upwards of thirty of the religious men of your church to superintend their conduct, and that twelve English men can be kept in order by one religious man of theirs, I must certainly give the preference to the English church; and if I turn Christian" (added he, smiling) "I will be of their church."[547]

All these Roman Catholic clergy were technically "chaplains" to the consul in Aleppo, thanks to the good offices of a past French Ambassador with the Ottoman authorities in Istanbul. This had served the Roman Catholics well for ninety years. In 1680 the French consul in Aleppo Laurent d'Arvieux had reported that there were 24 Latin Catholic priests and friars in the city but only 14 resident French merchants.[548] At that time there was just a single Protestant chaplain for at least forty English merchants.[549]

This anomaly of the overstaffed French Aleppo chaplaincy was transparently a cover for a very successful Catholic missionary offensive to convert the Christian merchant class from Orthodoxy to Catholicism. The two commanding principles behind this were the role of the French king as Protector of Christianity in the Ottoman Empire and the Roman Catholic mission to bring the Eastern Churches under the authority of the Pope.

a. The French Role as Protectors of Christianity in the Ottoman Empire

From the time of the Crusades, the French had been the dominant Latin power in the Middle East and their king held the torch as champion of Christendom. They were quick to engage with the Ottomans when they became the dominant Muslim power. In 1535 Francis I made an agreement with Sultan Suleiman I that all subjects of the French king had the right to practice their own religion and could not be made into or regarded as Muslims unless they desired it themselves. During the reign of Louis XIII (1610- 43), the French ambassador to the Supreme Porte received instructions to protect not only Roman Catholics but all Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The treaty of

1535 was renewed over the centuries, for the last time in 1743.

No French official was a more zealous servant of Rome than Francois Picquet, the consul in Aleppo from 1652 to 1662. He secured the designation of the mission-educated Andrew Akhijan as Syriac Archbishop of Aleppo by promising to absorb some of the debts of Patriarch Sham'un. When Sham'un died Akhijan was approved as Patriarch by procuring a *firman* (royal mandate) from Istanbul paid entirely by the French. Picquet continued such practices when he became the Vicar Apostolic of Babylon.[550] It should be noted to their credit that he was severely censured by the Cardinals of the Propaganda for this type of conduct.[551]

b. The Catholic Reformation and the Uniate Churches

The Catholic Reformation, also called the Catholic Revival or Counter-Reformation, saw the Roman Catholic Church reforming itself and undergoing two centuries of massive expansion. This was both through evangelising the natives of the Americas and Asia as well as bringing many Christians from the Protestant and Eastern churches back under the authority of the Bishop of Rome. It was carried out with the efficiency of a well-coordinated military campaign, finally running out of momentum in the mid eighteenth century. The driving force came from the formularies of the Council of Trent (1545-1630) which enshrined obedience to the Pope. Acknowledgement of the universal primacy of the Bishop of Rome as heir of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles and Vicar of Christ, was seen as essential to the health of the Church and the salvation of the individual.

This was not the first effort at reunion. In 1438 the Council of Florence had received strong support from the hard-pressed Byzantine Emperor in Constantinople as well as most of the Orthodox bishops and patriarchs, but it was unpopular among the rank-and-file monks and laity. Twenty years later, the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans removed the main incentive. The Eastern or Orthodox Churches which were won back to Rome were called Uniate Churches. The inducement was that they were allowed to keep their ancient liturgies and customs while at the same time receiving financial and manpower assistance. Effectively it led to a doubling of the number of the Churches but with no increase in overall numbers of Christians in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. So, instead of just a Greek Orthodox Church there was also a Greek Catholic Church. The same applied to the Armenians, Ukrainians, Russians, Chaldeans and Syrians to name a few. The command centre was the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fidei* (1622), better known as the Propaganda. The storm-troops were the members of the Jesuit Order founded in 1540, which was characterised by rigorous intellectual training, freedom from the restrictions of a monastic life, and the vow of obedience to the Pope.

c. The Development of the Catholic Mission in Aleppo

The Catholic mission in Aleppo was enormously successful in bringing most of the Christians of the various Eastern Churches into the Roman fold. A timeline builds up a complex picture. In 1623 the Propaganda received a request for an Arabic bible from the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan Bishop of Aleppo, Abdel-Karim Meletios Karmah. This followed Rome's initial rejection because of Rule 4 of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* of the Council of Trent, which prevented the translation of the Bible into vulgar tongues. This concession was a major step in winning over the Eastern churches.

The arrival of European missionaries brought enormous energy to the Catholic mission but also bitter rivalry. In 1625 the Carmelites were the first order to arrive in Aleppo, followed by the Capuchins, Franciscans and Jesuits. By 1629 there was so much conflict among the orders,

particularly between the Capuchins, supported by the French consul, and the Franciscans, supported by the Venetian consul, that it was suggested that the various Christian Churches be divided between them.

In 1634 Karmah became Patriarch of Antioch with the name Euthymius II and actively pursued reunion with Rome during his eight-month reign which ended with his death, probably by poisoning at the hands of the pro-Orthodox and pro-Ottoman faction. Nevertheless, the Rome-ward drift continued with the establishment of Jesuit schools between 1641 and 1643, the appointment of a Latin bishop to Aleppo to look after the foreign Catholic community in 1645, and the appointment of a Jesuit-trained priest as Greek Patriarch of Antioch in 1672. By 1681 there were twenty-eight French priests in the city. Although by 1760 that number had declined to twelve missionary priests the number of native priests had increased to over twenty comprising thirteen Greek Catholics (Melkites), four Armenian Catholics, three Syrian Catholics and an unknown number of Maronite priests.[552] Writing in 1753 Alexander Russell, the English Levant Company physician in Aleppo, described the Roman Catholic missionary work as coming under the protection of the French consul and comprising a Jesuit College which seldom had more than two or three priests, the "pretty large" Franciscan *Terra Sancta* convent whose church was frequented by the French and local Roman Catholics, a Capuchin convent with only two or three friars, and a Carmelite convent with only two or three friars.[553] By the mid eighteenth century the mass exodus of the Christian merchant class in Aleppo from the Orthodox into the Catholic fold was complete, leaving only the rural areas to the Orthodox.

d. Reasons for the Roman Catholic Success

A five-pronged strategy

The strategy to win back the Eastern Churches may be broken down into five initiatives. First, the political effort which involved the appointment of Papal Legates to the Middle East. Trained in the arts of diplomacy these church diplomats interfered in the internal affairs of the Eastern Churches and courted secular authority, particularly the French ambassador and consuls and the Ottoman sultan and pashas. Second, the training of Eastern priests in the Greek and Maronite Colleges in Rome. Third, the publication and widespread distribution of Catholic literature in the Eastern languages. Fourth, the establishment of hospitals and schools, introducing the best practices in Western medicine and education. Fifth, the utilisation of vernacular languages in preaching and teaching.[554]

Conditions within the Eastern Christian communities

Long before their Ottoman rulers and their Muslim neighbours looked to the West to modernise, Middle Eastern Christians had benefitted from their relationships with Westerners. So throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was generally a positive response by the Eastern Church bishops and patriarchs to the Roman delegates and missionaries, whom they saw as carriers of material gain as much as agents of intellectual and spiritual progress. In *The development of Catholicism in the Middle East 16th to 19th century*, Bernard Heyberger suggests that their major appeal to the Eastern prelates was the prospects of sending members of their community to Europe, of receiving alms, of the distribution of literature, of the promotion of medical practice and services, and of having excellent schools and colleges.[555]

When it came to the Christian communities' responses to the missionaries, there were opposing forces at work. The inertia against conversion out of Orthodoxy was strong because of the Arabic concept of *taifa* (community solidarity). It was particularly strong among male heads of households,

who faced sanctions and isolation for breaking away from their particular Orthodox community whether it was Greek, Syrian or Armenian. But this was not the whole story, for the women and young people were more open to the vibrant and immediate spirituality the missionaries offered. Among the practices that attracted them were the use of images, including the mass-produced printed pictures of patron saints, the silent prayers, and the frequency of confession.[556] This was supported through the Catholic publishing initiative. The urban middle classes appreciated and were influenced by the classic works of Catholic devotion that were translated into Arabic and widely distributed. From a theological perspective there was the appeal of the Catholic teaching about purgatory and indulgences, which shed a light on the fate of the deceased and provided practical help for the anxious and bereaved. By contrast, Orthodox theology had no dogmatic position on either doctrine.

In examining the same issue Robert Haddad drew from Orthodox sources which rejected the religious factors and looked to more pragmatic factors like the advantages of a closer connection with France and the West in general which specifically appealed to the Christian merchant classes.[557] In spite of their different perspectives, Heyberger and Haddad agreed that the Christians of Aleppo, whatever their tradition, were disgruntled with corrupt clergy and domination by distant church hierarchs and found that Catholicism addressed these issues, at the same time respecting their cherished liturgical traditions.[558]

e. Uniate Tensions with Rome

Nevertheless, the very institutional strength of the Propaganda was also a cause of frustration and even humiliation to the Eastern Church leaders. It operated well unilaterally, and had efficient communications with its operatives like the European missionaries and papal legates. However it failed to respond in a timely manner to requests from the indigenous Eastern leaders who resented any whiff of Roman superiority or paternalism. In a letter to the Propaganda in 1663 Makarios III al-Za'im (Patriarch of Antioch 1647-72), after conveying his greatest satisfaction with the teachings of the Carmelites and Capuchins in the church and the households of his community, expressed frustration at waiting over thirty years for the printing of the *Euchologion* and *Horologion*, liturgical texts that his predecessor Karmah had submitted to the Propaganda. Karmah had also hoped to print his own version of the Arabic Bible, but in 1663 the censors had finally examined it and, starting with Genesis, had found improper terms and divergences from the Vulgate.[559]

The response of the Eastern Christians to foreigners, whether consuls, merchants, missionaries or clergy, needs to be understood in terms of their culture. Heyberger explained that the Middle Eastern Christians recognised that the centre of power that most affected their lives was Constantinople (Istanbul), not Rome or Versailles. Therefore, at the same time as they were relating to the Latin missionaries they continued to be involved with the Orthodox churches of the Greeks, Russians, Romanians and Georgians.[560] Roman pretensions of primacy failed to make a dent in their dignity, as illustrated by a visit chaplain Frampton made to Patriarch Macarios III of Antioch. Examining the patriarchal seal that lay upon the table, the Englishman remarked that it referred to him as the successor of St Peter and queried how that title "agreed with a Doctrine current in some part of the world." Macarios replied:

> I know where about you are, but when your neighbour the Pope with all his infallibility can shew such proof for his succession as I can for mine, I will readily pay obedience to his see, but I think I have a much clearer text to prove St Peter to have been Bishop of Antioch than he hath to shew that he ever so much as saw Rome, notwithstanding their

> pretences which indeed prove nothing, and if of any weight yet too weak to support the supremacy of that prelate [561]

f. Personal Relations between the English and Roman Catholic clergy

The relationship between the English Protestant clergy and the French and Italian Roman Catholic clergy in the Middle East was surprisingly nuanced. Some of the chaplains had close, even affectionate relationships with Catholic missionaries. Among their common ground was a love of learning and a shared Latin literary culture. The English chaplains' relationships with the Franciscan guardians of holy sites were invariably cordial. By contrast, they shared with all Protestants and many Catholics an aversion for the tactics of the Jesuits. Yet even this is balanced by some English chaplains having warm personal relationships with Jesuit missionaries. As Protestants they disapproved of their attempts to persuade the Orthodox to become Catholics, while as fellow westerners and Christians they rejoiced when they were released from gaol. They rankled under the Jesuit slanders and libels against the Church of England and yet they would come to their assistance when they were in trouble.

The scholarly and fair-minded Pococke shared a dislike of the Jesuits with many Roman Catholics, such as the elderly Dominican friar he met on his return voyage from Aleppo. The friar, who had been serving in the Far East, had been dispatched to report to Rome and "...made no scruple to acquaint him with the secrets of his message; which was to complain of the Jesuits, and give a particular account of the abominations they were guilty of".[562] The gist of his complaint was that the Jesuits overlooked devotion to Confucius and traditional practices so long as the pope's supremacy was acknowledged. Pococke was forthright in implicating the Jesuits in the martyrdom of Cyril Lucaris in 1638, the reforming Patriarch of Constantinople. His personal acquaintance with Lucaris explains the normally moderate Pococke's bitter words in a letter he wrote in 1659 to Bishop Morton of Durham, which Pococke's biographer Twells draws from:

> His boldly asserting the doctrines of true and genuine Christianity, in opposition to the corruption of Rome, exposed him to the rage of those busy factors for that church, the Jesuits. Several of which order, at Constantinople, under the protection of the French ambassador, continually persecuted him almost twenty years.[563]

Pococke then explained how the English and Dutch Ambassadors stepped in to save Lucaris, but "a Jesuitical malice, though baffled, is not ended, and a hellish contrivance at length prevailed".[564] This also illustrates the powerful influence of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which in the previously cited prayer for the Fifth of November spoke in terms of "the secret contrivance and hellish malice of Popish Conspirators". Another example of the Jesuit behaviour that made Protestants suspicious, even hostile, was the Jesuit subversion of the Greek Orthodox students studying at the Greek College in Oxford in 1702.[565]

Characteristically, Frampton put people before the old animosities and earned the gratitude of the French consul in Aleppo by persuading two French apostates to renounce Islam and return to the Christian faith. The first, as previously outlined, was a soldier Frampton encountered in Egypt, who had converted after some Turks rescued him from starvation. The second was a friar who seemed to have accepted circumcision to draw close to the Muslims and then had found himself to be so compromised that he accepted Islam. The French consul, at some risk, had the men spirited back to Europe, although in the case of the friar "he return'd to his own vomit again and liv'd in the same town".[566] Although Frampton disputed with the French Catholic missionaries, he did so without hostility. Describing the remarkable friendship between the chaplain and the Jesuit Georgio

Ribelio, Frampton's anonymous biographer recounted:

> ...after much argument they mutually despair'd of success, and as friendly agreed to keep their differences in opinion, both from the scandal of the poor Christians there and to promote their good as much as they could, instead of disturbing them in the way they had been educated in, and to observe a strict friendship between themselves...[567]

This actually caused trouble to Frampton when he was returning through Italy and was betrayed to the Inquisition by an acquaintance from Aleppo, Father Blasio, for "perverting"[568] the priest Ribelio. Fortunately by the time the charge had been processed in Rome Frampton was safely back in England.[569] During this furlough he married Mary Canning who had come from a Roman Catholic family but whose Protestant convictions were strengthened through arguing with Jesuits.[570]

Robert Huntington was another long stayer in the Middle East who related well to the Roman Catholic clergy. As a collector he found that the Catholic priests in Aleppo "freely offered and abundantly communicated to him according to their great humanity and candour" due to their distance from the religious conflicts in Europe and their dwelling among "enemies of the name of Christianity". [571] Similarly, in Cairo Huntington received help from the Capuchins, which his biographer ascribed to their common faith and mission.[572] He wrote from Aleppo to Pococke that the elderly but sprightly Carmelite missionary, Celestine, a scholar and the brother of the renowned Orientalist Golius (Jacob van Gool 1596-1667) "enquired most affectionately after him". Huntington continued: "he had heard of your version of Grotius, and was wonderfully pleased with some copies of it, which I presented him, in your name, and promised me a Thomas à Kempis *De Imitatione Christi* by him translated into the same language...."

g. Levantine Perceptions of the Protestants

Although for the British and Dutch in Aleppo trade was their business and religion was a private matter, local Muslims and Christians naturally formed opinions about the character and religion of these Protestant Franks. The Roman Catholic missionaries, predominantly Jesuits and Franciscans, brought their traditional animosities with them and no doubt prejudiced the local Christians. Alexander Russell, the Company physician between 1740 and 1753, was one of the most astute observers of Aleppo life. The learned Muslims with whom he dialogued knew something about the Anglican beliefs and practices of the English merchants, so he wryly and somewhat disingenuously took advantage of being the only Scottish Presbyterian they had ever met, to claim to be a detached observer of the Anglican faith:

> …the Turks consider the English as different from all the Christians in their Dominions. The English do not attend the same places of worship; they have no Monks; and they observe few of the festivals kept by other Christians. As this opinion might be one reason for their conversing before me with more freedom, so on the one hand, it left me at liberty to disclaim, as not belonging to the English Church, several superstitious articles alleged to be inconsistent with the belief of one God. A passage in the memoirs of the Missionaries shows in what manner they represented the state of English and Dutch Christianity in Syria. [There follows a contemporary quote from a French missionary, which I have translated] "You shall now ask me how the English and the Dutch fare…the locals say that they are not Christians, and the Turks themselves regard them as people without religion". [573]

Assuming the identity of a generic Protestant, Russell added:

> In this last circumstance the Reverend Father went rather too far. The Turks do not believe us to be without religion; though they acquit us of being associates in several of the superstitious practices which they ascribe however impiously to the Christians of the country: we lose no credit among Mohammedans by not paying adoration to the Mother of God.[574]

It could be inferred from the comparison with the French Catholic Aleppo chaplains that neither the English chaplains nor the Church of England as a whole had any sense of Christian mission. However, the following two case studies tell another story.

Chapter 11

The Arabic Translation and Publishing Projects

As mentioned in the introduction, there is scarcely any awareness among church or secular historians that there was a long-term, albeit small and foreign, Protestant presence in the Middle East in the form of the English merchants and their chaplains from the late sixteenth century to the late eighteenth century. The only interest in the Aleppo English community has been in the travels of some individuals throughout the Middle East acquiring an extensive knowledge of the cultural landscape of this corner of the Ottoman Empire, with its diverse Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Where church historians have utterly failed, and secular historians have stumbled, is in recognising the Arabic translation and publishing projects involving chaplains and the English Church Establishment.

Specifically there were two projects, one in the seventeenth century and the other in the eighteenth, involving the translation, printing and distribution of the Scriptures and Protestant material in Aleppo and other parts of the Levant. These long-forgotten endeavours warrant recognition as early milestones in Protestant missionary publishing. It is instructive and illuminating to see the variety of players, including initiators, sponsors and local agents. Aleppo chaplains and former chaplains played a key role.

a. "For it well becomes the best Liturgy in the world to be best translated": The Protestant classics translated by Pococke in the seventeenth century[575]

The First Protestant Classic Published in Arabic: *The Anglican Catechism* (Date Uncertain)

Among the first projects of the Reformation were the production of catechisms self- consciously modelled after the older traditions of Cyril and Augustine. It was effectively Christian theology for the ordinary people in their vernacular. The catechism's question-and-answer format, with a view toward the instruction of children, was a form adopted by the various Protestant Churches almost from the beginning of the Reformation. The Reformers made use of the printing press to get vernacular bibles and catechisms into the hands of the people. Luther's *Large Catechism* of 1529 was the first. Calvin's *Genevan Catechism* was issued in 1545.

The first Anglican Catechism appeared in the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549. It closely resembled the *Small Catechism* of 1572 of Alexander Nowell (1507-1602), who at that time was Dean of St Paul's Cathedral and had a reputation for strong leanings to Puritanism. In 1604 the Catechism in the *BCP* was expanded by the addition of a section on the two Protestant Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion. The Calvinistic *Heidelberg Catechism* came in 1563. The *Roman Catechism* was authorised by the Council of Trent in 1566 but it was substantively different in that it was in Latin and not intended for common use by the laity but as a reference book for priests and bishops.

It is understandable that Pococke considered the simplicity and clarity of Nowell's *Small Catechism* the best starting point for setting forth the Reformed, Catholic faith to Eastern Christians,

and possibly even Muslims. It began with recounting the baptismal promises as the preface to a three-part structure based on simple explanations of the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer respectively. The Apostles' Creed was simpler and less controversial than the Nicene Creed because it lacked the *filioque* clause which had contributed to the Great Schism between Western and Eastern Christendom. By omitting the section on the Sacraments it further avoided potential controversy.

It may be presumed that the first of Pococke's Arabic translations of Protestant classics to be published was Nowell's *Short Catechism*, but the dating is unclear because the usual information about translator, place or date of printing was omitted in order to keep it anonymous and avoid undue attention from possible opponents, whether Jesuit missionaries or Ottoman authorities.[576] The following facts have been established. In chronological order, Pococke had written to Gerard Vossius on 8 April 1642 about his intention of translating the *Catechismus brevior & Articuli Ecclesiae nostrae* (the shorter Catechism and Articles of our Church) into Arabic for the instruction of his Syrian friends.[577] However his project seems to have taken almost thirty years to end up in print. In a letter of 23 August 1671, Pococke informed Huntington that he had sent three dozen Catechisms in Arabic which he "had just printed for use of young Christians in the East".[578] He added that he had used the version of the Decalogue (Ten Commandments) from Walton's *Polyglot* (1654-57), but that the haste to print them soon enough for the present opportunity of sending them prevented the addition of proof-texts. Twells also comments that Pococke's son had told him his father had added the Arabic translation of the *Te Deum* to the catechism.

The complication arises with the Anglican priest Isaac Basire, who between 1643 and 1671 spent ten years in exile in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. He wrote in July 1653: "I imbarked for Syria, where, after some months stay in Aleppo, where I had frequent conversation with the Patriarch of Antioch, then resident there, I left a copy of our Catechism translated into Arabick, the native language there."[579] There are at least three possibilities about Basire's Arabic catechism. First, it could have been that the Catechism Pococke sent to Huntington in 1671 was a second edition and Basire was using the first edition. Second, it could have been that Basire's close friend Richard Busby, Principal of Westminster School from 1638 to 1695, had produced an anonymous Arabic catechism as a teaching resource and given copies to Basire. Busby's literary output was prodigious, always anonymous and included an Arabic grammar.[580] We know that in 1664 Basire had written to the Arabic scholar and clergyman, Dr Thomas Greaves, requesting his opinion on the Arabic version of the Catechism he would receive from Dr Busby. Busby had included Arabic in the curriculum of the Westminster School and probably used the Catechism as a primer for which it was ideally suited since the boys would have been well-drilled in the English original. Third, Basire may have arranged for the translation and printing of the Arabic catechism while he was in the Middle East. This appears to be supported by Colin Brennen, his most recent biographer: "It was on his visit to Zante, however, that he first put into practice his theories about the self-evident reasonableness of the Church of England. His method was one which he was to use on many occasions later, to translate the Catechism from the *Book of Common Prayer* into the local language, and leave it behind to speak for itself".[581] Lack of familiarity with Arabic would have been no obstacle because he would have likely organized a local scholar to translate it in the same way he did with the Turkish version.[582]

More important than the dating issue is the impact of the Arabic Catechism. An account of how the Eastern Christians reacted to what appears to be Pococke's translation of the Anglican catechism which was initially distributed by Huntington or, less likely, Basire's Arabic version, is found in the letters of Jesuit missionaries stationed in Aleppo:

> Gentlemen of the Pretended Reformed Religion would not dare to indoctrinate here; at least they would not do it with impunity. There are several times that an English minister, zealous for his sect, sought to print at great expense a Catechism in his way. They would pretend to make flow in the spirit and the heart of all the Christians the poison with which they were filled, but it was trampled underfoot, torn up, burned, without the missionaries being obliged to make the slightest movement.[583]

The tone of the Jesuit writer is so venomous that it suggests a distorted view of the real reaction to the Catechism.

The Second Protestant Classic Published in Arabic: Grotius's *De Veritate* (1660)

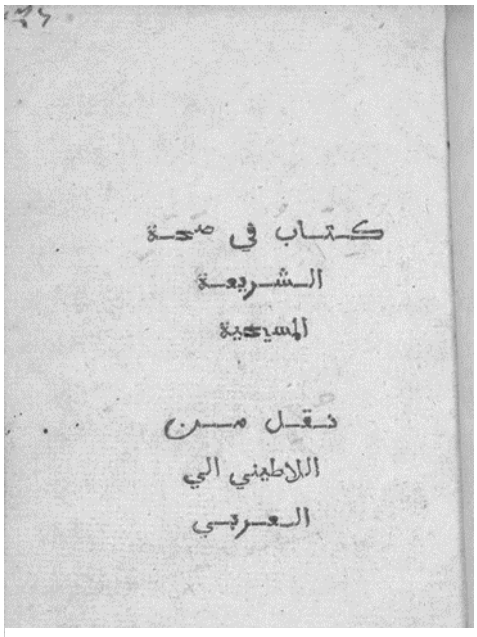

كتاب في صحة
الشريعة
المسيحية
نقل من
اللاطيني الي
العربي

Figure 39. Title page of the Arabic version of Grotius' "De Veritate", the great Protestant apologetic work

The second project was the translation of Grotius's great work, *De Veritate religionis christianae,*[584] which was actually the first Protestant textbook of Christian apologetics. Designed as a practical handbook for missionaries, it sought to uphold the evidences of natural theology and to establish the authority of the Christian faith over all other creeds. It found the essentials of the Gospel in a perfect trust in Divine providence and in the ordering of human life according to the principles laid down by Christ. The book contained much that was valued by Christians of all denominations and became a standard work. The translation was an old plan, which Pococke had talked over with Grotius at Paris on his way back from Constantinople. Twells explained that Pococke was motivated by a desire to convert Muslim scholars and also to better educate Eastern Christians in the truths and evidences of their religion so they would not apostatize.[585]

It was printed in 1660 with the help of a gift of £60 from Robert Boyle (1627- 91), the brilliant Anglo-Irish aristocrat. This devoutly Christian polymath is immortalised in the Boyle Lectureship, aimed at the defence of orthodox Christianity, and Boyle's Law, one of the foundations of modern chemistry. He was deeply committed to having the Scriptures made available in the vernacular and, in cooperation with William Seaman the Levant Company chaplain in Constantinople, he also sponsored the translation and publication of the Catechism and New Testament into Turkish. In a letter to the Anglo-German polymath, Samuel Hartlib, Boyle expressed his commitment to the conversion of non-Christians which he viewed as a better investment of time and effort than sectarian struggles:

> It has been much upon my heart to have the propagation of the Gospel attempted, not by making an Independent a Presbyter, or Presbyter an Independent, but by converting those to Christianity that are either enemies or strangers to it.[586]

Boyle also used his influence to have Pococke's translation distributed. He wrote to the former chaplain that he had "discoursed with a very understanding and religious gentleman, a chief member of the council for trade and plantations, and one that had a great interest in the merchants, who promised his assistance in getting this translation properly dispersed".[587] Twells recounts that Boyle assured Pococke that a meeting of merchants were enthusiastic about the work "and readily

offered to disperse, as discreetly as they could, as many books as should be put into their hands". In another letter Boyle informed Pococke that "a quarter of a hundred" of the books had already been passed over to the merchants and that a much greater number were on their way once it had been determined the most suitable binding for the East.[588] From the mention of Oxford it could be inferred that Boyle was consulting scholars about the type of binding that would most appeal to Muslims rather than about its durability in a hotter, drier climate than England.

Thomas Smith, the chaplain in Constantinople (1668-1671), expressed his misgivings that the work would have much effect from the reaction he encountered when he gave a copy to a Turkish imam well versed in Arabic:

> For generally speaking, their unreasonable prejudices, their gross stupidity in matters of speculation, and their equally prodigious, and intolerable obstinacy and pride, had hardened them against all conviction, and rendered them impenetrable to any argument.[589]

However, others were more positive, as the records of the newly founded Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge show. Listed in its correspondence is a letter from Mr Burschough, of Totness in Devonshire, to Mr Chamberlayne, on 13 July 1700, proposing "that Dr Pocock's Arabic Translation of Grotius *de Veritate* be reprinted and dispersed in Turky".[590] The minutes of the meeting of 15 August 1700 record "A Letter read from Mr. Burscough, of Totness, recommending the translation of Grotius *De Veritate Christianas Religionis* into Arabic. Order'd that Dr Bray do make enquiry whither that Book was ever translated, and whither any part of Mr Boyle's Charity has been that way apply'd".[591] Although there are no more minutes or correspondence to indicate the outcome, it is significant that forty years after its publication the value of the work was still recognised.

With Grotius' permission Pococke made some amendments. Later, Huntington wrote that he had distributed many copies of the work including in 1675 to Eastefan al- Duwayhi, also known as Stephen Peter, the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch based in Mount Lebanon, and asked his opinion of its suitability for native Arabic speakers.[592] However he had found that Catholic missionaries had opposed the work because of the section that repudiated transubstantiation. He also commented that he faced fewer difficulties distributing the work among Muslims but had taken the precaution of removing the last book which refuted Islam and recommended that if SPCK ever reprinted the Arabic edition that it also omit the last book.[593]

To further prevent any stumbling blocks to Eastern readers Pococke had decided to remove his and Grotius' names from the book. An amusing consequence was that a Mr Watson, a Scottish gentleman, came across this Arabic translation and wrongly concluded that Grotius had plagiarised his monumental work of Christian apologetics from an unknown Arab.[594]

The Third Protestant Classic Published in Arabic: *The Book of Common Prayer* (1672)

The third Protestant classic Pococke translated into Arabic was the *Book of Common Prayer*. In 1673, following his enthusiastic reception of copies of the Catechism, Huntington wrote a very strong appeal to Pococke, noting that the Eastern Christians appreciated the way in which the Decalogue was presented in contrast to the Roman Catholic way of glossing over the commandment against images:

> Undoubtedly this (the Catechism) is but a specimen of your further design, and that thereby you would guess how it might be accepted before you accomplished the whole. Really, if you

> believe the people, they wonder a Frank (foreigner) should understand their tongue better than the most learned among them: and they see the two tables once more intire and perfect, not abused and broken, as in all the methods and systems of divinity, that the Romanists have hitherto conveyed....And if this be so acceptable, what would the whole service be when the people here shall read it so fully expresses in the language wherein they are born? No one is, nor ever will be, (besides yourself) fit for the employment: for it well becomes the best Liturgy in the world to be best translated; and in this case, every one that knows your name, knows where alone to rest his expectation.[595]

Huntington's case to Pococke included a suggestion that the publication would refute "a sort of men", presumably Catholic missionaries, who were slandering the English as having no religion except heresy and error.[596] Further, he argued that it would fill the lack of devotional literature of the Eastern Christians, with the caveat that they had differences over the procession of the Holy Spirit and transubstantiation. Huntington offered £20 to pay for the paper, but as it turned out the whole work was paid for by Oxford University.[597] This work included the Catechism, the Administration of the two Protestant sacraments, the two Daily Offices, the Thirty-nine Articles and the arguments of the Homilies.

On receiving the Arabic *BCP* Huntington predicted that the "Latin fathers" would be opposed to it as they had taken offence at the Arabic Catechism because it included the second commandment in the Decalogue which forbade "graven images", which "very impudently they have expunged out of their Catechisms".[598] In fact, both Orthodox and Anglicans permitted two-dimensional depictions of people. Orthodox spirituality had a rich tradition of icons, and although statues were destroyed in the English Reformation much stained glass survived as well as depictions of Biblical characters on the title pages of English Bibles. However, both traditions were at variance with Roman Catholicism in their rejection of three-dimensional representations such as crucifixes or statues. Huntington also predicted the Catholic missionaries would reject the publication of the Anglican Articles of Religion because "they contradict their opinions and interests".[599]

In a letter of 24 November 1680 Huntington wrote to John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, mentioning that he had presented a copy of the English Liturgy to John Lascaris, the Archbishop of Mount Sinai, who was thereby "rectify'd concerning the Opinion that there was no such as the Church of England, that we had neither Bishops nor Priests, sacrament nor Service".[600] This was the first of numerous Arabic translations of all or parts of the *BCP*. It is not so much a measure of the success of this translation as the decline of Protestant engagement with the Arab world that the next translation was a century and a half later. The versions were Mill and Tytler in 1837, Faris in 1840, Klein in 1884, and Tien in 1886.

b. "For the eternal Welfare of our Christian Brethren of the Eastern Nations": The SPCK Arabic Psalms and New Testament (1725)

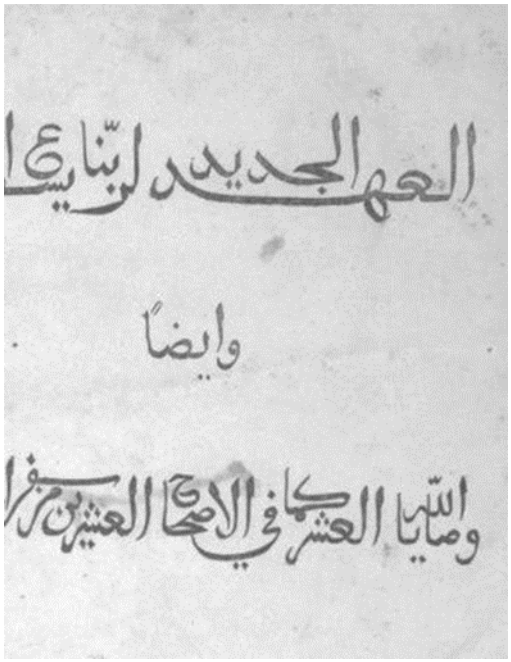


Figure 40. Title page of the SPCK Arabic Psalms & New Testament

While the earliest publication of Protestant literature in Arabic was instigated by English chaplains who served in Aleppo, the earliest Protestant publication of the Bible in Arabic was instigated by the Aleppo-based Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch. Nevertheless the English chaplains played a part. This landmark publishing venture saw the coincidence of two separate developments in the Church of England. The first is the twenty-year old mission agency the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). The second is the century-old relationship with the Greek Orthodox Church. By exploring these there will be sufficient background to understand the two documents chronicling this project.

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge

Before looking eastward to the Levant we need to begin by looking westward to North America. In spite of the catastrophe of the Non-Juror upheaval, the early eighteenth century Church of England had sufficient energy and commitment to respond to the absence of a parish structure in the colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. The work of Thomas Bray (1658-1730) is one of the bright spots of the Church of England in the spiritual gloom of the early 1700s. Bray had been appointed by the Bishop of London in 1696 as his commissary to organize the Church of England in the colony of Maryland where he had resided from 1699 to 1700. Subsequently he took up a parish in London where he continued to promote the missionary work until his death in 1730. In 1698 he initiated the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge specifically out of concern for the spiritual welfare for the inhabitants of England's American colonies, but as a visionary he saw the infinite possibilities of the publication and distribution of Christian literature throughout the world. The aims of the Society were:

> ...to promote and encourage the erection of charity schools in all parts of England and Wales; to disperse both at home and abroad, Bibles and tracts of religion; and in general to advance the honour of God and the good of mankind, by promoting Christian knowledge both at home and in the other parts of the world by the best methods that should offer.[601]

Three years later William III established a sister corporation, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). The focus was primarily in providing clergy for "Plantations, Colonies, and Factories" to rescue British subjects from "Atheism and Infidelity, Popish superstition and Idolatry".[602] After 46 years it could be reported that 100 000 British people as well as many thousands of Indians and African slaves had been instructed in the Christian faith and baptised, primarily in the North American and Caribbean colonies. 120 000 Bibles, Prayer books, devotional books, instructional books and countless tracts had been distributed.[603]

A list of the members of the SPG reads like a "Who's Who" of the English political, academic, commercial and religious establishment. [604] The sermon at the Annual Meeting of the Society in 1748 by former Aleppo chaplain, and now bishop, Samuel Lisle explained the mixture of spiritual zeal and political expediency that lay behind the Anglican missions. After criticising the Roman missions for intending "not so much to propagate the Faith of Christ, as to enlarge the Dominion of that Church", Lisle launched into his case for British missions:

Figure 41. Samuel Lisle in his later years. As a bishop he was a strong advocate for Christian missions.

> But as it has pleased God, by his Blessing on the Commerce and Adventures of the British Nation, to open to our knowledge many large Nations utterly in their native Rudeness and Barbarity, and quite ignorant of the Doctrine and Name of Christ, the Care of these People is naturally devolved upon the Charity and Piety of us of this Nation....And there is besides to be added another Reflection, viz. That if we neglect it they may likely fall into the hands of Missionaries who are watchful to make a Prey of them, to corrupt them to their Party, and to arm them against ourselves; and if all these People are united to our Enemies and turn upon us, who will not dread the Consequences of such an assault on our own Settlements?[605]

The unspoken context is the simultaneous expansion of French and British settlement in North America, the "People" being the Amerindian tribes. Already King George's War (1744-48) had been fought with native tribes siding with either the British or French. As a member of the House of Lords, who had preached to the House in 1744 on the occasion of the "present war" with France and Spain, Lisle was politically involved with the conflict.[606] So it is not surprising that he concludes his call to mission with this appeal to the interests of both God and Caesar: "Worthily therefore is the Society employed, when they labour at the same Time to win over Souls to God, and make Friends and Allies to our native Country."[607]

In the same sermon Lisle could draw on his experience in Aleppo of the Roman Catholic missionary praxis in the Middle East:

> They settle themselves in Nations which are Christians already, and have been so from the Beginning, and under Pretence of converting the Infidels which are among them, their chief Business seems to be, to apply themselves with all their Arts to pervert the Christians themselves from their ancient Faith, and to draw them over to a Subjection to the Pope.[608]

Thus, among the leading supporters of the SPCK and SPG were influential people with a long interest in the predicament of the Eastern Churches which were subjected to the political domination of the Ottomans and the religious incursions of the Roman Catholics.

The Greek Orthodox relationship with the Church of England

The initiation of a relationship between the Church of England and the Greek Orthodox Church: In the Eastern Mediterranean and Eastern Europe the vigorous push by the Roman Catholic Church was met with strong resistance from the Orthodox leaders, most of all the already mentioned Cyril Lucaris (1572-1638). It is helpful here to reiterate his opposition to Roman Catholic interference and his sympathies with the Protestant nations and churches. In 1596, after studying in both Protestant and Catholic universities in the West he was sent to Poland by Meletios Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria, to lead the Orthodox opposition to the Union of Brest-Litovsk, which proposed a union of Kiev with Rome. Lucaris later became the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria, as Cyril III, and Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, as Cyril I. He was several times temporarily deposed and banished at the instigation of both his Orthodox opponents and the Catholic French and Austrian ambassadors, while he was supported by the Protestant Dutch and English ambassadors to the Sublime Porte.

Lucaris was particularly well disposed towards the Anglican Church and corresponded with the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbott, and his successor, William Laud. They welcomed a number of Lucaris's best clergy to study in England. As already noted, in the time of Frampton's chaplaincy the Aleppo-based Greek Patriarch of Antioch had written to the Archbishop of Canterbury seeking assistance.

The relationship becomes complicated: To complicate matters, in July 1716 five Non-Juror bishops met in London to discuss a number of controversial points which had arisen in their small group of followers. At this same meeting Bishop Campbell of Aberdeen acquainted the other Non-Juring bishops with conversations he had had in private with Archbishop Arsenius, the envoy of Samuel the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, and intimated to them his plan for reunion with the Orthodox, which would include accepting the primacy of the Archbishop of Jerusalem. The other bishops accepted Campbell's ideas and the meeting drew up a series of proposals to send to the Orthodox patriarchs as well as the Russian Tsar, Peter the Great, who at that time was travelling in Western Europe and had expressed considerable interest in the matter. The Non-Juror bishops suggested to Arsenius that the whole question should be handled by Patriarch Chrysanthus of Jerusalem since he had studied in England, and that the whole matter should be kept secret so that the Established Church might not persecute the Non-Jurors and foil the scheme. However in September 1725 Archbishop William Wake of Canterbury wrote to Patriarch Chrysanthus of Jerusalem urging him to beware of the Non-Jurors as being schismatics with fictitious titles. "Meanwhile," he wrote, "we, the true Bishops and Clergy of the Church of England, as, in every fundamental article, we profess the same Faith with you, shall not cease in spirit and effect (since otherwise, owing to our distance from you, we cannot) to hold communion with you and to pray for your peace and happiness".[609] In spite of their differences the liberal Archbishop Wake[610] and the conservative Non-Juror bishops shared a deep respect for the Greek Orthodox Church, a desire to be in full communion with her, and a willingness to help the Eastern Christians in practical ways.

Relationships with one of Lucaris' successors was not so cordial. In 1704 Patriarch Gabriel III of Constantinople (1702-7) formally condemned the edition of the New Testament translated into Modern Greek by Seraphim of Mytilene and published in London in 1703 by the SPG. On 5 March 1705 he issued an order forbidding the Greek students to study in London and in 1706 he issued a letter condemning the "Latin", meaning Western, doctrines. Although honoured as the "Ecumenical Patriarch" the Patriarch of Constantinople did not have absolute authority over his peers, in particular the Patriarch of Antioch, Athanasius III, otherwise known as Paul Dabbas.

The Arab Patriarch: Paul Dabbas

The Damascene, Paul Dabbas (1647–1724), cultivated a constructive relationship with the Church of England in his conflict with the Roman Catholic statesmen and missionaries in his territory. His extraordinary career is bewildering in his changing allegiances, against the background of the conflict between Rome and Constantinople. Initially he had a close relationship with the Roman Catholic Church, being educated by the Jesuits and then supported by the Franciscans in seeking to become the Patriarch of Antioch who held sway over the Arabic speaking Christians of the Levant. In order to do so he had to depose his rival Constantine Zaim, who had become the Patriarch Cyril V in 1682. Dabbas succeeded in replacing him in 1685, becoming Athanasius III. It is no surprise then when in 1687 he gave his allegiance to Rome. The fight with Zaim ended on October 1694 when the two rivals came to an agreement whereby Dabbas, in receipt of a large sum of money, recognized Zaim as Patriarch with the right to succession at Zaim's death.

Dabbas took the title of Archbishop of Aleppo and from 1700 to 1704 travelled in Eastern Europe to beg for financial help. In Wallachia (Romania) he won the support of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu and obtained a printing press which, with the help of the deacon Abdallah Zakher, he installed in Aleppo.[611] The first production was the Arabic Psalter in 1706, with Zakher making the letters and undertaking the printing as well. However, the Aleppo church did not have the financial resources to found a publishing house so the printer later moved the press to Lebanon.[612] Nevertheless, it was a major milestone both for Arab Christians and for Arab publishing as it was the first Arabic press in the Middle East.[613] The priority given to printing the Psalter was explained by the American missionary, Pliny Fisk, a century later:

> The Psalter is much more eagerly sought after, than any other part of the Scriptures, because among the Christians of Syria it is the universal, and almost the only school-book. The education acquired at school, generally amounts to no more than ability to read the Psalter.[614]

In 1705 Dabbas was appointed Archbishop of Cyprus, a title he kept until 1709 when he resumed his position as Archbishop of Aleppo. Between 1716 and 1718 Zaim moved his allegiance from the Church of Constantinople to the Church of Rome. In response Dabbas declared himself Orthodox, leading the Orthodox party to which he remained faithful until his own death. On 16 January 1720 Zaim died and Dabbas was proclaimed Patriarch of Antioch, continuing to be based in Aleppo. He wasted no time in pursuing a relationship with the Church of England that resulted in the SPCK publication of the Arabic Psalter and New Testament. This was arranged through a remarkable fellow Damascene, Salomon Negri, whose letter to the SPCK was dated 28 March the same year.

The Arab Scholar: Salomon Negri (1665-1727) [615]

His Arabic name was *Suleiman bin Yaqub as Sawadi*.[616] Latinised, it was more simply Salomon (or Solomon) Negri. His biographical details are gleaned from *Memoria Negriana*, a Latin work by the German scholar Gottlieb Freylinghausen.[617] Being written from a German Protestant perspective it lacks any appreciation of the upheavals in the Patriarchate of Antioch which impacted on Negri, or Negri's relationship with Dabbas. However it chronicles a remarkable career in Europe as a gifted teacher and translator of oriental languages.

Educated by Franciscans and Jesuits in Damascus, the young Negri was sent to Paris from where he went to work in England, Halle, Venice, Constantinople, Rome, back to Halle and finally England again. In the process he had dealings with scholars and clergy in the Anglican, Lutheran and Roman


MEMORIA NEGRIANA
HOC EST
SALOMONIS NEGRI
DAMASCENI
VITA
OLIM AB IPSOMET CONSCRIPTA
NVNC AVTEM
ACCESSIONIBVS QVIBVSDAM
ILLVSTRATA.
NEC NON
EIVSDEM
TRACTATIO CRITICA
QVA SVVM APERIT
ET
DE GVILIELMI SEAMAN, ANGLI,
VERSIONE N. TEST. TVRCICA
IVDICIVM
ET
DE ADORNANDA NOVA VERSIONE
EORVMDEM DIVINORVM LIBRORVM TVRCICA
CONSILIVM.
EX AVTOGRAPHO AVCTORIS
EDIDIT
GOTTLIEB ANASTASIVS FREYLINGHAVSEN
S. THEOL. P. P.
HALAE SALICAE
IMPENSIS ORPHANOTROPHEI
CIↃIↃCCLXIIII.

Figure 42. Title page of Solomon Negri's biography, which attests to strong links between the Church of England and the Aleppo-based Patriarchate of Antioch in the early 1700s.

Catholic churches. His greatest influence seems to have been at the University of Halle, which virtually from its foundation in 1694 was for a century the major centre in the Protestant world for Pietism, oriental languages and missionary work among Jews and Muslims. There his gifts as a teacher of Arabic were most appreciated, so it was there he bequeathed his literary works, and there his biography was written and published. He never returned to the Levant and preferred to work in the Protestant centres of Halle and London than the Roman Catholic centres of Rome, Venice and Paris.

A lesser, secondary source is an entry in the *Biographie Universelle,*[618] which gives a French perspective on Negri's career, drawing primarily from the aforementioned work. Here, the French orientalist, Joseph Touusaint Reinaud,[619] makes the interesting comment about Negri's Arabic translation of the Psalms and New Testament made in London "...and Negri is reproached for purposely altering certain passages to accommodate Protestant teachings."[620] It does not specify his detractors but it may be confidently inferred that Negri was comfortable with Protestant beliefs. The same entry gives a clue to the relationship between the Patriarch and the scholar: "Negri who had been a pupil of this prelate..."[621] So it can be assumed that Negri's achievements such as translating into Arabic Pope Clement XI's *Homily* while in Rome, and translating Luther's *Enchiridion* or *Small Catechism* into Arabic while in Halle, did not go unnoticed by Patriarch Athanasius III (Dabbas), who had a distant but nevertheless paternal and patronly interest in his prodigy. Further, although it is difficult to correlate the dates owing to the lack of the exact timing of Negri's peregrinations, they do seem to reflect Dabbas's swings in loyalty between Rome and Constantinople.

Negri's Seminal Letter: On 28 March 1720 Negri wrote a lengthy letter to the SPCK systematically explaining his "thoughts concerning the Necessity and Usefulness of a new Edition of the New Testament in Arabick, for the Use of the Eastern Churches".[622] Fortunately, this was published in full in 1725 in an *Extract of Several Letters Relating to the Great Charity and Usefulness of Printing the New Testament and Psalter in the Arabick Language; For the Benefit of the Poor Christians in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt, and other Eastern Countries*.[623]

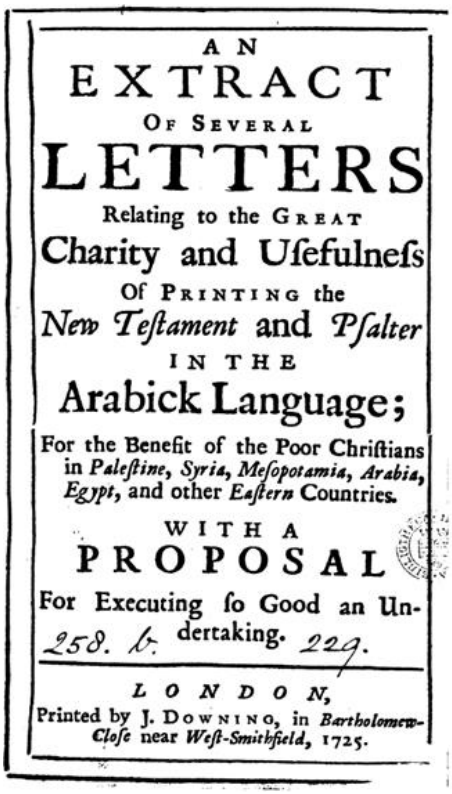
In a well-argued plea he explained that Christian literature was scarce because of the Ottoman restriction on printing presses. Most of the available Scriptures had a Roman or Maronite provenance and were either "scarce, dear, too large, or otherwise faulty and inconvenient".[624] Yet the Scriptures in Arabic had a huge potential because it was "the common Language of the greatest Part of Africa, of a considerable Part of Asia; and in the Turkish Dominions, where it is not generally spoke, it is nevertheless taught in the Schools, and studied by men of letters, as Latin is in Europe, where also it is read in several Universities". He then proposed a well-translated, well-formatted, well-printed New Testament and Psalter that he assured would be welcomed enthusiastically by the sizable Christian communities of the Middle East. In conclusion, he dealt with the problem of distribution. In this case the answer was at hand in the person of the Aleppo chaplain. Stocks would

be kept in London and sent to the Consul in Aleppo whenever requested. The chaplain would then, using his skills in Arabic:

> have the Opportunity of conversing and corresponding with Persons of all Ranks: Instructions accordingly may be sent him from hence to make himself known to the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria; the Patriarch of the Nestorians, who resides at Nineveh; and the Patriarch of the Copts, at Grand- Cairo; and to furnish them with a sufficient Number of Copies, answerable to the Extent of their respective Patriarchates; and to communicate to those Prelates, as likewise to the Archbishop of Aleppo, the Intention of the Benefactors in England, and recommend to them the distributing of the said Copies.

"The Great Charity" Pamphlet

Although the title only mentions the printer, Downing, the document was manifestly drawn from the records of the SPCK and the intent was to publicise the cause with a view to soliciting donations. In spite of being the key document in the pamphlet, Negri's letter is arranged in the midst of a number of other documents. The first part is a list of 22 of the 25 bishops of the Church of England, dated May 1725. The only names missing are the bishops George Hooper of Bath and Wells (1704-27), Francis Gastrell of Chester (1714-25), and Thomas Wilson of Sodor and Man (1697-1755). The omission of Wilson from the list seems remarkable because he was an early supporter of both SPG and SPCK. The enigma is solved in the postscript to the document which explained that the recommendation was signed by "the Archbishops, and all the other Bishops of the Kingdom, who were at London" at the time. The bishops, "being sincerely desirous to preserve and propagate the Christian Faith among our Brethren in *Syria, Palestine, Arabia,* and other Eastern Countries from whence We first received it", lamented that now "being under the *Turkish* Dominion" these fellow Christians were not allowed to print the Scriptures and so "earnestly recommend" to the clergy and laity of their dioceses to support this project. From a theological perspective it could be said that this endeavour was not motivated by Christ's "Great Commission" in Matthew 28, which was the great inspiration for the Protestant and Catholic Missions. Rather it was related to the Apostle Paul's "Collection for the Saints" mentioned in Acts 20, 1 Corinthians 16 and 2 Corinthians 9.



AN
EXTRACT
OF SEVERAL
LETTERS
Relating to the GREAT
Charity and Uſefulneſs
Of PRINTING the
New Teſtament and *Pſalter*
IN THE
Arabick Language;
For the Benefit of the Poor Chriſtians in *Paleſtine, Syria, Meſopotamia, Arabia, Egypt,* and other *Eaſtern* Countries.
WITH A
PROPOSAL
For Executing ſo Good an Undertaking.
258. b. 229.
LONDON,
Printed by J. DOWNING, in *Bartholomew-Cloſe* near *Weſt-Smithfield,* 1725.

Figure 43. The pamphlet chronicles a long-forgotten but significant mission initiative of the early 18th century which involved much of the English Establishment

The impressive show of episcopal support was followed by nine extracts from the correspondence of a number of lobbyists to the SPCK or, in one case, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The correspondence is arranged in chronological order, from 28 March 1720 to 29 November 1720. In order, the correspondents were Salomon Negri, "Native of Damascus in Syria"; William Averst, former Chaplain in Constantinople; Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich (the only letter addressed to William Wake the Archbishop of Canterbury); Samuel Lisle, Fellow of Wadham College in Oxford, and former Chaplain in Aleppo; Edmund Chishull, former Chaplain in Smyrna; George Lewis, former Chaplain in Madras (now Chennai); Gennadius, Superior of the Convent of Greeks at Alexandria in Egypt, and Chaplain to the Russians in London; and Henry

Brydges, Archdeacon of Rochester, and former Chaplain in Aleppo. With the exception of Prideaux the correspondents had lived overseas and had first-hand experience of Islam. Prideaux himself was an orientalist who was acquainted with Pococke and had written a *Life of Mahomet*.

There followed a list of persons "to receive such Benefactions as may come to their Hands for that Purpose". The concluding section is a "Postscript" dated 26 May 1725 which recorded that SPCK had responded to the aforementioned proposal, which had been printed in 1721 by collecting "about a thousand Pound" enabling them to procure Arabic types and produce "6250 Psalters printed from a Copy, sent from *Aleppo*, as approved by the Patriarch of *Antioch*; of which 2025 were bound, and sent by the last *Turkey* Fleet to *Scanderoon*". It continued that the New Testament, based on a copy approved by the Patriarch of Antioch and sent from Aleppo, would be printed once it was established how much funds could be guaranteed.

The SPCK Record

As well as the pamphlet of 1725 another illuminating description is from the official account of the SPCK published in 1773:

> In the Year 1720, the Society extended their Regard to the Greek Church in Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt. To this End they published Proposals for Printing here, with a new Set of types The New Testament and Psalter in Arabick: and were enabled, by the Blessing of GOD, on the Recommendation of the Bishops, joined to the Charity and Zeal of their own Members, to procure an Edition of above 6,000 *Psalters*, and 10,000 *Testaments*, as also of 5,000 *Catechetical Instructions*,[625] with an *Abridgement of the History of the Bible*[626] annexed, at so large an Expence as the Sum of 2,976 pounds, 1 shilling and 6½ pennies; to which His late Majesty King George I was a bountiful Contributor, by a gracious benefaction of Five Hundred Pounds. 5,898 *Psalters*, 4,246 *New Testaments*, 2,248 *Catechetical Instructions*, with the *Abridgement* aforesaid, have been already sent to those Parts, into Persia by means of their Correspondents in Russia, or into India through the Hands of their Missionaries; and the rest are reserved to be sent as Occasion shall offer.[627]

Digging deeper, we find the role of Aleppo chaplains past and present as well as a remarkable, if short-lived, partnership between the Aleppo-based Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and the Church of England.

The Advocates: Samuel Lisle and Henry Brydges

As we have seen, the *Extract of Several Letters Relating to the Great Charity* contained the string of correspondence that followed up on Negri's letter. Two months after Negri's letter the SPCK sought Samuel Lisle's assessment of the project. He had returned from Aleppo only the year before and was keen to support Negri's proposal by sharing with the Secretary of the SPCK information he had gathered during his time in the Levant. He pointed to the large number of Arabic-speaking Christians and the poor quality of the available translation. He expounded on this by specifying that all the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire south of Mount Amanus, the range just north of Antioch, regardless of religion were native Arabic speakers. Of the clergy of the Greek Patriarchate of Antioch, only a handful of bishops were born and educated in the Greek-speaking areas of western Anatolia or Europe and spoke Greek. The majority of the bishops and all the priests and deacons only knew Arabic. Consequently the Scriptures and prayers of the church were all read in Arabic.

Furthermore, the Christian population was extensive in the urban areas, numbering fifteen thousand

"Greek" Christians just in Aleppo without including the other communions. Lisle then described their plight as an oppressed people, their only access to the Scriptures being the portions sometimes read in church. He explained how the present Patriarch at Aleppo (Dabbas) had gone to the effort of importing a printing press from Europe and begun printing Arabic liturgies but how the lack of money and manpower made it impossible to continue. Lisle concluded that only the present proposal of having the Scriptures printed in London and funded by the English could solve the dire shortage of Scriptures among their Arab brothers. He added the intriguing comment: "I have said so much in another Place about the Method of Executing this Proposal, that I will not add any Thing to it here." At this stage this "another Place" has not been located.

Another former Aleppo chaplain, Henry Brydges, also threw his weight behind the project. Fifteen years after his return from Aleppo he was well established as chaplain to Queen Anne as well as Archdeacon and Canon of Rochester, when he wrote on 28 November 1720 to the Secretary of the SPCK. He countered the objection that few of the ordinary Christians in the Levant could read Arabic by testifying to there being public schools, where children learned to read and write Arabic, in the major Levantine cities of Aleppo, Antioch, Damascus, Tripoli, Sidon, and Jerusalem, as well as in the large villages of the region. He also recalled that during his time in Aleppo people had expressed a desire for a new edition of the Scriptures in their language.

Lisle must have been collaborating with Brydges because the very next day he wrote a second letter to the Secretary of the SPCK concurring with Brydges about the schools and explaining that the two motivations for the Christian clergy to teach their people to read were the example of the Muslims, as well as the tenth canon of the second Nicene Synod which declared that clergy had the responsibility for the education of the children. He concluded that "that there are vastly greater Numbers of Christians in the East, who are both able and desirous to read the New Testament in Arabick, than they will be able to supply with Books".

The Subscription

The lobbying by Negri, Brydges, Lisle and others was successful, and the next step was for the SPCK to launch a campaign to receive donations for the project. The list of twenty six men designated to receive the donations included three former Aleppo chaplains: Brydges, Lisle and Soley. A thousand pounds was collected and the SPCK minute of 26 May 1725 indicated that two Arabic fonts had been procured. One had been used for the Arabic section of Walton's *Polyglot*. The other set of fonts was specifically made for the project. Then 6250 Psalters had been printed from a copy approved by Dabbas and sent from Aleppo through Lisle.[628] Of these 2025 had already been bound and sent off to Aleppo. The next task, of printing the New Testament from a copy sent from Aleppo by the factor Rowland Sherman, was ready once funding could be arranged. The hope was expressed that donations would be forthcoming as it had the express blessing of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York together with all the other bishops of England.

The Actual Books

The finished product was a handsome book recently described by an antiquarian bookseller as quarto sized (238 x 196 mm) with "Calligraphic Arabic title after George Sale, Arabic text and pagination throughout, text in double columns with running headline. Full contemporary calf, boards with double gilt ruled borders, banded spine with black morocco title label and gilt title *Novum / Testamentem / Syriacum*,[629] red speckled edges".[630] Two other names connected with the project were the punch-cutter William Caslon who had cut a completely new set of Arabic characters for SPCK's Arabic Psalter, executed under the guidance of Salomon Negri. Negri was

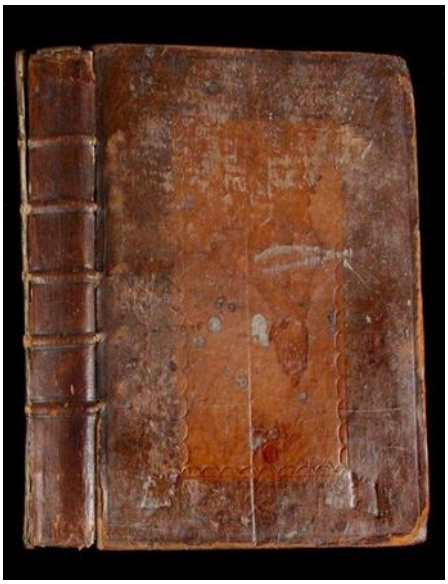


Figure 44. The binding of the SPCK's Arabic New Testament and Psalms was carefully chosen and produced to last

assisted by a Mr Xeres, a Jewish convert, and Carolus Dadichi, an Aleppan Christian who would succeed him as the major Arabic translator in England. [631]

This bookseller also makes the comment that copies are very rare with only two being offered for auction in the last 35 years, the reason being that although ten thousand were printed almost all fulfilled their destiny of being exported and distributed in the East.[632] We know from Freylinghausen's biography of Negri that a number ended up in Halle.[633]

The Fate of the Arabic Psalters and New Testaments

Unfortunately, church politics within the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch minimised the impact of the project and strangled the partnership between London and Aleppo in its infancy. Before he died in 1724, Dabbas had designated the Greek Cypriot Sylvester as his successor. This was supported by the Aleppo faction. However the pro-Roman Damascus faction elected their candidate, Seraphim Tanasas Cyril VI. Supported by the Ottomans, Patriarch Jeremias III of Constantinople declared Cyril's election invalid and consecrated Sylvester Patriarch of Antioch. The deposed Cyril was excommunicated by Constantinople and fled to Lebanon where he sought refuge. Thus, through these events a schism within the Church of Antioch was formalised between the pro-Catholic Damascus faction of the Patriarchate that became known as the Melkite Greek Catholic Church and the Aleppo faction that remained Greek Orthodox.[634] Over the next five years, supported by the Ottomans, Sylvester put his energy into suppressing the members of the Damascus faction. With Sylvester's enthronement a period of Greek domination of the Antiochene Patriarchate began that lasted until the end of the nineteenth century. Consequently the push for Scriptures in Arabic declined.

Because there is currently a gap in our knowledge of the existence of any chaplain in Aleppo between 1724 and 1728 it is unclear exactly what happened with the distribution of the Scriptures. However, there are two clues about the success of the venture.

First, in 1824 the American missionary Pliny Fisk wrote from Aleppo to Daniel Temple, a fellow American missionary in Malta, that he had met a Greek Orthodox priest from Kilis, a town about seventy kilometres north, who informed Fisk that among the books in his church were "Testaments and Psalters, printed in England, and distributed here nearly one hundred years ago by Mr. Sherman, an English merchant of Aleppo".[635] This was Rowland Sherman who departed London for Aleppo in July 1688 and remained there for an impressive 59 years until his death on 7 July 1747. Sherman had been involved with the project from the beginning as a later history of the SPCK explained how its Arabic New Testament was based on a New Testament he had sent from Aleppo.[636] On 9 June 1724 Henry Newman, the secretary of the SPCK, had written to Sherman in Aleppo requesting his advice on whether the orthographical marginal notes of the New Testament manuscript he had sent should be included in the printed version.[637] Sherman replied in the affirmative on 10 August the same year, also requesting that the printed version be the same size and style as the manuscript.[638]

Second, we know that copies were distributed from the original stocks by Benjamin Barker,

the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) representative in Aleppo. Only a few weeks before the catastrophic earthquake of 13 August 1822, which he narrowly survived, he had sold 499 Arabic New Testaments and 640 Psalters.[639] These were clearly the SPCK edition, perhaps even the last of the stock, because the BFBS records show that up to 30 June 1817 it had produced 1 439 copies of the whole Bible in Arabic but no separate New Testaments or Psalters.[640]

An Undervalued Achievement

These two case studies illustrate that prior to the founding of the evangelical missions like the Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society at the end of the eighteenth century, the Church of England establishment undertook foreign missionary work. Moreover, a number of chaplains and former chaplains were involved in mission enterprises that, unlike the Roman Catholic mission in the East, showed a deep respect for the autonomy of the Orthodox Churches.

A Footnote to the Project

One of the great expenses of the project was the production of Arabic type. There is something satisfying and fitting about this type being used in Twells' publication in 1740 of the biography and theological works of Edward Pococke, who a century before had laid the groundwork for this scheme through forging the first relationship between a chaplain and a Patriarch of Antioch.[641]

Chapter 12

The Protestants who followed the Chaplains

On first appearances the nineteenth century Protestant missionaries who followed the Aleppo chaplains in living and working in the Levant seem to have been ignorant of their legacy. If this is the case it means that the contemporary Protestants of the Middle East are missing the first chapter of their story. Yet this part of their story has taken on a pressing relevance as cooperation among the different Christian traditions becomes a key to the survival of Christianity in the Middle East.

a. The Evangelical Missions Movement

Following the founding of the SPG and the SPCK there was a century's hiatus before the next wave of missionary societies in the English-speaking world. The first were the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the interdenominational and later primarily Congregationalist London Missionary Society (1795), the Anglican Church Missionary Society (1799) and the interdenominational British and Foreign Bible Society (1804). By now the American churches had come of age and joined the growing number of English, Scottish and Irish missionary societies which were offspring of the Evangelical Revival of the late eighteenth century. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1812), although Congregationalist in origin, supported missionaries from other denominations such as Presbyterian (1812–1870) and Dutch Reformed (1819–1857).

Imperialism and missions have often had a symbiotic, although at times uncomfortable, relationship. The Catholic missionary movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was most successful in Mexico, Central America and South America where the Spanish Empire replaced the indigenous Aztec and Inca Empires. The Anglican missionary movement of the eighteenth century characterised by the SPG and SPCK was directly connected to the rise of the First British Empire in the form of its North American colonies. The Evangelical missionary movement of the nineteenth century was linked to the rise of the mercantile power of Great Britain and the United States of America as well as the demise of the Mughal, Chinese and Ottoman Empires. Missionary heroes such as Francis Xavier, Thomas Bray and William Carey responded to the opportunities provided by their colonising governments. However, the Middle East in many ways proved the exception to the rule. There Britain only had a mercantile interest from the late sixteenth century which had withered by the late eighteenth century and formally ended with the winding up of the Levant Company in 1820. Furthermore, throughout this period and until British Palestinian and French Syrian mandates of 1918 there was no Western occupation of the area.

b. The Mediterranean Bible Mission of the Evangelical Societies

In 1815 the Church Missionary Society appointed the Reverend William Jowett,[642] the first of its missionaries to be a university graduate, [643] to begin a "Mediterranean Mission". The aim was the revival rather than the takeover of the Eastern Churches and the Society warned him against proselytising.[644] He was soon joined by two Oxford men, James Connor and John Hartley. In 1814 Malta had come into British hands so it was the natural base for the commencement of printing Scriptures and tracts in Maltese, Italian, Modern Greek and Arabic. Jowett was assisted by the remarkably broadminded Catholic Maltese physician, Cleardo Naudi, who saw the mission filling the vacuum left by the withdrawal of Catholic missionaries since the Napoleonic Wars.[645] As well

as the publishing of Scriptures in the vernacular, the CMS worked together with the British and Foreign Bible Society in publishing Scriptures for the Eastern clergy in their liturgical languages like Coptic, Old Greek and Syriac. Initially there was strong support from the Eastern churches. Until his death in the massacre of Christians in Constantinople in 1821, the Greek Patriarch Georgios Aggelopoulos who went by the name of Gregory V, had been a great promoter of Bible translation and distribution. Also the Syrian Orthodox Bishop of Jerusalem visited London to promote the printing of Scriptures in the Syriac script in Arabic for his people.[646]

Soon Protestant missionaries were circulating the Scriptures in the Middle East. In 1818 the Reverend Christopher Burckhardt of the Malta Bible Society died in Aleppo and was buried in the Protestant Cemetery beside chaplains Bartholomew Chapple (1645), Henry Maundrell (1701), Thomas Owen (1716) and Charles Holloway (1758). His tombstone epitaph reads:

> Sacred to the memory of this Christopher Burckhardt native of Basle in Switzerland who departed this life August 14th 1818 aged 24 years. After having traversed Egypt and Syria with the sole obligation of disseminating the Holy Scriptures a nervous fever terminated his career of pious and indefatigable exertion and called him early to his reward in heaven.

Figure 45. The grave of Christopher Burckhardt in Aleppo who died in 1818 while distributing bibles for the British and Foreign Bible Society

From 1820 Benjamin Barker served as BFBS representative for the Levant, basing himself in Aleppo where his brother, John, was British consul from 1799 to 1825. Both the brothers were involved in Scripture distribution, it being recorded in the annals of the BFBS that John Barker was among a number of British officials who had assisted in the distribution of "800 Bibles and 15,000 Testaments in French, Italian, Modern Greek, Arabic and Armenian" along the Mediterranean Coast between 1809 and 1816, thus preceding Burckhardt's visit.[647] In 1822 the devastating Aleppo earthquake led to Benjamin Barker relocating to Smyrna, his birthplace. In 1824 he founded the Bible Society depot in Beirut. Afterwards he did groundbreaking work for the Society in Eastern Europe.

The Americans arrive

In 1819 Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons were sent out by the American Board to "Turkey", meaning the Ottoman Empire, with the instructions:

> You will survey with earnest attention the various tribes and classes which dwell in the land and the surrounding countries. The two grand enquiries ever present in your minds will be, 'What good can be done?' and 'By what means?' What can be done for the Jews? What for the Pagans? What for the Mohammedans? What for the Christians? What for the people of Palestine? What for those in Egypt, in Syria, in Armenia, in other countries to which your enquiry may be extended?[648]

The following year they arrived at Jerusalem. Parsons was welcomed by Procopius, secretary to

the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem and agent of the BFBS. The Patriarch of Jerusalem was actually based in Istanbul, so Procopius was the most influential person in the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem. Parsons died in 1822 and was replaced the same year by Jonas King who also visited Jerusalem and distributed Scriptures. These early Protestants lost an invaluable partner when Procopius died in the summer of 1823. Nevertheless, any history of Protestant involvement in the Middle East needs to recognise the early, cordial and productive relationship between this Greek Orthodox leader and the first Protestant missionaries. In the light of the strong corporate memory of the Greek Orthodox Church it can be safely assumed that, thanks to Aleppo chaplains like Pococke, Frampton and Huntington as well as the SPCK Arabic Scriptures project, Protestants were viewed as respectful and cooperative colleagues.

In 1822 the American press was founded in Malta, and moved to Beirut in 1834. In 1825 Fisk died after winning the convert Assad as-Shidyaq, a Maronite priest and scholar. In 1827 Eli Smith arrived and in 1849 commenced translation of the New Testament. He died in 1857 and his work was continued by Cornelius Van Dyck, resulting in the completion of the New Testament in 1860 and the Old Testament in 1865.

c. Opposition from the Roman Church and the American Protestant response

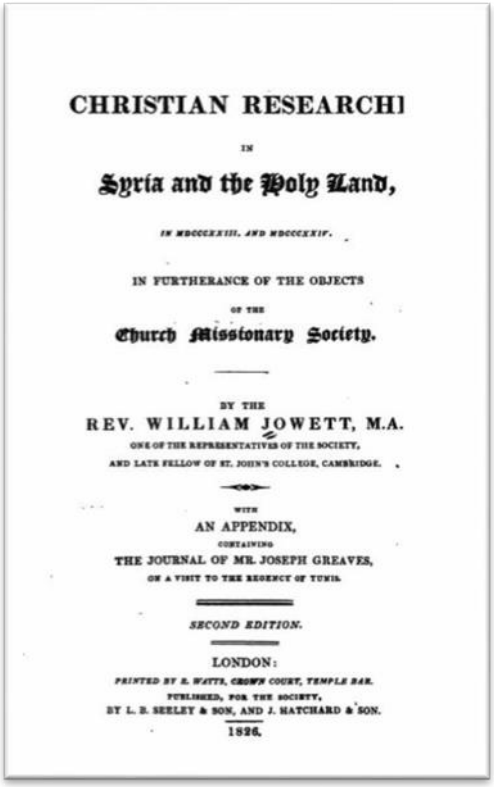
These first American Protestant missionaries were well-mannered and respectful to Eastern Church leaders in a similar manner to their English predecessors. They offered Scriptures and allowed them to check the translations, but it was the violent antagonism of the Maronite Patriarch, Youssef Hobaish (Patriarch 1823-45), that alienated them from their Maronite friends. The first indication of Catholic opposition goes back to an 1817 Papal Bull against the Bible Society. In 1823 Hobaish issued an encyclical condemning Protestant missionaries as well as the "Protestant version" of the Bible in Arabic, which in fact was the Catholic version of 1671 without the Apocrypha.

The Protestants' mistake was to omit the Apocrypha, which to the Catholics was omitting an integral part of the Old Testament. This had been a contentious issue within the British and Foreign Bible Society culminating in a controversy in 1825-26 which led to a major rift among supporters. Originally the major Protestant translations like Luther's German Bible, the King James Bible and the Geneva Bible had included the Apocrypha in a separate section. It was not until the Westminster Assembly in 1647 that the Apocrypha was removed from English Bibles. The exclusion of the Apocrypha from the Bible was only supported by the Puritan wing of Protestantism. For instance the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* retained readings from the Apocrypha in its lectionary for the daily services of Morning and Evening Prayer. It is a salutary observation that the history of missions in the Middle East may have followed a different course simply by the Bible Society including the Apocrypha in its Arabic Bible.

Hobaish's lobbying led to first the Papal Bull of May 1824 against a corrupt version of the Bible by "a certain Bible Society", and second the Ottoman firman of July 1824 forbidding the import and circulation of European-printed Psalters and Bibles. Hobaish's attempt to refute Protestantism by setting one of his ablest and most learned priests, Assad as-Shidyaq, the task of refuting it badly backfired when Shidyaq converted to Protestantism. Hobaish failed to persuade him to renounce his conversion to the Protestant faith, finally walling him up in a cell in the Monastery of Qanubin where he starved to death in 1826. This earned him the double crown of the first Protestant convert and martyr in the Levant.

However, the American missionaries were not easily deterred. If anything, persecution and hardship strengthened their resolve and confirmed their calling. So the early deaths of Parsons, Fisk and King, the personal opposition from Patriarch Hobaish, the evacuation of the missionaries to Malta in 1830 during international tensions, the declaration of Protestantism as a *religio illicita*, as well as civil unrest during the conflict between Ibrahim Pasha and the Ottomans, did not prevent the missionaries from commencing a printing press and Girls' School (1834) and Boys' School (1835) in Beirut. The focus on educational and literature work steadily continued and Protestantism was firmly established when in 1847 the Grand Vizier in Istanbul issued a Protestant "Charter of Rights" and in the following year the first Syrian Evangelical Church was founded in Beirut with eighteen members. Among the various milestones in the establishment of Protestantism was the extraordinary Imperial Edict of 1857 which stated that no Muslim becoming a Christian should be put to death.[649] This gave Christians a special protected status in the Ottoman Empire, inadvertently breeding resentment among many of their Muslim and Druze neighbours which culminated in massacres of Christians in the 1860s.

d. Change of Direction for the Protestant Strategy in the Levant



CHRISTIAN RESEARCH

IN

Syria and the Holy Land,

IN MDCCCXXIII. AND MDCCCXXIV.

IN FURTHERANCE OF THE OBJECTS

OF THE

Church Missionary Society.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM JOWETT, M.A.

ONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOCIETY,

AND LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

THE JOURNAL OF MR. JOSEPH GREAVES,

ON A VISIT TO THE REGENCY OF TUNIS.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY S. WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.

PUBLISHED, FOR THE SOCIETY,

BY L. B. SEELEY & SON, AND J. HATCHARD & SON.

1826.

Figure 46. William Jowett's arrival visit to the Levant forty years after the last Aleppo chaplain marked a new and different Anglican involvement in the area

In 1825, at the very time the American Presbyterian missionaries were starting to experience the full force of Roman Catholic opposition, Jowett wrote for the CMS a sequel to his *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean from 1815 to 1820.* It was based on a trip from Malta to Beirut and then overland to Jerusalem, experiencing the hospitality of the American missionaries who at that stage were still enjoying cordial relations with many of the Maronite monks of Mount Lebanon. The 460 page *Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land in 1823 and 1824* comprises in order a survey of the religions, a travel journal with notes, an account of the state of affairs in the region and finally 125 pages of "Notices, Remarks and Suggestions". Jowett declared that the traditional Protestant philosophy of mission based on their own churches' experience in the Reformation to be seriously flawed. In other words, it was not enough to distribute the Scriptures in the vernacular and leave the rest up to the Holy Spirit. In paying special attention to the role of education in Roman Catholic missions Jowett drew on two works. The first was the Decrees of the Maronite Provincial Synod of 1736, a Latin work published in Rome by the Propaganda in 1820.[650] The second was *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, a French work describing the Jesuit strategy.[651] He spoke with the conviction of an Evangelical and the experience of a missionary who, in spite of his reservations about the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, admired its commitment to sending out missionaries. It is worth quoting in full:

> Protestant Societies have to beware, that they do not send Bibles without men: not because

> the Bible without a living Interpreter, can do harm – it cannot do harm; and it may, alone, be the means of an infinite benefit; but because such a principle falls short of the Apostolical method of PREACHING the Gospel. This is, indeed, a subject of vital importance to the character of modern Missions, or rather to the interests of Christ's Kingdom; and it is well that all persons should be roused to the keenest sense of it. I would repeat, therefore, in the most pointed language of contrast, that if the principle of sending out Missionaries without the Bible be now viewed as exploded, yet not all is gained if the Bible be sent out without Missionaries. It is, indeed, with exultation, that every enlightened Christian must contemplate the stupendous operations of the Bible Society – oftentimes penetrating into recesses as yet impervious to the feet of the Missionary; and, in other instances, giving him ample materials for the useful labour of distribution, while his lips, as yet unpractised in a foreign dialect, can furnish to his hearers only a stammering speech. Yet all this Biblical Apparatus – neither, indeed, is the tenth portion of THIS department completed – is but preliminary. The sooner Missionary Societies can press on their servants to the work of preaching the Gospel, by so much earlier will Scriptural Translations be completed; the more extensively will copies of the Scriptures be distributed; and thus ere long, will the doctrines of the bible be expounded, understood and embraced among all nations on the Earth!... From having noticed how little bible-instruction has hitherto been given by the Papal Missionaries in the East, it was only seasonable to check, in Protestant Minds, that spirit of dangerous self-gratulation, which might arise from comparing our principles with those of Rome. Comparing ourselves with the Apostolic Age we are more likely to become wisely humble and nobly emulous.[652]

At the same time Jowett urged a tact and sensitivity in relating to the local Christians that had been so sorely missing among Rome's representatives. In a footnote he related an anecdote by the German adventurer Carsten Niebuhr who, around 1765 on his way between Mesopotamia and Aleppo, met an "Armenian Ecclesiastic" who at first suspected him of being a despised Catholic but welcomed him warmly when Carsten described himself as an Englishman[653] because he held the English he had met in Aleppo in esteem "because it sends no missionaries into Turkey." Jowett's lesson from this encounter was "now that Missionaries from our land are beginning to visit that region, the timidity of the Armenian Ecclesiastic may suggest many important practical lessons, on the necessity of our winning, rather than forcing, our way."[654]

Jowett's challenge was eventually taken up in the Middle East by two Anglican agencies: his own, the Church Missionary Society, and the Church Mission to the Jews. They established small congregations of former Muslims and Jews which survive as the Anglican Diocese of Jerusalem. It commenced in 1841 as the Anglo-Prussian bishopric of Jerusalem, the first bishop Michael Alexander being a converted Jew. Unlike the American and Irish Presbyterian missionaries the Anglicans did not actively proselytise Christians from the Eastern Churches.

Jowett's omission

Jowett was aware that an English Aleppo chaplaincy had existed. In his survey of the Protestant denomination he observed that "in former times, there was an English Protestant Chaplain fixed at Aleppo: the office has been adorned by the names of Bishop Frampton, of Maundrell, and of Pococke."[655] He went on to bemoan the misrepresentation of Protestants by the Jesuits and quoted from the passage, previously cited in this work, which mentions local Christians trampling underfoot a Catechism printed by an English minister. In the footnote Jowett proceeds to speculate that this minister was Pococke and that he had translated into Arabic Grotius's *De Veritate Fidei Christianae* which the CMS had recently republished and circulated in the Levant. He also mentioned Pococke's Arabic translation of large parts of the *BCP* and confessed that he was:

> ignorant what steps were taken for the circulation of this book, or what accounts may exist of its reception in the countries where Arabic is spoken. It seems, however, by no means improbable that the above-cited passage has reference to this pious and laudable effort of Pococke, to make the Christians of the East acquainted with the Church of England.

In visiting the Samaritans in Nablus, Jowett quoted from Prideaux's *Connection* in his footnotes that Huntington, while chaplain at Aleppo, had visited Shechem and passed a scholarly opinion about a Samaritan document. These two references appear to be the sum total of Jowett's knowledge of the Aleppo chaplains. The goodwill of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, cultivated so strongly during Frampton's chaplaincy and bearing fruit in the SPCK Arabic New Testament and Psalter fifty years later, was forgotten. Huntington's role in lobbying for Pococke's translations of the first Protestant works to be published in Arabic and then distributing them was also forgotten. Yet their approach has recently been vindicated.

e. Heirs of the Aleppo chaplains

Only in the second half of the twentieth century did Protestants begin again to constructively engage with the ancient Eastern Churches. There are two outstanding examples. First, between 1990 and 2011 the Mennonite Central Committee in the USA worked in Syria in partnership with the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch in Damascus to provide teachers of English to trainee priests and monks in the seminaries at Saidnaya in the south and Qamishle in the north-east. The rationale was that learning English would help them understand the wider world that the younger generations of their community are engaged with.[656]

The second is summed up in this press release by the Bible Society of the Middle East, based in Beirut, issued on 16 February 2012:

> After almost 12 years of work by prominent Biblicists from various confessions, the Bible Society launched its new Good News Arabic Bible with pastoral notes – the first ever Arabic Study Bible with notes edited and written by regional Biblicists. While other Arabic Study Bibles translated notes compiled in the Western hemisphere usually by one confession or denomination, the notes in this Bible are contextual, relevant, inter-confessional, and pastoral.[657]

The launching of the new Bible was under the patronage of the Maronite Patriarch, Mar Bechara Boutros El Rai, and in the presence of bishops, priests, pastors, nuns, and leaders of partner Christian agencies. The Board of the Middle East Bible Society in 2012 included Arab and Armenian Protestants, together with Roman Catholics, Maronites, Greek Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Syriac Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox.

Chapter 13

Conclusion

a. New avenues of inquiry

It is 233 years since the last chaplain left Aleppo, yet only here and now has the chaplaincy been comprehensively chronicled. A substantial amount of new material has been uncovered and each discovery has opened a new avenue of inquiry. The gaps in the records such as the sixteen years between Biddulph's departure and Robson's arrival beg the question whether there are more chaplains yet to be discovered. There are enigmas to be resolved such as the nature of Chapple's post-chaplaincy existence in Aleppo. The failure to conclusively identify chaplains like Maye, Edward Edwards and Thomas Pritchett provides an ongoing challenge.

In the course of the research, physical evidence of the chaplains has been recorded through recent descriptions and photographs of gravestones in the Aleppo Protestant cemetery and their quarters in the Khan al Gumruk in the Old City. This is timely because they are located in bitterly contested areas of the Civil War and it is likely that recent bombardments have damaged or even totally destroyed these historic sites. An array of primary documents has been collected and analysed including letters, sermons, diary entries, church registers, travelogues, maps, engravings and portraits. Valuable secondary documents like early biographies have also been gathered and analysed. The bibliography now provides a substantial corpus of material for other researchers. The very process of answering the question "Who were the Aleppo chaplains?" spawns another question "Why have the chaplains been mostly forgotten?"

b. Why the chaplains have been forgotten

The nature of an overseas chaplaincy

Overseas chaplaincies are of mild interest to historians as examples of cross-cultural engagement. However the core business of the chaplains is of less interest. The Aleppo chaplains' chief mandate from their employers, the Directors of the English Levant Company, was remarkable but unexciting to the modern person. They were assigned to preach a good sermon every Sunday to the assembled English factors, which the compulsory trial sermon before the Directors in London bears out. The stature accorded to preaching is a strong reminder that the Church of England chaplains throughout this period were decidedly Protestant. A number of the trial sermons have been published and although not appealing to modern taste are testaments to Christian zeal, English wit and classical scholarship.

The task of preparing and preaching a Sunday sermon as well as conducting daily prayers at the factory was barely arduous and was performed conscientiously except when the chaplains accompanied members of their flock to sites like Jerusalem. Their effectiveness in fulfilling their roles as pastors is more difficult to judge. The Directors of the Company knew that a harmonious factory staffed by clean-living, industrious factors meant fatter profits. They looked to the chaplains to maintain the moral standards of the merchant enclaves by their personal example as well as by exhortation. Their role was never questioned by the Company, even with the handful of chaplains who were incompetent or negligent. Indiscretions, in the case of Robson, and incompetency, in the case of Chapple, led to termination of their employment, but in the culture

of gentlemanly cover-up embarrassing details were not made public. These few failures were outweighed by the overall quality of chaplains. Maintaining the morale of this expatriate community at times of crisis required initiative and courage and such cases were long remembered. This was evident in cases like Frampton's championing the English merchants troubled by an unscrupulous and greedy pasha, or Pococke's and Dawes' choosing to stay with the merchants who did not evacuate to the hills during outbreaks of plague.

The social revolution that England underwent between the reigns of Elizabeth I and George III did not markedly affect the outlook or behaviour of the chaplains. Oxford and Cambridge remained mainstays of the Church of England, with college life inducting young bachelors into the habits and tastes of the clerical caste. However the chaplains adapted to the change in the Protestant community in Aleppo from a monochrome cohort of single Englishmen to a polychrome mix of English, Dutch, French, Italians and Greeks that included wives and children. Thus in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when the community was composed of bachelors, it resembled an Oxbridge college with the chaplain conducting morning prayers followed by work and afternoons devoted to sports in which the chaplain participated. Whereas in the mid-eighteenth century, when the community included a significant number of families, it approximated a small parish with the chaplain's role resembling a country vicar conducting weddings, baptisms as well as being the schoolmaster for the young offspring. This may be noteworthy from a social history point of view, but is predictable rather than surprising.

A number of the twenty-four chaplains so far identified were remarkable men who, as well as being very competent preachers and pastors, achieved high office on their return to England. Frampton, Huntington and Lisle ended up as bishops and Pococke held Chairs of Arabic and Hebrew at Oxford. Three others: Biddulph, Halifax and Maundrell, have a deserved reputation for their writings about the historical geography of the Levant. But that still leaves a complement of seventeen other chaplains who have not been deemed worthy of study.

Stranded in a backwater of history

Simply put, in history timing is everything and the various contributions of the chaplains were not fulfilled because the tide of history was moving in a different direction. A number of chaplains contributed in the seventeenth century to the burgeoning interest in England in Arabic and biblical studies, but this had withered by the eighteenth century with the switch from theology to the natural sciences as the focus of intellectual life. Similarly, concern for the plight of the Arabic-speaking Christians of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, which had been given so much attention up until the 1720s, faded from view. The schism of 1724 resulted in most of the vibrant, urban Aleppan constituency forming the Greek Catholic Church. This left the rural rump to Patriarch Sylvester, who disengaged from contact with the West and strengthened the Greek credentials of the church at the expense of the Arabic. Furthermore, the expanding horizons of the British Empire, west to North America and east to India, led to a decline in trade and general interest in the Levant. Colonial chaplaincies not only mushroomed across the growing British Empire but consular chaplaincies spread to wherever there were British commercial or strategic interests. Paralleling this was a formidable army of missionaries who were attracted to races far more receptive to their efforts than the Levantines.

A measure of the extent of the decline of European engagement with the Middle East over the eighteenth century is reflected in recent discussions around the concept of "Orientalism" which starts only with Napoleon's imperialistic foray into Egypt and Syria and ignores the previous centuries of Western engagement with the Levant mediated through the thousands of European merchants who for three centuries linked Aleppo with the West.

Now that the whole succession of Aleppo chaplains has been researched, and the reasons for their obscurity have been considered, the challenge is to recast the question in a positive form: "Why should they be remembered?" The answer falls into two parts: cultural and missional.

c. Why the chaplains should be remembered

Their cultural contribution

Engagement with a major civilisation: This roll of twenty-four well-educated Englishmen is unprecedented in providing a 185 year vertical slice of the history of Western contact with the Middle East, in particular the Arabic-speaking world. There have been other long-running English overseas chaplaincies including Hamburg, St Helena, Smyrna and Constantinople. However the Aleppo chaplaincy is unique in its location in the most cosmopolitan city of the Arabic-speaking world. The culture of the Levantine Arabs is rooted in the pre-Islamic empires of the Phoenicians, Arameans, Jews, Greeks, Romans and Byzantines. Even when the published writers like Biddulph and Maundrell commented unfavourably about contemporary aspects of Middle Eastern life they were still appreciative of its cultural riches and antiquity.

Western institutions which have their roots in the Levant such as coffee-drinking, the horse-racing industry and the science of archaeology owe much to the European merchants of Aleppo and often to particular English chaplains. Of note are Biddulph's and Pococke's descriptions of the social and physical aspects of coffee-drinking, among the earliest published in English, which provide valuable background to the rise of the coffee-houses as centres of intellectual and cultural life. In another field, Brydge's assistance in the importation of one of the most important horses in the development of the English Thoroughbred is noteworthy. Halifax's investigation of the Lost City of Palmyra and Maundrell's account of the Baalbek complex, two stunning sets of ruins in the Bible Lands but with no significance to biblical history, helped reawaken Western interest in archaeology. This can be said in a lesser respect to Huntington's treatise on the provenance of the porphyry pillars in Egypt which displayed his extensive knowledge of the whole Middle East.

As has been mentioned, the chaplains who have attracted the attention of recent historians have been characterised as curious travellers and detached observers. What has been ignored has been the humanity and empathy of the chaplains, like Maundrell's pitiful account of the elderly Maronite Sheikh Eunice waiting to die by impalement, or Dawes' very personal and moving account of the human toll of the Aleppo Plague of the early 1760s that balances the better known and more clinical account by Russell, the Company Physician. The biography of Frampton could be said to be unique in early modern accounts of the Levant in its anecdotes about often humorous interactions between Frampton and locals ranging from Nile boatmen to Christian Patriarchs.

There is ample evidence to prove that the English Aleppo chaplains occupied a central and honoured place in the Early Modern Period of Western relations with the Middle East. In their research and writings about the Arab world they offered a refreshing respite between the calumnies of the Middle Ages and the disparaging caricatures of the Western Imperial era. Biddulph's appreciation of the Levantines' respect towards religious leaders, Pococke's admiration for the richness of the Arabic language, and Frampton's preference for the cordial relationships with Eastern Christians and Muslims to the deadly bitterness amongst fellow Protestants back in England, demonstrate a far more nuanced attitude to the Middle East than cultural theorists like Edward Said or his adversary Bernard Lewis would like to admit. It should also remind the current generation that the riches of Arabic civilisation that have impacted our civilisation are not the petrodollars of recently enriched but deeply conservative Gulf Arab sheikhs. Instead, they are found in the cosmopolitan

milieu of cities like Aleppo where Chinese silk was sold alongside Yemeni myrrh, where Armenian was spoken alongside Italian, and where Christian patriarchs rubbed shoulders with Muslim muftis.

Contribution to biblical studies: Special mention must go to the chaplains' biblical scholarship because in their vocational commitment to biblical studies they were pioneers in the English-speaking world of bible geography, Middle Eastern archaeology, and Semitic languages. Numerous chaplains, among whom Huntington stands out, collected extremely valuable biblical and patristic manuscripts in a whole array of languages. In contrast to the scholastically trained Roman Catholic clergy, their training in biblical humanism equipped them with an open-mindedness, curiosity and eagerness to view the Scriptures through the lenses of Middle Eastern geography and culture. Such was the case with Pococke whose final publications were commentaries on the Minor Prophets Micah, Malachi, Hosea and Joel, in which he used his knowledge of the living Middle Eastern culture to illuminate the meaning of the text.[658] Recent generations fail to recognise that until its revitalisation in the early twentieth century Hebrew was a "dead language" like Latin or Sanskrit that owed its preservation to the sacred texts of the Jews and Samaritans. So Arabic as the closest living language to Hebrew was highly valued among Old Testament scholars, hence the establishment of Chairs of Arabic at Oxford and Cambridge in the 1630s.

Valuable religious insights: Equally pertinent is that the story of the chaplains has a uniquely religious focus which is missing from most historical treatments of Western engagement with the Middle East. A recent and more pressing issue in Middle Eastern studies than the academic debate about Orientalism has been the successive political upheavals across North Africa and the Middle East that was initially and optimistically labelled the "Arab Spring". The response of Western governments is a tragic reminder that the secular West has a culpable record in underestimating the significance of religion in the politics and society of the Arab world. The naive assumption that the main opposition to the Arab dictatorships were liberal-minded, Western-leaning citizens has been discredited as Islamist groups prove to be the most effective opponents. In fact, Christians in the Middle East wryly refer to it as the "Arab Winter". These events cannot simply be viewed through the lens of Western absolutes like human rights and liberal democracy. Tribal loyalty, family honour and most of all deeply held religious beliefs are the absolutes in the Arab world that postmodern Western commentators frequently fail to appreciate.

So the study of the life and work of these first Protestant Christians in the Middle East gives fresh insights into the complexities of the religious and cultural landscape of Middle East, which the West ignores with disastrous consequences. As far back as four centuries ago the chaplains were pioneering Arabic studies, language and literature in the English-speaking and Protestant world. In doing so they interpreted and publicised the cultural, religious, geographic and historic landscape of the Middle East to the English-speaking and Protestant world which had inherited from the Middle Ages a view of that region poisoned by the bitterness of the Crusades. Pococke as a deeply religious man wanted to share the insights of his own Protestant faith by translating and publishing the first Protestant works in Arabic. The same religious impulse led him to a serious study of Arabic literature and correcting the biased critique of Islam by medieval scholars and the sensationalist travel writings of the early modern era. P M Holt, while Professor of Arab History in the University of London (1964-75), assessed Pococke's notes accompanying his Latin translation of Bar Hebraeus's *Specimen historae Arabum* as "profoundly erudite in content and uncontroversial in tone", showing "the emergence of the scholarly study of Islam from the distortions of medieval polemic".[659] He went on to lament the amnesia about Pococke and his peers:

> In Pococke's own field of Arabic scholarship he had few worthy successors in England, during the century that followed his death. It was unfortunate for his fame that when a revival of Arabic studies did take place in the nineteenth century, the aims and outlook of the scholars had changed so much that his work was no longer easy to access and tended to be forgotten. In modern eyes he is an archaic figure, the representative of a dead scholarly tradition.

The "dead scholarly tradition" refers to the fact that Pococke's Arabic scholarship, particularly the translations of significant authors like Bar Hebraeus, was in Latin which in his time was the *lingua franca* of European scholarship but was in the process of being ousted by the vernacular languages. Pococke's personal integrity enabled him to pursue his scholarly work without fear or favour. Holt continued:

> Yet in his time he played a notable part in establishing those links between England and the Muslim countries which have again in our own times become of such singular importance. In an age of religious unrest, political division and civil war, he preserved his loyalties, and fulfilled his pastoral and academic duties undismayed. [660]

Personal engagement with the peoples of the Levant: In a region so gravely misunderstood as the Middle East, there is an important lesson to be learned from an overall view of the chaplains' engagement with the local people and their various cultures. Something that has been overlooked by many writers is the ability or in most cases the inability of chaplains to converse in Arabic. We would scoff at a non-English speaker writing an informed account of modern Australians or Americans, yet Biddulph and Maundrell, whose accounts of the people and places of the Levant were most widely read, did not speak Arabic. One can only start to imagine how often they misinterpreted the behaviour of the people they met, let alone the nuances in speech they completely missed. Furthermore their conversations with local people were filtered through interpreters who may have deliberately or accidentally misrepresented conversations. In fact there is only evidence of three chaplains having this facility: Pococke, Frampton and Huntington. It comes as no surprise that they were the most empathetic in dealing with both local Christians and Muslims, being the least judgemental while being the most intentional in Christian ministry towards them.

Their missional contribution

They eschewed proselytising: There is nothing written by or about any chaplain that suggests they had any reservations in beseeching God to have mercy "on all Jews, Turks, Infidels and Hereticks" and to bring them into "one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord".[661] However, they were pragmatic enough to realise that prayer for the spiritually benighted could not translate into overt evangelism of Muslims. Maundrell's account of Sheikh Eunice, doomed to be executed by impalement, the normal Ottoman punishment for Muslim apostates, should sufficiently explain why the chaplains, like their Roman Catholic counterparts, refrained from proselytising Muslims. Even so, there is the case of at least one chaplain, the intrepid Frampton, persuading two European Muslim converts to return to Christianity and risking his life to help repatriate them. Pococke expressed the hope that his translation of Grotius' *De Veritate* would be read by Muslims and persuade them of the truth of the Christian religion, but he had no strategy other than hoping that chaplains and merchants would distribute copies when the opportunity arose. With respect to other religions, Biddulph described a conversation with Jews in Saphetta when he suggested that only the Christian gospel would bring them close to God, but this was barely a concerted attempt at proselytising. Foster baptised an Italian Jew and welcomed him into the English Protestant community, but this was so unusual and potentially dangerous that it called for a council of the Protestant community to approve it. Huntington established a correspondence

between the Samaritan community of Nablus with Dr Marshall who sought to persuade them to accept Christ as the fulfilment of their faith, but there is no evidence that this was Huntington's intention.

When it comes to the Eastern Christians, none of the chaplains attempted to win them over to the Protestant fold. This stands in contrast with contemporary Roman Catholic clergy and the itinerant Anglican priest Isaac Basire. An examination of the next generation of Protestant clergy in the Middle East, the English and American missionaries of the early nineteenth century, demonstrates that they shared the same attitude towards the Eastern Christians and sought only to make the vernacular Scriptures available to them with the belief that reformation would be a natural consequence as they believed had been the case with the Protestant Reformation. Only when they faced implacable and violent opposition from the Maronite Patriarch, Youssef Hobaish, did their mission strategy change direction towards the Roman Catholic model of winning over young Eastern Christians through schools and colleges.

They illustrated four distinctives of Protestantism in the Early Modern Era: A study of the Aleppo chaplains not only gives insight into the people they engaged with but shines a light on Protestantism, bearing in mind that the Church of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was self-consciously Protestant. Although within the Protestantism of the era there were divisions between Puritan and Anglican, Arminian and Calvinist which led to bitter disputes, they were united in their hostility towards Roman Catholicism. Studying the Aleppo chaplains provides the unique opportunity of contrasting Protestants with the two other main Christian traditions they rubbed shoulders with: Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. From this comparison four Protestant distinctives emerge.

First, the chaplains illustrated the early Protestant approach to historiography, which assumed that the Bible was historically true but applied scientific principles in establishing the veracity of traditions. There was not only a distaste for anything that had a whiff of superstition but, more importantly, a natural curiosity to seek answers to puzzling phenomena.

Second, they illustrated the Protestant sense of belonging to the mainstream of Western culture. In spite of a distaste for Roman Catholic interference in the Eastern Churches and a particular distrust of the Jesuits, the chaplains felt a natural affinity for other Europeans in the Middle East, especially merchants but even members of Catholic religious orders. So long as Latin was the language of Western scholarship there was a sense of a shared culture and values that transcended the divisions of the Reformation. This was fading by the 1700s, leading to the development of vernacular based nationalism in the 1800s. This raises the question whether this was a backward step for European civilisation, something that cannot be answered here.

Third, the chaplains illustrated the Protestant view of national churches belonging to the "Catholic", in the sense of the historic and universal, church and having a deep respect for the integrity and rights of other national churches. Moreover there was a strong fraternal feeling for the Eastern Christians and their historic Churches that was manifestly lacking among the Roman Catholic and later Protestant missionaries.

Fourth, the chaplains illustrated the Protestant commitment to the people having ready access to the Scriptures in the vernacular and the assumption that conversion and reformation would naturally follow. As Englishmen this was embedded in their history and their identity. As chaplains this was lived out in their daily Common Prayer offices and their weekly sermons. As expatriates they were continually confronted with this perceived lack among the Eastern Christians. If they had

any sense of mission it was to see the Eastern Christians also benefit from having access to the Scriptures in the vernacular.

Although not missionaries they were missional: In this survey we have come across some figures who were both brilliant and zealous like the Damascene scholar Solomon Negri, the Patriarch Athanasius Dabbas, the Frenchman turned Church of England priest Isaac Basire, and any number of French Catholic missionary priests. Only one chaplain, Pococke, shares that stature. Others like Frampton, Huntington, Lisle and Bridges certainly played their part in Christian mission. But they were not missionaries. On leaving England's shores they were free from episcopal oversight and were servants of the English Levant Company, tasked only with the pastoral care of its employees. Furthermore there is no suggestion that any of them were servants of a missionary society. This stands in stark contrast to the French Aleppo chaplains, whether Jesuits, Carmelites, Capuchins or Franciscans, who only used the guise of chaplain as a cover for their real role as Roman Catholic missionaries and servants of the Propaganda.

Although not missionaries, a significant number of the chaplains were missional in a variety of senses. Pococke's Arabic translation of Grotius' great apologetic work and most of the *BCP* was motivated by a desire to equip the Eastern Christians with resources to better understand and articulate the historic Christian faith. Huntington's missionality was evident in his lobbying Pococke to produce these works and then distributing them around Aleppo. Collectively the chaplains were missional in strengthening the Middle Eastern churches during the mid-Ottoman era which was the most difficult time in their history.

Their greatest achievement was to encourage the hard-pressed Eastern Christians: The least recognised achievement of the chaplains was to support the hard-pressed Christians of the Levant, who not only suffered systematic discrimination under Ottoman rule but were harassed by the Roman political machinations. As a result of Ottoman and Roman interference in their affairs their Patriarchs and Bishops were often embroiled in internecine strife which brought dishonour to the whole community. The chaplains' feelings towards the Eastern Christians were conflicted. As Protestants they struggled with what they judged as vain superstitions, while as Anglicans they were in awe of the Eastern Churches' connection to the Apostles and Church Fathers. But overriding all this was a deep and genuine sympathy for them.

In their travelogues, chaplains like Biddulph and Maundrell reported to the English reading public the mistreatment of Christians throughout the Levant by their Ottoman rulers. They explained what the status of dhimmitude meant for Christians in terms of day to day living, and the impossibility of Muslims being openly evangelized or publicly converting. Frampton's petitioning of Archbishops of Canterbury on behalf of the hard-pressed Eastern Christians on top of his personal generosity in financially aiding the Christians is now well known and well documented. But an unknown number of chaplains were on cordial terms with local Christians ranging from venerable Patriarchs to the lowliest slave. The *Last Will and Testament* of a virtually unknown chaplain speaks for all the others. When Edward Edwards died in office in his fourteenth year of service he willed that the first call on his estate be not to his family in England but to bequeath three hundred dollars to "the poor Christians of Aleppo." Hopefully such evidence will lead to more generous conclusions than Christine Laidlaw's, that the chaplains "did not get involved in charitable works apart from administering the distribution of small amounts of alms money".[662]

This fraternal sympathy for the Eastern Christians bore unexpected fruit when Lisle, Brydges and Soley played their part in lobbying for and then supporting the great SPCK project of translating,

printing and distributing the Arabic Psalter and New Testament for their "Eastern brethren". It received tangible support from the whole bench of bishops of the Church of England and the king himself. This benefitted all the different traditional Christian communities of the Middle East, from the large Greek Orthodox community through to the small Assyrian community. In providing the Scriptures and other Christian literature in the vernacular they not only sought to remedy the perceived falling away from their apostolic and patristic heritage into superstition, but to provide a bulwark against apostatising to Islam. In doing so they used terms of endearment like "our Eastern brethren" rather than the vocabulary perpetuating ancient grievances like "schismatics" or "heretics".

The early partnership between the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and the Church of England generated the goodwill that a century later saw Greek Orthodox officials welcome the first nineteenth century Protestant missionaries Jowett, Burckhardt and Fiske. It also provides the missing first chapter in the story of Arab Protestantism, but even more pressingly provides an example of ecumenical cooperation and fraternal respect that is a key to the survival of Christianity in an increasingly polarised Middle East.

Appendices

1. A Note about English Dating

Until 1752 when England adopted the Gregorian calendar the civil or legal year began on Lady Day, 25 March. So until that year dates between 1 January and 25 March are followed by two years eg 18 January 1687-8.

2. Successive Aleppo Chaplains and their University College

1.	? Maye	(1597-1600)	?
2.	William Biddulph	(1600-08)	Brasenose, Oxford
3.	Charles Robson	(1624- 30)	Queens, Oxford
4.	Edward Pococke	(1630-35)	Corpus Christi, Oxford
5.	Thomas Pritchett	(1636-)	?
6.	Bartholomew Chapple	(1641-45)	Exeter, Cambridge
7.	Nathaniel Hill	(1650-54)	Pembroke, Oxford
8.	Robert Frampton	(1655-70)	Corpus Christi & Christchurch, Oxford
9.	Robert Huntington	(1671-81)	Merton, Oxford
10.	John Guise	(1681-87)	Corpus Christi, Oxford
11.	William Halifax	(1688-94)	Corpus Christi, Oxford
12.	Henry Maundrell	(1695-1701)	Exeter, Oxford
13.	Henry Brydges	(1701-03)	Christchurch, Oxford
14.	Harrington Yarborough	(1703-06)	Trinity, Oxford
15.	Thomas Owen	(1706-16)	Peterhouse, Cambridge
16.	Samuel Lisle	(1716-19)	Wadham, Oxford
17.	Joseph Soley	(1719-?)	Corpus Christi, Cambridge
18.	Edward Edwards	(1729-42)	Corpus Christi, Oxford
19.	John Hemming	(1743-48)	Kings, Cambridge
20.	Thomas Crofts	(1750-53)	Wadham, Oxford
21.	Charles Holloway	(1756-58)	Trinity, Oxford
22.	Thomas Dawes	(1758-69)	Queens, Oxford
23.	Robert Foster	(1773-78)	Trinity, Cambridge
24.	John Hussey	(1779-82)	Corpus Christi, Oxford

3. Greek Orthodox Patriarchs of Antioch during the Chaplaincy Era

(Note that there were also concurrent Patriarchs of Antioch for the Maronites, Syrian Orthodox and "Latins" or Roman Catholics, although the latter was only a nominal title held by European prelates who never visited the Middle East)

Joachim VI	(1593-1604)
Dorotheus IV (or V) Ibn Al-Ahmar	(1604-11)
Athanasius II (or III) Dabbas	(1611-19)
Ignatius III Atiyah	(1619-34)
Euthymius II (or III) Karmah	(1634-35)
Euthymius III (or IV) of Chios	(1635-47)
Macarios III Zaim	(1647-72)
*Neophytos of Chios	(1673-82)

*Athanasius III Dabbas (first, or anti-patriarchal, reign) (1685-94)

*Cyril V (or III) Zaim (anti-patriarchal reign 1672-94) (1694-20)
Athanasius III Dabbas (second reign) (1720-24)

Following the death of Dabbas, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch split into two factions in 1724 with the Melkite Greek Catholic Church faction breaking communion with the Orthodox Church and establishing communion with the Catholic Church

Sylvester	(1724-66)
Philemon	(1766-67)
Daniel	(1767-91)

*rival claims

4. British Consuls in Aleppo during the Chaplaincy Era

William Barrett	(1580-1585)
James Towerson	(1586) Died in office
John Eldred	(1586)
Michael Locke	(1592-1594)
George Dorrington	(1596) Acting as vice-consul
Thomas Sandys	(1596)
Ralph Fitch	(1596-1597)
Richard Colthurst	(1597)
James Hawarde	(1606) Acting as vice-consul
Paul Pindar	(1606-1610)
Bartholomew Haggatt	(1610-1616)
Libby Chapman	(1616-1621)
Edward Kirkham	(1621-1627)
Thomas Potton	(1627-1630)
John Wandesford	(1630-1638)
Edward Bernard	(1638-1649)
Henry Riley	(1649-1657)
Benjamin Lannoy	(1659-1672)
Gamaliel Nightingale	(1672-1686)
Thomas Metcalfe	(1686-1689)
Henry Hastings	(1689-1701)
George Brandon	(1701-1706)
William Pilkington	(1707-1715)
John Purnell	(1716-1726)
Nevil Coke	(1727-1740)

Nathaniel Micklethwait	(1740-1745)
Arthur Pollard	(1745-1751)
Alexander Drummond	(1751-1758)
Francis Browne	(1758)
William Kinloch	(1759-1766)
Henry Preston	(1766-1768) Pro-consul
William Clark	(1768-1770)
Charles Smith	(1770-1772) Pro-consul
John Abbott	(1770-1783)

5. Ottoman Sultans during the Chaplaincy Era

Murad III	(1574-95)	
Mehmed III	(1595-1603)	
Ahmed I	(1603-17)	
Mustafa I	(1617-18)	*deposed*
Osman II	(1618-22)	*deposed and killed*
Mustafa I	(1622-23)	*reinstated and deposed*
Murad IV	(1623-40)	
Ibrahim I	(1640-48)	*deposed and killed*
Mehmed IV	(1648-87)	*deposed*
Suleiman II	(1687-91)	
Ahmed II	(1691-95)	
Mustafa II	(1695-1703)	*deposed*
Ahmed III	(1703-30)	*deposed*
Mahmud I	(1730-54)	
Osman III	(1754-57)	
Mustafa III	(1757-74)	
Abdulhamid I	(1774-89)	

6. Monarchs of England and Great Britain during the Chaplaincy Era

Elizabeth I	(1558-1603)	of the Kingdom of England
James I	(1603-25)	of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland
Charles I	(1625-49)	of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland
(killed)		
The Commonwealth	(1649-59)	
Charles II	(1660-85)	of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland
James II	(1685-88)	of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland
(deposed)		
William III, Mary II	(1689-1702)	of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland
Anne	(1702-14)	of the United Kingdom of Great Britain (from 1707)
George I	(1714-27)	of the United Kingdom of Great Britain
George II	(1727-60)	of the United Kingdom of Great Britain
George III	(1760-1820)	of the United Kingdom of Great Britain

7. Archbishops of Canterbury during the Chaplaincy Era

John Whitgift (1583-1604)

Richard Bancroft (1604-10)

George Abbot (1611-33)

William Laud (1633-45) *(executed in office)*

Vacancy (1645-60)

William Juxon (1660-63)

Gilbert Sheldon (1663-77)

William Sancroft (1678-90) (*deprived as a non-juror*)

John Tillotson (1691-94)

Thomas Tenison (1694-1715)

William Wake (1715-37)

John Potter (1737-47)

Thomas Herring (1747-57)

Matthew Hutton (1757-58)

Thomas Secker (1758-68)

Frederick Cornwallis (1768-83)

Endnotes

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[4] Pamela Lake, *Photograph of the Courtyard of the Khan,* 2011.
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[6] Pamela Lake, *Photograph of the Chaplains' Accommodation,* 2011.
[7] Henry Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A.D. 1697* (London: J.White, 1810).1
[8] Alexander and Patrick Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo* 2nd ed.(London: G G and J Robinson, 1794).Vol 1. 13
[9] Jeremy Lewis, "Map of the Ottoman Empire 1580 A.D.,"(Montgomery, Al: Huntingdon College, 2005).
[10] Pamela Lake, *Photographs at the Aleppo Protestant Cemetery,* 2011.
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[13] Andrew Lake, "Map of William Biddulph's Journey to Jerusalem,"(2014).
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[19] Unknown, *Portrait of Cyril Lucaris* 1632. Bibliothèque Publique Et Universitaire.
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[23] Pamela Lake, *Photograph of the Epitaph on Benjamin Chappell's Gravestone in Aleppo,* 2011.
[24] Unknown, *Portrait of Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester* 1680. Corpus Christi College.
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[30] Andrew Lake, "Map of Henry Maundrell's Two Journeys from Aleppo,"(2014).
[31] Unknown, *Portrait of the Honourable Henry Brydges, Archdeacon of Rochester* Eighteenth century.
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[38] Hugo Grotius, *Kitab Fi Sihhat Al-Shari a Al-Masihiyya (De Veritate Religionis Christianae Trans. Edward Pococke)* (Oxford: William Hall, 1660). Title page
[39]Solomon Negri, *Al-'Ahd Al-Jadid Li-Rabbina Yasu' Al-Masih [the New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ]* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1727).Title page
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Eastern Countries. With a Proposal for Executing So Good an Undertaking,"(London: Downing, 1725).Title page
[43] Negri, *Al-'Ahd Al-Jadid*. Cover
[44] Pamela Lake, *Photograph of the Grave of Christopher Burckhardt in Aleppo,* 2011.
[45] William Jowett, *Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land in 1823 and 1824* (London: Seeley & Hatchard, 1825).Title page
[46] Norman Horner, *A Guide to the Christian Churches in the Middle East*, vol. G (Elkhart: Mission Focus, 1989).65. Norman Horner's missionary service included Beirut (1968–76). He was associate director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center and associate editor of the *International Bulletin of Mission Research* from 1976 to 1982.
[47] Henry H Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria* vol. 1 (New York: Revell, 1910).64. Educated at Yale and Union Theological Seminary, Jessup's service with the Presbyterian Mission in Syria commenced in 1855. Most of his career was spent in Beirut where he pastored the Syrian Protestant church, oversaw the Syrian Protestant School and founded the Syrian Protestant College which became the American University of Beirut.
[48] Ibid.72
[49] John Batteridge Pearson DD, Fellow of Emmanuel College Cambridge. His best known work was *On the theories of usury- adopted or enforced by the ecclesiastical authorities in Europe during the Period 1100-1400.* (1876)
[50] John B Pearson, *A Biographical Sketch of Chaplains to the Levant Company Maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Syria 1611-1706* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co, 1883).1
[51] Ibid.8
[52] Stephen Neill, *Anglicanism* (Oxford: Mowbrays, 1977). The first edition was 1958. "Anglicans Abroad" Chapter 8. 204-206.
[53] Ibid.204, 430
[54] Simon Mills, "The Chaplains to the English Levant Company at Aleppo (1625- 1695): Mapping the Geography and Antiquities of Syria in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Global dimensions of European knowledge, 1450-1700* (2011).3.
[55] Simon Mills, PhD University of London, has been a visiting fellow across UK, Europe, Jordan

and Syria. Like the author of this thesis his intended sojourn in Syria was cut short by the Civil War. The recent focus of his research has been the
"The Chaplains to the English Levant Company at Aleppo (1625-1695): Mapping the Geography and Antiquities of Syria in Seventeenth-Century England."
[56] T Simpson Evans, *The Life of Robert Frampton* (London: Spottiswoode, 1876). 22
[57] Ibid.79
[58]Leonard Twells, "The Life of Dr Edward Pococke, the Celebrated Orientalist," in *Lives of Dr Edward Pococke, Dr Zachary Pearce, Dr Thomas Newton, Rev Philip Skelton*, ed. Anon(London: FC and J Rivington, 1816). 15
[59] James Mather graduated from Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, before studying at Harvard as a Kennedy scholar. His work *Pashas* was runner-up for the 2010 Longman-History Today Book of the Year Award presented by *History Today*
[60] James Mather, *Pashas: Traders and Travellers in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).85
[61] Alastair Hamilton (1941-) MA, PhD Cambridge. Former Dr C.Louise Thijssen- Schoute Professor of the History of Ideas at the University of Leiden. Fellow of the British Academy, and Emeritus Professor of the History of the Radical Reformation at the University of Amsterdam. One of his major interests has been the history of Arabic studies and, more generally, of orientalism in Europe in the early modern period, with a special emphasis on the Arabic-speaking Christians.
[62] Alastair Hamilton, "The English Interest in the Arabic-Speaking Christians," in *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. G A Russell (Leiden: Brill, 1994).
[63] Ibid. 40. The section headed "Isaac Basire and the Aleppo Chaplains", commences "We now turn to a group of Englishmen who spent longer periods of time in the east, daily encountered the Christian communities and, in one way or another, tried to propagate the Anglican faith." 44. After mentioning the contacts several chaplains had with Eastern Christians, Hamilton asserts: "In these circles the chaplains attempted to propagate the Anglican faith."
[64] Ibid.43. Of the 24 chaplains there is only strong evidence for 3 of them having a sound knowledge of Arabic, namely Pococke, Frampton and Huntington.
[65] Christine Laidlaw is a former British Diplomat. Her doctoral dissertation (University of Edinburgh) on British representation in the Levant before the establishment of a regular foreign service is the basis for her book.
[66] Christine Laidlaw, *British in the Levant : Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010).
[67] Hamilton's omissions were Maye, Biddulph, Pritchett, Chapple, Hill and Halifax.
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[71] Edhem Eldem, ed. *The Ottoman City between East and West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).44
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[75] Alfred C Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935).229

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[78] Pearson, *Chaplains*.9
[79] Wood, *History*.224, quoting from G Wheler, *Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grece et du Levant* (Amsterdam: 1689) i, 61-62
[80] Ibid.62
[81] Wood, *History*. 224., quoting from Wheler, *Voyage.* I, 237 and R North, *Lives*
[82] Russell, *Natural History*.1,2
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[84] Cornelis de Bruyn, *A Voyage to the Levant* (London: Jacob Tonson et al, 1702).240
[85] Russell, *Natural History*.98
[86] CMS, *Missionary Register* (London: Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday, 1820). 396-7, also William Jowett, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean from 1815 to 1820* (London: Seeley & Hatchard, 1822).451
[87] Russell, *Natural History*.77-78
[88] Ibid.119
[89] Abraham Parsons, *Travels in Asia and Africa* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, 1808).60
[90] Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
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[92] Ross Burns, *Damascus a History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005).226
[93] Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* first ed.(Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963).98
[94] The *berat* was a document issued by the Sultan in order to grant a privilege.
[95] Ware, *Orthodox*.99 quoting P Rycaut *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches,* (London: 1679). 107
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[98] John Munro, "The Russells of Aleppo," *Saudi Aramco World* 1982.28-32
[99] Parsons, *Travels*.57
[100] Ibid.66
[101] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).
[102] Bernard Lewis (1916-), British-American, professor emeritus of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University. His specialties are the Ottoman Empire, and the interaction between Islam and the West. *What went wrong* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002)
[103] Pearson, *Chaplains.* 18
[104] George Jeffery, "Aleppo Chaplains," *Notes and Queries* 1915. 201
[105] John Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602 : With His Autobiography and Selections from His Correspondence* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1931). Introduction xl. Sir William Foster editor.
[106] Ibid. 252. J S in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople 6 July 1608 (f. 1026)
[107] Ibid. 252. J.S. in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople 6 July 1608 (f. 1026)
[108] Henry Stevens, *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1599 -1603* (London: Henry Stevens & Son, 1886).281. The letter dated 11 September 1600.
[109] Sanderson, *Travels*.198. J S at Pera to Richard Colthurst at Aleppo 12 March 1600 (f. 77a)
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[111] James Theodore Bent, ed. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (London: Hakluyt Society,

1893).37-39
[112] Joseph Foster, "Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, British History Online "(Oxford: Institute of Historical Research, 1891). "Bennell-Bloye," Pages 106-141. Biddells, William (Bedells)
[113] "Clergy of the Church of England Database ", (London: King's College, 2008). CCED Person ID: 73631
[114] Sanderson, *Travels*. 257. J S in London to Sir Thomas Glover at Constantinople 16 November 1608 (f.193a)
[115] Henry Timberlake, *A True and Strange Discourse of the Travailes of Two English Pilgrimes* pdf from NLA ed.(London: Thomas Archer, 1609).
[116] Biddulph, *Travels*. The original has not been accessed, but Biddulph's work has been accessed from a compilation of travel writings: Lavender, "Travels."
[117] Gerald Maclean, *The Rise of Ottoman Travel* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004).51-55, chapter 5 "William Biddulph's Anxiety of Authorship"
[118] Lavender, "Travels." 763-4
[119] Ibid.745
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[121] Sanderson, *Travels*. 264. John Kitely at Constantinople to J S in London 6 May 1609 (f.409a)
[122] Literally "thing in thing", implying "in the very act of sexual intercourse".
[123] Maclean, *Rise*.61-64
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[127] Ibid. 767
[128] Ibid.806
[129] Ibid.807
[130] See entry on "Janissary" in Glossary
[131] Lavender, "Travels."808
[132] Ibid.808
[133] Sanderson, *Travels*.260. J S to J Kitely at Constantinople 17/18 January 1609 (f.259a)
[134] Lavender, "Travels."809
[135] Ibid.165
[136] Ibid.811
[137] Ibid.165
[138] Ibid.812
[139] Ibid.814
[140] Ibid.816-7
[141] Ibid.819-20
[142] Ibid.821
[143] Ibid.829
[144] Timberlake, *Discourse*.15
[145] Ian Hopkins, "Fuller's Pisgah Sight of Palestine: A Seventeenth-Century Bible Atlas," *The Evangelical Quarterly*1982.173
[146] Morris J Fuller, *The Life, Times, and Writings of Thomas Fuller* (London: Sonnenschein, Le Bas & Lowrey, 1886).467. Thomas Fuller's biographer included Biddulph "a late English divine" as one of his sources for his book.
[147] Lavender, "Travels."781
[148] Ibid.782

[149] Ibid.783
[150] Ibid.802
[151] Ibid.802-3
[152] Ibid.803
[153] Ibid.784
[154] Ibid.803
[155] Ibid.803-804
[156] Ibid.781
[157] Maclean, *Rise*.83 also extensive footnote 4 on p 233
[158] Lavender, "Travels."805
[159] Ibid. 788
[160] Ibid.789
[161] This is found in the *Hadith Kitab al-Kafi*, vol. 2, p. 146 Wikipedia 29.11.2011 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Golden_Rule#Islam: A Bedouin came to the Prophet, grabbed the stirrup of his camel and said: O the messenger of God! Teach me something to go to heaven with. The Prophet said: "As you would have people do to you, do to them; and what you dislike to be done to you, don't do to them. Now let the stirrup go!"
[162] Lavender, "Travels."792
[163] Ibid.794-5
[164] Pearson, *Chaplains*.54
[165] Ibid.54
[166] "CCED." Carolus Robson CCED Person ID: 15066
[167] *Chaplains*.54
[168] Ibid.54
[169] Robson, *Newes*.3
[170] Ibid.9-10
[171] Ibid.13-14
[172] William Dunn Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, A.D. 1598-1867* (London: Rivingtons, 1868).56
[173] Gerald J Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).93
[174] "CCED." Carolus Robson CCEd Person ID: 15066
[175] He died there in 1638.
[176] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.119
[177] Henry J Todd, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Right Rev Brian Walton Dd, Lord Bishop of Chester* (London: F C & J Rivington, 1821).Volume 1. 93. This is the term Todd used to describe Pococke.
[178] Pearson, *Chaplains*.55
[179] Ibid.55. Minute book entry of 31 March 1630.
[180] The writer has made use of two different editions of Twells' biography. The first is "The Theological Works of the learned Dr. Pocock to which is prefixed an account of his Writings" which is referred to as "Works" and the second is Twells "The Life of Dr Edward Pococke, the celebrated orientalist" in *Lives of Dr Edward Pococke, Dr Zachary Pearce, Dr Thomas Newton, Rev Philip Skelton*, ed. Anon. (London: FC and J Rivington, 1816) which is referred to as "Lives". They are both accessible through Googlebooks.
[181] Leonard Twells, *The Theological Works of the Learned Dr Pocock to Which Is Prefixed an Account of His Life and Writings* (London: Gosling, 1740). Preface i –iii
[182] Ibid. 2

[183] "CCED." Pocock, Edward. Person ID: 20927
[184] "Syriac," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F L Cross(Oxford University Press, 1974).1333-4
[185] *Works* 2-3
[186]Clifford E Bosworth, "The Study of Islam in British Scholarship," in *Mapping Islamic Studies: Genealogy, Continuity, and Change* ed. Azim Nanji (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997).49,50.
[187] Ibid.50
[188] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.108.
[189] Ibid.108
[190] Twells, *Works* 7
[191] Ibid.7
[192] Al-Darwish was a title for a "dervish", a member of a Sufi Lodge.
[193] Peter M Holt, *Studies in the History of the near East* (London: Frank Cass, 1973).31-32. Five letters from Pococke to al-Darwish Ahmad are extant and appear in
[194] Twells, *Works* 8
[195] Ibid.9
[196] Ibid.9-10
[197] Ibid.10
[198] Ibid.11
[199] Ibid.18
[200] Ibid.18-19
[201] Ibid.19
[202] Ibid.20
[203] Ibid.20-21
[204] Ibid.21
[205] Ibid.23
[206] Ibid.24
[207] Ibid.23-24
[208] Ibid.32
[209] Ibid.32
[210] Ibid.32
[211] Ibid.44 The term "firstfruits" was Twells'.
[212] Ibid.44. Twells confused the Berkshire parishes of Chiveley where Pococke grew up with Childrey where he spent the second half of his life.
[213] Evans, *Life*. 112-113
[214] Arthur J Arbery, *Oriental Essays: Portraits of Seven Scholars* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960).12. The letter was written in 1636, four years after the founding of the Chair.
[215] Twells, *Works* 35
[216] Ibid.59
[217] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.218-219
[218] Ibid.220
[219] Brian Walton (1600-61) earned an MA from Peterhouse Cambridge in 1623 and was Rector of St Martin's Ongar in London. In 1642 he was forced into retirement for his Royalist stance, throwing himself into Oriental studies culminating in the production of the *Polyglot.* At the Restoration he was made Bishop of Chester.
[220] Twells, *Works* 52
[221] Ibid.35
[222] Ibid.6

[223] Peter Malcom Holt was Professor of Arab History (1964-75) and Professor of History of the Near and Middle East (1975-82) at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.
[224] Holt, *Studies*.36
[225] Twells, "Lives.".146-7
[226] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.161
[227] Twells, *Works* 59
[228] Bosworth, "Study of Islam ".50,51
[229] Twells, *Works* 7
[230] Ibid.11
[231] Peter Wyche or Wich (1593?-1643), English Ambassador to the Grand Porte 1627- 41
[232] Twells, *Works* 12
[233] Ibid.14-15
[234] Ibid.21
[235] Ibid.21
[236] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.166
[237] Twells, "Lives.". 337
[238] Ibid.16
[239] *Works* 7
[240] It is recorded in the State Papers that "Prichett" witnessed a will in Aleppo on 25 April 1636, so he must have taken up the position there some time earlier. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome.* 126, footnote.
[241] Pearson, *Chaplains*. 55
[242] Ibid.56. Minutes of 6 October 1640.
[243] Ibid.55
[244] Ibid.55. Minutes of 18 April 1640
[245] "CCED." Chapell, Bartholomeus. Person ID: 95571
[246] John A Venn, "Alumni Cantabrigienses,"(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922).
[247] "CCED." Chappell, Bartholomeus. Person ID: 10288
[248] George Jeffery, "English Records in Aleppo " *Notes and Queries* 1915.101
[249] Ibid.
[250] Stephen Gaselee, "The British Cemetery at Aleppo," ibid.1939.
[251] Ronald Storrs and David McKitterick, "Gaselee, Sir Stephen (1882-1943)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H Matthew and B Harrison(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).Online edition
[252] The writer had a conversation in 2010 with Mr Charles Hunter, the American charge d'affaires to Damascus, who passed on an email from a colleague in the diplomatic corps who had previously served in Syria and which was along these lines. In any case Humphrey Gilbert claimed Newfoundland for the English crown in 1583 although he was lost at sea on the return voyage and there was no attempt at settlement until 1610.
[253] variously spelled Raynhald, Renhall or Reynold
[254] The University of Padua, which was within the Republic of Venice, was popular with Royalist exiles. It was most famous for its School of Anatomy, but the warmer climate and cultural riches were sufficient attraction for many young Englishmen.
[255] David Wilson, "List of British Consular Officials in the Ottoman Empire and Its Former Territories, from the Sixteenth Century to About 1860 " http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/List_of_British_Consular_Officials_Turkey(15 81-1860)-D_Wilson.pdf 38 Cites Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1654, pp.153, 365
[256] Sarah A Burrow, "All Saints Church, Renhold: Notes on the Vicars from 1229 to Present," All

Saints Church, Renhold, http://www.all-saints-church- renhold.org/clergylist/clergylist.htm.
[257] "CCED." Hill, Nathaniel" Person ID: 70201
[258] Colin Brennen, The Life and Times of Isaac Basire (Durham: Durham University, 1987). 78
[259] Ibid. 83
[260] Ibid. 81
[261] "Basire, Isaac, De Preaumont," ed. Lawrence Goldman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*(2005), http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/1618. Brennen quotes John Evelyn whose diary entry for 26 November 1661 recorded Basire saying these words in a sermon at Westminster Abbey.
[262] Pearson, *Chaplains*.All the following entries are found on p56.
[263] The preferred currency for foreign traders in Aleppo was the "leeuwendaler" (lit. the lion dollar), the dollar produced by the Dutch Republic.
[264] Evans, *Life*.20
[265] Ibid.Preface. xii. Evans' phrase for summarising Frampton's character
[266] Ibid.The details about the provenance of *The Life* are found in pp v to xii of the Preface
[267] Ibid. Preface. x
[268] There is no record of dates for Frampton's service at either school.
[269] George Gresley Perry, "Frampton, Robert," in *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-90* ed. Leslie Stephen (London: Elder Smith & Co, 1889).159
[270] M W Helms and L Naylor, "Bruce, Robert 1626-85 ", ed. B D Henning, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690* (London: The History of Parliament Trust, 1983), http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660- 1690/member/bruce-robert-1626-85.1
[271]Evans, *Life*.20
[272] Ibid.21, 22
[273] Finkel, *Story*.261. This happened in 1659.
[274] Evans, *Life*.68
[275] Basha, Bashaw or Pasha was a high-ranking Ottoman official, in this case a regional governor. See Glossary
[276] Mufti is a Muslim professor or theologian. See Glossary
[277] Evans, *Life*.34-36
[278] Ibid.42,43. Evans used the term "phethsaw" which is not found in any dictionary. However he almost certainly meant "fatwa".
[279] Ibid.67
[280] Emyn seems to be a mistaken transliteration of Emir, the Arabic for "Prince".
[281] Ordinance written by the Sultan.
[282] Pearson, *Chaplains*.57
[283] Ibid.57
[284] Evans, *Life*.33
[285] Pearson, *Chaplains*.57. Chaplains were paid in English pounds at home but in Dutch dollars in Aleppo.
[286] Evans, *Life*.77
[287] Samuel Pepys, *The Shorter Pepys* (London: Penguin, 1987).715
[288] Evans, *Life*.Introduction vi-vii
[289] Ibid.220-221
[290] Ibid.115. Evans described how he preached this funeral oration "with many a tender strain".
[291] Ibid.30, 31
[292] Ibid.41

[293] Ibid.42
[294] Ibid. 96. The German is only identified as "Menlin of Hanover".
[295] Ibid. 97
[296] Ibid.46
[297] Ibid.47, 48
[298] Ibid.115
[299] Robert Frampton, *Letter to William Juxton, Archbishop of Canterbury* Miscellaneous Papers ed., MS 251 vols.(London: Lambeth Palace Library, 1662).
[300] F L Cross, "The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church,"(Oxford: OUP, 1974).771
[301] This was a literary device used by contemporary poets such as Andrew Marvell (1621-78), Henry Vaughan (1622-95) and Thomas Traherne (1636-74)
[302] Authorised Version Matthew 25:35-36 "For I was an hungred and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me."
[303] Philippians 2:1 "If there be therefore any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies..."
[304] 2 Corinthians 9:6 "he which soweth bountifully shall also reap bountifully", 4:17 "For our light affliction...worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory"
[305] 2 Corinthians 9:4.
[306] Robert Frampton, *Extract of a Letter to Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury* Sylloge Epistolarum quarundam insignium facta manu RR. P. Willelmi Sancroft, Archiepiscopi Cantua ed., MS 595 vols.(London: Lambeth Palace Library, 1664).
[307] Evans, *Life*.54
[308] Ibid.222
[309] Ibid.37
[310] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.
[311] Pearson, *Chaplains*.57
[312] Thomas Smith, "The Life and Travels of Rt Rev and Learned Dr Robert Huntington," *The Gentleman's Magazine* 1825.11
[313] Ibid.220
[314] W P Courtney, "Huntington, Robert " in *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Sidney Lee (New York: Macmillan and Co, 1891).308-9. This is the source for all the biographical detail about RH.
[315] Smith, "Huntington."221
[316] Ibid.118
[317] Ibid.118
[318] Physic gardens were herb gardens featuring medicinal plants and were the forerunners of modern botanical gardens.
[319] Smith, "Huntington."12
[320] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.282
[321] Alastair Hamilton, "Huntington, Robert," ed. Lawrence Goldman *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*(2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/14242.
[322] Guillaume Postel (1510-81) in 1536 travelled to Constantinople to serve as interpreter to the French Ambassador to the Sublime Porte and was tasked with collecting Eastern manuscripts for the royal library.
[323] Pietro della Valle (1586-1652) was a wealthy Roman nobleman and scholar who travelled extensively throughout the Middle East and South Asia from 1614 -24.
[324] T Harviainen and H Shehadeh, "How Did Abraham Firkovich Acquire the Great Collection of

Samaritan Manuscripts in Nablus in 1864?," *Studia Orientalia* 1994.168
[325] Ibid.168
[326] Twells, *Works* 72
[327] Thomas Marshall (1621-85) Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford (1672–1685). He was also Dean of Gloucester (1681-85) during Frampton's episcopacy. A brilliant linguist, he produced grammars and lexicons of Coptic, Arabic, Gothic, and Saxon.
[328] Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964).118 and Joseph B Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (London: Macmillan, 1891). republished in Baker, 1956.
[329] Smith, "Huntington."14
[330] Ibid.116
[331] Ibid.116
[332] Hamilton, "Huntington, Robert".
[333] Teonge, *Diary*.159. This quotation and the subsequent two quotations.
[334] Henry Timberlake, "A Discourse of the Travels of Two English Pilgrims," *Harleian Miscellany*, 1809 1616.120
[335] *Philosophical Transactions* No. 161 (20 July 1684).623-9. This was retrieved from Robert Huntington, "A Letter from Dublin, Concerning the Porphyry Pillars in Egypt," in *Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages* ed. John Ray(London: Walthos, 1738).461-466
[336] Smith, "Huntington."119
[337] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.282
[338] Pearson, *Chaplains*.All these minutes are on p 58
[339] Joseph Foster, "Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714 "(London: Parker and co, 1891).vol 2. 618
[340] Pearson, *Chaplains*.58
[341] Ibid.58
[342] Alastair Hamilton, "Guise, William (Bap. 1652, D. 1683)," ed. Lawrence Goldman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/11729.
[343] Smith, "Huntington."113
[344] Pearson, *Chaplains*.58
[345] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.288
[346] Donald Gray, "Hallifax, William (1655-1721/2)," ed. Lawrence Goldman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/12018.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Pearson, *Chaplains*.58
[349] Ibid.58
[350] It was noted earlier the disastrous and abortive journey to Palmyra made by the party that included chaplain Huntington.
[351] William Hallifax, "A Relation of a Voyage from Aleppo to Palmyra in Syria " in *Miscellanea Curiosa*, ed. Edmond Halley et al(London: R. Smith, 1708).131
[352] Ibid.91
[353] In the 1750s independently and almost simultaneously the Frenchman Jacques Barthélemy and the Englishman John Swinton deciphered the "Palmyrene" script.
[354] Egyptian hieroglyphics were deciphered in the 1820s and Mesopotamian cuneiform in the 1850s.
[355] Philosophical Transactions, no. 217, (1695). 83-110
[356] Hallifax, "Relation."93

[357] Ibid.95
[358] Ibid.99
[359] Ibid.116
[360] Pearson, *Chaplains*.59
[361] Ibid.58
[362] Robin A Butlin, "Maundrell, Henry," ed. Lawrence Goldman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*(2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/18378
[363] Pearson, *Chaplains*.58
[364] Ibid.58. Entry in the Company minute book of 15 January 1695-96.
[365] Maundrell, *Sermon*. Foreword
[366] Butlin, "Maundrell, Henry".
[367] Job Ludolphus was the Latinised name for Hiob Ludolf or Leutholf (1624 –1704). He was a German orientalist whose main achievement was in Ethiopic scholarship.
He is said to have been acquainted with 25 languages.
[368] Butlin, "Maundrell, Henry".
[369] Maundrell, *Journey*.40-41
[370] Ibid. This was first published in Oxford, 1699.
[371] Ibid.
[372] Abdallah Hadjar, *Historical Monuments of Aleppo* (Aleppo: Automobile and Touring Club of Syria, 2006).32,33
[373] Maundrell, *Journey*.175
[374] Ibid.177
[375] The modern transliteration is "Nusairis" or "Ansaris" which are terms modern Alawites reject.
[376] Maundrell, *Journey*.16-17
[377] Ibid.47
[378] Ibid.192
[379] Ibid.190
[380] Ibid.126-127
[381] Ibid.151
[382] Ibid.167
[383] Ibid.160
[384] Butlin, "Maundrell, Henry".
[385] Alvan Bond, *Memoir of the Rev Pliny Fisk* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1828).352
[386] Maundrell, *Journey*.83-4
[387] Henry Brydges, *A Sermon Preached at St. Mary Aldermanbury, on Sunday the 15th of June 1701* (London: The Honourable Company of Merchants Trading into the Levant-Seas, 1701).
[388] Ibid.22-23
[389] Wanderer, "The Darley Arabian," *The Sporting Magazine vol 777* Nov 1830. 11-12
[390] Pearson, *Chaplains*.59
[391] Ibid.59
[392] Ibid.59
[393] Ibid.59
[394] Gaselee, "The British Cemetery at Aleppo."112
[395] John A Venn, "Alumni Cantabrigienses,"(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922).291
[396] Edmund Venables, "Lisle, Samuel " in *Dictionary of National Biography* ed. Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1893).342-343. This entry is the source of the biographical information presented here.

[397] B Willis, E Edwards, and A C Ducarel, eds., *Willis' Survey of St. Asaph* vol. 1 (London: John Painter, 1801).156
[398] Lisle, *Exhortation*.
[399] Pearson, *Chaplains*.43
[400] Eric D Tappe, "The Greek College at Oxford, 1699-1705 " in *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years after the "Greek College" in Oxford* ed. Peter M Doll (Frankfurt Am Main: Peter Lang, 2006).96
[401] Pearson, *Chaplains*.44
[402] SPCK, "Extract."16
[403] Alexander and Patrick Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo and Parts Adjacent* (London: A Millar, 1856). 132
[404] John A Venn, "Alumni Cantabrigienses,"(London: Cambridge University Press, 1922).vol4. Soley, Joseph
[405] Joseph Foster, "Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714,"(British History Online).
[406] Natasha Glaisyer, *The Culture of Commerce in England 1620-1720* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006). 72
[407] Joseph Soley, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Right Worshipful the Deputy Governour and the Company of Merchants Trading to the Levant-Seas, at St. Peter's Poor in Broadstreet, April 22, 1719* (London: Will Botham, 1719).
[408] literal translation of the Latin "Where God is, here is the homeland."
[409]Jeffery, "English Records in Aleppo ".102
[410] Oxford University records show an "Edward Edwards son of Edward of Bedford Town, BA matric age 17, 1710-11 Corpus Christi BA MA 1717, rector Holwell Beds 1721". This is probably the same man as the Aleppo chaplain.
[411] George Sherwood, *The Pedigree Register Vol 3* (London: G Serwood, 1913- 1916).214, mentions with respect to the only known Aleppo church register (1756-82)
[412] "Will of Edward Edwards, Chaplain to the British Factory at Aleppo, Court of Canterbury," in *PROB 11/719/315*, ed. Public Records Office(Kew: The National Archives, 1742).
[413] Alexander Drummond, *Travels through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and Several Parts of Asia* (London: W Strahan, 1754).221
[414] Ibid.226
[415] Ibid.236
[416] "CCED." ID: 87090
[417] J Martyn, J Allestry, and H Oldenburg eds., *Philosphical Transactions, Giving Some Account of the Present Undertakings, Studies and Labors of the Ingenious in May Considerable Parts of the World*(London: Royal Society, 1772).346
[418] T Crofts, "Bibliotheca Croftsiana: A Catalogue of the Library of Rev Thomas Crofts,"(London: Paterson, 1783).viii
[419] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715— 1886*, vol. 2(London: James Parker & Co, 1891).680
[420] Sherwood, *Pedigree*.214
[421] Ibid.214-225
[422] Foster, *Alumni 1715-1886* 2.Vol 1. 353
[423] "CCED." Dawes, Thomas. Record ID: 194926
[424] Thomas Dawes, "An Account of the Plague at Aleppo " in *The Annual Register or a View of the History, Politics and Literature for the Year 1764*, ed. Edmund Burke (London: W Otridge et al, 1802). 102-107
[425] Ibid.102

[426] Ibid.105
[427] Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo and Parts Adjacent* 252
[428] Sherwood, *Pedigree*.214
[429] Ibid.215
[430] Ibid.216
[431] Ibid.216
[432] Ibid.217
[433] Ibid.215
[434] Wood, *History*. 244
[435] Laidlaw, *Britain in Levant*. 105-107 is a comprehensive account of the document. Laidlaw found it in SP 110/74 "Miscellaneous correspondence and papers of the consul and factory at Aleppo". This information is a summary of Laidlaw's findings.
[436] Ibid. 107
[437] Ibid. 107
[438] Benjamin Kennicott, *The Ten Annual Accounts of the Collation of Hebrew Mss of the Old Testament Begun in 1760, and Completed in 1769* (Oxford: Gosset, 1770).162
[439] Henry Abbott, "Memoirs and Diary of Henry Abbott " http://www.levantineheritage.com/note56.htm.
[440] Parsons, *Travels*. 76
[441] Sherwood, *Pedigree*. 227
[442] Ibid.326
[443] Laidlaw, *Britain in Levant*. Footnote 227
[444] Sherwood, *Pedigree*.293
[445] Ibid.292
[446] Russell, *Natural History*.338
[447] Sherwood, *Pedigree*. 326
[448] Foster, *Alumni 1715-1886* 2.volume 2. 720
[449] James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* vol. 3(New York: Routledge, 1859).249
[450] The trade seems to have been bow making because in 1773 he had been admitted to the Freedom of the Worshipful Company of Bowyers of the City of London.
[451] Boswell, *Life*, 3.249
[452] Thomas also became a clergyman but his fame rests as an astronomer.
[453] CCED Person ID: 1914
[454] John Hussey, "Letter to Charlotte Hussey from Aleppo 24 September 1779," in *Letter number 14 of 15* (Belfast: Queen's University Belfast, 1779).
[455] Sherwood, *Pedigree*.327
[456] Biddulph, *Travels*.772
[457] Maundrell, *Journey*.163
[458] Ibid. 195
[459] This usually comprise a cross and the year
[460] Arthur R Whitham, "Fasting " in *The Prayer Book Dictionary*, ed. G Harford (London: Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1912).334
[461] Evans, *Life*.54
[462]Ibid.47
[463] Russell, *Natural History*. 416, referring to the Jesuit 'Memoirs des Missions', Tom. viii. p.298,
[464] Smith, "Huntington."14
[465] Maundrell, *Journey*.1

[466] Biddulph, *Travels*. 781
[467] Ibid. 780
[468] Twells, *Works* 30
[469] Evans, *Life*.149,150
[470] Maundrell, *Journey*.181-187
[471] Ibid.154
[472] John H Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950).29
[473] Ibid.43-44
[474] Arthur G Dickens, *The Counter Reformation* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968).115,116
[475] Biddulph, *Travels*. 820
[476] Evans, *Life*. 99-100
[477] Maundrell, *Journey*. 194. Coverdale Version "Let them even be as the grass growing upon the house-tops which withereth before it be plucked up". Authorised Version "Let them be as the grass upon the housetops, which withereth afore it groweth up".
[478] Ibid. 88
[479] Evans, *Life*. 103
[480] Maundrell, *Journey*. 64-66
[481] Biddulph, *Travels*. 764
[482] Ibid. 765
[483] Evans, *Life*. 100
[484] Maundrell, *Journey*. 113-115
[485] Ibid. 123
[486] According to English law a "cleric" or "clerk" or "clergyman" was anyone who was literate so, strictly speaking, the term "clergy" should actually be "clerks in holy orders", meaning those ordained as deacons or priests. However, this paper sticks to the popular understanding of clergy as the episcopally ordained.
[487] Evans, *Life*.23. Oliver Cromwell set up a system of Triers and Ejectors for regulating the appointment of clergy
[488] Stevens, *Dawn*. 276. Letter dated March 1599.
[489] Russell, *Natural History*.133-4
[490] Maundrell, *Journey*.198-9
[491] Lisle, *Exhortation*.29
[492] Teonge, *Diary*.160
[493] Evans, *Life*.38
[494] Holt, *Studies*. 4. Quote from 'The Court Book of the Levant Company', Public Record office SP 105/148, 216
[495] Pepys, *The Shorter Pepys* . 722
[496] "And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement. Of sin because they believe not on me; of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more; Of judgement because the prince of this world is judged."
[497] "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptized for the dead?"
[498] "By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison"
[499] Evans, *Life*.25. John 16: 8-11 "And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement. Of sin because they believe not on me; of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more; Of judgement because the prince of this world is judged."
[500] from the Collect for the Second Sunday in Advent in *BCP*

[501] from Romans 13
[502] from Matthew 6
[503] Twells, *Works* 22
[504] Latin. "The law of prayer is the law of belief" or "The rule of worship determines the rule of faith."
[505] "Concerning the Service of the Church" in *BCP*
[506] Twells, *Works* 7
[507] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). 625
[508] Twells, *Works* 58,59
[509] Ibid.35-36
[510] "Of the Church", Article 19 of "The Articles of Religion Agreed upon by the Archbishops, Bishops, and the whole clergy of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, London, 1562", commonly known as "the Thirty-Nine Articles", which was appended to every edition of the Book of Common Prayer.
[511] The commemoration on 5 November of the overthrow of the Gunpowder Treason is found in all copies of the BCP between 1605 and 1859. From 1689 the second commemoration, the Landing of William, was added.
[512] "Of the Civil Magistrates", Article 37
[513] Evans, *Life*.115,116
[514] Lisle, *Exhortation*.16
[515] Ibid.17
[516] Ibid.31
[517] Twells, *Works* 18
[518] Evans, *Life*.86
[519] "Of Purgatory", Article 22
[520] Evans, *Life*.85,86
[521] Ibid.89
[522] "A Collect or Prayer for all Conditions of men…" in *BCP*
[523] Evans, *Life*.58,59
[524] Ibid.60,61
[525] "of the Traditions of the Church", Article 34
[526] "The Form and Manner of Ordering Priests" in the *BCP*
[527] Twells, *Works* 4
[528] Ibid.18-19
[529] Ibid.21-22
[530] Norman Daniel, *Islam, Europe and Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Publications, 1966).24
[531] Twells, *Works* 5
[532] Maundrell, *Journey*.198
[533] Timberlake, *Discourse*.28-29
[534] Twells, *Works* 14
[535] Ibid.18
[536] Evans, *Life*.112,113
[537] Ibid.113
[538] Ibid.114
[539] Ibid.39
[540] Ibid.37,38

[541] Ralph Winter, "The Two Structures of God's Redemptive Mission " *Missiology: an International Review* 2, no. 1 (1974).
[542] "Concerning the Service of the Church" in the prefaces of the 1662 *BCP*
[543] James Crossley, ed. *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr John Worthington* vol. 1, Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1847). 320, Footnote 1
[544] Brennen, *The Life and Times of Isaac Basire* 98,99
[545] William Bray, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn* vol. 1 (London: Bell and Daldy, 1870).378
[546] Samuel Lisle, *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; at Their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish-Church of St. Mary-Le-Bow, on Friday February 19, 1747* (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1748).29-30
[547] Parsons, *Travels*. 58-59
[548] Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). 82.
[549] Teonge, *Diary*. 159. Teonge witnessed an afternoon of games at Aleppo in 1676 which forty Englishmen attended.
[550] The vicar apostolic was placed by the Pope in charge of an apostolic vicariate, which was a provisional jurisdiction in a missionary region. It was a step in the formation of a diocese.
[551] Bernard Heyberger, "The Development of Catholicism in the Middle East 16th to 19th Century " in *Christianity: A History in the Middle East* ed. Habib Badr(Beirut: Middle East Council of Churches, 2005).643
[552] Eldem, *City*.55
[553] Russell, *Natural History*.133
[554] Asterios Argyrian, "Christianity in the First Ottoman Empire, 1516-1650," in *Christianity: A History in the Middle East*, ed. Habib Badr(Beirut: Middle East Council of Churches, 2005).620
[555] Heyberger, "Catholicism." 638
[556] Ibid. 643
[557] Robert Haddad, "Conversion of Eastern Orthodox Christians to the Unia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries " in *Conversion and Continuity*, ed. M Gervers and J Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990).
[558] Masters, *Christians*. 86-88
[559] Heyberger, "Catholicism." 638-639
[560] Ibid. 639
[561] Evans, *Life*.45-46
[562] Twells, "Lives." 34
[563] Ibid.51
[564] Ibid.52
[565] Tappe, "The Greek College at Oxford, 1699-1705 ". 99-101.
[566] Evans, *Life*. 57-64.
[567] Evans *Frampton*, p55
[568] The biographer uses this term and probably means doctrinal rather than moral error
[569] Evans, *Life*.106,107
[570] Ibid.109,110
[571] Smith, "Huntington."13
[572] Ibid.116
[573] Russell, *Natural History*.416, quoting from 'Memoirs des Missions', Tom. viii. p.298,

[574] Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo and Parts Adjacent* 133
[575] Twells, "Lives." 294, quoting a letter from Huntington to Pococke.
[576] Ibid.288-9 gives details of contents
[577] Toomer *Eastern Wisedom*. 218 footnote 37. Three letters from Pococke are printed in the correspondence of Vossius (*Ep. cel. virorum nempe G. J. Voss*. Nos. cvii, ccxxxix, and cccxxxvi, dated 1630, 1636, 1642) all from Oxford
[578] Twells, "Lives." 288
[579] Isaac Basire and William Darnell, *The Correspondence of Isaac Basire, with a Memoir of His Life* (London: John Murray, 1831).116 Vossius Epistolae ii no 336 *Vossius Epistolae...auctae part ii (letters to)* 227
[580] George F Russell Barker, *Memoir of Richard Busby, D.D. (1606-1695) with Some Account of Westminster School in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1895).43-44
[581] Brennen, *The Life and Times of Isaac Basire* .75-76
[582] Ibid.83. "He (Basire) followed his usual practice, however, of leaving a translation of the Catechism (in Aleppo), and arranged for the English ambassador in Constantinople to have it translated into Turkish, so that he could send copies to the Armenian bishops he had met in Mesopotamia."
[583] Thomas Charles Fleuriau d'Armenonville, *Nouveaux Memoires Des Missions De La Compagnie De Jesus Dans Le Levant Tome* vol. 8(Paris: Jesuit, 1745). 302-303. Translated by author.
[584] Cross, "Dictionary." The following description of the work comes directly from pp 604-5 under the entry on Hugo Grotius.
[585] Twells, "Lives." 238-240
[586] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.216. This was quoted in a letter from Hartlib to the academic John Worthington
[587] Twells, "Lives."242-243 Letter 24 January, 1660-61
[588] Ibid.243
[589] Ibid.243-244
[590] Edmund McClure, ed. *A Chapter in English Church History : Being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Years 1698-1704, Together with Abstracts of Correspondents' Letters During Part of the Same Period* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1888). 298-9
[591] Ibid. 77
[592] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.283
[593] Twells, "Lives." 246,247
[594] Ibid.244, quoting from George Wheler and Jacques Spon, *Journey into Greece* (London: Cademan, 1682).200
[595] Twells, "Lives."293-4
[596] ibid.294
[597]Ibid.297
[598]Ibid.299
[599]Ibid.299
[600] Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*.283
[601] Cross, "Dictionary." 1298 entry 'S.P.C.K.'
[602] Claudius Buchanan, *Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment: Being a Brief View of the State of the Colonies of Great Britain, and of Her Asiatic Empire, in Respect to Religious Instruction* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1813).34
[603] Lisle, *Sermon*. 35-37,

[604] Ibid.72-81. Attached to Lisle's sermon is a 'List of the Members of the Society'.
[605] Ibid. 30-31
[606] *A Sermon Preached before the House of Lords, in the Abby-Church, Westminster, on Wednesday April 11* (London: J and H Pemberton, 1744).
[607] *Sermon*.31
[608] Ibid.29
[609] Sidney L Ollard, *Reunion* (London: Robert Scott, 1919).63
[610]Cross, "Dictionary." 1453. In the entry on Wake he is described as "a man of liberal views ...in sympathy with the Nonconformists, and even advocated changes to the BCP to meet their difficulties...."
[611] Its origin may be the Snagov Monastery in Romania and it is too good not to say that the monastery's claim to fame is that it houses the grave of Vlad the Impaler, also known as Dracula.
[612] Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan, 1970). 747
[613] To set the record straight the earliest Arabic printing was actually in Italy, where a prayer book was printed in the town of Fano in 1514. Further, the first press in the Middle East was not an Arabic but a Syriac press in Lebanon probably brought from Rome by a Maronite scholar. The priority of the Aleppo Arabic press conflicts with Finkel p 366 (see bibliography) which dates the first Arabic-script press in the Ottoman Empire to 1727, her mistake being to assume that the Istanbul press was the earliest.
[614] Alvan Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, Late Missionary to Palestine* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1828). 337
[615] David Weston, "Negri, Solomon," ed. Lawrence Goldman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (2013), http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au/view/article/105274.Weston gives the date 1665 for Negri's baptism which is presumably also the year of his birth.
[616] literally Solomon son of James the Black
[617] Freylinghausen, *Memoria*.This is the major source for Weston, "Negri, Solomon".
[618] Joseph-Toussaint Reinaud, "Negri, Salomon," in *Biographie Universelle Ancienne Et Moderne* (Paris: Michaud, 1854).
[619] Joseph Toussaint Reinaud (1795-1867) studied at the Maronite College in Rome and became Professor of Living Oriental Languages at the Bibliotheque Royale in Paris (1838) and President of the Société Asiatique (1847)
[620] Reinaud, "Negri, Salomon." "…et l'on a reproché à Negri d'avoir altéré à dessein certains passages pour les accommoder à la doctrine des protestants."
[621] Ibid. "Negri, qui avait été élève de ce prélat…"
[622] 28 March 1720 "An extract of a letter from Mr. Salomon Negri, Native of Damascus in Syria, to a Member of the Society at London for Promoting Christian Knowledge."
[623] SPCK, "Extract."
[624] As intimated by Negri there had been earlier cases of printing and distribution of the Scriptures in an Oriental tongue. In a few cases this was initiated by Eastern Church leaders such as the printing of the Syriac New Testament in Vienna in 1555 by Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter (1506-57). This was done through the agency of Moses Meridinaeus, a priest from Mesopotamia who had been sent by Ignatius, the Syriac Patriarch of Antioch, who was seeking copies for the use of his churches.
[625] cf John Lewis, *The Church Catechism Explain'd by Way of Question and Answer, and Confirm'd by Scripture Proofs* (London: SPCK, 1700).
[626] This is probably an abridged version of Louis Ellies Du Pin, *A Compendious History of the Church* (London: Bernard Lintott, 1713).originally in French.
[627] SPCK, *An Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London: SPCK, 1773). 8

[628] William O B Allen, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898* (London: SPCK, 1898).201
[629] This is intriguing because it was an Arabic and not Syriac translation. It can be assumed it meant that the New Testament was destined for the Christians of Syria, another term for the Patriarchate of Antioch.
[630] George Sale was also involved in translating the *Qur'an* into English.
[631] Allen, *Two Hundred Years*.201
[632] "Description of Spck Arabic New Testament of 1727," webpage, http://books.simsreed.com/antiquarian/antiquarian.php?category=antiquarian&stk=41 102
[633] Freylinghausen, *Memoria*.15
[634] Their preferred name these days is "Antiochene Orthodox"
[635]Bond, *Fisk Memoir*. 387-8
[636] Allen, *Two Hundred Years*.201
[637] Henry Newman, "Letter to Rowland Sherman 9th June 1724," in *Cultures of Knowledge Project*, ed. Bodleian Libraries(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1724).
[638] Rowland Sherman, "Letter to Henry Newman 10th August 1724 " in *Early Modern Letters Online*, ed. Bodleian Libraries(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1724).
[639] William Canton, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* vol. 2 (London: J. Murray, 1904).9
[640] Ibid., 1 103
[641] Twells, *Works* Preface, iii
[642] William Jowett (1787 –1855). St John's College, Cambridge, BA 1810, MA 1813, Fellow 1811-16. Subsequent to his missionary work in the Mediterranean he served as clerical secretary of the CMS 1832-41. As well as pioneering Protestant missions to North Africa and the Middle East he was instrumental in the publication of the Bible in modern Amharic.
[643] CMS had trouble recruiting Anglican clergy as missionaries and resorted to English tradespeople like mechanics and printers as well as German Lutherans who had trained in Halle.
[644] Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society* vol. 1 (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899). 224
[645] Ibid. 223
[646] Ibid.229
[647] Canton, *History Vol 2*, 1 140
[648] Prudential Committee of ABCFM, "Instructions to the Rev Levi Parsons and the Rev Pliny Fisk Missionaries Designated for Palestine : Delivered in the Old South Church, Boston, Sabbath Evening, Oct 31, 1819,"(Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1819).
[649] Henry H Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria* vol. 2 (New York: Revell, 1910). 809-10. This paragraph draws from the very useful Appendix V 'Outline of the History of the Syria Mission of the American Presbyterian Church and Contemporary Events 1820 to 1890.'
[650] Jowett, *Syria*.337-338
[651] Ibid.349
[652] Ibid.361-2
[653] Presumably this German had described himself as an Englishman because the small number of German Protestants in the Middle East counted themselves in with the better known English. Certainly their graves were found besides the graves of Englishmen in Aleppo.
[654] Jowett, *Syria*. 358. Footnote
[655] Ibid.24
[656] I learned about this during my appointment as priest-in-charge of the International Anglican

congregations in Aleppo and Damascus from 2010 to 2011 and was personally acquainted with five North American Mennonite personnel involved in this project.

[657] MEBS, "Middle East Bible Society Launches New Study Bible " Middle East Bible Society, http://www.biblesociety.org.lb/news.php

[658] Holt, *Studies*.22

[659] Ibid.11

[660] Ibid. 22-23

[661] "Collect for Good Friday" in *BCP*

[662] Laidlaw, *Britain in Levant*. 115

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