

ادوارد سعيد، الاستشراق،

مترجم، كمال ابو ديب، ١٩٨٤ بيروت •

أوكلي، S. Ockley، ٩٣، ١٠٣

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أُكْلِي (١٠٨٩ - ١١٣٢ هـ)
(١٦٧٨ - ١٧٢٠ م)

سيمون أوكلي Simon Ockley :

مستشرق إنكليزي ، قسيس . من تلاميذ إدورد بوكوك . تعلم في جامعة كمبرج ، ودرس بها العربية . واشتهر بكتاب له في « تاريخ المسلمين » ألفه في عشر سنوات ١٧٠٨ - ١٧١٨ وسماه History of the Saracens ثلاثة أجزاء ، أكمل الجزء الثاني منه في قلعة كمبرج حيث كان سجيناً من أجل دين عليه . وفي دائرة المعارف البريطانية : مما يؤسف له كثرة اعتماده في تأليف كتابه ، على مخطوطة من كتاب فتوح الشام المنسوب للواقدي ، وهو أقرب إلى أن يكون قصة خيالية من أن يكون تاريخاً (٢)

ابن سينا = الحسين بن عبد الله ٤٢٨

السيوطي = أبو بكر بن محمد ٨٥٥

السيوطي (الصلاح) = محمد بن أبي بكر ٨٥٦

السيوطي (الجلال) = عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر ٩١١

السيوطي = مصطفى ابن سعد ١٢٤٣

(٢) دائرة المعارف البريطانية ١٦ : ٦٩٨ الطبعة
١٤ ومجلة المشرق ٣٩ : ٥٢ والمستشرقون ٨٤ ومجلة
الأدب والفن : الجزء الأول من السنة الثانية ٧٠ - ٧٨

Zirikli, "al-A'lam"

III. c., s. 220, 1954.

the most widely respected and quoted newspaper in the United States. Ochs introduced such innovations as a book-review supplement and rotogravure printing of pictures and pressed for higher standards in the presentation of advertising.

Interested in making accurate source material available to the public, in 1913 he began publishing the *New York Times Index*, the only complete U.S. newspaper index, and, in 1925, advanced \$50,000 annually for ten years toward the cost of the editorial preparation of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, repayment to be made from royalties. In 1918 the *Times* was awarded the first Pulitzer gold medal in journalism for meritorious public service. Ochs died on April 8, 1935, in Chattanooga.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Elmer Davis, *History of the New York Times* (1921); Meyer Berger, *Story of the New York Times, 1851-1951* (1951); *Chattanooga Times*, jubilee issue (July 1, 1928). Appraisals of Ochs' influence may be found in K. N. Stewart and J. Tebbel, *Makers of Modern Journalism* (1952); E. H. Ford and E. Emery, *Highlights in the History of the American Press* (1954); Gerald Johnson, *Honorable Titan: a Biographical Study of Adolph S. Ochs* (1946).

OCKHAM, WILLIAM (WILLIAM OF OCCAM) (c. 1280-1349), English schoolman, known as Venerabilis Inceptor. Born probably at Ockham, Surrey, he joined the Franciscans around 1300. At Oxford he studied the arts prior to 1310, and theology, 1310-15, lectured on the Bible, 1315-17, and the *Sentences*, 1317-19, and prepared himself for his doctorate, 1319-23. Accused of heresy by the chancellor of Oxford in 1323, he was summoned to Avignon to account for some of his doctrines. He was confined to his convent from 1324 to 1328.

Pope John XXII ordered various theses from his works to be examined by the masters of theology in 1325-27, but his works were never actually condemned. In 1328 his championship of the Spirituals, a branch of the Franciscans, brought him into further conflict with the pope, and as a result he and Michael of Cesena, general of the Franciscan order, joined the emperor Louis of Bavaria who was at that time in contest with the papal curia. Expelled from the order in 1331, Ockham came into sharper conflict with the pope, this time on theological grounds. Yet, when Michael of Cesena died in 1342, Ockham received from him the official seal of the order, and was recognized as general by his party. He died at Munich in 1349, having tried to be reconciled to the church after the death of the emperor (1347).

Ockham was one of the most interesting figures in the great contest between pope and emperor, which laid the foundation of modern theories of government. In the *Opus nonaginta dierum* (written in 1330), and its successors, the *Tractatus de dogmatibus Iohannis XXII papae* (1335-38) and in the *Defensorium contra errores Iohannis XXII papae* (1335-39), Ockham only incidentally expounds his views as a publicist, the *Compendium* being of special interest because it selects four papal constitutions that involved a declaration against evangelical poverty, and insists that they are full of heresy. The *Octo quaestiones de potestate papae* (1339-42) attacks the temporal supremacy of the pope, insists on the independence of kingly authority, which he maintains is as much an ordinance of God as is spiritual rule and discusses what is meant by "state." His views on the independence of civil rule were even more decidedly expressed in the *Consultatio de causa matrimoniali*, in which he contends that it belongs to the civil power to decide cases of affinity. By 1343 his great work, the *Dialogus*, was in circulation. His last political work, *De electione Caroli IV*, restates his opinions upon temporal authority.

In philosophy, Ockham's most significant doctrines fall within the field of psychology, metaphysics, logic and theodicy. In the first, he contends that since singulars alone exist, the universal has an objective value only inasmuch as it is thought; that the *intellectus agens* ("active intellect") and its end product and the *species intelligibiles* are superfluous because abstraction follows naturally upon perception or intuition, the fundamental forms of human knowledge; that will and not intellect is the primary faculty of the soul, and that both faculties, like memory, are identical with the substance of the soul; and that a *forma corporeitatis* ("substance of the body") must be admitted if the independence of the soul is to be preserved. In metaphysics, Ockham teaches that matter has its own essence apart from form; that accidents are only aspects of

substance; that the problem of individuation is meaningless because each thing is singular in itself; and that between cause and existence there is no real distinction. The famous dictum *pluritas non est ponenda sine necessitate* ("multiplicity is not to be posited without necessity")—has become known as "Ockham's razor," though it had already been stressed by Scholastics. In logic, next to Albert of Saxony, Ockham is the most powerful systematist of the middle ages. In theodicy he asserts that the existence of God and his attributes, including unity and infinity, are not provable by a strict syllogism.

In theology, Ockham has been considered as a forerunner of Martin Luther and the originator of theological skepticism. His affirmations are inexact: Ockham did not make much of the sophistical arguments of earlier theologians, and applied to theology his famous "razor"; however, he was respectful of tradition and traditional understanding of the Bible. See also NOMINALISM.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Fairly complete bibliography on manuscripts, editions and studies till 1949 in L. Baudry, *Guillaume d'Ockham, ses oeuvres, ses idées sociales et politiques*, vol. i (1950); V. Heynck, "Ockham-Literatur 1919-1949" in *Franz. Studien* (1950). A critical edition of the political works in 4 vol. is in preparation by the University of Manchester (vol. i, 1940; vol. ii, 1963; vol. iii, 1956); and of the nonpolitical works in 25 vol. by the Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure, N.Y., vol. i (1956). Editions since 1949: *Summa Logicae*, Pars Prima (1951), Pars Secunda et prima Tertiae, ed. by P. Boehner (1954).

See also G. Buescher, *The Eucharistic Teaching of William Ockham* (1950); F. Van Steenberghe, *Le Mouvement doctrinal du IX^e au XII^e siècle* (1951); M. C. Menges, *The Concept of Univocity Regarding the Predication of God and Creature According to William Ockham* (1951); P. Boehner, *Medieval Logic* (1952), *Collected Articles on Ockham* (1958); D. Webering, *Theory of Demonstration According to William Ockham* (1953); L. Baudry, *Lexique philosophique de Guillaume d'Ockham* (1958).

(E. M. BR)

OCKLEY, SIMON (1678-1720), English orientalist, whose chief work is *The Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt*, by the Saracens, generally known as *The History of the Saracens*. Born at Exeter in 1678, he was educated at Queen's college, Cambridge, later becoming a fellow of Jesus college and vicar at the nearby village of Swavesey. In 1711 he was appointed professor of Arabic at Cambridge. Being the father of a large family and insufficiently paid he fell into debt in his later days and was for a time imprisoned in Cambridge castle. His troubles are related in Isaac D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors*. He died at Swavesey on Aug. 9, 1720.

Ockley's first book was the *Introductio ad linguas orientales* (1706) in the preface of which he urged the importance of a knowledge of oriental literature for the study of theology. For his *History of the Saracens* he took as his authority a manuscript of the pseudo-Waqidi's *Futuh al-Sham* ("Conquest of Syria"), which is a historical romance rather than history, but his book was widely read and long remained the standard English work on the early history of Islam. He also published a number of translations including *The Sentences of Ali* (1717), a translation of the sayings of the Prophet's son-in-law.

O'CLERY, MICHAEL (1575-1643), Irish chronicler, who directed the compilation of the *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* (*The Annals of the Four Masters*; see IRISH LITERATURE: Gaelic Literature: Late Period), a work of incalculable importance to Irish scholarship, was born at Kilbarron, Donegal, in 1575, the grandson of a chief of his sept. He was baptized Tadhg but took the name Michael when he became a Franciscan. He had already gained a reputation as an antiquary when he entered the Irish college at Louvain; and, in 1620, Hugh Macanward, the warden of the college, sent him back to Ireland to collect manuscripts. Assisted by other Irish scholars he began to collect and to transcribe everything of importance he could find. The results were the *Reim Ríoghroidhe* (1630), a list of kings, their successions and their pedigrees, with lives and genealogies of saints, the *Leabhar Gabhala* (1631), an account of the successive settlements of Ireland; and the famous *Annals* (1636), a chronicle of Irish history from antiquity to 1616. At first a mere record of names, dates, battles, etc., with occasional quotations from ancient sources, the *Annals* begin to take on the character of a modern literary history as they approach the author's own time. O'Clery also produced a *Martyrologium* of Irish saints, an Irish

rather than spoil what was already well done'.²⁹ Two years before writing his masterpiece, he had stressed the advantage one might derive from a proficiency in Arabic for a better interpretation of the Hebrew of the Old Testament and had recommended its study to Christian theologians in chapter X of his *Introductio ad Linguas Orientales*, because such a study would enable them to read the Quran, 'a book which has subjected a large part of the world to it' (p. 123). They might, therefore, know not only its truth, but also its falsehood and refute it. Ockley is concerned about the salvation of those souls which are being seduced by its imposture, so salvation ought to be the subject of their care, too. Yet Ockley is interested in a balanced view of Islam. He is critical of Europeans accepting stories of miracles in Islam, which have no foundation in Arabic texts. Ockley is sound, too, about the part played by Arabic, especially in the time of al-Mamun, who reigned from 813 to 833, in preserving Greek learning in translation (p. 127). In chapter xi, he gives some good advice to students of Arabic. By reading good grammars such as those of Erpenius (1584-1624), students will be able to read the whole of the Quran 'in which occur many difficulties, not to mention inexplicable lines'. Ockley warns about the frequent repetitions, most of which are unintelligible if one does not make much effort. Besides, a single reading of the Quran will not do: further readings are necessary so that its rhythms and idioms may stick in one's mind.

It is clear from the *Introductio* that Ockley does not like the style of the Quran, but he has to admit that no Arab writers equalled or surpassed it. The most serious charge he makes against Muhammad is that though he is called the 'unlettered Prophet' in the Quran, he used for its composition the works of some writers who were very skilled in Arabic (p. 139). On the other hand, he dismisses the contribution of Sergius, which Christian writers allege, since he found nothing in the testimony of Arab authors. What is worth noting is that even when he is critical of Islam, Ockley stresses the importance of Arab sources. That is why he suggests to the students who wish to be moderately versed in Arabic to read Giggeius and Golius, authors of the *Thesaurus linguae arabicae* (Milan, 1632) and the *Lexicon arabico-latinum* (Leyden, 1633) respectively. These may suffice; if they wish to go deeper and know something of the innermost thoughts of the Arabs, they must not restrict themselves to printed sources, but add manuscript works to their reading. He draws their attention to some of the most important works on the Quran, such as those by the Mutazilite commentator Zamakhshari and al-Firouzabadi (Ibrahim al-Shirazi), a Sunnite theologian who wrote *al-Tanbih*, a book about rites and observance in Islam.

Only glimpses of the rites, customs and religion of Muslims may be gleaned from the manuscript Ockley translated as *An account of south-west Barbary*. As in the *Introductio*, Ockley insists in the preface on the value of the Arabic language and a knowledge of the customs of the Arabs for a proper understanding of the Bible. Since he finds the Arabs to be the same as they were 3,000 years ago, he concludes that 'the present practice and language of the Mahometans is the best comment upon the Old Testament extant in the world' (p. xxviii). But he tries to separate the Moroccans from other Arabs, warning the reader 'not to take these African Moors for the standard by which he is to pass judgement upon the Mahometans in general'. He points out that the religion of the Barbarians is indeed the same as that of other Muslims, but that 'their temper, genius and breeding, is as much inferior to that of the polite Asiatics...as can be conceived' (p. xix).

In the body of the text, the reader learns that the inhabitants of Barbary call

²⁹ Ockley, 1718, vol. ii introduction. I quote from an 1848 edition, which also includes the *Sentences of Ali*.

themselves 'Muslimin', that is, 'believers', yet they are so insufferably false and treacherous that neither their word, nor their oath, can be depended upon from the first to the last' (p. 33-4). The author of the *Account* appears to be interested in Muslim society, in particular the behaviour and condition of women. They are taught nothing by their parents other than to bake a little bread, clean their houses and serve their husbands who treat them like handmaidens rather than wives. Whereas the men sit on the best furniture, the women have to be content with a mat or the bare ground. The picture of Muslim women that emerges is reminiscent of Agnès in Molière's *L'Ecole des Femmes* and Rosine in Beaumarchais's *Barbier de Séville*, for in spite of their strict upbringing, the women have 'will and invention enough to procure a great many opportunities favourable to their inclinations' (p. 34). The reason given to explain why they and their men folk do not lend money on interest is not the quranic injunction against usury, but tax evasion. They appear poverty stricken, not only because of their want of industry, but also because the appearance of affluence might lead to their being more severely taxed if not robbed of all their possessions. They therefore hide their wealth and valuable household goods; their houses are bare, showing only a mat or two.

In the author's *Account*, Islamic tolerance in Barbary appears limited. The Jews, for instance, are permitted by Muley Ismael to have private synagogues or houses, but they are allowed no public or magnificent places for their worship and they are made to pay exorbitant taxes, while the misery of Christian captives in Barbary is 'unparalleled' (pp. 109-13). It is difficult to assess the extent to which the information given on the Muslims of Barbary represent Ockley's own views. It may well be that the main purpose of Ockley in translating the *Account* was not so much to give the reader 'a brief account of the miserable sufferings of Christian captives under Barbarian cruelty' (preface, p. xxiv) as to interest Bolingbroke in employing him to translate letters between Morocco and England in 1714. Ockley gave an accurate, meticulous and over-pedantic translation at the end of the *Account* of two letters, one from the King of Morocco to Colonel Kirk and the other to Sir Cloudesly Shovell.³⁰

A good understanding of Muslim achievement in moral philosophy can be gained from the *Sentences of Ali*—Ockley's translation of a collection of one hundred and sixty-nine maxims extracted from the manuscript *Ghurur al-Hikam wa Durar al-Kilam* by the poet al-Amidi (d.1044).³¹ The text immediately reminds us of Galland's *Pensées morales des Arabes* and *Paroles remarquables*, but there is no evidence that Ockley was influenced by Galland in his choice of sayings. It is more likely that he was acting on the recommendation of Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, who in a letter of 2 September 1700 strongly advised him to acquire some knowledge of Arabic proverbs, without which it was impossible to understand Arabic authors.³² Nevertheless, *Sentences of Ali* show some remarkable affinities with Galland, both giving an authentic Islamic flavour, with an equal insistence on God's blessings, favours and decrees. Twenty *Sentences* revolve round God, the most conspicuous recommending trust in Him. One or two deal with education: 106, for example, states that the pursuit of good education is better than the pursuit of riches.

The majority of the *Sentences*, however, stress moral qualities. Indeed, they lend support to the claim, made in the preface, that 'they breathe a spirit of devotion, strictness of life, and express the greatest gravity, and a most profound experience in all the affairs of human life' (p. 339). The aim goes even further: it is to chastise the

³⁰ See Kararah, pp. 185-8.

³¹ See Arberry, 1960, p. 42.

³² B.L., A.M. 23,204, f.6 v^o.

P.M. HOLT

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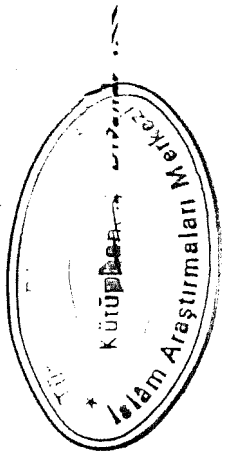
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THE TREATMENT OF ARAB HISTORY BY
PRIDEAUX, OCKLEY AND SALE

UNTIL the last years of the seventeenth century, writings upon the history of the Arabs had been, in England as in Europe generally, academic in their purpose and nature. The study of Arab history was not in that period a specialized discipline; oriental studies had developed as ancillaries to Old Testament studies and ecclesiastical history and polemics. Few scholars were primarily interested in Arabic; still fewer made any significant investigations of Arab history. In comparison with his contemporaries, Pococke made an outstanding contribution to historical knowledge, and in his writings he displays the temperament of an historian—a notable achievement as will appear by contrast with some of his successors. Nevertheless Pococke's work was limited both in its scope and its impact. He produced no organized body of history: his publications consisted of the text and translation of two late Christian Arabic chronicles, and the erudite notes, not confined to history but ranging over the whole field of Arab antiquities and Muslim religion, which he appended to his *Specimen historiae Arabum* (Oxford, 1650). Translations and notes were alike in Latin, addressed to an academic audience rather than to the educated public at large. During the last twenty-eight years of Pococke's long life (1604-91), he was pre-occupied with Hebrew and the writing of commentaries on the minor prophets. He made no further contributions to the study of Muslim history.¹

Humphrey Prideaux

Humphrey Prideaux,² born in 1648 in Cornwall, was a pupil at Westminster School under Dr. Busby. This was of some importance, since Busby was keenly interested in contemporary orientalism, and added Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic to the normal classical curriculum of his school.³ In 1668 Prideaux went to Christ Church, Oxford, where in 1679 he became a lecturer in Hebrew. He left Oxford in 1686, when James II appointed a Roman Catholic as dean of Christ Church. The remainder of his life was spent in East Anglia. He had already been appointed a canon of Norwich in 1681; from 1688 to 1694 he was archdeacon of Suffolk, and from 1702 until his death in 1724 he



- Prideaux
- Ockley
- Sale

was dean of Norwich. When Pococke died in 1691, Prideaux was offered the chair of Hebrew at Oxford, which he declined, and in 1697 he published his most famous work, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex'd for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age*. The book won an immediate success; there were two editions in 1697 and others subsequently, while a French translation was published in 1698.

The full title of Prideaux's work announces its polemical purpose and its appearance was closely connected with the theological controversies of the late seventeenth century. Prideaux had originally intended to publish a much larger work entitled *The history of the ruin of the Eastern Church*, covering the period 602 to 936, from which he hoped to illustrate by example the dangers of theological disputes. The controversies of the Eastern church, Prideaux believed, "wearied the Patience and Long-Suffering of God", so that "he raised up the Saracens to be the Instruments of his Wrath, . . . who taking Advantage of the Weakness of Power, and the Distractions of Counsels, which these Divisions had caused among them, soon overran with a terrible Devastation all the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire".⁴ Prideaux saw in this a terrible warning to the sects in England after the Revolution of 1688: "Have we not Reason to fear, that God may in the same Manner raise up some Mahomet against us for our utter Confusion . . . And by what the Socinian, the Quaker, and the Deist begin to advance in this Land, we may have Reason to fear, that Wrath hath gone since Time since gone forth from the Lord for the Punishment of these our Iniquities and Gainsayings, and that the Plague is already begun among us."⁵

Prideaux's composition of this tract for the times was, however, abruptly suspended on the outbreak of the Trinitarian Controversy.⁶ He feared that his account of the dissensions in the Eastern Church might unintentionally provide fresh ammunition for those prowling enemies of the Establishment, "the Atheist, the Deist, and the Socinian". He therefore selected the passages of his work which dealt with the life of Muhammad and published them in the form we have today.⁷

The book forms a curious contrast to an earlier work on the life of Muhammad and the early history of Islam, which had been circulating for some years in manuscript. Its author, Henry Stubbs (alternatively Stubbes or Stubbe), who died in 1676, had also studied at Westminster under Busby, and had graduated at Oxford. He had served in the Parliamentary army during the Civil War. In later life he practised medicine and involved himself in controversy about the Royal Society, towards which he was hostile. His book, which was

25. THE TREATMENT OF ARAB HISTORY BY PRIDEAUX,
OCKLEY AND SALE

P. M. HOLT

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Humphrey Prideaux,² born in 1648 in Cornwall, was a pupil at Westminster School under the celebrated Dr. Busby. This was of some importance, since Dr. Busby, who has lived on in popular fame as a flogging headmaster, was keenly interested in contemporary orientalism, and added Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic to the normal classical curriculum of his school.³ In 1668 Prideaux went to Christ Church, Oxford, where in 1679

¹ P. M. Holt, 'The study of Arabic historians in seventeenth century England: the background and the work of Edward Pococke', *BSOAS* (1957), xix/3, 444–55.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, xlvii, 352–4: article by Rev. Alexander Gordon.

³ *The Diary of John Evelyn*, Everyman Edition (London, 1945), i, 357, entry of 13 May 1661: 'I heard and saw such exercises at the election of scholars at Westminster School to be sent to the

he became a lecturer in Hebrew. He left Oxford in 1686, when James II appointed a Roman Catholic as dean of Christ Church. The remainder of his life was spent in East Anglia. He had already been appointed a canon of Norwich in 1681; from 1688 to 1694 he was archdeacon of Suffolk, and from 1702 until his death in 1724 he was dean of Norwich. When Pococke died in 1691, Prideaux was offered the chair of Hebrew at Oxford, which he declined, and in 1697 he published his most famous work, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex'd for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age*. The book won an immediate success; there were two editions in 1697 and others subsequently, while a French translation was published in 1698.

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University in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic, in themes and extemporary verses, as wonderfully astonished me in such youths, with such readiness and wit, some of them not above twelve, or thirteen years of age.' Letter from Edmund Castell to Samuel Clarke in 1667, Baker MSS., Cambridge University Library, Mm. 1. 47, p. 347: 'I also send you some papers from Dr. Busby, who . . . desires the cast of your eye, and your most exact censure, alteration, and emendation of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabique . . . Papers, which he sends to you, as also that you would, with his service, present them to Dr. Pococke . . . Our request is, that he would also be pleased to do the like with you, to read, censure, etc. with as much severity as may be.'

⁴ Prideaux, *Life of Mahomet*, 8th edition (London, 1723), 'To the Reader', pp. vii, viii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. xi–xii.

⁶ For the Trinitarian Controversy, see E. M. Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism in Transylvania, England, and America* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1952), pp. 226–31.

HISTORIANS OF THE
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above all provided a mine of information in his *Specimen historiae Arabum*.¹⁸ A comparison of Prideaux's bibliographical notes with those appended by Pococke to his *Specimen* (pp. 359–89) indicates the extent of his dependence. In few of his notices does he add anything to Pococke's account of the authors; he is mostly content to translate, perhaps to curtail, Pococke's paragraphs, and to convert the *hijriyya* to Christian years. An impressive array of Arabic authorities in a footnote usually implies the incorporation of material from Pococke's notes in the *Specimen*. In a few cases he draws upon other seventeenth-century orientalist, particularly the *Historia orientalis* of the Swiss scholar, Hottinger;¹⁹ and the *Historia Arabum* of the Maronite, Abraham Echellensis.²⁰

Side by side with this information, drawn, albeit at secondhand, from Arabic authors, Prideaux uses the writings of anti-Muslim controversialists. Two of these, 'Disputatio Christiani contra Saracenum de Lege Mahometis', reputedly translated from Arabic into Latin early in the twelfth century, and 'Confutatio Legis Saracenicæ' composed by Richard, a Dominican, in the thirteenth century, were printed with Bibliander's *Qur'ān*. Another, which Prideaux particularly esteemed, was *De Confusione Sectæ Mahometanæ*, written by Joannes Andreas, a Muslim converted at Valencia in 1487. The edition used by Prideaux was a reprint, published at Utrecht in 1656, of a Latin translation made from an Italian rendering of the Spanish original.²¹ Prideaux states that the works of Richard and Joannes Andreas 'are the best of any that have been formerly published by the Western Writers on this Argument, and best accord with what the *Mahometans* themselves teach of their Religion'.²²

Prideaux uses his sources with little discrimination. Material from Muslim writers and Christian controversialists are treated as equally valid, and with the aid of his footnotes it would be a possible, if unprofitable, exercise to disentangle information derived from each of the two groups of sources. The resultant biography is an unskilful combination of Muslim tradition and Christian legend, inspired by a sour animosity towards its subject. Yet it marks a real if limited advance, when compared with accounts of Muḥammad's life current earlier in the century, such as that given in Sandys's *Journey*²³ or the one appended by Alexander Ross to his translation of the Koran. These are almost wholly legendary. In Prideaux's work there is at least a historical framework although much overlaid by legendary material (both Christian and Muslim) and distorted by polemical bias.

¹⁸ Edward Pococke, *Specimen historiae Arabum* (Oxford, 1650).

¹⁹ J. H. Hottinger, *Historia orientalis* (Zürich, 1651 and 1660).

²⁰ Abraham Echellensis, *Historia Arabum*; supplement to *Chronicon orientale* (Paris, 1651).

²¹ Prideaux, p. 257.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 259.

²³ George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610*, fifth edition (London, 1652), pp. 41–2.

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Simon Ockley

A much more solid contribution to historical knowledge was the work produced by the Cambridge scholar, Simon Ockley, which is generally known as *The History of the Saracens*. Ockley was born at Exeter in 1678.²⁴ In 1693 he entered Queens' College, Cambridge, and in 1705, having taken holy orders, he became vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, where he died in 1720. In 1711 he was appointed to the Sir Thomas Adams chair of Arabic at Cambridge. His *History* was prepared and written in circumstances of great hardship. The first volume, entitled *The Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Aegypt, by the Saracens*, was published in London in 1708. The second volume, to which the title *The History of the Saracens* was first given, appeared ten years later. The whole was reissued with this title in 1757 at the suggestion of Dr. Long, then Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Long is believed to be the author of a life of the Prophet prefixed to this edition. There was a reprint of the 1757 edition by Bohn in 1847.

Ockley's *History* is a landmark in two respects. It is the first attempt to write a continuous history of the Arabs in English, and it is based very largely on then unpublished manuscript sources. Chronologically the scope of the work is curious. The first volume begins with the election of Abū Bakr to the caliphate, and deals very fully with his reign and that of 'Umar. The volume ends with a short account of the reign of 'Uthmān. As the original title indicates, Ockley concerns himself principally with the wars of conquest and deals at great length with the Syrian campaigns. The second volume covers the period from the caliphate of 'Alī to that of 'Abd al-Malik (A.H. 35–86).

The omission of any account of the life of the Prophet is explained by the current popularity of Prideaux's book. In the Introduction to his second volume, Ockley sounds a faint note of criticism:

'I mention the *Life of MAHOMET* because it is the foundation of all our History; and though what hath been written of it by the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Prideaux* is sufficient to give a general *Idea* of the Man and his Pretensions, and admirably accomodated to his principal Design of showing the nature of an Imposture; yet there are a great many useful Memoirs of him left behind, which would tend very much to the Illustration of the succeeding History, as well as the Customs of those Times wherein he flourished.'²⁵

²⁴ See the article on Ockley by S. Lane-Poole in *DNB*, xli, 362–5; also the 'Memoir of Ockley' prefixed to the edition of *The History of the Saracens* by Bohn (London, 1847); and A. J. Arberry, *The Cambridge School of Arabic* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 13–16. A detailed study of Ockley as an Orientalist has been made by Dr. A. M. A. H. Kararah in her (unpublished) thesis, 'Simon Ockley: his contributions to Arabic studies and influence on western thought' (Cambridge, Ph.D. thesis, 1955). I am obliged to Professor Arberry for drawing my attention to this work. An abstract of it appears in *Abstracts of dissertations . . . in the University of Cambridge . . . 1955–1956* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 185–6. ²⁵ Ockley, *History of the Saracens* (Cambridge, 1757), ii, p. xxxv.

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Deism, which he considered to be a dangerous force in his time; but he was still credulous enough to regurgitate much of the legendary material which had accreted around Muhammad's life.¹⁸

A much more solid contribution to historical knowledge of Islam was made by Ockley in his two volumes, *The Conquest of Syria, Persia and Egypt by the Saracens* (1708) and *The History of the Saracens* (1718), landmarks in that they included the first attempt to write a continuous history of the Arabs, extending from the Caliphate of Abū Bakr to that of 'Abd al-Malik. He was carrying on from where Prideaux had left off and would doubtless have carried his narrative further had not penury and death supervened; the second volume was produced from Cambridge Castle, where the author was imprisoned for debts of 200 pounds. The great merit of these volumes arises from the fact that Ockley not only used the printed historical texts already available but also unpublished texts which he found in the Bodleian's collection of manuscripts, the resources of Oxford being at that time far richer than those of Cambridge. Hence he used above all the *Futūh al-Shām* attributed, probably apocryphally, to al-Wāqidī in his account of the expansion of the Arabs, but he also cited from manuscripts such varying authors as al-Tabarī, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Ibn al-Athīr, Abū 'l-Fidā', al-Suyūfī and Mujīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī (the latter for the history of Jerusalem). Of secondary sources, D'Herbelot's invaluable *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697), which has been called an early attempt at an *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, was pressed into service, especially for the information from Persian writers. Ockley was still prisoner enough of prejudices of the age to regard Muhammad as "the great Imposter" and the Arab conquests as "that grievous Calamity," but does not display Prideaux's virulence. He was obviously much more interested in Arab history as a secular record rather than as a backcloth for ecclesiastical controversies, and in this wise, his works mark a step forward.¹⁹

The eighteenth century was notable for the production of an accurate English translation of the Quran, one far better than that of the Scotsman Alexander Ross (1649), made from an intermediate translation into French by the Sieur du Ryer.²⁰ This was the translation of George Sale (?1697-

1736), a lawyer by training and the first major English Arabist who was not a cleric, although Sale did much work for the SPCK and helped produce Arabic versions of the Psalter and New Testament. Meanwhile, he was working on his Quran translation, whose publication in 1734 was a remarkable achievement for the age. It proved of such value as to be reprinted frequently well into the present century. Much of its value arises from Sale's detailed annotation of the text from the Muslim commentators, above all from the commentaries of al-Baydāwī and al-Suyūfī. Sale cannot be given a prize for original scholarship, it is true, since he seems to have drawn heavily on the sources used by the Italian monk Lodovico Maracci in his *Alcorani textus universus*, with its Latin translation (1698), as he freely confesses in his preliminary "To the reader," adding, however, that the great value of his own book is that it is in English and not in Latin. Still worthy of consultation as giving an easy conspectus in English of traditional Muslim scholars' views on the Jāhiliyya in Arabia, Arabian paganism, Quranic doctrines, the development of the Islamic sects and Islamic eschatology, is Sale's lengthy "Preliminary discourse", which not only draws on a wide range of classical Arabic authorities from the historians to heresiographers like al-Shahrastānī, but also cites extensive parallels from Biblical, Rabbinical and Mishnaic Hebrew and the testimony of recent European writers on the contemporary Islamic world, such as Sir Paul Rycaut on the Ottoman Empire and the traveller Sir John Chardin on Safavid Persia. Sale's great virtue was thus his insistence on the vital importance of native Arabic authors, from Quran commentators to historians, for elucidating the course of Islamic history and for expounding the doctrines of the Quran. His work complemented the purely historical achievement of Ockley, and both these authors were to be the standard sources informing British minds about Islam and early Islamic history till the second half of the nineteenth century.²¹

The rational spirit of the eighteenth century Enlightenment looked at Islam through new spectacles, and though it still found in Islam much to condemn of fanaticism, credulousness and superstition, it was at the same time disposed to search for more favorable elements, if only to buttress a

سيمون أوكلي (Simon Ockley) (١٦٧٨ - ١٧٢٠).

درس العربية على بوكوك في أكسفورد. وهو يعد من أبرز مستشرقي زمانه الذين أثروا في الثقافة الإنجليزية وفي الأدباء الإنجليز عامة. في عام ١٧١١ تولى أوكلي كرسي الدراسات العربية في كامبريدج التي تعرف بكرسي السير توماس آدمز (Sir Thomas Adams). وقد وضع أوكلي أول مؤلف عن التاريخ الإسلامي الثقافي والسياسي باللغة الإنجليزية وبأسلوب سلس مما مكن القارئ الإنجليزي من الإلمام بهذه الثقافة. وأن قسماً كبيراً من مؤلفاته كتبه في السجن. وكان يرى أن اللغة العربية تتمتع بأهمية خاصة لأنها تساعد على الترجمة من العبرية. وهي مهمة أيضاً لأنها لغة القرآن. وقد توفي أوكلي في شرح الشباب فقيراً. ومن أبرز مؤلفاته تاريخ المسلمين (The History of the Saracens) الذي يعتمد بصورة عامة على كتاب فتوح الشام للواقدي، ويعتبر أول محاولة لكتابة التاريخ العربي بصورة متصلة باللغة الإنجليزية.

بيد أن الإهتمام بالدراسات العربية في إنجلترا لم يبدأ بداية قوية سوى في بداية القرن الثامن عشر. ففي هذا القرن بدأت بذور الدراسات العربية التي زرعت في القرن السابع عشر تينع. ولقد ازدادت كراسي الدراسات الشرقية في كل من جامعة كامبريدج وأكسفورد، وتزايد عدد الأساتذة الذين أخذوا يعنون بمثل هذه الدراسات أمثال: هانط (Hunt) وهويت (Joseph White) الذي تولى كرسي اللغة العربية في جامعة أكسفورد من (١٧٧٥ - ١٨١٤) وهايد (Thomas Hyde) (١٦٣٦ - ١٧٠٣) الذي خلف بوكوك وبراون (Brown) ووالس (Wallis) وفورد (Ford).

وفي مطلع القرن الثامن عشر برز المستشرق جورج سيل (George Sale) (١٦٩٧ -

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ولد في أكستر من مقاطعة وفون ، ودرس العربية في كلية بجامعة كمبريدج ، وحنه همفري بريدو ، عميد نورويتش على الاستمرار في دراسة العبرية والعربية . وعين راعياً لسوافسي (١٧٠١) ثم رئيساً لقساوسها (١٧٠٥) وقضى وقتاً طويلاً في دراسة المخطوطات العربية في المكتبة البودلية (١٧٠٦) وسمى أستاذاً للعربية في كرسى السير توماس أدامز بكمبريدج (١٧١١) وكلف بترجمة الوثائق الرسمية الواردة من المغرب (١٧١٤) لعقد معاهدة بين بريطانيا والمغرب (وقد تم التوقيع على المعاهدة في شهر تموز / يوليو ١٧١٤) وسجن لدين كان عليه (١٧١٧) وأفرج عنه (١٧١٨) ولكن اعتلال صحته أودى بحياته .

آثاره : مقدمة للغات الشرقية ، باللاتينية (١٧٠٦) وتاريخ اليهود المعاصرين في جميع أنحاء العالم ، نقلاً عن الأب سيمون مودينا الفرنسي (لندن ١٧٠٨) وتطور العقل الإنساني في حي بن يقظان لابن طفيل ، متناً وترجمة إنجليزية (١٧٠٨) وتاريخ الإسلام ، في مجلدين ، اشتملا على تاريخ المسلمين الثقافى والسياسى فوسع نطاق العربية إذ عرفها إلى القراء الإنجليز ، وكانت قبله مقصورة على المستشرقين وأصبح مرجعاً للطلبة ، واستعان به العلماء ، على ما فيه من نقص ، من أمثال جييون في تاريخه : اضمحلال الإمبراطورية الرومانية وسقوطها . ونال منزلة في الآداب الإنجليزية ، وشأناً في التاريخ العام لدى المؤرخين الأوربيين ، (الجزء الأول ١٧٠٨ والثانى ١٧١٨) ثم أصدر الدكتور لونج Long عميد كلية بمبروك طبعة جديدة لتاريخ المسلمين وخصص أرباح الكتاب لأرملة أوكلي وأولاده (كمبريدج ١٧٥٧ ، والطبعة المنقحة ، لندن ١٨٤٨) وله : خطب الافتتاح (مطبعة جامعة كمبريدج ١٧١٢) وقصص عن جنوب غربى بلاد المغاربة (١٧١٣) وغرر الحكم ودرر الكلم للآمدى (١٧١٧) .