

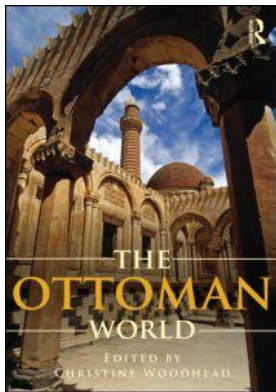
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## **The Ottoman World**

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### **‘Guided by The Almighty’**

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## CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

### ‘GUIDED BY THE ALMIGHTY’

#### The journey of Stephan Schultze in the Ottoman empire, 1752–6

—♦—  
*Jan Schmidt*

European travel writing on the Ottoman empire in the pre-modern era is a voluminous and fascinating genre, especially for readers who like so-called ego documents.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the experiences of the travellers themselves, a broad but limited range of subjects is discussed in these books. Only a minority of authors went beyond the parameters set by the existing literature and refrained from copying passages from previous works or commenting on them. Thus, many writers discuss the inconveniences of travel; the ancient, especially classical, past of the area; the beauty and monuments of Istanbul; the customs and religion of the Turks (as non-Arab Ottoman Muslims were invariably termed); the treatment of women; and the state of the eastern churches. Only a few authors wrote about more abstract subjects like Ottoman politics or *belles lettres*. Many of these travel books are, at least in part, pleasant to read; the best are, even today, able to produce something close to the ‘historical sensation’ as first defined by the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga. Apart from their entertainment value, some are also valuable historical sources, especially if they reveal aspects of daily life and culture in the Ottoman empire not easily found in native sources – often controversial activities such as wine-drinking, drug consumption and paedophilia. The Ottomans did write on these things, but in a different and often more enigmatic way – enigmatic for us, that is – than European observers, who could be more matter-of-fact, if not unbiased. Occasionally we even hear the voices of Ottoman men, rarely also Ottoman women (exceptionally in the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu), if travellers met them in the privacy of their homes and bothered to record their conversation.

Among the many travel books published in Europe before 1800, I will examine here one which stands out from the average, less original texts. Firstly, the author, Stephan Schultze, does his utmost to rely on his own experiences rather than what he read in the books of his predecessors. Secondly, it is exceptional in that the author was fluent in many languages and held weighty conversations with both indigenous Europeans (‘Franks’) and Ottomans in their own tongue, jotting down the results for inclusion in his book. If conversations are described at all by travel writers, they are often limited to trivialities or, often insipid, anecdotes. Many western travellers spoke little other than their mother tongue and Latin (if they had received a higher education), let alone Arabic or Turkish, were dependent on interpreters, or were not really interested in

what the locals had to say. Schultz's scholarly and, particularly, philological proclivities ensured that he was, exceptionally, interested in linguistics and Ottoman literary culture. His book contains several passages in which he discusses local languages, script and writing, manuscripts and printed books.

An autograph of Schultz's travel book exists among the Turkish manuscripts in Leiden University Library.<sup>2</sup> Its German title, *Der Leitungen des Höchsten nach seinem Rath auf den Reisen durch Europa, Asia und Africa*, translates as 'In the Guidance of the Highest according to His Counsel on Travels through Europe, Asia and Africa'.<sup>3</sup> The book, published in Halle, Germany, in five volumes between 1771 and 1775, combines autobiography and a chronological description of Schultz's journeys in Europe and the Ottoman empire.<sup>4</sup> He travelled extensively in Europe as an emissary of the Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum in Halle (Brandenburg, Prussia) and in the Ottoman empire during the years 1752 to 1756. The institute in Halle had been founded in 1728 for the purpose not so much of trying to convert as of bearing witness of the truth of pietistic Evangelism to the heathen, Jews in particular. Candidates for this treatment were personally approached by the missionaries, who supported their arguments by distributing pious tracts in various languages, including Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Arabic and Turkish, which had been privately printed by the institute.<sup>5</sup>

## THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORK

Schultz, born in 1714 in the small village of Flatow in Pomerania (now Złotów in Poland), the son of a shoemaker, showed a keen interest in learning and, thanks to beneficent patronage, was able to study theology at the University of Königsberg in east Prussia. He was a born linguist and learned all kinds of languages, among them Hebrew, Illyrian, Syriac, Arabic and Turkish, all of which helped him to communicate with the people of the lands through which he passed and to impress them with his learning. In 1736 Schultz embarked on his first trial mission for the Halle institute in east Prussia, and from 1740 onwards was more or less continuously *en route* in Europe and the Ottoman empire. In 1749, he befriended Albrecht Friedrich Woltersdorf, then a student of theology at Berlin and, like Schultz, a keen linguist; Woltersdorf henceforth accompanied him on his travels. Upon his return from the Ottoman empire in 1756, Schultz settled in Halle, preached and taught Arabic, Hebrew and a course entitled 'Antijudaicum' at the institute.<sup>6</sup> He was appointed director in 1760, married in 1765 and died in 1776, having completed his travel book and seen it through the press. Missionary activities among the Jews had by then petered out, and the institute closed its doors in 1792. There is no proof, at least as far as the writings of Schultz are concerned, that the missionary work had much success. Our friends were not, it seems, able to persuade any of their interlocutors to change faith.<sup>7</sup>

The text of *Der Leitungen* shows a broad range of interest. Schultz, theologian and amateur Orientalist, botanist and pharmacologist, wrote in a matter-of-fact style during an epoch in which the expression of romantic sentiment had not yet become fashionable. Apart from an emphasis on conversation with both local 'Franks', lay and ecclesiastic, and 'Orientals' of all denominations, his work is dotted with learned asides on all kinds of curious topics and theories. The text is devoid of the clichéd prejudices against foreign 'races' and cultures that often mar other travel writing, particularly in the nineteenth century. There is hardly any mention of 'lazy Turks', devious

Levantines or swindling Jews; Muslim merchants are, by contrast, praised for their honesty.<sup>8</sup> Even a brief description of the imperial harem is free of the usual Western sensational fantasies: the ladies in the harem were spouses of the sultan, court servants or girls of noble descent waiting to be married to Ottoman pashas; in any case, added Schultz, monogamy was the rule among Muslims.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the author was not uncritical and vented his indignation in several passages when reporting stories of the cruel behaviour of Ottoman officials. He also deplored the widespread ignorance and the backwardness of Ottoman learning.

## JOURNEYING IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Like all pre-modern travellers, Schultz and Woltersdorf journeyed with a huge amount of luggage, which included bedding, food, cooking utensils, fuel, medicaments and books, principally the Bible in its original languages (Hebrew and Greek), plus a selection of pious tracts for distribution among the heathen. Before they left, they made great efforts to prepare themselves spiritually for the journey and spent much time improving their linguistic skills. This effort continued during their journey through conversation, perusing grammars and dictionaries, and employing language teachers. Thus, for instance, in Istanbul they hired a teacher, probably the Armenian Isaac Hoca (interviewed for the job on 19 January 1753), for daily lessons, for which they paid 11 piastres.<sup>10</sup> Part of the programme was practising conversation in Arabic, Turkish and Armenian.<sup>11</sup> Schultz could speak Hebrew reasonably well after a while, whereas Woltersdorf became proficient in Turkish. Often, however, they had to fall back on Italian or use an interpreter. Arabic proved especially difficult to master.

Being almost penniless, Schultz and his companion – who were sometimes mistaken for beggars – could ill afford to stay in public inns and depended to a great extent on the charity of diplomats and Christian institutions such as monasteries, or, if necessary, on their camping equipment. They were often made welcome in the houses of consuls or other diplomatic personnel or lodged with friends – pastors, merchants, artisans and others – often for days, if not weeks or months on end. Schultz, being Protestant, was mostly patronized by fellow Protestants such as the British, Dutch and Swedes, as Prussians at that time had no diplomatic representation in the Ottoman empire. Although most European travellers made use of the network of embassies and consulates that had developed in the Ottoman empire since the late sixteenth century, Schultz devoted more space to describing these men, their families, houses, pastimes and conversation, than appears in other travel books. His work is therefore also a rich source for data on the European diplomatic network in the empire in the mid-eighteenth century. In what follows, I will highlight some particular features of the book, including meetings with Ottomans, Muslims and Jews, and the (to many travellers) striking phenomena of paedophilia and the Muslim fondness for wine. All translations are my own.

Schultz's and Woltersdorf's journey went roughly as follows. Having left Halle in May 1752, they travelled via Vienna and Trieste, arriving by ship in Izmir on 26 November. From there, they journeyed to Istanbul, back to Izmir, on to Alexandria, Cairo, Rosetta, Damietta, Cyprus, Alexandretta (İskenderun), Aleppo, Latakya and St Jean d'Acre (Akko). From Jerusalem, Schultz then made several trips alone in Palestine. Woltersdorf remained in Acre because of a lethal infection in one of his legs, and

died there during the night of 11–12 August 1755. On 27 August Schultz left Acre for Beirut and Damascus, went from there back to Beirut and on to Tripoli, toured the Lebanese mountains, and returned to Acre, from where he sailed to Cyprus and Izmir. On 28 March 1756 Schultz finally boarded ship for Trieste and from there travelled home overland.

## ISTANBUL AND THE SULTAN

Among the more attractive parts of *Der Leitungen* are Schultz's descriptions of Istanbul. Many travel books describe the city and its monuments, but his dry style and wry observations are unusual. One of the attractions of the Ottoman capital was the sultan. On 18 January 1753, Schultz and Woltersdorf went into the city on the occasion of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday.

Because today happened to be the birthday of Muhammad, which the Turks call *Mevlud*, yesterday evening the towers of all mosques had already been illuminated with many thousands of lamps, and because the emperor [Mahmud I, 1730–54] visits a mosque on that day in greater pomp than normally, the Dutch ambassador had arranged an escort into town for us, so that we could see the procession. We were ready early, the Janissary and the dragoman [interpreter] were also ready, only the merchant, Mr. Oudermeulen,<sup>12</sup> was so slow in coming that upon our arrival in the city, the emperor's procession had already passed. Nonetheless we went to see the church of St Sophia from the outside, which surely competes for precedence with St Peter's in Rome. . . . When we went home again, we had to pass through a huge crowd of people. Because we were still dressed in German clothes, and many of the inhabitants of the city of Constantinople proper were unacquainted with these, many of them stood still and looked at us as if we were some freaks of nature. . . . We did not suffer from any mischief, apart from the fact that an unruly boy wanted to knock off Mr. Woltersdorf's hat, that another poked his fist in front of Mr. Oudermeulen's breast, and that I stood in the way of another Turk because I was looking round at someone. He wished to walk around me, put his hand in a friendly way on my shoulder, and beckoned to me to let him pass, from all of which I witnessed the variation in mood on such serious occasions: ferocious, innocent and well-behaved. The ferocious, I hold to be Greeks who converted to the Muhammadan religion . . .<sup>13</sup>

The travellers were able to see the sultan on another occasion.

Early on 9 February the Dutch ambassador sent a dragoman, Mr. Gabriel, and a Janissary from his palace to our quarters, partly in order to lead us around in the town of Constantinople, partly also in order to direct us to a place where we would be able to see the Grand Signor riding to a mosque; our host, Mr. Marchand [a jeweller from Geneva], accompanied us. Thus we went through Pera and Galata to the waterfront, went by *Balık Pazarı* [the fish market], passing through a long street of arches where all kinds of spices were being sold. Next through a street where the comb-makers have their habitations and shops. They make the combs of box-wood and they are as strong and good as those made from elephant

teeth. Further on we passed through a street of spoon-makers, then one of iron-mongers, and so on to the Bezestan where we inspected the fur, leather, cloth, linen and *papuşi* [shoe, slipper] shops. All the aforementioned shops or arches are unusually full of goods and there are so many of them that they form complete streets. Finally we arrived at a pharmacy by which the Grand Signor had to ride on his way to the mosque at St. Job [Eyüb] and where we could see everything. . . . Because we wanted to enter into the aforementioned pharmacy, we had to cross the same street where the Janissaries had been lined up; on each side of the street there were three rows [of them]; all of them made room for us with great politeness, so that we could pass through them.<sup>14</sup>

Here Schultz indulges in a detailed description of the units that took part in the procession. The sultan was preceded by twelve *kapıcı*s (palace doorkeepers) and surrounded by twenty-four *hayduts* (*Heyducken*, footmen in Hungarian costume), who led his horse on two sides.

Among these 24 gentlemen-at-arms the Grand Signor rode as if in the clouds, so that one could hardly see him. But because we were standing on a somewhat elevated spot, we saw him perfectly. He was dressed simply; one did not see jewels on his turban. The *biniş* or upper garment was a fine violet cloth; the horse was caparisoned with a *chabraque* [saddlecloth] which reached down to its ankles and was estimated at 15 thousand piastres because of its pearls and jewels. . . . When the emperor passed us on his way to the mosque, and beat his breast now on the left then on the right side, he focused his gaze on us because we were dressed in black; on his way back, certainly twenty steps ahead of us, he turned his face to us with some sort of melancholy [expression]; we did not know what this meant.<sup>15</sup>

A *çorbacı* (colonel of the janissaries) later explained to them that black for the Ottomans meant mourning (and was not associated with the uniform of clergymen) and that the sultan must have expressed his pity.

The travellers got another glimpse of Mahmud I on 27 March, when they accompanied the Russian ambassador, Von Obreskov,<sup>16</sup> to the palace.

Before we entered [the *divan*, council chamber], we saw the Janissaries busy eating; their plates topped up with half-cooked peas were put on the grass [of the second inner court]. The Janissaries were standing at a distance, lying in wait, like a cat for a mouse, until they would be beckoned, when each of them, wanting to be first, rushed forward so that quite a few of them spilled half of the little food [they got]. This was the first glorious thing that we saw today.<sup>17</sup>

Having entered the *divan*, they saw the grand vezir, dressed in a black fox-skin, with a towering white turban on his head adorned with a gold sash. He was seated on a sofa, with on his left the two *kazaskers* (chief military judges) of Rumeli and Anatolia, who were flanked by other dignitaries. The ambassador was sitting in an armchair on the right-hand side. Above the grand vezir was the lattice window, behind which the sultan could be concealed if he wished to listen to the deliberations. (Schultz occasionally threw stealthy glances at the window – watching openly was strictly

prohibited – and saw that the sultan sometimes peeped through the latticework; it was the same man they had seen from the pharmacy.) The room itself was square and topped by a cupola. In the centre was suspended a bird-cage, in and out of which flew a pigeon.

After we had entered this glorious hall, in many places sparkling with cobwebs, its walls adorned with dust, first the trial was held, after which so much fuss was made of the cash payment of the Janissaries, that time began to hang heavy on my hand.<sup>18</sup>

Thereupon the banquet started. The Ottoman dignitaries and the ambassador had their own private tables, while the other guests sat down at larger dressed ones. Food was brought in, first a plate for the grand vezir and another for the ambassador. There followed another 149 for each; but the courses passed by quickly, and Schultz observed that the meal did not take more than fifteen to twenty minutes in all. What was left of the food first offered to the grand vezir and the ambassador was subsequently distributed among the officials of lower rank and the ambassador's retinue. Although Schultz and Woltersdorf were asked to join in, they refused. Schultz had seen that meat which had fallen from the dishes carried in by pages was picked up from the floor and put back on the dishes. Another deterrent was the fact that these dishes were covered with leather (instead of the expected metal) tops that looked extremely dirty. The distance between the kitchen and the hall was, moreover, at least 300 steps, and the food must have been quite cold when eaten. Schultz observed that the grand vezir did not use a spoon or a knife, but his hands, and that a special page handed him a napkin after each dish to wipe his hands (so that, in all, 150 napkins were used). No wine, water or sherbet was served. Schultz considered the banquet a 'fake meal' (*Schein-Mahlzeit*), particularly because the whole affair lasted such a short time. After the banquet, the ambassador and his retinue were required to leave the hall. In the courtyard, the ambassador was clothed in a sable fur, while members of his retinue received caftans. Soon thereafter the audience began, with the ambassador and a limited number of his staff being conducted to the audience room by *çavuşes* (halberdiers). They remained in the sultan's presence for about ten minutes. Afterwards, Schultz and Woltersdorf accompanied the ambassador to the Russian embassy, where they 'enjoyed a satisfactory meal'.<sup>19</sup>

Schultz reflected on what he had observed:

Because the *divan* is held almost as sacrosanct as a mosque, and because the Turks are not allowed to kill vermin like lice, fleas, spiders etc. perhaps because of their holiness, the mosques and other official but little-visited dwellings, including also the *divan*, are consequently full of cobwebs, like our cowsheds. More than once have I seen that when a Turk had grabbed a flea from his breast he did not crush it as we are used to do, but, politely, let it jump to the ground.<sup>20</sup>

Schultz, as always the matter-of-fact northern Protestant, was not much impressed by the palace – his opinion was shared by many travellers – which he compared to a hospital, big and spread out in all directions.<sup>21</sup>

## ORIENTAL CLOTHES

During their sojourn in Izmir in the spring and early summer of 1753, our travellers ordered Oriental ('Levantine') clothes for themselves from a local tailor, without which they could not easily continue. Wearing local dress for safety reasons was common among foreign travellers; Schultz was exceptional in the thoroughness with which he described his attire. The clothes, he wrote, consisted of seven parts:

[1] *çuhacı* [*çakşır*],<sup>22</sup> wide pants or trousers, of red scarlet-cloth, lined with cotton or cotton stuff, which is not buttoned up over the hips but fastened with a band which can be taken in and out. Down at the ankle, *mestfes*<sup>23</sup> are sewn on; these are [made] of yellow, red, violet or black morocco-leather and serve at the same time as socks with which one slips into the *pabuç* [slipper] or *çizme* [boot]. [2] The *subun*<sup>24</sup> is similar to our dressing-gown but reaches only as far as the knees, is of half silk or pure silk atlas, with so-called Polish narrow sleeves, also lined with cotton. Furthermore there is [3] the caftan, also of half or pure silk fabric, but, except for the sleeves, unlined; it reaches beyond the ankles and is kept together with a silk girdle like a sash. In this way one is girded up. [4] Over the caftan one puts the *cübbe*.<sup>25</sup> This is either sleeveless or has only half sleeves; the material of which it is made is cloth or camel hair lined with silk; in winter one lines this garment with fox or other furs. [5] On top of all of these one puts the *biniş*,<sup>26</sup> which consists of unlined, fine English, Dutch or French cloth. [6] The head is covered by either a *dülbend* [turban] or a *kalpak* [fur cap]. Now one is dressed and is able to visit anyone, or go to dinner. [7] If it rains, one puts over the aforementioned clothes a *yağmurluk* [raincoat],<sup>27</sup> and on one's head a cover which one puts over the turban or the *kalpak* and wraps a couple of times around one's neck. After we had put on everything item by item it must have been to us what it was to little David who had to lay on King Saul's coat of mail, shield and helmet to fight the giant Goliath. But in a few days we became as used to these oriental clothes as if we had been wearing them since our youth.<sup>28</sup>

Schultz adds that the quality of their clothes was average: neither poor nor very rich – they lacked, for instance, incense and pure silk. Nevertheless, they had cost more than 100 piastres (30 ducats). If a man wanted to own a full suit of summer and winter clothes, it would cost him as much as 800 to 900, and for a woman even up to 3,000 piastres.

## CONVERSATION ON BOARD SHIP

On 12 June, the travellers boarded the ship *La Colomba* under captain Fugazzo, which carried a great number of Muslim pilgrims. There were also Christian passengers and at least one Jew, who had already spotted our travellers in Izmir. The captain sounded a bell when it was prayer-time, and passengers joined the sailors in their prayers, the Muslims going about theirs quietly, the Catholics performing theirs loudly and histrionically (for which they were consequently derided by the Muslims). 'We tried by gesticulating to make them understand that one could only feel pity for such types of public worship', Schultz commented.<sup>29</sup> Making coffee one afternoon, he was approached by a Turkish boy, who earlier had objected to his lighting a fire on deck for cooking.



He said: *bu gavurının kahvedur?* (Is that heathen coffee?) With the word *gavur* they mean people who are not Muhammedan, but they call in particular Christians by this name, and it obviously meant just that to him: was this Christian coffee? I said: What do you mean? Coffee of the unbelievers? (*gavurının?*) He: It does not come from Mecca, does it? I: Certainly not, it is Dutch. He: But aren't the Dutch *gavur* (unbelievers) like you? I: Who is a *gavur*? Can you call a person a *gavur* who has got Moses, the Prophets, the Psalter, the Evangelists and the Apostles (Apostolic Letters)? He: Do you really have them? I: Certainly, look, and I spread the books [of my Bible] out before him and said: This is the language in which God's Spirit dictated His Word to the holy writers, and, as you see, I have got the book, I read it, I understand it, and I steer my faith and live according to it; can I, in view of this, still be called a *gavur* (unbeliever)? He: Do the Dutch have it too? I: Yes, and although they may not all read it in this language, they do read it in the Dutch language. Now he looked at the other Muhammedans, our neighbours, and they made him understand that I had spoken truthfully and said *gerçek gerçek* (it is true, it is true). At that point I got bolder and continued: Just listen, my dear friend, if he who has got the Prophets, the Psalms, the Evangelists and the Apostolic Letters, reads them and organises his life accordingly cannot be an unbeliever, then he who hasn't all of this must be an unbeliever. Thereupon he looked at me, somewhat taken aback, and I asked: have you got all of this? He: No. I: Therefore you have never read it. How will you know the way to Heaven now that you would call yourself unbelieving? At that point he seemed to have been beaten, and when he saw that the others agreed with me he became ashamed. Having meanwhile cooked the coffee, I gave him a full cup which he drank, listening very quietly to the Sermon on the Mount which Mr. Woltersdorf had begun reading in Turkish a little while earlier. Thus the Lord brought victory here as well and no one that night let us hear the word *gavur* again.<sup>30</sup>

## A HOLY MAN IN ALEXANDRIA

The voyage brought the travellers past the islands of Chios, Samos, Kos and Rhodes, and on 18 June the city of Alexandria appeared on the horizon. For fear of plague, they were able to disembark only after some ten days, on 29 June, when the warning was withdrawn. Schultz and Woltersdorf were invited to stay with the British vice-consul. Among their more notable adventures in the city, on 15 July, was an awkward confrontation with a local saint.

In the afternoon we went in the company of [the Swedish traveller] Mr. Ferner before the town upon a hill in order to have a look at the city, but were unable to climb to the top because there were many Muhammedan and Egyptian people on the other side of the hill who were performing a pilgrimage to a mosque to which a Tombo or burying-place is being built for a saint who is still among the living. This so-called saint is an insane *majnūn* whom one calls sant ho[m]me but the Egyptians call him Periahb (Father of Fertility) Periapus. He walks about completely naked as he descended from his mother's womb, sits on the beach buried in sand from his feet up to his navel; I saw him in that state because his dwelling was not far from our English house and the French consulate. From the upper part of

his body, I could gather that he was about eight shoe tall. I only saw him in that position; but my dear Woltersdorf once came across him in the street on his way to the Egyptian women. Mr. Woltersdorf came home, pale and trembling. The consul asked: What had happened to him? Mr. Woltersdorf, after he had somewhat recovered, told us that he had come across a naked person of extraordinary length. The consul replied: it must have been the *sant homme* whom you may already have seen sitting on the beach from your window; he is held to be a saint by the Egyptians. He then told what later was confirmed by others, namely, that this person is much venerated by Egyptian women who touch his *membrum virile* with their fingers and kiss these, thinking that they will be fertile . . . .<sup>31</sup>

He also said that the wife of the French consul had fallen seriously ill after two similar confrontations on the beach and had hardly dared to leave the house ever since (or even look from her window). Schultz read about the Egyptian saints in Nicolaus Radzivil's description of Egypt,<sup>32</sup> which maintained that their popularity was on the decrease.

### SODOMY IN ALEPPO

During the winter of 1753–4, the travellers were in Aleppo, where they were hospitably received by the Dutch consul Haanwinkel.<sup>33</sup> Returning from a visit to the cemetery of the oriental Christians, on 2 March Schultz wrote:

two Muhammedan boys approached us who jeered at Mr. C.<sup>34</sup> because he, while walking, had adopted the habit of sticking out his head in a slightly forward direction; the boys therefore believed that he suffered from a serious illness. One of them shouted: *Yā jāhit*,<sup>35</sup> i.e. O cripple. We fell silent, but immediately behind us there came another Muhammedan who punished the boys and said: *Intu jāhit [wa] huwa min sha'nak yahyā elf sinna [sana]*, i.e. You are a cripple whereas he (whom you abuse) may, for all you know, well live to be a thousand years. Thereupon the boys were ashamed and went away. On account of this observation, I notice that the Muhammedans also use this term of abuse against themselves because venereal diseases have become rather current among them and this certainly has its origin in the so-called sodomy which is very common in these parts; in the same way they do not make a secret of their inclination to desecrating boys. We ourselves have seen several times how in the bazaars (markets) boys committed sinful acts with boys, and even sometimes grown-up men with boys. We are astonished about God's patience and forbearance that He, who let fire rain from heaven on Sodom and Gomorra, Admah and Zeboim, because of this sin, and turned them into a sea of brimstone, spares this people who are drowned in the practice of abomination. For as long as I have been in this country I have seen gestures among Christians and Muhammedans and heard such talk that I became quite dumbfounded.<sup>36</sup>

In an aside, Schultz remarked that the practice, meant to still their lust, was especially rife among Muslims who were converted Greeks and other Christians and thus had turned their back on the divine order, and not among the 'Turks proper'. In Europe, by contrast, sodomy was rare, but instead one found the abominable practice of whoring and adultery which, in some countries, had risen to the level of *galanterie*.<sup>37</sup>

## THE JEWS OF PALESTINE

On 16 May 1754, during their sojourn in Palestine, they ‘went to see the Jews’ in Tiberias.

I and Mr. van Kerchem<sup>38</sup> had been recommended from Jerusalem to Joseph Khakham, but we did not find him at home; meanwhile his deputy took our letter and entertained us as well as he could. Firstly he brought us to the Medras (Gymnasium) which they, after that of Safad, hold to be the biggest in the Orient. Here I found about 20 youngsters who were studying the Talmud; some of them were from Poland, others from Italy and elsewhere. One among their teachers still knew some Jiddish, but the others, however, because they had left their fatherland very young, spoke Portuguese or Spanish and Arabic. I had to speak Hebrew therefore, which they understood best, but were not used to speaking. The complaint I held against them was in particular this, that they were acting here as [they used to do] in Europe, namely, neglecting God’s word, the only and right way that leads to life, and preferred man-made laws instead.<sup>39</sup>

Some of them argued that one could not understand the Bible without the Talmud, although they admitted that the Bible was the best book there was. None of them, so they confessed, had ever read the books of the Prophets. So how could they know, Schultz objected, that it was the best book? The books of the Prophets were difficult to understand, said one student; but, Schultz again retorted, how could he know? Difficulty, moreover, was no argument; arduous and repeated study should bring enlightenment. The students agreed, Schultz thought, although the one who had spoken to him shook his head in disbelief.

Thereupon we were led to the synagogue which is rather big but not clean. They opened the cupboard where their law books were kept and showed us the rolls; later I was led to the window and invited to sit down. . . . I was given a Book of Psalms in order to read from it to them. The book was handed to me by a boy of about 14 years who remained standing at my feet, full of eager expectation; the others also stood before me so that the assembly of big and small, old and young, consisted of about 30 persons.<sup>40</sup>

Thereupon Schultz read the 136th and 134th psalms to them. When he had explained their message,

one of them approached the others and said: let us disperse, this is going too deep. When I saw that the others became afraid, I said: Those who have a purified heart and a new spirit do not fear men. The Jews’ fear was caused by the entrance of two court servants of the governor in the synagogue because the Jews feared that a riot might break out. Later I learned, however, that the governor had sent these servants after us for our safety in case we should be insulted by the Jews.<sup>41</sup>

Schultz hoped that he had stimulated them enough to learn more about Christ in the future.

## WINE-DRINKING MUSLIMS IN ST JEAN D'ACRE

During their long sojourn in Acre, where they stayed in the house of the local consul, Usgate (and where Woltersdorf died), Schultz had ample opportunities to meet local Arabs, and was more than once hospitably received by Bedouins in their camps. He felt sympathy especially towards the latter, not least because they seemed more susceptible to his preaching than the polite but suspicious Jews. They always listened with interest to what he told them about the Messiah, and on one occasion he was even invited to stay with them as their teacher so that he could enlighten them.<sup>42</sup> As in Istanbul, Izmir and elsewhere, there were also the usual official visits to local authorities, mostly members of the *de facto* ruling family of Palestine headed by Sheykh Daher.<sup>43</sup> Thus, on 21 July Schultz accompanied Usgate's eldest son – the consul himself was ill – to congratulate the sheykh on the Bayram festival. Later they were received by a mute agha from Istanbul who was visiting the sheykh and the Pasha of Saydā (Sidon) on business. 'Although he was mute', Schultz wrote, 'he was able to make himself understandable by gesticulating, and could also read and write. His task in Constantinople is to pare the nails on the hands and feet of the grand vezir; the Grand Signor has also such a

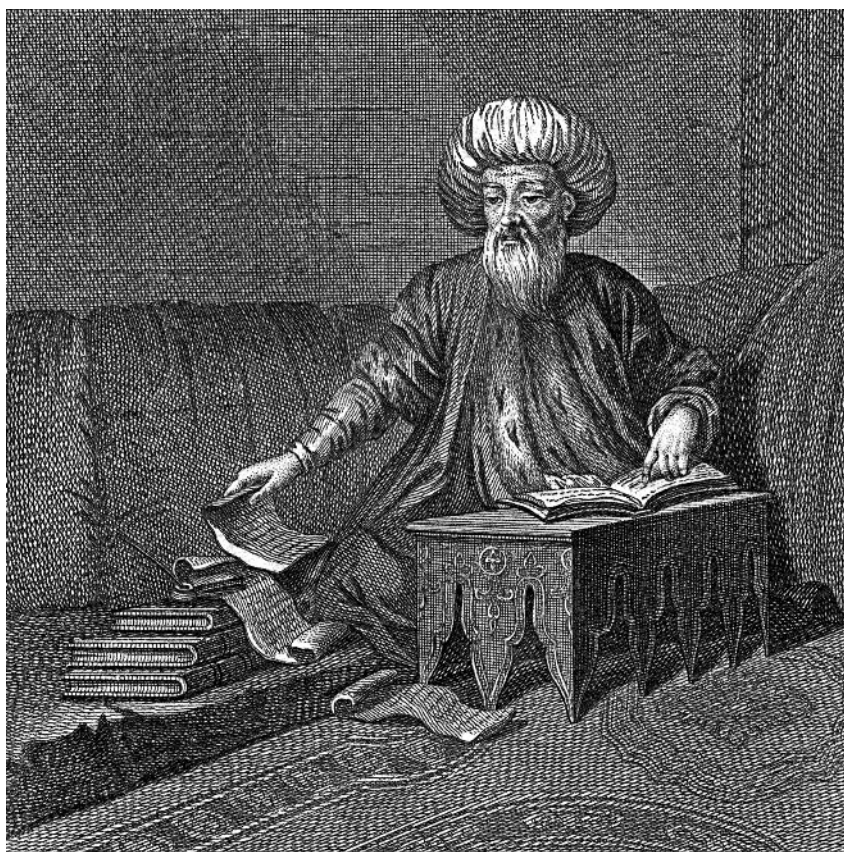


Figure 23.1 A legal scholar at work. Eighteenth-century lithograph, courtesy of Prof. Dr L. P. H. M. Buskens, Leiden.

man'.<sup>44</sup> After coffee, he joined the men on board the ship of Captain Francesco Andrioli of Livorno. This greatly pleased the Ottoman official. He was offered lemon juice while the others drank wine, and guns were fired in his honour. Elsewhere, Schultz discussed the prohibition of the consumption of fermented grapes (wine) among Muslims. They often break this rule, he noticed, but would never say that they drink wine, calling it instead breast- or limb-medicine, ordered by a physician.

H.M. the Emperor Mahmud used to drink his goblet of good wine in the afternoon or the evening for the benefit of his weak stomach, and Ali Pasha in Aleppo had ruined his stomach in Greater Cairo. Now that he travels through Cyprus in order to take residence in Aleppo he is offered a small glass of wine (i.e. the so-called wine of the first press or vergine) at the island's headquarters; he likes it well and says: Hey, I shall take some barrels of this cordial with me to Aleppo. Since that time he has served himself thereof, but only, like the Emperor Mahmud, for reinvigorating his stomach. The Janissaries, by contrast, drink wine secretly until they fall down. If we, Europeans, drink wine from cups or otherwise small glasses and offer such a small glass to a Janissary, he will refuse it; but if one gives him a full glass three to four times as big, he will take it, hold his handkerchief in front of his face, drink the wine and give the empty glass to the servants.<sup>45</sup>

## SCRIPTS, BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

Schultz was an avid reader, but – as he once told a Dutch merchant of Izmir, David George van Lennep, when the latter brought up the subject of metempsychosis and said that he had been reading d'Argent's *Lettres des Juifs* and the *Turkish Spy*<sup>46</sup> (all of it useless and a waste of time, according to Schultz) – he restricted his reading to the Bible<sup>47</sup> and texts that led to an increase of knowledge: books on natural science<sup>48</sup> and travel literature. His interest in books also inspired him to inspect printing presses – the Turkish one in Istanbul<sup>49</sup> and the Hebrew one at Ayn Zaytun near Safad had sadly disappeared<sup>50</sup> – visit libraries, borrow books from his hosts, copy books,<sup>51</sup> and buy books and manuscripts on the way. He was also interested in the production of manuscripts.

In Constantinople as well as Smyrna, Egypt, Syria and Palestine, so far, I have found that scribes, both those serving distinguished gentlemen and [those serving] the law, as well as the writing-masters and many merchants, stick their writing utensils such as inkpot and the receptacle of their quills behind their belt with which they girdle their caftan (long coat) together near their hips, the way soldiers carry their swords. In their bosom they keep a leather receptacle for paper; if they have to write a letter or the like they take a piece of paper from their bosom of the size they need, draw a quill from the receptacle, open the inkpot which remains stuck behind their belt, put the paper on their left hand, as a European on a writing-desk, and write what they need to write; even with complete books they use their left hand instead of a desk. As regards the inkpot, it is made either of ebony, horn or, sometimes, brass, but not of silver; it is fastened to the receptacle of the quills (pen-case); the pen-case is not round but one or sometimes two inches broad and about half an inch wide so that three or four quills made of reed can be

put into it; its length is 12 to 16 inches . . . . The inkpots fastened to the pen-case are either round or four-, six-, sometimes eight-cornered. Before they fill it with ink, the pot's inside is covered with wax as we coat the inside of certain vessels with pitch; they put in raw silk which then partly touches the wax; on the lumps of silk proper one pours the ink, covers the inkpot and closes it firmly to avoid it opening. The ink cannot flow out anyway as is the case with our inkpots because the silk absorbs it; this is also why the quill cannot get too full as it happens with us so that the paper becomes pretty blotted. This type of writing-utensil must be very old, since it is already mentioned in Ezekiel, Chapter 9, verses 2, 3 and 11.<sup>52</sup>

Although Schultz seems to have had little trouble reading the Arabic script, at least as far as it was printed, he had more trouble deciphering the chancery script, *divānī*, used in documents of all kinds. During their journey, both Schultz and Woltersdorf attempted to learn to read and write this script. The latter, already seriously ill, even hired a separate teacher, a Syrian Christian, for this purpose in Aleppo.<sup>53</sup> Later, in Acre, Schultz did the same.

These people are very rare but most necessary; a dragoman at the courts, both in Constantinople and in other places, cannot go without them. The Turkish chancery script is so different from the normal handwritten scripts and the letters that occur in Persian, Turkish and Arabic books that one might take them for a completely different language. That is why I learned this manner of writing in order to make it known to studiosi . . . in Europe. My *hoca* [teacher] had written a complete *inṣā* [lit. 'composition'], which I bought from him and which I had read through with him before. *İnṣā* is a book which is known with us in Europe under the name of a guide for letter-writing because one finds in it the titles of the emperor down to the most humble [tramp?].<sup>54</sup>

This was not the only Oriental book Schultz and Woltersdorf bought during their travels. On 7 October 1753, just before leaving Cairo, they purchased 'some useful Arab books'. One of them, a Coptic volume Schultz particularly liked, had a colophon dated 16 May 1037, and therefore was, he concluded, more than 500 years old. It was filled with allocutions, epistles and 'catechetical questions', much revered, comparable with Arndt's *Wahres Christentum*<sup>55</sup> and well worth translating.<sup>56</sup> In Aleppo, they bought 'some Arabic, Persian and Turkish books' for the library of the Halle institute from their language teacher.<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately, Schultz does not give any titles or even a summary indication of their content.

The fate of these manuscripts is obscure. Some of them may have reached Trieste,<sup>58</sup> but another part, perhaps all, of his 'precious Arabic, Turkish, Persian as well as Armenian manuscripts' were lost when the ship carrying part of his luggage was wrecked off the Dutch island of Texel.<sup>59</sup> The travel book ends on this sad note.

## CONCLUSION

Schultz's work is remarkable because of its originality; it did not rely on existing texts, as did many others in the genre, often to a large extent. Although Schultz may not have been a great stylist – his sentences lack literary flourish and are sometimes clumsy to

the point of being incomprehensible – his book describes aspects not often found in Western travel accounts, typified by the passages discussed above on local clothing, a holy madman in Alexandria, the Jewish colony of Tiberias, manuscripts and writing. The book therefore has much value as a primary source. More unusually, the text is permeated by the voices of local people – Arabs and Turks, Muslims, Christians and Jews. A drawback here is that the conversations Schultz conducted were not prompted by random curiosity. He was a missionary and always tried to steer conversation to the topic of religion and the superiority of the Protestant creed. This in itself is symptomatic of a development in the relations between Europe and the Ottoman world: an increased penetration of European-Christian ideas and culture into that world, which reached its apogee in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

## NOTES

- 1 A survey of older travel literature is found in Yerasimos 1991. On early travel literature as a source of ethnographic knowledge, see Höfert 2003; on important topics in later pre-modern travel writing, see Fischer 1983. For an anthology, see Parker 1999. For descriptions of the Ottomans and their world in pre-1700 European travel accounts, see Üçel-Aybet 2003.
- 2 MS Acad. 196, a neat copy of the text found in vol. IV of the printed edition, pp. 246–340. The library also owns a collection of private papers in various languages, including Turkish, belonging to the author and his travel companion, MS Acad. 97.
- 3 The title refers to Psalm 73: 24: ‘With Thy counsel Thou dost lead me / And after honour dost receive me’ (trans. Robert Young).
- 4 A summary description of Schultz’s journey was published as a seven-page appendix in Calenberg 1757, and selected passages in Wolf-Crome 1977. On Schultz’s personality, see Beltz 1997.
- 5 A catalogue of these publications with prices was published in Halle in 1748.
- 6 LdH [*Der Leitungen des Höchsten nach seinem Rath auf den Reisen durch Europa, Asia und Africa*] V: 497.
- 7 The Halle Institute and its history is briefly mentioned in Latourette 1940: 61. The activities of the institute, particularly its mission among Polish Jews, are the subject of a research and publishing project conducted by the Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle and the Jewish-Historical Institute in Warsaw ([www.francke-halle.de](http://www.francke-halle.de)). See also Müller-Bahlke 2006: 504–8.
- 8 LdH V: 453.
- 9 LdH IV: 224–5.
- 10 LdH IV: 148.
- 11 LdH IV: 201.
- 12 Cornelis van der Oudermeulen, merchant in jewellery and oriental textiles; treasurer to the Dutch embassy in Istanbul, 1754–8.
- 13 LdH IV: 145.
- 14 LdH IV: 168–9.
- 15 LdH IV: 171–2.
- 16 Aleksei Michailovich Obreskov, ambassador to the Porte, 1751–68.
- 17 LdH IV: 210.
- 18 LdH IV: 211.
- 19 LdH IV: 212–15.
- 20 LdH IV: 214.
- 21 LdH IV: 215.
- 22 Koçu 1967: 59–61.
- 23 Not identified, but obviously a term related to *mest*, ‘light thin-soled boot worn indoors or inside overshoes’ (*Redhouse Turkish Dictionary*); cf. Koçu 1967: 173.

- 24 Cf. *Derleme Sözlüğü*, X (1978), p. 3687 = *entari* (loose robe or dress).  
25 Koçu 1967: 57–8.  
26 Ibid.: 39.  
27 Ibid.: 238–9.  
28 LdH IV: 249–51.  
29 LdH IV: 275.  
30 LdH IV: 277–8.  
31 LdH IV: 296–7.  
32 Nicolaus Christophorus Radzivili, *Hierosolymitanische Reise und Wegfahrt . . .*, 1583.  
33 Hendrik Haanwinckel, consul at Aleppo, 1752–5.  
34 The merchant Carleef, who accompanied them.  
35 Probably *jāhiz* (جَاهِز), ‘one who has bulging eyes’.  
36 LdH V: 29–30.  
37 LdH V: 32–3.  
38 Jan van Kerchem, Dutch merchant and consul at Aleppo, 1756–60, and one of Schultz’s travelling companions.  
39 LdH V: 201–2.  
40 LdH V: 203.  
41 LdH V: 203–4.  
42 LdH V: 250–1.  
43 Zāhir b. al-‘Umar az-Zaydānī (d. 1775), cf. Joudah 1987.  
44 LdH V: 262.  
45 LdH V: 287.  
46 LdH IV: 246; d’Argent’s work is unidentified; the latter item was an anonymous, popular work, *L’Espion du Grand-Seigneur*, published in six volumes in Paris from 1684 onwards; translated into English as *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy* and published from 1687.  
47 On 31 December 1754, Schultz finished his reading of the Bible in the original languages (LdH V: 147).  
48 However, such texts are hardly referred to in the book, although Schultz mentions handbooks on chemistry (by l’Emmery – not identified) and botany (the *Simpliciste* by Mattioli – probably Pierandrea Mattioli, *Compendium de plantis omnibus una cum earum iconibus . . .*, Venice 1571), which he consulted every day (LdH IV: 254; V: 245).  
49 LdH IV: 125; the printing press set up by İbrahim Müteferrika in Istanbul ceased to exist upon its founder’s death in 1745; it was revived only briefly in 1755.  
50 LdH V: 212, 375–6.  
51 Schultz spent weeks in Cairo copying a *Dictionario Arabico Italiano* because it contained useful ‘vulgar Arabic words’; LdH IV: 325.  
52 LdH V: 330–1.  
53 LdH V: 17.  
54 LdH V: 481. The meaning of the word ‘Vagin’ in the German text is not clear to me and does not seem to be documented.  
55 Johann Arndt, *Die Bücher vom wahren Christenthum*, based on the author’s sermons, published in a number of volumes in Frankfurt from 1605.  
56 LdH IV: 344–5.  
57 LdH V: 17.  
58 Schultz had (unspecified) ‘books’ (which may also have been manuscripts) with him when he passed through quarantine in Trieste on his way back to Halle (LdH V: 489).  
59 LdH IV: 378 n.