

A Captive Library Between Morocco and Spain

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In early modern Europe, the academic field of Oriental studies developed considerably as part of a broader interest for Antiquity and history, and, during the first half of the seventeenth century, was in the process of establishing its enduring institutional bases. A growing number of scholars were deeply engaged in the study of the cultures and languages of the East; Hebrew, Arabic, and related languages were taught in some universities; publishers were offering readers dictionaries, grammar books, and classical texts. This vast enterprise depended essentially on the ability to obtain manuscripts in the languages of the Orient. Scholars eagerly sought to collect documents from the East that would allow them to further their studies, which was not an easy task. Europeans who were interested in the Orient would attempt to create exchange networks that included travelers and missionaries in Eastern countries, as well as local scholars, to be able to acquire manuscripts. In this way, public and private collectors were working diligently to augment the Oriental holdings in European libraries.

However, many manuscripts from the East found their way to Europe in a much less peaceful manner. The development of Oriental studies in early modern Europe is inseparable from the circumstances of “cold war”¹ that

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prevailed in the unstable border zone between Christendom and Islam, particularly in the Mediterranean.² A considerable number of texts ended up in European collections as spoils of war or as the result of piracy.³

The most important and prestigious of those bounties was deposited at the library of the Spanish royal palace of El Escorial in 1614. Its story is recorded in many archival documents; some of them have been published, and in all likelihood, more are still awaiting discovery. This information allows us to better map out the geographies of Oriental studies in early modern Europe. On one hand, it helps present a more nuanced view of the field's development in various regions of Europe; on the other hand, it leads us to consider the multiple routes through which persons and objects circulated between the Orient and the Occident. The acquisition of manuscripts and other artifacts in the Ottoman Empire and the Eastern Mediterranean have been particularly scrutinized.⁴ Yet scholars rarely consider Morocco as a point of origin, even though a large part of the Escorial Arabic library originated there. Indeed, Morocco belongs to an area that has been described as an "archetypal Mediterranean frontier,"⁵ a region where Islam and Christendom had interacted and even mingled for centuries. After the end of the *Reconquista* in 1492, this boundary became increasingly rigid, but the contact between the shores did not come to an end, although it took new forms. Morocco, as the immediate neighbor of imperial Spain, and often its victim, inevitably became involved in European politics, and the sultans energetically pursued diplomatic relations with the competitors of Spain, such as England, France, and the United Provinces. The peaceful or more violent interactions allowed for cultural exchanges and impacted the development of European Oriental studies, as the account of the Arabic fund in the Escorial reveals.

A ROYAL LIBRARY ON THE OCEAN

The collection deposited at the Escorial in 1614 first belonged to the Moroccan sultan Mulay Zaydân of the Sa'dî dynasty (r. 1603–1627) who had inherited the bulk of it from his powerful and learned father, Ahmad al-Mansûr. When the latter died in 1603, the power of Zaydân was unsteady, and for many years he remained fiercely contested by several contenders.⁶ In 1612, the agitator Abû Mahallî forced Zaydân to flee his capital Marrakesh and to retreat to Safi on the Atlantic coast. The sultan

took with him his valuables, such as luxurious jewelry and clothes, as well as his beloved library, and hired Jean-Philippe Castelane to put his treasure in a safe place. Castelane was a privateer from Marseilles who was also the representative of the French monarchy in Morocco, and had just signed a treaty of alliance with Zaydân in the name of the king of France, as is confirmed by a letter dated February 13, 1612, written by the sultan and addressed to his agent Samuel Pallache.⁷ On June 14, 1612, Castelane's ship, the *Notre-Dame de la Garde*, left Safi and on the same day arrived at Agadir, another Atlantic port, where Zaydân's property was to be discharged. However, on the night of June 22, possibly because of a disagreement over payment, the privateer ordered the ship to sail from Agadir with the cargo still on board. On July 5, it encountered a squadron of Spanish vessels belonging to the fleet of Don Luis Fajardo, admiral of the Spanish Armada. Ship, crew, and cargo were seized by the Spaniards.⁸

The matter was first judged by a Cádiz court, and then adjudicated again by the Spanish Council of State. Both declared that the seizure was legal.⁹ The consequences of the incident would be far-reaching: for years, the library in particular would be the object of intense diplomatic maneuvering and correspondence between Morocco, Spain, France, and the Netherlands; the Moroccans, with the help of their Dutch allies, would unsuccessfully try to obtain restitution from the French and the Spaniards; and the affair would poison the relationship between Morocco and France. Considering that the French crown was responsible for the theft because it was perpetrated by one of its representatives, Zaydân ordered the arrest of many French subjects residing in his territories, and it took decades for the situation to be finally resolved.¹⁰ The sultan and his successors tried several times to gain the return of the library through ransom or in exchange for Spanish captives held in Morocco, although in vain. Currently, what remains of Mulay Zaydân's collection is still held at the Escorial.

Moroccan ambassadors, who were sent to Spain to negotiate the liberation of captives or peace treatises, also showed interest in the Escorial's library and the Arabic books held in Spain, and wrote about them in their travel accounts.¹¹ For them, and for other Muslim travelers to Spain, the Arabic manuscripts kept in Spain were a painful symbol of the Andalusí paradise lost, that most seemed to barely distinguish between the books left behind in the peninsula after the completion of the *Reconquista* and the stolen library of Mulay Zaydân.

EUROPEAN FANTASIES

In Europe, the booty taken from the sultan became the site of imaginary constructions, as is attested to by the title of a slim volume about the troubles in Morocco, told in verse by Antonio de Vía and published in 1612, the very year of the capture. In its title, the pamphlet mentions the “flight of Mulay Zaydân, and how he loaded his treasure on three ships, among which was a scepter, a golden crown, inestimable diamonds, clothes, and imperial ornaments; his intent was to crown himself Emperor of Marrakesh, and then his fate changed; and how, when disembarking at La Mamora, the general of ships from Dinker, there for the service of the King our Lord, seized the ship that contained the treasure, another ship got burned, and the last was defeated and took flight.”¹² The crown and the scepter were not symbols of sovereignty for the Sa’dî dynasty, although other early texts attest to the belief in the presence of these imaginary objects in the seized bounty. In a letter addressed to minister Puisieux, the French ambassador in Madrid, Vaucelas wrote that according to a witness, “in one crate opened by this Fajardo, there was a scepter and a crown estimated to seventy thousand ecus.”¹³ Those rumors made the bounty even more valuable than it really was, both in monetary and symbolic terms. Interestingly, the 1612 pamphlet’s title did not even allude to the library, which became the main issue of contention. The pamphlet’s author and potential readers might have been unaware of how the possession of books could add to the prestige of a ruler, not to mention their scholarly value.¹⁴

Given the state of Oriental studies in Europe in the early seventeenth century, one would think that the presence of the royal library on European soil would have proved to be a boon for the development of the field. In fact, for more than a century and a half, the library remained mostly unavailable to scholars, and some would bitterly complain about that. The Moroccan library became both more tempting and frustrating for them for being located in Europe itself. In 1623, the linguist and humanist Bernardo Aldrete complained about the paucity and high cost of Arabic manuscripts in Spain, at a time when the rich Moroccan library was “buried” in the Escorial.¹⁵ Later, the great French antiquarian Nicolas Peiresc, who would spend much energy and money to acquire Oriental manuscripts, would thus describe the perils of this activity, when manuscripts “could be seized by pirates who would abuse them or condemn them to libraries that would not make them available to those who could use them to help the public, like the King of Morocco’s library in the Escorial.”¹⁶

RELIGION, POLITICS, SCHOLARSHIP: THE FATE OF A LIBRARY

The causes of that frustrating situation were rooted in the double nature of a royal library, as a repository of scholarly treasures as well as a site of power and prestige. When Zaydân's books were deposited at the Escorial, the library was only a few decades old.¹⁷ Philip II founded it at a time when the concept and the reality of the library in Europe were undergoing important transformations, first prompted by Italian humanism, then emulated in France with the creation of a royal library in 1544. Urged by Spanish scholars, Philip II followed those examples, for humanistic as well as political reasons, and decided to establish a royal library that would survive its founder, and transmit a cultural memory to future generations. The collection resided in the newly built monastery-palace of El Escorial, of which the foundation was decided in 1563. Philip deposited his own personal library there, and actively sought to augment the collections through national and international acquisitions. Before 1614, the holdings had already numbered a few hundred Arabic manuscripts. However, as a site and sign of the political power of the king, the library was not necessarily of great help to scholars, despite the hopes many had vested in its creation. The royal library essentially stayed private, and was made only parsimoniously available to learned readers. Moreover, it was created in a context of strong ideological censorship by the "bookphobic" Inquisition.¹⁸ Early on, the suggestion was made that the Escorial library should receive the books that were prohibited by Rome or the Holy Office.¹⁹ The Escorial collections, since their origin, were thus both a library and an anti-library, containing books that, at least theoretically, were supposed to be read and those that had to be kept out of reach of the public. But even in its positive incarnation, the library remained the king's private property and not used for the common good that the humanists who advocated its creation had dreamed about. Those characteristics did not change after the death of Philip II in 1598. In fact, they became more pronounced.

When transferred to Spain, Mulay Zaydân's library became a site of contestation between three different and deeply unequal forces, which continued to play their part in its history: religion, politics, and scholarship. It could be rightfully stated that those principles were always at stake in the history of early modern European Orientalism; however, the Spanish context in which the Moroccan library was received starkly illuminates them. Religious authorities were interested in seeing that the

books that did not conform with Christian orthodoxy be thoroughly removed from possible readership. Statesmen, for their part, were attentive to the political gain that could be derived from the possession of the library. In this context, scholarship could only be advanced with the help of powerful protectors. That battle began when the time came to decide the fate of the captive library, after its seizure was declared legal.

In March 1614, more than a year and a half after the capture of Castelane's ship, the secretary of the Council of State, Juan de Ciriza, addressed to the king a number of documents regarding Mulay Zaydân's books. He wrote himself a very thorough memorandum in which he quoted from two letters attached to the file. One was written by Fray Juan de Peralta, prior of the Escorial, and later archbishop of Saragossa. It informed the king that the library had been kept in the house of Don Juan de Idiáquez, a powerful political insider. Peralta requested that the library be deposited at the Escorial because a large number of the books contained within the library were prohibited and thus should be kept with the other forbidden works in the monastery, while the books that presented no challenge to religious orthodoxy should be included in the royal library.²⁰ Thus the prior sought to have Mulay Zaydân's library combined in the Escorial according to the two typical ways defined at that time: he requested that it should be permanently housed there as a tribute to the power of the Holy Office to keep dangerous books from the public, and as a sign of the prestige and greatness of the Spanish Crown.

Peralta knew which books should be prohibited and which were acceptable based on an assessment written by Francisco de Gurmendi in the second letter accompanying Ciriza's memorandum. According to that appraisal, the earliest that is known of, Mulay Zaydân's library was comprised of "four thousand books minus twenty or thirty. Most of them are untitled, and more than five hundred are unbound." Gurmendi worked hard to class them by content, and found that "two thousand books or more are expositions of the Alcoran, and a thousand are about diverse humanistic subjects. As for the rest, their topics are philosophy, mathematics, and, for some, medicine." At the end of his letter, he asked for permission to keep some of these books for his studies and expressed his intent to translate a few.²¹

Juan de Ciriza was aware of how important the books were in the eyes of Mulay Zaydân: "he so much values them that he would willingly give for them a good number of captives that he holds in his power and other things."²² His recommendations aimed at preserving the rights of the three

realms competing for control of the library: the political, the religious, and the scholarly. He advised that the books be deposited at San Lorenzo until the time came that the king might decide to “exchange them with the king Zidan and if it is seen to be in the interests of the state in Barbary affairs.”²³ The Moroccan collection should thus be kept separate from both the prohibited volumes and the royal library. He recommended entrusting Francisco de Gurmendi with the supervision of the transfer. In conclusion, he stressed “the profit that would result if Zidan so much wants and wishes to obtain them as to exchange them in ways that would benefit the public good.”²⁴ The collection needed to be preserved as a potential bargaining tool with the Moroccan authorities. We know that Mulay Zaydân, and later his successors, would be eager for its return, and clearly some in the Spanish State were not ruling out the possibility, at least in the early stages, although it never came to pass possibly because religious considerations proved to be stronger than political ones.

On May 7, 1614, Philip III replied to Peralta.²⁵ His letter briefly recapitulated the story of the library in Spain, from its seizure to the task given to Francisco de Gurmendi “who works for me as translator and interpreter of the Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages.”²⁶ Following Ciriza’s advice, the king ordered keeping the library at the Escorial, although separated from the other books. He also requested that “Francisco de Gurmendi be allowed to keep some books on various subjects and disciplines that would be necessary for his studies of the Arabic language, such as vocabularies and books on the proper and elegant use of language, as well as books that he finds deserving of being translated in Castilian, on matters of moral philosophy or history.”²⁷

This decision satisfied the demands of all three parties and showed that the Moroccan library was indeed used to advance Oriental studies in Spain, at least early on, prior to it being buried in the Escorial, as later scholars would bitterly complain. More generally, it contradicts a long held view that Spanish scholars during the seventeenth century were absent in the early modern European enterprise of Oriental studies.²⁸ Spain is often said to have rejected the culture and language of the Arabs, not to mention their religion after the completion of the *Reconquista*, a process culminating in the final expulsion of its population of Muslim origins, the Moriscos, between 1609 and 1614. As a consequence, when Spain came to possess the scholarly treasure of Mulay Zaydân’s library, it essentially had no use for it. That view was solidified relatively early on. When the French traveler François Bertaut visited El Escorial in 1659, he mentioned the

library, saying that, among the forbidden books, “there are three thousand Arabic volumes; they say that one *D. Lúis Faxardo*, being a general of an army, took them from the Turks, who wanted to transport this library from one city to another, but unfortunately there is not in the whole of Spain one interpreter from Arabic, despite their closeness to the Moors.”²⁹ According to that narrative, only during the eighteenth century did Spain truly enter the field of European Oriental studies, an advancement that was significantly marked by the fate of Mulay Zaydân’s library because one of Spain’s great contributions is none other than the catalog of the Arabic manuscripts, of which the Moroccan library was an important part. This was the work of the Lebanese Maronite Miguel Casiri, “the decisive figure in the process whereby Arabic studies in Spain were secularized.”³⁰ However, recent work has considerably amended the notion of the quasi absence of Spain in the formation of early modern Orientalism,³¹ and the story of Mulay Zaydân’s library should further assist that revision.

ARABIC SECULAR ADVICE FOR A CHRISTIAN EUROPEAN PRINCE: GURMENDI’S USE OF THE CAPTIVE LIBRARY

There is no doubt that the rapport that early modern Spain had with Islam and the Arabs, including its ambivalence vis-a-vis its Andalusí past, is quite different from that of other European nations.³² Therefore, the status of Spanish Oriental studies is more inextricably related to issues of national identity in comparison. Nevertheless, it is now clear that the interest in the Arabic language and culture was kept alive in seventeenth-century Spain in part because of the continuing issues presented by the Morisco population such as the extraordinary affair of the allegedly ancient “leaden books,” found in the mount of Sacromonte near Granada between 1595 and 1606.³³ Extended controversy about the authenticity of those religious Arabic documents raged for years in Spanish political, religious, and cultural circles and was virulent when Mulay Zaydân’s library was seized.

One of the participants in that contentious debate was none other than Francisco de Gurmendi, the first European scholar to study the Moroccan library. Of Basque origins, he was very well connected, being a relative and protégé of the powerful Juan de Idiáquez (1541–1614), whose functions over the decades included chief advisor on foreign affairs for Philip II; member of the *Junta de Gobierno*, which supervised the education of the

future Philip III; and, beginning in December 1599, President of the Council of Military Orders.³⁴

Francisco de Gurmendi had studied with one of the most distinguished Christian scholars in Spain at that time, Kurd Marcos Dovel, who taught Arabic in the La Sapienza school in Rome between 1606 and 1610, and was brought to Granada to help translate the leaden books, concluding that they were forgeries.³⁵ Gurmendi became sufficiently proficient in Arabic to be appointed interpreter in the service of the king in 1615, and, earlier, as we have seen, to be entrusted with the assessment of Mulay Zaydân's library; the supervision of its transfer to the Escorial; and even with the loan, maybe the gift, of an unknown number of the Moroccan books in order to further his studies. It is probable that he had access to the entire library for more than a year in the house of Juan de Idiáquez. How did this access translate in terms of scholarly work?

Gurmendi's work on Mulay Zaydân's library probably influenced his participation in the leaden books controversy. He was very involved in that affair, on the side of those who identified the documents as modern and heretic forgeries; he translated two of the Sacromonte documents in 1615, and authored two violent critiques of the leaden books in 1615 and 1617.³⁶ Grace Magnier speculates that some of his arguments were based on his knowledge of the books on Islamic theology that had belonged to Mulay Zaydân.³⁷ It is difficult to assess the extent to which he relied on those books because both his translations and his critiques of the documents are still unpublished. However, his only printed text is also in all likelihood the result of his access to the Moroccan library. His *Doctrina Phisica y moral de principes*, published in Madrid in 1615, belongs to the genre of the mirror of princes that was thriving in Spain at that time.³⁸ What sets this text apart is that it is presented as a translation from the Arabic. Although there is no mention of the alleged author of the original, scholars consider that it is very plausible that Gurmendi had in fact at least adapted one or more original Arabic texts.³⁹ This proteiform genre had flourished in Arabic culture for centuries, often called "sultanian literature," and included treatises for the education of princes, collections of moral maxims, and parables for the guidance of rulers, as well as descriptions of the duties of the king's advisors and secretaries. One common trait was the stress on the moral and political virtues of justice and equity. Another is that those texts represented a trend of political thought that is considered to be secular, inasmuch as it presents a conception of politics as autonomous from religion, with little or no reference to the Quranic

Revelation, and which refers extensively to non-Islamic traditions such as the Greek, the Indian, or the Persian.⁴⁰ This important feature may explain why Gurmendi chose to translate texts belonging to this genre. And, indeed, his *Doctrina* passed religious censure. It is reasonable to suppose that the originals adapted by Gurmendi in this work belonged to Mulay Zaydân's library. As was stated in the letters addressed to the king, he did intend to use his unique access to the collection to translate books and make the culture of the Arabs available to the learned reader.

What makes it all the more likely that the *Doctrina* was the result of Gurmendi's unique access to the Moroccan library is that in the same time frame, he did in fact produce another translation-adaptation of a text belonging to that same genre, and that text explicitly came from the Moroccan library: *Libro de las qualidades del rey y de los ministros del reyno, conforme al gouierno de los reyes arabes [...] traducido de Arabigo en castellano, por Fran. de Gurmendi*.⁴¹ The first sentence of the dedication to the Duke of Lerma states that the original came from "the library that was seized from Mulay Zaydân."⁴² As is evidenced by the title, the manuscript, even more clearly than the *Doctrina*, details the desirable qualities of the ruler, but also the role and duties of the ministers. This is relevant because both texts are dedicated to the Duke of Lerma, first of the *validos*, or favorites of the king, who held such great power in the Spain of the Golden Age.⁴³

As Gurmendi said in the presentation of the *Doctrina*, his goal was to deliver the treasure of Arabic political wisdom to his readers, an ambition that confirms that the rejection of Arabic culture in early seventeenth-century Spain was far from thorough. His work, both published and unpublished, allows for a clearer picture of early modern Oriental studies in Europe, a field in which Spain was not as marginal as previously believed. Indeed, beyond Spain, the role of the Western Mediterranean region in the transnational and transcultural history of Orientalism needs to be reassessed. The development of European Orientalism is also a story of the circulation of books, objects, knowledge, and people, between East and West. To understand its evolution, through peaceful or violent circumstances, we need to accurately map its cultural geography of dissemination. The tale of Mulay Zaydân's library highlights that its map was better balanced between both ends of the Mediterranean than one would think. Influential figures in Oriental studies, such as the Frenchman Nicolas Peiresc (1580–1637) and the Dutch Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), author of the most successful Arabic grammar published in

Europe until the early nineteenth century, had correspondents in North Africa; the latter's famous disciple Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) even spent two years in Morocco, where he was in touch with local scholars. Those relations helped profoundly inform the evolution of Orientalism, as did the story of Mulay Zaydân's collection, thanks to which the Escorial to this day possesses one of the richest libraries of Arabic manuscripts in Europe.

NOTES

1. Anachronistic as it may seem, the phrase "*guerra fría*" was already used by Don Juan Manuel in the fourteenth century, cited by Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic Law of Nations. Shaynânî's Siyar* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 22.
2. Michel Fontenay, *La Méditerranée entre la croix et le croissant* (Paris: Garnier, 2010).
3. Robert Jones, "Piracy, War, and the Acquisition of Arabic Manuscripts in Renaissance Europe," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 2 (1987): 96–110.
4. See for example for the seventeenth century *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, eds. Alastair Hamilton, Maurits H. van den Boogert, and Bart Westerweel (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
5. Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier. A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 4.
6. On the political instability and fragmentation of Morocco after the death of Ahmad al-Mansûr, see *Histoire du Maroc: Réactualisation et synthèse*, ed. Mohamed Kably (Rabat: Publications de l'Institut Royal pour la Recherche sur l'Histoire du Maroc, 2011), 410–419.
7. Henry de Castries, *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc. 1 série. Dynastie Saadienne. Part. 2: Archives et Bibliothèques des Pays Bas*, 6 vols. (Paris: Leroux, 1906–1923), 2: 23.
8. On these events, see Mohammed Ibn Azuz, "La biblioteca de Muley Zaidan en El Escorial," *Cuadernos de la Biblioteca Española de Tetuán*, 17–18 (1978): 117–153; and Daniel Hershenzon, "Traveling Libraries: The Arabic Manuscripts of Muley Zidan and the Escorial Libraries," *Journal of Early Modern History*, 18 (2014), 1–24.
9. See letter dated August 25, 1613, addressed by Vaucelas, French ambassador in Madrid, to minister Puisieux, in Henry de Castries, *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc. 1 série. Dynastie Saadienne. Part. 1: Archives et Bibliothèques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris: Leroux, 1905–1923), 2:556–557.
10. See Oumelbanine Zhiri, "Les corps, les âmes et le droit: Isaac de Razilly et les captifs français du Maroc au xvii^e siècle," in *Les Nouveaux Mondes juridiques: Du Moyen Âge au XVII^e siècle*, eds. Nicolas Lombart and Clotilde Jacqueland (Paris: Garnier, 2014), 227–251.

11. Three Moroccan ambassadors mention the Escorial library in their travel accounts: al-Ghassânî (1690–91), al-Ghazzâl (1766–67), and Ibn ‘Uthmân al-Miknasî (1779–80); see Henri Pérès, *L’Espagne vue par les voyageurs musulmans de 1610 à 1930* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1937); ‘Abd al-Majîd al-Qaddurî, *Sufara Maghâriba fî Urubba 1610–1922 (Moroccan Ambassadors in Europe [in Arabic])* (Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Université Muhammad V, 1995); Nieves Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto español: Viajeros árabes a España entre el siglo XVII y 1936* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2005), 26–75; Manuela Marín, “The Captive Word: A Note on Arabic Manuscripts in Spain,” *Al-Masâq* 8 (1995): 155–169; Nabil Matar, “Europe through Eighteenth-Century Moroccan Eyes,” *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 26 (2006): 200–219.
12. Antonio de Vía, *Relación de la mucha sangre que se derramó en los dos sacos de Fez, y Marruecos por el Morabito, que últimamete se levantó por el Rey, y de la destruyción de tantos enemigos de la Iglesia, y de la huyda de Muley Cidan, y como embarcó su tesoro en tres naos, en el qual avia cetro, y corona de oro, con diamantes de inestimable precio, con ropas, y atavíos imperiales para coronarse Emperador de Marruecos y se le trocó la suerte, y como al desembocar de la Marmora tomó el general de los navíos de Unquerque, que son por quenta del Rey nuestro señor, la nao que traya el dicho tesoro, y otra se pegó fuego, y la otra huyó derrotada* (Málaga: Juan René, 1612). This pamphlet is mentioned by Bartolomé José Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1863–1889), 4: 1030–1031, number 4285.
13. Dated November 10 1612, Castries, *Sources (France)* 2:551.
14. The admiral Fajardo did a careful inventory of the royal cargo, but did not, according to Hershenzon, see a fundamental difference between the material goods it contained, including astrolabes, mirrors, and clothes, and the royal library, “and thus did not indicate the books’ titles or make any reference to their contents” (“Traveling Libraries,” 8).
15. *Un epistolario de Bernardo José Aldrete (1612–1623)*, ed. Joaquín Rodríguez Mateos (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2009), 219.
16. They could “tomber en mauvaises mains des pirates, qui en abuseront, ou les condamneront en des bibliothèques où ils ne seront non plus visibles à ceux qui en pourroyent ayder le public, que ceux du Roy du Maroc qui sont dans l’Escorial,” *Correspondance avec plusieurs missionnaires et religieux de l’ordre des Capucins (1631–1637)*, ed. Apollinaire de Valence and Philippe Tamizey de Larroque (Paris: Picard, 1891), 245.
17. The following on the history of the Escorial library is heavily indebted to François Géral, *Figures de la bibliothèque dans l’imaginaire espagnol du Siècle d’Or* (Paris: Champion, 1999), especially the first three chapters.

18. Géal, *Figures*, 91. On book censorship in early modern Spain, see also Géal, "La notion d'enfer de la bibliothèque dans l'Espagne des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles," *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 2 (2004): 271–300.
19. Géal, *Figures*, 132.
20. "Memorial del Prior de S. Lorenzo el Real," ed. Claudio Pérez Gredilla, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 7 (1877), 221–222.
21. "Dos mil cuerpos de libros y mas son exposiciones del Alcoran, y mil de diversas materias de humanidad, y los demás de filosofía, matemáticas, y algunos de medicina," qtd. in Guillermo Antolín y Pajares, *La Real biblioteca de El Escorial* (El Escorial: Real Monasterio del Escorial, 1921), 61.
22. "Los estima tanto que dara de buena gana por ellos buen numero de captivos que tiene en su poder y otras cosas," "Consulta acerca de los libros arábigos que se dice fueron del Rey Cidan," ed. Claudio Pérez Gredilla, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 7 (1877): 220–221, 220.
23. "Podra darla á su tiempo segun fuere la instancia que por ellos hiciere el Rey Zidan y lo que se viere convenir al estado de las cosas de Berberia," "Consulta," 221.
24. "No se dexara de sacar algun fruto dellos ni tampoco se cortará el hilo al provecho que resultaria si Zidan los apeteciere y desseare tanto cobrallos que a trueque desto venga en partidos convenientes al bien público," "Consulta," 221.
25. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña o descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid (Parte segunda, 1601 al 1630)* (Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1906), 333–334. See also Braulio Justel, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial y sus manuscritos árabes* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano Árabe de Cultura, 1978), 181–183.
26. "Que me sirve en la traducion é interpretacion de las Lenguas Arabiga, Turquesca y Persiana," Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía*, 333.
27. "Que al dicho Francisco de Gurmendi se le dexen algunos libros de todas facultades y ciencias que él tuviese por necesarios para sus estudios de a dicha Lengua Arabiga, como son Vocabularios y otros de la propiedad y elegancia de la Lengua, y el dicho Gurmendi podrá traduzir en Castellano algunos que parezcan merecerlo por ser materias morales ó de hystoria," Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía*, 334.
28. James T. Monroe asserted that "during the seventeenth century Arabic studies in Spain underwent an eclipse," *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 23; Pedro Chalmeta, "A guisa de prólogo," in Manuela Manzanares de Cirre, *Arabistas españoles del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano Árabe de Cultura, 1972), 7–17, 11–12.
29. "Entre autres il y a trois mille volumes Arabes, qu'ils disent qu'un D. *Luis Faxardo* estant General d'une armée prit aux Turcs, qui vouloient transporter cette Bibliotheque d'une ville à l'autre, mais le malheur est qu'il n'y a

- la uy en toute l'Espagne pas un Interprete Arabe, encor qu'ils soient si proches des Mores," François Bertaut, *Journal du Voyage d'Espagne* (1669), ed. F. Cassan, *Revue Hispanique* 47, 111 (1919): 1–317, 159.
30. Monroe, *Islam*, 34. Miguel Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, 2 vols. (Madrid, Antonio Pérez de Soto, 1760–1770). The erudite catalogue was received as an important contribution to the field of European Orientalism. Unfortunately, it was made after the great fire of 1671, in which a good part of the Escorial library was destroyed, including many of the Moroccan volumes.
 31. See Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Fragmentos de orientalismo español del s. XVII," *Hispania* 66, 222 (2006): 243–276; and "Al-Andalus y la lengua árabe en la España de los Siglos de Oro," in *Al-Andalus/España. Historiografías en contraste, siglos XVII-XXI*, ed. Manuela Marín (Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2009), 1–20.
 32. Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 2008).
 33. For recent studies on this question see *Los Plomos del Sacromonte. Invencción y tesoro*, ed. Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2006); A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español: Los Moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010).
 34. Patrick Williams, *The Great Favourite, The Duke of Lerma and the Court and Government of Philip III of Spain, 1598–1621* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 33, 37, and 66.
 35. Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "De Diego de Urrea à Marcos Dobelio, interprètes et traducteurs des 'plombs'," in *Maghreb-Italie: Des passeurs médiévaux à l'orientalisme moderne (XIIIe-milieu XXe siècle)*, ed. Benoît Grévin (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2010), 141–188.
 36. Grace Magnier, "The Dating of Pedro de Valencia's *Sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada*," *Sharq al-Andalus* 14–15 (1997–1998): 353–373; and "Pedro de Valencia, Francisco de Gurmendi and the *Plomos de Granada*," *Al-Qantara* 24, 2 (2003): 409–426.
 37. Magnier, "Pedro de Valencia," 420.
 38. María Ángeles Galino Carrillo, *Los tratados sobre educación de príncipes (siglos XVI y XVII)* (Madrid: Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948).
 39. Magnier, "Pedro de Valencia," 358; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español*, 248.

40. Jocelyne Dakhli, "Les Miroirs des princes islamiques: une modernité sourde?" *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 57, 5 (2002): 1191–1206; on the genre as it was illustrated in the Islamic West, see 'Izz al-Dīn al-'Allām, *Al-Sulta wa al-siyāsa fī al-adab al-sultānī* (*Power and Politics in the Sultānian Literature*, in Arabic) (Casablanca: Afrique-Orient, 1991); and *Al-Fikr al-siyāsī al-sultānī* (*Sultānian Political Thought*, in Arabic) (Rabat: Dār al-Amān, 2006).
41. The unpublished manuscript, held at the Library of the Basque Parliament, has been posted online at <http://www.liburuklik.euskadi.net/handle/10771/8887> (consulted in September 2014).
42. "La librería quelle tomó a Muley Zidan," Gurmendi, *Libro de las qualidades*, 2r.
43. Raphaël Carrasco, *L'Espagne au temps des validos 1598–1645* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2009). Their study would be very much worth pursuing, taking into account the specific context of Spanish politics at that time including the struggles for power at the court, and the issues posed by the *validos*.

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