© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations · ix
Acknowledgments · xi

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1. Mahomet the Idol 19

CHAPTER 2. Trickster and Heresiarch 44

CHAPTER 3. Pseudoprophet of the Moors 73

CHAPTER 4. Prophet of the Turks 101

CHAPTER 5. Republican Revolutionary in Renaissance England 132

CHAPTER 6. The Enlightenment Prophet: Reformer and Legislator 155

CHAPTER 7. Lawgiver, Statesman, Hero: The Romantics' Prophet 184

CHAPTER 8. A Jewish Muhammad? The View from Jewish Communities of Nineteenth-Century Central Europe 210

CHAPTER 9. Prophet of an Abrahamic Faith 233

CONCLUSION 259

Notes · 265
Index · 301

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Introduction

THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD IN WESTERN DISCOURSE

ON OCTOBER 2, 1808, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Napoleon Bonaparte met in Erfurt. The two men discussed politics and chatted about literature. When Napoleon learned that Goethe had translated Voltaire's play *Mahomet, ou le fanatisme* into German, he declared that it was not a good play, that it painted an unworthy portrait of a world conqueror, a great man who had changed the course of history.[1] In this discussion, Napoleon and Goethe talked about Muhammad, or perhaps better said, about "Mahomet," the fictitious scoundrel that Voltaire made into the epitome of fanaticism (in order to attack the Catholic Church), the charismatic leader and military genius who served as a role model for Napoleon; for Goethe he would become, in subsequent writings, the archetypal prophet, a figure that allowed him to explore the interstices between prophet and poet. For these three men, as for many other Europeans, "Mahomet" is not merely a distant historical character, prophet of a foreign religion, he is a figure whose story and whose living legacy are a constant source of curiosity, worry, astonishment, and admiration.

Not all European writers on Muhammad show him the admiration and respect that we find in Bonaparte and Goethe, of course. Much of what is written about him is hostile. It would have been easy for me to compile a chronicle of that hostility, a catalog of

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

disdain, fear, and insult from the earliest Christian polemical texts against Islam to the shrill declarations of politicians like Geert Wilders, parliamentarian of the Partij voor de Vrijheid (Dutch extreme right) who, to discredit Islam, attacks its prophet, whom he calls a terrorist, a pedophile, and psychopath.[2] The 2005 controversy over the cartoons of Muhammad published in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* illustrate the potentially explosive nature of Western views of the Muslim prophet, as do the killing of cartoonists of *Charlie Hebdo* in January 2015. Tinged by the history of European colonialism and orientalism and by terrorism that claims Islam as its justification, the controversy has provoked a flood of polemics and violence.

Muhammad has always been at the center of European discourse on Islam. For medieval crusade chroniclers, he was either a golden idol that the "Saracens" adored or a shrewd heresiarch who had worked false miracles to seduce the Arabs away from Christianity; both these depictions made him the root of Saracen error and implicitly justified the crusade to wrest the Holy Land from Saracen control. Such contentious images, forged in the middle ages, proved tenacious; in slightly modified forms, they provided the dominant European discourse on the prophet through the seventeenth century. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, variants of the image of Muhammad as an "impostor" have been used to justify European colonialism in Muslim lands and to encourage the work of Christian missionaries. This hostility toward Islam and its prophet is an important part of the story that will be told in these pages, but it is only a part. Muhammad occupies a crucial and ambivalent place in the European imagination; he figures as the embodiment of Islam, alternatively provoking fear, loathing, fascination, or admiration, but rarely indifference.

Indeed, the figure of Muhammad and the text of the Qur'ān could inspire interest and esteem, particularly from those who criticized the power of the Church in European society or who deviated from its accepted dogmas. Sixteenth-century Unitarian Miguel Servet mined the Qur'ān for arguments against the doctrine of the Trinity; condemned by the Catholic inquisition, he escaped only to be burned at the stake in Calvin's Geneva. In the midst of bloody confessional wars that were tearing Europe apart, some looked to the

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

toleration of religious diversity grounded in the Qur'ān and practiced by the Ottomans as a model Europeans should follow. Various authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in England, France, and elsewhere, portrayed Muhammad as a reformer who abolished the privileges of a corrupt and superstitious clergy, showed tolerance to Jews and Christians, and reestablished the true spirit of monotheism. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he is increasingly portrayed as a "great man," a sort of Arab national hero, bringing law, religion, and glory to his people. Many of these authors are interested less in Islam and its prophet per se than in reading in Muhammad's story lessons that they could apply to their own preoccupations and predicaments.

This book is not about Muhammad, prophet of Islam, but about "Mahomet," the figure imagined and brought to life by non-Muslim European authors between the twelfth and twenty-first centuries. This is why, throughout this book, I distinguish between "Muhammad" (which I use both for the historical person and for the figure portrayed in Muslim traditions) and the various spellings or deformations of his name found in European languages, which I have reproduced verbatim: Machomet, Mathome, Mafometus, Mouamed, Mahoma, and above all Mahomet. This book, examines the changing faces of Mahomet, the many facets of Western perceptions of the prophet of Islam.

If we are to appreciate the construction of a "European Mahomet," we must have some idea about the archetype, the seventh-century Arab Muhammad. Here the historian faces the same problem as with other great religious leaders: it is difficult, often impossible, to distinguish historical fact from pious legend, biography from hagiography. Did the biblical patriarchs even exist? Or are they merely mythical figures? Historians have expressed doubt about the existence of Moses, David, and others.[3] Jesus, like Muhammad, is a historical figure; we know when and where Jesus and Muhammad lived and what their followers believe about them. The four gospels provide a narrative of Jesus's life and death, which (despite some differences) gives a relatively coherent picture of who Jesus was and what he preached. Yet the Gospels were written between forty and seventy years after Jesus's death. They reflect not only what the authors remember about Jesus but also the social,

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

political, and religious upheavals of the young Christian community. How can the historian use the Gospels to understand Jesus and the movement he founded? Is it possible to sift through layers of devotion and mythmaking to find a kernel of historical truth? This is the issue that nineteenth-century European scholars grappled with in their quest for the historical Jesus.[4] Their scholarship provoked controversy, of course, among some European Christians. It is still a problem for historians today seeking to understand Jesus and the beginnings of Christianity. It is impossible to avoid the Gospels, for without them we can know virtually nothing about Jesus. Yet by what criteria can one distinguish historical fact from pious legend?

The historian seeking to understand Muhammad faces similar problems; if anything, his or her task is more daunting. As Maxime Rodinson warned in 1957, "A biography of Mohammed limited only to absolutely unquestionable facts could amount to no more than a few dry pages."[5] The Gospels provide a narration of Jesus's life; the Qur'ān offers nothing of the sort for Muhammad. The dating and composition of the Qur'ān have been objects of scholarly debate, but recent scholarship has more or less confirmed important aspects of the traditional Muslim version: written copies of various suras (chapters) of the Qur'ān existed during Muhammad's lifetime. ʿUthmān, the third caliph (644–56), ordered the compilation of what became the standard, definitive edition of the Muslim holy text.[6] The Qur'ānic text was established by about twenty years after the death of Muhammad, at a time when many of the prophet's companions were still alive. While, as we shall see, many non-Muslim European authors see "Mahomet" as the author of the Qur'ān, for Muslims it is the word of God revealed through Muhammad. God speaks in the first person, frequently addressing Muhammad as *you* in the singular and Muhammad's audience as *you* in the plural. As the word of God directed through Muhammad to his Arab listeners, there is no need for the Qur'ān to narrate the life of Muhammad. Muhammad is mentioned by name four times in the Qur'ān, which affirms that he is the "Messenger of God" (rasul Allah). The Qur'ān refers to his preaching in Mecca, the hostility of many of the Meccan pagans to his teaching, his flight to Medina,

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

some of his marriages, and his political and military struggles as ruler of the Muslim community.

Yet many of the events narrated or alluded to in the Qur'ān can only be understood through the context of later traditions, chiefly the hadiths, sayings attributed to Muhammad or his followers, thousands of which circulated orally during the first two Islamic centuries. It is in the ninth century, during the Abbasid caliphate, that Muslim scholars began to seriously study these hadiths, collecting them and classifying them as *sahīh* (authentic), *hasan* (good; i.e., theologically sound but not necessarily authentic), and *da'īf* (weak). These scholars, such as Muhammad al-Bukhari (810–870) and Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj (817–875), based their judgments notably on the reliability of the chain of transmission (*isnād*). In order to be authentic, a hadith must have a clear chain of transmission from Muhammad to one of his companions, to another trustworthy source and so forth, down to the informant of the compiler; the content of the hadith, and its compatibility to evolving Muslim doctrine, was also important in ascertaining its authenticity. Yet the compilers themselves acknowledged the difficulty of their task, at a distance of two centuries, to distinguish authentic hadiths among the thousands of spurious ones in circulation. The historian who tries to avoid or ignore hadiths will have little to go on to construct the biography of Muhammad and the early community of his followers. Yet the hadiths as preserved by the compilers of the ninth century reflect in many cases the consensus of Abbasid Baghdad, a very different place from seventh-century Mecca or Medina.

The other major source on the life of Muhammad, closely related to the hadiths, is the *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* (*Life of the Messenger of God*), originally written by Ibn Ishaq (704–768) but preserved only in the version of Ibn Hisham (d. 833). Here one can read in detail (Ibn Hisham's text is over seven hundred pages long in Alfred Guillaume's English translation) about Muhammad's life and career. Ibn Hisham offers a pious biography containing many elements that explain in detail, and in chronological order, events only alluded to in the Qur'ān. Other passages contradict the Qur'ān; for example, at various places in the Qur'ān, skeptical Meccan pagans demand that Muhammad produce miracles to prove the truth of his preaching. The

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Qur'ān responds, "Is it not enough of a miracle that we sent down to you this book?" (Q 29:51). Yet during the first two centuries following Muhammad's death, as Muslims praised their prophet to often skeptical Christians, Jews, and others, they attributed to him a series of miracles similar to those attributed to holy men in pre-Muslim texts. Ibn Hisham relates many of these stories: how angels cut open the chest of the boy Muhammad and purified his heart; how at the bidding of skeptical Meccans the prophet split the moon in two; how he visited heaven and hell in the company of the Archangel Gabriel, and many other miraculous stories. We also find inconsistencies in the texts relating Muhammad's last days: his illness, death, burial, and the succession of Abu Bakr as the first caliph. There are variant, indeed contradictory, accounts in the traditional sources, leading to uncertainty even in the basic questions of the date and place of his death.[7] Hence for the historian the problem of discerning the "historical Muhammad," of searching for kernels of historical truth in the *Sīra* and the vast collections of hadiths, is at least as difficult as the search for the historical Jesus.

These traditional sources nevertheless largely agree on the principal events in Muhammad's life. Born in the Hashimite clan of Mecca's ruling Quraysh tribe, Muhammad was an orphan—his father died before he was born and his mother when he was a young boy. He was brought up by his paternal uncle, Abū Tālib, and participated in his uncle's business, accompanying his caravans to Syria. On one of these trips, a Christian hermit, Bahīrā, recognized the young Muhammad as a prophet predicted in Christian scripture. At the age of twenty-five, Muhammad married Khadīja, a Meccan widow for whom he had worked. At the age of about forty, around 610, Muhammad began to retire to the cave of Hira, in the mountains near Mecca, to meditate. It is here that he received the first revelations of the Qur'ān from the Archangel Gabriel, informing him that God had chosen him as a messenger. He continued to receive these revelations, which he shared first with Khadīja and a close circle of family and friends, and eventually began to preach publicly in Mecca.

The essential message of God's revelation to Muhammad, as preserved in the Qur'ān, is that God is one, that he is the creator of the world and of man, and that it is sacrilegious to worship other divini-

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

ties beside him or in his place. Muhammad called on his listeners to acknowledge God's unity, to reject the cult of idols, and to live righteously, giving alms to the poor and showing justice and compassion. To those who heeded his words, God promised the delights of heaven; to those who refused to listen, the agonies of hellfire. His message provoked hostility from Mecca's religious and social elite, though Abū Tālib protected his nephew. Some of Muhammad's followers took refuge across the Red Sea in the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia. When both Khadīja and Abū Tālib died, Muhammad's situation became more precarious and he decided to leave Mecca.

It is in 622 that Muhammad made his *hijra* (flight or immigration), a momentous event that marks the year 1 of the Muslim calendar. He went to the town of Yathrib, about 350 kilometers north of Mecca, which subsequently came to be known as the "City of the Prophet," *Madinat al-Nabi*, or simply Medina. Muhammad had been in contact with the people of the city, who agreed to make him their leader. The hijra thus marks a key transformation in Muhammad's life and mission, as he became a charismatic political and military leader as well as a religious and legal authority. Although here is not the place to relate the political and military history of the Medinan community in detail, Muhammad and his associates fought and defeated pagan rivals in Arabia, Jewish tribes in Medina, and finally imposed defeat on Mecca's Quraysh. The Qur'ānic suras from the Medina period allude to many of these struggles; they also provide legal guidance for the community of believers in Medina on topics including prayer, purity, marriage, and inheritance.

By about 630, Muhammad was the dominant spiritual, political, and military force in the Arabian Peninsula. He and his followers marched on Mecca in 630; the city surrendered without a fight, and Muhammad and his troops went to the Kaʿba and destroyed the idols there, purifying the sanctuary that, according to the Qur'ān, had originally been built by Abraham and his son Ishmael, the oldest temple to the One God. He returned to Medina, capital of his expanding empire. He would come back to Mecca in 631 and 632 to perform the rites of pilgrimage. Muhammad became ill in 632 and died in Medina in the month of June, his head in the lap of his wife Aisha. This narrative, based largely on the Sira, has been accepted by most people, Muslim and non-Muslim, who have tried to sketch

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

the prophet's biography, though it bears repeating that it is difficult if not impossible to separate historically true elements from later pious accretions.

What is clear is that during the two centuries following Muhammad's death, Islam emerged as a religion linked to but clearly distinguished from Judaism and Christianity. Muslim caliphs of the Umayyad (661–750) and Abbasid (750–1258) dynasties ruled over an immense empire in which the majority was non-Muslim, prompting the caliphs and the ulama (religious/intellectual elite) in their entourage to clearly distinguish Islam both theologically and juridically. Muhammad's role was seen as central to this self-definition: the *shahada*, or Muslim credo, first attested during the Umayyad period, affirms "there is no God but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God." The belief in Muhammad's stature as prophet became the essential element that distinguishes Muslims from non-Muslims.[8]

Muhammad has always been for Muslims not only a prophet who announced God's word but also a role model. Muslim perceptions of him have varied immensely over time and have led to divergent portraits: a Sufi might see him as a model mystic; a ruler might see him as a sacred king; a pious Muslim as a model to follow in everything from how to pray, to how to greet one's neighbor, to how to brush one's teeth. His very name means "the praised one," and he is variously "praised as a divinely sent apostle, eschatological messiah, political revolutionary, statesman and community leader, military strategist and commander, arbiter of disputes, dispenser of justice, or quintessential mystic."[9] The history of these rich diverse Muslim traditions about Muhammad has been chronicled and analyzed by a number of scholars, most recently Christiane Gruber.[10] For non-Muslim Europeans and Americans, Muhammad has been the object of everything from indifference, fear, or hostility to curiosity and admiration. My goal in this book is to offer an overview of these "Western" views of Muhammad.

One might fairly ask, in today's globalized world, what "Western" means. Too often, "Muslim" and "Western," or "Muslim" and "European," are presented as self-evident, mutually exclusive terms. Yet of course many Europeans are Muslim and have been so ever since

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

the forces of Tāriq ibn Ziyād crossed the straights of Gibraltar in 711. Muslims were present in Spain and Sicily for centuries. Beginning in the fourteenth century, the Ottoman Empire expanded into the Balkans and central Europe; some of the ex-Ottoman territories in Europe have significant (in some cases majority) Muslim populations today: Bosnia, Albania, Kosovo. Perhaps rather than "Western" I should speak of "non-Muslim European and American perceptions of the prophet of Islam." Moreover, "Islam" and "Muslim" can be misleading as well, as the terms refer either to a religion or to a culture and civilization—and often to a confusion of the two. For this reason, historian Marshall Hodgson coined the term "Islamdom" to speak of Islamic civilization, and as a corresponding adjective used "Islamicate." Yet his terminology has not spread beyond a small group of scholars. In a similar vein, Montgomery Watt preferred to use the term "Eur-America" instead of "West."[11]

The terminology is difficult because these categories are both overlapping and in constant flux. Common fallacy opposes the categories of "Europe" and "Islam," even in scholarly circles. For Tomoko Masuzawa, "the European idea of Islam was curiously monolithic and, for the most part, consistently negative."[12] In fact, as we will see in this book, European ideas on Islam were anything but monolithic, and many of them have been quite positive. Until the nineteenth century, one could distinguish between traditional Muslim discourse about the prophet Muhammad and the writings of non-Muslim Europeans and Americans (which ranged from polemical to scholarly). Yet in the nineteenth century, many Muslim colonial subjects of the French and British empires read and reacted to European scholarship about Islam. Much scholarship about Islam in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has been written by European and American Muslims (some of them immigrants or descendants of immigrants, others converts to Islam).[13]

Nor can we speak of "Christian" perceptions of Islam, for two reasons. First, European Catholic and Protestant Christianity are merely two branches of a world religion including Syriac, Coptic, Greek, Armenian, Ethiopic, and a host of other churches. Many of these latter, "Eastern," churches have a rich history of long and close contact with and knowledge of Islam. The story of their various perceptions of Islam and its prophet is a fascinating one, but it lies

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

outside the ambit of this study (though I will at times refer to the works of Christians writing in Greek and Arabic, to the extent that they are influential in Western Europe).[14] Second, many of the Europeans whose writings we will be looking at did not define themselves as Christian, but as Jewish, Deist, or atheist. With these caveats in mind, in the nine chapters that follow, I will attempt to trace the history of European perceptions of the prophet of Islam.

In chapter one, we will see that some Europeans, from the twelfth century to the seventeenth and beyond, portray Islam as a cult of idols and imagine that "Mahomet" is one of their chief gods. A number of the chroniclers who described the capture of Jerusalem by the troops of the First Crusade cast their enemies in the familiar and despised guise of pagan idolaters. The imagined devotions of these "Saracen" enemies echoed the rites of the pagans of ancient Greece and Rome, but paradoxically also resembled the cult of Christian saints. Crusade chroniclers and epic poets like the author of the *Chanson de Roland* narrate wars between Christian knights and Saracen pagans. The victory of righteous Christian crusaders offers proof of the efficacy of Christ and his saints and of the impotence of the Saracen idol Mahomet.

Of course those who knew much of anything about Islam knew that it was monotheistic and that Muhammad was the Saracens' prophet, not their god. As we will see in chapter two, various medieval authors portray "Mahomet" as a wholly human founder of a new, deviant version of Christianity, a heresy. Through preaching, magic tricks, and false miracles, this charlatan hoodwinked the naive and lustful Arabs into taking him for a prophet and making him their leader. As the "Saracens" had taken over much of the formerly Christian Roman Empire, produced a rich and thriving culture, and consistently defeated crusader armies, these authors sought to comfort their readers that Christians were nevertheless favored by God, and that Mahomet had proffered nothing more than a crude caricature of true religion, which appealed to the Saracens because it gave them license to indulge in violent conquest and sexual debauchery.

One would expect a more nuanced approach from Christians in Spain, where Islam was present from the arrival of the troops of Tāriq ibn Ziyād in 711 to the expulsion of the Moriscos in the seven-

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

teenth century. Indeed, as we will see in chapter three, it was in thirteenth-century Spain that scholars like Archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada studied Muslim sources on the life of Muhammad. Yet they did so largely to bolster their controversial image of Muhammad as a false prophet and rebel against legitimate political authority. In the fifteenth century, various Spanish and other European authors used this image of the prophet to argue for new crusades against Muslims in Nasrid Granada and the Ottoman Empire. Following the conquest of Granada in 1492, there was increasing pressure on Muslims to convert to Christianity; forced conversions created a large population of Moriscos, nominal Catholics, many of whom continued to practice Islam in secret or developed hybrid practices and beliefs. In this context, sixteenth-century Moriscos forged apocryphal texts that purported to be from the early Church, and which sought to confer legitimacy on their religious beliefs and practices.

At the same time, north of the Pyrenees, Europe's confessional landscape was undergoing tremendous upheaval, provoked both by the Protestant Reformation and by the Ottoman conquest of much of southeastern and central Europe. In order to understand these changes, various Christian authors tried to define the differences and similarities between Catholicism, Protestantism, and Islam, as we will see in chapter four. In order to denigrate Luther or Calvin, Catholic writers affirmed that they were worse than Mahomet, often highlighting similarities (iconoclasm, sexual license). Protestant polemicists responded in kind, asserting that the pope was worse than Mahomet, that "Mahometanism" and "Papism" were two great heresies concocted by the devil. In this inter-Christian strife and anxiety in the face of Ottoman conquests, a number of European intellectuals took an interest in the Qur'ān. In 1543, Theodor Bibliander published the first printed Qur'ān, the twelfth-century Latin translation by Robert of Ketton, accompanied by an anthology of texts about Islam, including a preface by Martin Luther who explained that there was no better way to combat the Turk than to expose the "lies and fables of Machomet."

The study of the Qur'ān was often undertaken in order to combat Islam, yet increasingly Christian writers mined it for arguments to use against other Christians. For some Protestants, Mahomet's

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

success was made possible by the corruption of Christianity: the cult of the saints, relics, and the power of the clergy. Unitarians such as Miguel Servet went further, making Mahomet into a true reformer who rightfully rejected the absurd doctrine of the Trinity and who preached the unity of the true God. The prophet of Islam could even be mobilized for inter-Catholic doctrinal disputes; he is cited as an authority testifying to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and as such we find him painted, proudly holding the Qur'ān, in altarpieces in central Europe between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. While most of what is written about the prophet in European languages continues to be negative, more positive assessments begin to be voiced.

England, too, experienced political and religious turmoil in the seventeenth century, and the prophet of Islam was drawn into English debates (as we shall see in chapter five). The first English translation of the Qur'ān was published in 1649, the same year that saw the beheading of King Charles I and the establishment of the commonwealth. The preface to this translation relates the life of Mahomet, making him into a crafty, cynical rebel against legitimate power and a destroyer of long-established social hierarchies, suggesting a parallel with Oliver Cromwell. Indeed, for royalists Cromwell was a new Mahomet. While some republicans rejected this parallel, at least one embraced it enthusiastically: Henry Stubbe, whose *Originall & Progress of Mahometanism* (1671) describes the Muslim prophet as a great reformer who fought the superstition and illegitimate power of Christian clergy and sought to return to a pure, unsullied monotheism. Stubbe's Mahomet is a religious reformer, beloved and admired ruler, and sage legislator. Stubbe becomes the first European non-Muslim to present the prophet in such glowing terms. He is followed by others, in particular English Unitarians and Deists of the late seventeenth century. Anglican scholars defended their Church from such criticism; Humphrey Prideaux, a fellow student with Stubbe at Oxford, in 1697 published his *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet*, in order to show that Mahomet was an impostor and to defend Christianity. Yet increasingly, anticlerical writers such as Irish Deist John Toland portrayed Mahomet as a visionary anticlerical religious reformer, the better to smash the pretensions of the Church of England's priestly aristocracy.

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

In eighteenth-century France, Mahomet was similarly instrumentalized to attack the prerogatives of the Catholic Church, as we will see in chapter six. Some painted him as an impostor in order to associate his imposture or fanaticism with that of Christians, notably in the *Treatise of the Three Impostors* (1719) and in Voltaire's play *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète* (1741). Yet others follow the lead of Stubbe and Toland to make Mahomet into a reformer who eradicates superstition and combats the power of the clergy. This is how Henri de Boulainvilliers paints the prophet in his *Vie de Mahomed* (1730), and how George Sale presents him in the "preliminary discourse" to his English translation of the Qur'ān (1734). Voltaire, thanks in part to his reading of Sale, depicts Mahomet as a reformer and great statesman in his *Essai sur les mœurs*. Indeed, by the end of the century, writers such as English Whig Edward Gibbon see him as a "great man," charismatic leader, and legislator to the Arab nation.

Napoleon Bonaparte, as we have seen, was an admirer of Muhammad. Indeed, as we will see in chapter seven, for Bonaparte the prophet was something of a role model: stirring orator, brilliant general, sage statesman. Nineteenth-century romantics, from Goethe to Carlyle and Lamartine, place both Muhammad and Bonaparte in their pantheon of great men who have changed the course of history. A great man cannot be an impostor, he is necessarily sincere, affirms Carlyle; many other nineteenth-century romantics would agree. Muhammad's sincerity and deep spiritual values are reflected in his humble lifestyle and simple generosity, which won him the love and admiration of his people. For these authors, Muhammad believed in the divine origins of his inspiration; Lamartine gives a psychological portrait of a genius and mystic convinced that his visions come from God. For many of these romantic authors, Muhammad's spirituality shines even more when seen from an increasingly materialistic, skeptical Europe.

Things looked a bit different for nineteenth-century European Jews, as we shall see in chapter eight. Some of the century's finest scholars of the Qur'ān and hadiths were German and Hungarian Jews. Abraham Geiger was one of the leaders of the reform movement that sought to modernize Judaism by simplifying its ritual and making it more amenable to European society. He was also a scholar of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Geiger presented Mohammed

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

as a brilliant reformer who had learned his monotheism from Talmudic scholars and who subsequently adapted it to his Arab audience. Geiger's Mohammed was in essence a Jewish reformer (as was Jesus): not strictly a Jew, to be sure, but nonetheless a better Jew than Geiger's Orthodox Jewish critics. Other Jewish scholars (in particular, Gustav Weil and Ignác Goldziher) embraced and refined this image of the Muslim prophet as a model for Jewish reform.

A number of European authors of the twentieth century, in the context of decolonization and increasing calls for interreligious and intercultural dialogue, argued that Christians should recognize Muhammad as prophet (as we shall see in the ninth and final chapter). In the twentieth century, the figure of the prophet is at the heart of a controversy that animates the Catholic Church concerning the universality of the Christian message and the attitude to be adopted toward the adherents of other faiths. If the issues were different from those of earlier periods, perhaps the essence remains the salvific role of the Christian religion: are only Christians (or only Catholic or Protestants) destined to Paradise, or is it imaginable that others can be saved? Louis Massignon, professor at the Collège de France, was a brilliant Arabist and a devout Catholic. At the same time, he showed a fascination and respect for Islam, especially its mystical currents. For Massignon, Muhammad was a genuine leader, inspired by God, who preached the truth and brought his people to the worship of one supreme God. But if not a false prophet, he nevertheless failed to reach the ultimate truth of Christianity. Subsequently, the Swiss Catholic theologian Hans Küng has developed in detail a theological argument for the recognition of the Prophet Muhammad by the Catholic Church.

Montgomery Watt, scholar of Islam and Anglican priest, was committed to ecumenical dialogue and struggled to find ways to eliminate (or at least reduce) doctrinal barriers to that dialogue. For him (as for Massignon and Küng), Christian recognition of the prophetic role of Muhammad was crucial. For Massignon and his disciple Giulio Basetti-Sani, Islam was positive and could lead to salvation, but it was imperfect because it did not recognize Christ as God and savior; their vision is what Küng classified as inclusive, "conquest by hugging." Küng and Watt try to go further, though each reaches his own limits. Küng remains grounded in the Catholic

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Church and, though he confers more legitimacy than Massignon on non-Christian religions, in the end the recognition of Jesus Christ as God and savior remains the highest truth. Watt seems ready to go further still, at times imagining that one new world religion will emerge from a sort of fusion by emulation of the best elements of current religions, and that Islam has as good a claim, or better, than Christianity for providing the basis for that new world religion. For all of these twentieth-century Christian authors, Islam and Muhammad offer a positive, creative challenge to Christianity, an opportunity to rethink its claims to universalism and its relations with the wider world.

The portrayals of the prophet Muhammad that I address in this book represent only a sampling of the rich and varied portraits that European authors and artists have sketched of the prophet of Islam. What should be clear to anyone who reads this book is that European images of Islam and of the prophet Muhammad are anything but monolithic and are far from being invariably hostile. Yet that is how they are often perceived. In part this stems from trends over the last several decades' scholarship (particularly in English) in what has come to be called "postcolonial studies," in the wake of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, published in 1978. Said chronicles the ideological implications of representations of the Orient in nineteenth- and twentieth-century British and French culture. Orientalism as discourse, for Said, is the ideological counterpart to the political and military realities of British and French Empires in the Near East: Orientalism provides justification for empire. Said has had a profound impact on the field, not least because he emphasized how scholarship is not immune to the political and social pressures of the surrounding society, and how through deliberate distortion or unconscious bias scholarship can support or reinforce the colonial project.[15]

Said and other more recent scholars in postcolonial studies have helped us understand how institutions (including those devoted to teaching and research) can conceive and construct colonialist discourses and how the broader culture (including literature and the arts) can justify and even celebrate these discourses. Some of the writings about Islam and Muhammad that we will examine in this

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

book indeed correspond to this schema; the supposed foibles of the prophet are used to explain the weaknesses and shortcomings of modern Muslims who need the tutelage of the French or the British. Yet to focus solely on these aspects of European discourse on Islam is to miss the ambivalence and nuance this book seeks to highlight. For Humberto Garcia, Said's schema is based on a "Whig fallacy" according to which, for example, radical Protestant writers and Deists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are little more than precursors to the secular reformers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[16] As a result, Said and others ignore the religious nature of much of these authors' work, or they reduce it to a kind of code for the political. For these authors, "Orientalism" defined Islam as religious and hence atavistic, enforcing a Western superiority and justifying Western domination. This makes them incapable of appreciating the complexity of European responses to Islam, in particular, for Garcia, what he calls "Islamic Republicanism": using primitive Islam, the community that Muhammad founded in Medina, as a model for a rightly ordered society and for proper relations between Church and State. It also makes them incapable of understanding the frank admiration that many European romantics had for Muslim spirituality and for the prophet Muhammad.

Restoring the variety, ambivalence, and complexity of European views of Muhammad and Islam is one of my principal goals in this book. For over a thousand years, Europeans have been writing, thinking, talking, and arguing about the prophet of Islam. Much of what they have to say is negative, but much is ambivalent or praiseful. Muhammad is seen as a brilliant general, a sincere reformer, an inspired mystic, a sage legislator. An apt example of the ambivalence that many Europeans felt toward the Muslim prophet is seen in a watercolor by Eugène Delacroix (fig. 1), a study for a painting in the library of the Palais Bourbon, the seat of the French National Assembly in Paris (though he did not in fact include it in the paintings that adorn the wall of the library).

Muhammad sits on a step, his elbow propped on the pedestal of a column, in a position that suggests either sleep or contemplation. Delacroix has not painted his facial features, so we do not know

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

FIGURE 1. Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), *Étude pour Mahomet et son ange*. Drawing with watercolor, nineteenth century. Paris, Musée du Louvre (RF 10017). © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Gérard Blot

whether his eyes are open or closed. Above him, in the upper right of the image, we see an angel descending toward him as if to make a revelation. The angel takes the form of a woman, with no wings, rather than the austere male figure of a winged Gabriel seen in the Muslim iconographical tradition. Is Muhammad receiving a

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

revelation from an angel? Is he waking or dreaming? Is he inspired or deluded? Delacroix, whose travels in France's new colonies and protectorates in North Africa provided the inspiration of many of his works, presents a romantic, orientalist view of Muhammad in all its rich ambiguity. Delacroix's large, energetic brush strokes resist a tidy composition, a technique that echoes the dynamism with which Europeans forged images of Muhammad over the centuries. His subject not only fails to show his face, defying attempts to limit and define him, he also partakes of an angelic world (or is it a dream world?) that bursts in from beyond the neat confines of the paper. An apposite image of the European struggle to comprehend and appreciate the prophet of Islam.

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

INDEX

Page numbers for figures are in *italic*.

Abdimanoples, first husband of Khadīja, 100, 138
Abraham, biblical patriarch, 79, 120, 194, 198–99, 215, 222–23, 229, 253; as ancestor of Muslims, 7, 22–23, 56, 62, 172–73; and Mecca, 7, 58–59; monotheism of, 219
Abraham of Toledo, 79
Abu ʻAbdallah Muhammad XII (Boabdil), Sultan of Granada, 85
Abu al-Fida: *Concise Chronicle*, 164
Abu Bakr, first caliph, 6
Abū Tālib, uncle of Muhammad, 6–7
Acre, 62
Adam, biblical patriarch, 58–59, 97–98, 102
Addison, Lancelot: *First State of Mahumedism*, 141
Addison, Laurence, 147
Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. *See* Pius II, Pope
al-Afghānī, Jamāl al-Dīn, 225–26
Aisha, wife of Muhammad, 7, 94, 149, 181, 207, 218
Aiton, 87–88
Alcoran. *See* Qur'ān
Alexander the Great, 171, 261
Alfonsine Tables, 79
Alfonso I, King of Aragon, 54
Alfonso V, King of Aragon, 40
Alfonso VI, King of Castile, 83
Alfonso VIII, King of Castile, 75
Alfonso X, "The Wise," King of Castile, 78–81
Algeciras, 86
Algiers, 133
Ali, Kecia, 259
ʻAlī, son-in-law of Muhammad, 60, 64–65, 175, 199
Alumbrados (Illuminists), 96
al-Alwani, Taha Jaber, 260
Amurath, sultan, 177
Anabaptists, 110, 123
Anastasius Bibliothecarius, papal librarian, 50, 61
Andrés, Juan: *Confusión o confutación de las secta Mahomética y del Alcorán*, 91–95, 100, 120, 129
Anne of Austria, Queen of France, 124
Antioch, 26, 29; council of, 58
anti-Semitism, 172, 212, 215, 223, 227–28, 232, 238–39
Aquinas, Thomas, 90, 128
Aragon, Louis, 235
Arians. *See* Arius/Arianism
Aristotle, 64
Arius/Arianism, 47, 49–50, 61, 63, 143, 177
Arnold, Theodor, 196
Arrivabene, Andrea, 119–21, 124
Athanasius, Saint, 178
The Atheist Unmasked, 146
Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo, 115, 239

Babel, 54
Bacon, Francis, 134
Badr, battle of, 189
Baghdad, 5, 29, 62, 64, 237
Bahīrā, Christian prophet, 6, 50, 204, 219
Bar Hebraeus, 150
Barnabus, Gospel of, 97–99, 150–53
Barrow, Isaac, 146
Basel, 107, 136; council of (1432), 86–87, 89
Basetta-Sani, Giulio, 14, 239–41, 247, 258
Batu Kahn, 148
Baxter, Richard, 146
Bayezid I, Ottoman sultan, 104
Becker, Carl Heinrich, 230

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Bede, Saint, 24
Benedict XVI, Pope (Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger), 248
Berlin, 224
Bevilacqua, Alexander, 162
Biandrata, Giorgio: *De falso et vera unius Dei Patris*, 116
Bibliander, Theodor, 11, 62, 65, 91, 95, 107, 110, 113–14, 116, 119–21, 150; *Ad nominis Christiani socios consultatio*, 111, 113
Boabdil. *See* Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad XII
Boccaccio, Giovanni: *De casibus vivorum illustrium*, 44
Bodel, Jean: *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, 35–37
Boissard, Jean-Jacques, 122
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 13; in Egypt, 185–87, 189–94; exile of, 193–94, 200; and Jews, 211; as Muhammad, 1, 184–85, 190–93, 195, 198, 209, 261; as al-Sultan al-Kabīr, 190; Ulm, battle of, 195
Bonaventure, Saint, 238
Bonaventure of Siena: *Liber Scalae Machometi*, 79–81, 83
Boniface III, Pope, 113
Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne, 172, 177, 182
Boulainvilliers, Henri de, 165, 167, 172, 183, 186, 188, 197, 261; *Vie de Mahomed*, 13, 156, 158–60, *161*, 181–82
Bouquet, Louis, 233–36, *234*
Braličˇ, Nikola, 129
Bratislava, 118
Breton, André, 235
Bry, Johann Israel de and Johann Theodor de: *The Acts of Mechmet I Prince of the Saracens*, 120–24, *125*
Buchman, Theodor. *See* Bibliander, Theodor
Budapest, 224–25, 227–29
al-Bukhārī, Muhammad, 126, 128
Bury, Arthur, 180; *The Naked Gospel*, 148, 154

Caillaud, Antoine: *Tableau des croisades pour la Terre Sainte*, 41–42, *42*
Cairo, 190–91, 216
Calvin, John, 2, 11, 101, *102*, 109–10, 115–16
Carlyle, Thomas, 13, 185, 202–3
Carteret, John, 164
Castrodardo, Giovanni Battista, 119–20, 124
Catalan Atlas, 69, *70*
Cathars, 52
Caxton, William, 40, 46
Cecilius, Christian martyr, 96
Ceuta, 86
Champion, Justin, 152, 154
Chanson d'Antioche, 26–30, *27*, 37–38
Chanson de Roland, 10, 30–35, 43
Charlemagne, Holy Roman Emperor, 30–31, 33
Charles I, King of England, 12, 72, 135, 140
Charles II, King of England, 135, 140, 146–47
Charles VI, King of France, 44
Chick, Jack, 260–61
Cid, the, 83
Clément, Jacques, 170
Clermont-Tonnerre, Stanislaus de, 211
coffee, 134–35
Cole, Juan, 187, 191
Compostela, 113
Confucius, 173, 176
Conquête de Jérusalem, 29
Constantine, Roman emperor, 49, 143, 156, 178, 183
Constantinople, 21, 40, 86, 120, 122, 126, 147, 152, 171, 254; fall of, 87, 133
conversion: Christians to Islam, 47, 55, 74, 86, 134; Jews to Christianity, 54–55, 58, 89, 92, 95; Jews to Islam, 37–38; Muslims to Christianity, 11, 30, 56, 62, 85, 87, 89, 91–92, 162. *See also* Moriscos
Córdoba, 78
Cordova, 75
Cromwell, Oliver, 12, 72, 134–41, 147, 173, 203
crusades, 2, 41–42, 62, 75, 173, 260; First, 10, 25–29, 48, 74; in Granada, 11, 85–88; Nicopolis, battle of, 104; in North Africa, 86
Cyrus, Persian king, 165

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Dahorne, Robert: *A Christian Turn'd Turke*, 41
Damascus, 94, 143
Dante Alighieri, 203; *Divine Comedy*, 65, 79
David, biblical king, 3, 76
Dávid, Ferenc: *De falsae et vera unius Dei Patris*, 116
Declaration of Indulgence, 135
Deists/deism, 10, 12, 16, 132, 147, 150, 152–53, 166, 180, 187, 190–91, 212, 221
Delacroix, Eugène, 16–18, *17*
Derenbourg, Joseph, 213
Descartes, René, 124
Dimmock, Matthew, 136
Donatists, 143
Drant, Thomas, Archbishop of Lewes, 109
Ducos de la Haille, Pierre-Henri, 235–36
Dupuis, Jacques, 247–48

Eckhardt, Alexander, 72
Elizabeth I, Queen of England, 21, 134
Elmarsafy, Ziad, 176
Éluard, Paul, 235
Embrico of Mainz, *Vita Mahometi*, 124
The Essence of the Gospel, 96
Estoria de España, 80–81
Eugène de Savoie, Prince, 150
Eusebius of Caesaria, 23
Eve, biblical matriarch, 98
L'Exposition coloniale, 235–36

Fabri, Felix, 68
Ferdowsi, *Shahama*, 199
Fernando II, King of Aragon, 85, 91–92
Fernando III, King of Castile, 75, 78
Ferrara/Florence, council of (1437), 86, 244
Förster, Ludwig, 225
Foucauld, Charles de, 251
Francis of Assisi, Saint, 238, 240
Frederick II, King of Prussia, 170
Freeman, Edward, 236
Fulcher of Chartres, 25

Gabriel, Archangel, 6; and Charlemagne, 31; images of, 17, *17*, 233, *234*, 236; and Mary, Virgin, 96; Muhammad, dialogues with, 45, 51, 58–59, 66, 76, 79–80, 83, 88, 122, 138, 143, 164
Gagnier, Jean, 162–64, 167, 177, 188, 217
Ganelon, brother-in-law of Charlemagne, 30
Garcia, Humberto, 16, 135
García, Martín, Bishop of Barcelona, 92
Gautier de Compiègne, 53–54
Geiger, Abraham, 13–14, 211–18, 221, 223, 225–26, 229, 231–32, 261
Gentile, Luigi Primo, 129, *130*
George, Saint, 19–21, 29
George of Hungary: *Book on the Rites and Customs of the Turks*, 105
Germain, Jean, Bishop of Châlons: *Débat du Chrestien et du Sarrazin*, 86–87
Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum, 48
Gibbon, Edward, 13, 156, 190, 195, 202; *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 176–83
Gil de Zamora, Juan, 80
Giza, 239–40
Glazemaker, Jan Hendrick, 124
Glorious Revolution, 135, 147
Godfrey of Bouillon, King of Jerusalem, 28, 236
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 1, 13, 168, 184–85, 216, 261; drama about Mahomet, 198–99; and Qur'an, 195–98, 203; Voltaire, translation of, 1, 197–98; *West-Ostlicher Divan*, 199–202
Goldziher, Ignác, 14, 225–32, 237, 261
Graetz, Heinrich, 221–23
Greene, Robert: *The comicall history of Alphonsus, King of Aragon*, 40–41
Gregory I, Pope, 113
Gregory Bar Hebraeus, 142
Gruber, Christiane, 8
Guibert of Nogent: *Deeds of God through the Franks*, 48–54, 66, 74–75
Guillaume, Alfred, 5
Günderrode, Karoline von: *Mahomed, der Prophet von Mekka*, 197

hadiths, 5–6, 13, 50, 83, 126, 217, 229, 231, 238

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Hafiz (Hāfez): *Dīvān*, 199–202, 261
Hagar, slave of Abraham, 22–23, 121, 145
Hägelin, Franz Karl, 198
al-Halabi, *Insān al-ʿuyūn*, 217
al-Hallāj, Mansūr, 238
Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph, 199, 202
Harvey, Leonard, 97
Heine, Heinrich: *Almansor*, 224
Helen, mother of Constantine, 49
Henry III, King of France, 170
Heraclius, Byzantine emperor, 44–45, 63, 68, 122
Herder, Caroline, 197
Herder, Johann Gottfried, 196–97
Hereford map, 38–39
heresy: illustrations of, 110–11, *112*. *See also* Anabaptists; Arius/Arianism; Calvin, John; Luther, Martin; Manichaeans; Muhammad/Mahomet, as heresiarch; Nestorianism
Hermopolis, 39
Herod, biblical king, 36–37, 99
Heschel, Susannah, 215
Higden, Ranulph: *Polychronicon*, 40
Hira, cave of, 6, 188
Hobbes, Thomas, 156; *Leviathan*, 144
Hodgson, Marshall, 9
Holkham picture bible, 39, *39*
Homen, Lopo, 69–72, *71*
Homer, 31
Hoorn, Timotheus ten, 125
Horace, 61
Hottinger, Johann Heinrich, 181, 217; *Historia orientalis*, 116–17, 142
Hudaybiya, treaty of, 250
Huesca, 54
Hugo, Victor, 184–85, 207
Huntington, Samuel, 246
Husayn ibn Muhammad Diyar Bakari: *Tarikh al Khamis*, 217

ibn al-Hajjaj, 126
Ibn Hisham. See *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*
Ibn Ishaq. See *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*
Içe, *faqīh* of Segovia, 88
iconoclasm, Protestant, 110–11
Ilg, Ulrike, 122
Illuminists. *See* Alumbrados
Immaculate Conception. *See under* Mary, Virgin
Index Librorum Prohibitorum, 120
Innocent III, Pope, 222
Innocent IV, Pope, 148
Inquisition, 92, 95–96, 120
Irenaeus, 116
Isabel, Queen of Castile, 85–86, 91–92
Isabel de la Cruz, 96
Isaiah, biblical prophet, 97
Ishmael, son of Abraham, 7, 58, 194; "Saracens," as descendants of, 22–24, 93, 121, 145
Isidore of Seville, Saint, 122
isrāʾ, 79

Jacobitism, 58, 63–64, 143, 191
Jaén, 74–74, 82, 85
James, Saint, 113
James II, King of England, 135, 147
James of Voragine: *Legenda aurea*, 61
Janniot, Alfred-Auguste, 236
Jativa, 91–92
al-Jazāʾirī, Tāhir, 225–26
Jefferson, Thomas, 167
Jerome, Saint, 22–24, 145
Jerusalem, 48–49, 54, 79, 93, 143, 227; Dome of the Rock, 25, 68
Jesus Christ, 62, 76, 79, 83, 92, 96, 128, 150, 153, 191, 194, 197, 199, 203, 205, 212, 242, 247–48; divinity of, 148, 151; Egypt, flight into, 39, *39*; in Gospel of Barnabus, 97–99; as historical figure, 3–4, 6; as imposter, 155–58, 174–76; Muhammad, compared to, 57, 81, 93–94, 100, 164, 223, 262–63; purity of, 94–95; and Qur'an, 240–41; as reforming Jew, 214–15, 225, 262–63; resurrection of, 90; as saviour, 15; and Trinity, 114–16; and Veil of Veronica, 201
Jimenez de Rada, Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo, 11, 75–77; *De rebus Hispanie*, 77–78; *Historia Arabum*, 77, 80–81
Joan of Arc, Saint, 239
John, Saint, 96
John II, King of Hungary, 116
John of Trevisa, 40
John Paul II, Pope, 241

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

John the Baptist, Saint, 45, 79, 205
Johnson, Richard: *Famous Historie of the Seaven Champions of Christendom*, 19–21, 29, 41
Johnson, Samuel, 180, 203
Johnston-Bloom, Ruchama, 220
Joseph, Saint, 39, *39*
Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor, 210
Juan de Castillo, 96
Juan de Sevovia, 87; *De gladio divini Spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*, 88–89
Juan de Torquemada: *Contra principales errores perfidi Machometi*, 89–90
Julian the Apostate, Roman Emperor, 178
Julius Caesar, Roman Emperor, 206, 261
Jung, Carl, 255

Karl August, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, 197–98
Karolowitz, Treaty of, 118
Khadīja (Ajissa, Cadiga, Cadige, Chadije, Tagida), wife of Muhammad, 6, 51, 56, 80, 83, 88, 122, 138, 143, 171, 178, 182, 188, 204–5, 219, 222, 250, 260; death of, 7, 100
Kléber, Jean-Baptiste, 192
Klimovich, Liutsian, 253
Knaust, Heinrich, 107
Küng, Hans, 14, 243–47, 258
Kurbuqa, Atabeg of Mosul, 29
Kuruc revolt, 118

La Croze, Mathurin Veyssière: *Reflections historiques et critiques sur le mahométisme et socinianisme*, 117
Ladid, Meccan poet, 166
Lamartine, Alphonse de, 13, 185; *Les grands hommes de l'Orient*, 203–8
Las Cases, Emmanuel de, 193
Las Navas de Tolosa, battle of, 75
Lazamon, English monk, 37
Leipzig, 224
Leo VI, Byzantine Emperor, 121
Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor, 118
Lewis, Bernard, 239
Locke, John, 147
Loop, Jan, 117
Lopes, Gregorio, 69–71
Lopez, Charles Albert, 208
Louis IX, King of France, 38, 236
Louis XIV, King of France, 118, 124, 159
Louis XVI, King of France, 186
Lucas de Iranzo, Don Miguel, 73–74
Lucas de Tuy, 81
Luetz, Gabriel de, 119–20
Lumen gentium, 241–42, 244
Luposignoli, Michele, 101–3, 129
Luther, Martin, 11, 65, 110, 115, 129, 131, 133, 136, 203; *Appeal for Prayer against the Turk*, 105–6; marriage of, 109; *On War against the Turk*, 105, 109; Qur'an, use of, 105–9, 111–12
Luyken, Caspar, 125, *127*
Lyautey, Louis Hubert Gonzalve, Marshal, 235
Lydgate, John, 46, 48; *Fall of Princes*, 66–69, *67*, *69*

Machiavelli, Niccolò, 140, 165
Madinat al-Nabi. *See* Medina
Mahomet. *See* Muhammad/Mahomet
Maimonides, Moses, 228
al-Malik al-Kamil, Sultan of Egypt, 173
Manichaeans, 123
Mark, deacon of Toledo cathedral, 75–77
Marquard von Lindau: *De reparatione hominis*, 128; *Dekalogerklärung*, 128
Marqués, Juan, Dominican friar, 92
Marracci, Ludovico, 162–64, 181, 187, 217–18, 239
Martí, Francesc: *Compendium veritatis immaculatae conceptionis Virginis*, 128–29
Marvell, Andrew, 141
Mary, Virgin, 39, *39*, 62, 95, 143, 157, 179, 205, 242, 252; Immaculate Conception of, 12, 101–3, 126–31, *130*, 261; veil of, 96
Mary II, Queen of England, 147
Massignon, Louis, 14–15, 237–41, 247, 249, 251, 258
Master of Rohan, *45*, 46
Matar, Nabil, 142, 146

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Mecca, 28–29, 59, 73, 80, 83, 94, 104, 122, 167–69, 178, 189, 220–21, 229, 250; black stone of, 93; pilgrimage to, 7, 58, 79, 93, 113, 163, 166, 188; preaching by Muhammad in, 4–7, 76, 144, 180, 205; surrender of, 7, 160, 181–83; tomb of Muhammad, 53–54, 68–71, *70*, 113, 123–24, *124*, *125*, 145, 181

Medina, 5, 16, 160, 168, 181, 183, 189, 220–21, 229; Jews in, 223, 250; Muhammad's flight to, 4, 7, 93, 144, 180

Megerlin, David Friedrich, translator of Qur'an, 196

Mehmed II, Ottoman sultan, 89

Mehmed IV, Ottoman sultan, 118

Melanchthon, Philip, 115

Mendelssohn, Moses, 210, 228

Menocchio, miller, 120

Merton, Thomas, 256

Milton, John, 141

miracles. *See under* Muhammad/Mahomet

mi'rāj (*Celestial voyage of Muhammad*), 77, 79, 81, 123

Mishna, 212

monotheism, 3, 10, 12, 21, 59–60, 87, 90–91, 133, 143, 145–46, 150, 155–56, 160, 164, 186, 188, 190, 238; Jewish, 14, 212–13, 217, 219–21, 225, 227

Montecroce, Riccoldo da, 84–85, 150; *Contra legem sarracenorum*, 62–65, 107–8; *Contra sectam*, 123; *Five Letters on the Fall of Acre*, 62–63

Montesquieu, Charles-Louis, 120

More, Thomas, *Dialogue concerning Heresies*, 109

Moriscos, 10–11, 75, 91, 96–97, 99, 120, 151, 153

Moses, biblical patriarch, 3, 36, 52, 79, 146, 151, 153, 164–65, 172–73, 180, 191, 194, 199, 203; images of, 38, 228; as imposter, 155–58, 175; in Qur'ān, 62, 196

Mudejars, 95

Muhammad/Mahomet: and adultery/polygamy, 53, 57–58, 76, 80, 83, 94, 109; as Antichrist, 81–82, 110, 120; birthday of, 190; Bonaparte, Napoleon, as, 1, 184–85, 190–93, 195, 198, 209, 261; cartoons of, 2, 259–61; Charles I as, 72; Charles II as, 146; Christian recognition as prophet, 14, 50, 236–58; Christians, compared to, 152; Cromwell, Oliver, compared to, 12, 72, 135–41; death of, 6–7, 59–60, 64, 81, 83–85, 88, 93, 113, 123, 139, 181, 189, 207–8; epilepsy of, 51–52, 64–66, 71, 76, 80, 88, 93, 122, 124, 138, 181, 206, 217–18; floating coffin of, 54, 68–72, *70*, *71*, 123–24, *125*, 140, 145, 149, 152, 181; French empire, as part of, 233–36; as general, 16, 185–86, 189, 194, 207, 220, 261; in Gospel of Barnabus, 97–99; images of, 12, 16–18, *17*, 37–39, *38*, 101–3, *102*, 122–23, 129, 160, *161*, 163, 233–36, *234*, 260; and Immaculate Conception, 126–31; as imposter/false prophet, 2, 56, 58, 66, 73–75, 77, 81–100, 103, 107, 132–33, 138–40, 149–50, 155–58, 164, 168–70, 172, 181, 183, 188, 196, 203, 208, 229, 250, 260; Jesus Christ, compared to, 57, 81, 93–94, 100, 164, 223, 262–63; and Judaism, 13–14, 211–32; as legislator, 3, 12–13, 16, 32, 40, 51, 64, 76–77, 95, 121, 157, 167, 172–74, 180, 183, 188, 194–96, 202, 208–9, 220; life of, 5–8; as magician/sorceror, 44, 47, 64, 76, 109; marriages of, 5–6, 51, 53, 56–58, 64, 76, 80, 83, 94, 109, 160; miracles of, 2, 5–6, 10, 47–48, 53, 66–67, 88, 122, 124–25, *127*, 139, 149–50, 152, 157, 164, 180, 189, 231–32; name, spelling of, 3; as Numa Pompilius, 163, 170; Paul, Saint, compared to, 223; in plays, 12, 35–37, 40–41, 99–100, 155–56, 168–70; Qur'an, as author of, 4, 6, 166, 195, 212, 249, 260; as reformer, 3, 12–14, 16, 103, 135, 142–47, 150, 155, 158–68, 170–76, 178–83, 186–87, 195, 203–6, 212–13, 219–21, 260; as scoundrel, 1, 66–72, 81, 108; as statesman, 194–95, 202, 207, 220, 260; statues of, 208–9, 233; as trickster, 131, 135–36, 208; as

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Unitarian prophet, 2, 114–17, 147–54, 179
Muhammad/Mahomet, as heresiarch, 2, 10, 43–66, 75, 101, 103, 119, 260; in Dante, 65; in *Estoria de España*, 80; in Guibert de Nogent, 48–54; in Laurent de Premierfait, 44–48; in Pedro Pascual, 84; in Peter of Cluny, 61–62; in Petrus Alfonsi, 55, 58–61; in Riccoldo da Montecroce, 62–65; in *Risālat al-Kindī*, 55–61
Muhamad/Mahomet, as Saracen idol, 10, 19–43, *27*; in *Chanson d'Antioche*, 26–30; in *Chanson de Roland*, 30–35; in festivals, Spanish, 42–43; in *Gesta Tancredi*, 25–26; in *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, 35–36; in mystery plays, 36–37
Muhammad II, King of Granada, 82
Murad, Ottoman Sultan, 134
Musée des colonies, Paris, 233

al-Nabil, ʿAsim, 231
Najrân, 238
Nero, Roman emperor, 96
Nestorianism, 50, 55, 63, 90, 143
Nicene Council (Council of Nicea), 143, 156
Nicholas of Cusa, 111, 253; *De Pace Fidei*, 87–88; *Sifting of the Alkoran* (*Cribratio Alkorani*), 90–91, 98, 109, 114
Nicopolis, 104
Nobili, Durante, 129
Nöldeke, Theodor, 221
Nostra aetate, 242, 244
Nova Solyma, 146
Novatians, 143
Numa Pompilius, King of Rome, 163, 170, 188
Nye, Stephen, 180; *A Letter of Resolution concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation*, 148, 154

Ockley, Simon, 217
Oelven, Johann Heinrich: *Der turbanisierte Socinianer*, 117
Olivier, Marcel, 235
Ovid, 26

Paris, Matthew, 124
Paris, Sainte-Chapelle, 37–38, *38*
Parliament of the World's Religions, 245
Pascual, Pedro, Bishop of Jaén: *Sobre la seta Mahometana*, 82–85, 89
Paul, Saint, 92, 97, 151, 156, 174–75, 214–15; Muhammad, compared to, 223
Paul VI, Pope, 241–42
Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich, 228
Peter, Abbot of Cluny, 22, 54, 61, 75; *Summa haeresis Sarracenorum*, 61–63
Peter, Hugh, 140
Peter, Saint, 151
Peter of Toledo, 62
Petrus Alfonsi: conversion of, 54; *Dialogues against the Jews*, 54–55, 58–61, 64, 75, 86, 94
Philip, apostle, 97
Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 86
Pius II, Pope, 89
Plato, 64
plays, 99–100, 134; mystery, 36–37. *See also* Bodel, Jean: *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*; Voltaire: *Mahomet, ou le fanatisme*
Plutarch, 163
Pococke, Edward, 133–34, 149, 162, 177, 181, 188; *Specimen historiae Arabum*, 142, 150
Pontius Pilate, 37
Possevino, Antonio, 163
Postel, Guillaume, 109, 120, 142; *A Book on the Agreement between the Qur'ān, or the Law of Mahomet, and the Evangelicals*, 110
Premierfait, Laurent de: *De cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, 44–48, *45*, 51–52, 66–67
Prideaux, Humphrey, 159, 164–65, 168, 179; *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet*, 12, 132–33, 135, 149–50, 152, 181–82
Pritius, Johann Georg, "The Constantinopolitan or Turkish Church-State," 125

Qur'ān, 5–6, 238; authorship of, 4, 94, 166, 195, 212, 249, 260; Christians, use

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

of, 2, 48, 83, 87–90, 100, 103–31; date of composition, 4, 94; essential message, 6–7; and Gibbon, 178–83; and hadiths, 5 (*see also* hadiths); and Hafiz, 201; and historical perspective, 249–50; and Judaism, 22, 212–14, 217, 226, 228, 231, 257; refutations of, 2, 54–65, 82–95, 100; and religious diversity, 3; textual transmission of, 55; and Voltaire, 170–76
Qur'ān, translations: Aragonese, 92; Castilian, 88; Dutch, 119–20, 124; English, 12–13, 134–41, 156, 160, 162–68, 170, 196, 203; French, 124–25, 136, 181, 187–90; German, 119–20, 196; Hebrew, 120; Italian, 119–20; Ladino, 120; Latin, 11, 22, 54, 61–62, 65, 75–77, 88, 91, 95, 100, 107, 111, 113–14, 116, 119–21, 135–36, 150, 162, 239; Spanish, 79

Racine, Jean, 193
Rákóczi, Francis II, 119
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 21
Raoul de Caen: *Gesta Tancredi*, 25, 29, 43
Ratzinger, Joseph, Cardinal. *See* Benedict XVI, Pope
Rehnquist, William, Chief Justice, 260
Reland, Adrian, 152, 162, 167, 177, 181, 188; *De religione Mohammedica libri duo*, 163–64
Rémusat, Madame de, 190, 193
Renan, Ernest, 204, 227–28
Risālat al-Kindī, 55–62, 65, 83, 87
Robert of Ketton, translator of Qur'ān, 11, 61–62, 65, 88, 91, 95, 100, 107, 113, 150
Rodinson, Maxime, 5
Roland, Frankish military leader, 31–33
Romulus, 165, 173
Ross, Alexander, 136; *Pansebeia*, 243
Ross, Thomas, 136–41
Ryer, André du, 124, 136, 187

Sacromonte (Granada) lead tablets, 99, 162
Sacy, Silvestre de, 216
Said, Edward, 15–16, 227, 246
Saladin, Sultan of Egypt and Syria, 173
Salé, 133
Sale, George, translator of Qur'ān, 13, 156, 160, 162–68, 170–72, 178–79, 181, 186, 203, 217, 221, 262
Sancho IV, King of Castile, 80
Sands, Paul, 247
Santa Clara, 82
"Saracens," 2, 10, 76–77, 86; as descendants of Ishmael, 22–24, 145; as devotees of Venus, 23–24, 59, 68; as idolators, 21, 25–43, *27*. *See also* Muhammad/Mahomet, as Saracen idol
Saragossa, 30, 32–34, 43
Sarah, wife of Abraham, 22–23
Savary, Claude-Etienne, translator of Qur'ān, 181, 187–90, 193
Scaliger, Joseph, 120, 142, 145
Schiltberger, Hans, 104–5
Scholem, Gershom, 214
Schweigger, Salomon, 119, 124
Sergius (Sergio), Jacobite heretic, 50, 58, 67, 83, 100, 121, 138, 152
Servet(us), Miguel, 2, 12, 103, 113, 131, 147; arrest/execution of, 115–16; *Christianismi Restitutio*, 114–16; *On the Errors of the Trinity*, 114
Severus, Roman emperor, 121
Seville, 75
al-Sharqawi, 191
Shiism, 59–60
Siete partidas, 78
Signorelli, Francesco, 129
Sīrat Rasūl Allāh (*Life of the Messenger of God*), 5–7; Ibn Hisham version, 5–6; Ibn as author, 5, 217
Sleidanus, Johannes, 109
Smith, George, 237
Smith, Reginald, 236
Socinians, 103, 116–17
Solomon, biblical king, 76
Spinoza, Baruch, 124–25, 156
Strauss, David, 213
Stubbe, Henry, 12, 133, 135, 148, 155, 158, 165, 178, 182; *Originall & Progress of Mahometanism*, 12, 142–47, 149–51, 154

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Sufism, 8, 191, 238
Suleiman the Magnificent, Ottoman sultan, 105
Sunna, 92–93
Sunnism, 60, 255
Széchenyi, István, 228
Szipech, Ryan, 92

tahrif, 250, 253, 255, 257
Talmud, 14, 54–55, 115, 146, 213, 223
Tancred de Hauteville, 25, 29, 42–43, *42*
Tāriz ibn Ziyād, 9–10
terminology, 8–10
terrorism, 2
Tertullian, 116
Theophanes the Confessor, Saint, 150; *Chronographia*, 50–52, 61, 75
Theseus, mythical king, 165, 170, 173
Thieriot, Nicolas-Claude, 170
Thirty Years' War, 118
Thököly, Imre, 118, 147
Timur, 104
Toland, John, 12, 99, 150, 155, 158–59, 162, 165, 172, 176, 178, 212, 215; *Nazarenus, or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity*, 150–54, 182; *Reasons for naturalizing the Jews*, 210
Toleration Act, 147
Torah, 55, 212, 246
Torda, Diet of, 116
Le traité des trois imposteurs (*The Treatise of the Three Impostors*), 13, 155–58
Trinity, doctrine of, 21–22, 30, 56, 61, 63, 85, 87, 89–90, 177, 222, 241; arguments against, 2, 49, 99, 103, 113–25, 131, 143, 145–49, 153, 180; Mahomet as reformer of, 12, 159, 194, 251, 261. *See also* Muhammad/Mahomet: as Unitarian prophet; Unitarians
Tullus Hostilius, King of Rome, 163

Uhud, battle of, 56, 59
Ulm, battle of, 195
Unitarians, 103, 113–18, 131, 147–54, 156, 166, 179–80
Urban II, Pope, 28
ʿUthmān, third caliph, 4, 94, 166

Vatican II, 241–42, 244–45
Venice, 122
Vérard, Antoine, 46
Verinnerlichung, 237
Vida y muerte del falso profeta Mahoma, 100
Vienna, 224–25; siege of, 133, 147
Vincent de Paul, Saint, 124
Vincent of Beauvais: *Speculum (Miroir) historiale*, 46, 61, 88–89
Virgil, 26, 31, 65
Volney, Comte de, 186
Voltaire, 178, 180–83, 185, 187–90, 193–94, 203, 221, 226, 261; *Catéchisme de l'honnête homme*, 174–76; *Essai sur les mœurs*, 13, 156, 170–74; *Mahomet, ou le fanatisme*, 1, 12, 155–56, 168–70, 193, 197–98

Waraqa, cousin of Khadīja, 219–20, 222–23, 260
Ward, John, 134
Watt, Montgomery, 9, 14–15, 237, 244, 246, 249–58
Weil, Gustav, 14, 215–22, 232, 261–62
Weinman, Adolf A., 208, 233, 260
Weldon, Anthony, 136
Westphalia, Peace of, 118
White, Robert, 136
Wilders, Geert, 2, 260
William of Orange, King of England, 147
Womersley, David, 177–78
Wollstonecraft, Mary: *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 72

Yathrib. *See* Medina

Zaynab, wife of Muhammad, 94, 123
Zunz, Leopold, 214

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu