The First Dutch Translation of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, Reland's Annotated Version and the Mysterious Translator S.D.B.

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Ibn Ṭufayl's (d. 1185 CE) *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* has a long history in Dutch. After Edward Pococke's (d. 1691) edition of the Arabic text with accompanying Latin translation by his son had been published in 1671, a Dutch translation based upon Pococke's Latin followed suit in 1672.¹ The translation remained anonymous, but the translator provided it with an introduction (Dutch 'voor-reede') in which he states how he became fascinated by the text upon reading Pococke's Latin and decided to translate it into Dutch. The introduction also contains some basic remarks on prominent Muslim scholars named in the text or otherwise connected to Ibn Ṭufayl. Pococke's introduction to the text was not included in the Dutch translation.

The anonymous translation of 1672 was re-edited twice in 1701. One of the publishers/printers, Pieter Van der Veer of Rotterdam, added a preface, in which he referred to the publication in the previous year of a reprint of the two Pocockes' Arabic and Latin text. Van der Veer's re-edition was reprinted in 1721 by Hendrik Schouten in Utrecht, who used Van der Veer's original printing forme.²

The two 1701 re-editions both say on the title page: 'translated into Dutch by S.D.B.'³ The meaning of the intriguing initials 'S.D.B.' has been the subject of much speculation. As early as in 1896 the Spinoza scholar Koenraad Oege Meinsma tentatively suggested that these initials, read from right to left (was

1 Ibn Ṭufayl, *Het Leeven van Hai ebn Yokdhan* (1672). Rieuwerts also published many of Spinoza's works.

2 Schouten's use of the original printing forme, which on close inspection is indeed unmistakable, as well as the fact that he pasted over Van der Veer's name under the introductory word with his own, were pointed out by Steven de Jooode in a reaction of 26 November 2012 to Verdult, 'Ibn Tufayl en zijn eerste Nederlandse vertaler'. Verdult's blog offers much useful information about the Dutch versions of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*.

3 About these two re-editions, their years of publication, and the occurrence of S.D.B. in either one or both of them there exists a lot of confusion in the secondary literature, see for instance, Funke, *'Philosophus autodidactus'*, p. 112 n. 8.

he thinking of Hebrew?), might refer to Benedict (or Baruch) de Spinoza (d. 1677).⁴ This suggestion was taken over in much of the secondary literature, where it was soon treated as an established fact, reinforcing other guesses and unproven assumptions about Spinoza's involvement with the Dutch translation of 1672, in which S.D.B. was not mentioned, and about the perceived similarities between the ideas of Ibn ʿUfayl and Spinoza, which would have stimulated the interest in providing a Dutch translation.⁵ Spinoza's friendship with two of the founding members of the society *Nil Volentibus Arduum* (see below) very likely played a role in this matter. While the S.D.B.-Spinoza connection seems unlikely, as has repeatedly been pointed out, the question remains: who was S.D.B.? This problem will be discussed in the second part of this article.

1 Bouwmeester's 1672 Translation and the 'Revised' 1701 Editions

Whether Spinoza ever read *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* or was influenced (directly or indirectly) by its ideas is not the subject of the present article. All that can be said here is that there is no indication that he read either Pococke's translation, the Dutch version based on it, or older translations, such as the anonymous Hebrew translation used by Moses of Narbonne (d. 1362) for his commentary on the text, or the commentary itself, which probably was written in 1349.⁶ Manuscripts of this text are found across Europe.⁷

As for the Dutch translator: although the translation is anonymous, it can no longer be doubted that the text was translated from Pococke's Latin by Joannes Bouwmeester at the instigation of the Dutch society for the arts (Dutch 'kunstgenootschap') *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, founded in 1669. Two of Spinoza's friends and adherents, Lodewijk Meyer and Joannes Bouwmeester, were founding members. Records of the society's meetings show that the task of translating *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* into Dutch was entrusted to Bouwmeester, a task which he duly fulfilled. For the benefit of non-Dutch readers, we shall here

4 Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, pp. 440–441 n. 2.

5 A few examples: Hawi says that Spinoza urged Bouwmeester to translate the text, also mistakenly stating that Spinoza's initials appeared in the translation of 1672, see Hawi, *Islamic Naturalism and Mysticism*, p. 22 n. 2; Funke, '*Philosophus autodidactus*', p. 112 n. 8, referring to earlier German publications, passes on muddled information. Spinoza's involvement is wrongly mentioned in the introduction to the first edition of Kruk's Dutch translation of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, see Kruk (ed. and tr.), *Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn ʿUfayl*.

6 Conrad, 'Research resources on Ibn ʿUfayl and *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*', p. 281.

7 Funke, *Philosophus autodidactus*, pp. 117–118, discusses some of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's (d. 1494) ideas and their possible connection to Ibn ʿUfayl.

translate the relevant passages from Balthazar Huydecopers' minutes of the society's proceedings, edited and translated by B.P.M. Dongelmans in 1982:

[109] 1671. 29 December. [It has been decided that] Bouwmeester will translate a certain Arabic book from Latin, on penalty of having to pay a ducaton⁸ if it is not ready before May.⁹

[126] 1672. 26 April. (...) Bouwmeester, Vincent and Lingelbach submit what had to be ready before May on penalty of a ducaton: the first being the History of Hay Ebn Yokdan (...) [complete title of the published edition is given].¹⁰

[150] 1672. 11 October. (...) Bouwmeester [presents each member with a copy of] (...) het Leeven van Hay Ebn Yokdan, translated by him from Latin.¹¹

Back to the year 1701, the two re-editions, and their various remarkable aspects. One re-edition was published in Amsterdam by Willem Lamsveld (also: Lamsvelt, Van Lamsvelt) with the title: *Het Leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan, in het Arabisch beschreeven door Abu Jaaphar Ebn Tophail, En uit de Latynsche Oversettinge van Eduard Pocock. A.M. in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.D.B. Waar in getoond wordt, hoe iemand buiten eenige ommegang met Menschen, ofte onderwyzinge, kan komen tot de kennisse van zich zelve, en van God.* Apart from the ascription to S.D.B., this title is identical to that of the 1672 edition. As for illustrations, there are eight engravings made by Jan Lamsveld.

The marginal explanatory notes in Latin from the 1672 Dutch translation have been included in the re-edition, and also the references to the Qur'ān, mentioning names, sometimes also numbers, of the sūras but not the verses. As for the differences between this re-edition and the 1672 edition: these basically consist of adaptations in the orthography (different, however, from those in the Van der Veer re-edition) and, very occasionally, the replacement of a word (sometimes mistakenly).¹² The title of the other 1701 re-edition, published by

8 A silver coin with a value of 63 stuivers.

9 Dongelmans, *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, p. 78.

10 Ibid., p. 85.

11 Ibid., p. 93.

12 For example: Rieuwerts, p. 4 l. 37, text: *overnatuurkundige dingen*, margin: *Metaphysica* = Lamsveld, p. 12 l. 22, text: *natuurkundige dingen*. Cf. Van der Veer, p. 13 l. 1, text: *boven-natuurlijke dingen*, marginal note omitted. From here onwards the three Dutch translations of Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* are referred to as Rieuwerts (*Het Leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, 1672), Lamsveld (*Het Leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, 1701) and Van der Veer (*De Natuurlyke Wysgeer, Of Het Leven van Hai Ebn Jokdan*, 1701).

Pieter Van der Veer in Rotterdam, is different, but also includes the mysterious S.D.B. It also states that the text has been compared again with the Arabic original and has been provided with some explanatory notes: *De Natuurlyke Wysgeer, Of Het Leven van Hai Ebn Jokdan, in het Arabisch beschreven door Abu Jaaphar Ebn Tophail. Voordezen uit de Latynsche Overzetting van Eduard Pocok, A.M. in het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.D.B. En nu op nieuws met de Arabische Grondtext vergeleken, en met Aanmerkingen over eenige duistere Plaatzten en Spreekwyzen verrykt*. As for illustrations, there is a frontispiece plus five other engravings [Fig. 5.1].¹³ Just as in the Lamsveld edition, the marginal explanatory notes in Latin from the 1672 edition have, with a few adaptations, been included in the reprint, and so have the references to the Qurʾān, also with slight alterations.¹⁴

The publisher Van der Veer, just like Lamsveld, includes the introduction (Dutch 'voorrede') of the anonymous Dutch translator to the 1672 edition. Van der Veer also provides his edition with a preface addressing the reader, signed P. Van der Veer. It takes up eight pages of the edition. This is followed by the introduction added to the 1672 edition by its anonymous translator, and subsequently Van der Veer has included a panegyric poem 'On the life of Hai Ebn Jokdan' by Lud. Schouten (a person on whom no information could be found), in which Schouten praises what in his view is the major message of Ibn Ṭufayl's work: that it is possible to rise above the passions and preoccupations with the physical world and to come to the ultimate and continuous adoration of God by contemplating everything that He has created, including one's self.

Van der Veer's preface is a strong and to-the-point recommendation of Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*. He states that the work presents excellent thoughts on all the main elements of religion: the existence of an eternal, perfect Being who has created the universe and continues to direct it and care for it; the immortality of the soul; the difference between good and evil; reward and punishment in the hereafter. It also gives scientific explanations for a number of natural phenomena. It could be characterised, in short, as a summary presenting the essence of Arabic philosophy as a whole (Dutch text: 'het kort begrip, of liever het Pit en Merg der gantsche Arabische Wysbegeerte').

We trust that it will give the reader a clear picture of the wisdom and knowledge, both of natural and supernatural affairs, that has existed for

13 The latter were included in my own translation of 1985. See Kruk, *Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ṭufayl* (as in n. 5).

14 For example, when comparing Rieuwertsz, p. 79 margin, with Van der Veer, p. 247 margin, one sees that Van der Veer omits the number (41) of the sūra.

many centuries among the Muslim philosophers who by the majority of Christians are deemed so uncouth, uncivilised and ignorant of all theological and human knowledge that a person who studies their language, religion and antiquities is seen by most people as a person who peruses nothing but confabulations.¹⁵

Continuing, Van der Veer mentions the earlier translation of 1672 and the deficiencies resulting from the fact that it had been translated from Latin and not directly from Arabic. 'In order to remedy this as much as possible I have asked someone with knowledge of Arabic to be of assistance and to peruse the Dutch translation in his free hours, comparing it with the original Arabic'. This work, he says, was successfully carried out, and, moreover, resulted in the elucidation of some difficult passages with explanatory notes. He thus states that he is confident of doing the scholarly community a favour by presenting them with this new edition.

The views presented here are obviously in the spirit of Reland and anticipate his apologia for the study of Islam as expounded in the introduction to *De Religione Mohammedica*. Was he perhaps involved in composing these introductory words, or was he even the author? We do not know, but it is certainly a possibility. As it is, Reland's name, so prominently mentioned on the title page of Schouten's reprint of 1721 discussed below (but not in the preface of that edition, which is simply taken over from Van der Veer, with the latter's name pasted over with Schouten's) occurs nowhere in Van der Veer's edition. Might the fact that his appointment as professor of Hebrew in Utrecht was pending (he took up the chair in 1701) have been the reason for this anonymity? Adherence to Spinozism was not something blatantly advertised in seventeenth-century Holland, as has been shown, for instance, by Gerrit Jongeneelen¹⁶ and as can be seen in the affair of the bookseller Timotheus ten Hoorn mentioned below.¹⁷ At the University of Utrecht, the Voetians dominated the academic discourse in the seventeenth century. As Hamilton has pointed out,¹⁸ the strong anti-Cartesian sentiments in Utrecht gradually simmered down towards the end of the seventeenth century, even to the point that in 1694 Reland could defend his strongly anti-Aristotelian dissertation there, *De libertate philosophandi*. However, as Hamilton also shows, it took a

15 *De natuurljke wysgeer*, pp. 3–4 ('Berigt van den drukker aan den lezer').

16 Jongeneelen suggests that Verwer's contact with Reland may have played a role in the latter's involvement with the Van der Veer re-edition, see Jongeneelen, 'Disguised Spinozism', p. 17.

17 See below, p. 131.

18 Hamilton, 'Arabists and Cartesians in Utrecht', pp. 99–100.

FIGURE 5.1 Frontispiece and title page of *De natuurlyke wysgeer, of het Leven van Hai ebn Jokdan*, Rotterdam, by Pieter Van der Veer, 1701

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De Natuurlyke
W Y S G E E R,
 Of
 HET LEVEN VAN
HAI EBN JOKDAN,

In het Arabisch beschreven door
ABU JAAPHAR EBN TOPHAIL.

Voordezen uit de Latynsche Overzetting van
 EDUARD POCOK, A. M.

In het Nederduitsch vertaald door S. D. B.

*En nu op nieuws met de Arabische Grond-
 text vergeleken, en met Aanmerkingen
 over eenige duistere Plaatz en Spreek-
 wyzen verrykt.*

Te ROTTERDAM,
 By PIETER VAN DER VEER,
 Boekverkoper, 1701.

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while before the Cartesians definitively prevailed over the Voetians. Thus, even in 1701 Reland may still have considered it advisable not to be explicitly associated with Ibn Ṭufayl, so popular in Spinozist circles.

For those who read the notes to the translation after Reland's *De Religione Mohammedica* had appeared in 1705, Reland's authorship of the revision published by Van der Veer is abundantly clear, and it is explicitly stated in the title of the reprint published in 1721 in Utrecht by Hendrik Schouten with the same frontispiece and illustrations, but with yet another title, which combines and expands the information provided by the two 1701 re-editions, and explicitly adds that the revision and explanatory notes were made by Reland: *Het wonderlyk En Zeldzaam Levens geval van Hai Ebn Jokdan, waar in getoont wort, hoe imant buiten eenig ommegang met Menschen, ofte onderwysinge kan komen tot de kennisse van zich zelve en van God. Zynde desen druk met de Arabische grondtext vergeleken door den Heer Adriaan Reland, in zyn Leven Hoog-Leeraar der Heilige Outheden En Oostersche Talen in de Academie van Utrecht.*

Apart from the title page and the frontispiece, Schouten's edition is identical to that of Van der Veer, including the poem by Lud. Schouten. Schouten has simply used the original printing forme of Van der Veer, remarkably still available after twenty years, but pasted his own name over Van der Veer's at the end of the preface.

These two editions, Van der Veer's and Schouten's, have given rise to new myths and inaccuracies, namely concerning the nature of Reland's involvement with the text. This involvement is usually (and accurately) referred to as a revision, but some publications also present Reland as translator.¹⁹ While this is obviously wrong, the question has rarely been asked what his 'revision' entailed. As we will show, it was not nearly such an extensive operation as is suggested by the phrases in Van der Veer's preface (possibly composed by Reland himself) about the deficiencies of the older translation having been remedied through comparison with the original Arabic.

Of what, in fact, did Reland's contribution consist? Collation of the Van der Veer edition with that of Rieuwertsz (1672) shows that the differences are minor. In the 1701 edition, the orthography of the 1672 edition has been adapted (to a lesser extent than, and also differently from, the Lamsveld edition of the same year), either by Reland or, more likely, by the printer or one of his minions. Very occasionally a word has been replaced by a synonym: Rieuwertsz' *toevoegsels* or *toevoegselen* ('attributes') consequently becomes

19 Nat, 'Reland (Adriaan)', col. 852: 'In 1701 had hij een hollandsche vertaling gegeven van het bekende geschrift van Ibn Tofail' ('In 1701 he had provided a Dutch translation of the well-known text by Ibn Ṭufayl').

eigenschappen ('characteristics') in the Van der Veer edition. Adaptations, as it turns out, almost exclusively concern places where the translator of the 1672 edition added explanatory marginal notes giving the Latin technical term for certain philosophical and scientific concepts. The vast majority of these marginal notes are taken over in the Van der Veer edition. Occasionally a note is omitted while there is no corresponding adaptation in the text.²⁰ In most of these cases, however, the adaptation or omission of the marginal note corresponds to a change in the translation. Sometimes this is simply a matter of putting in a synonym, as in the case mentioned above, where *toevoegsels* becomes *eigenschappen*.²¹ A noteworthy addition is found on p. 2 of Ibn Ṭufayl's introduction, where Reland supplements the text of the *shahāda* (about this, see below, p. 2 of his notes to the introduction). In other cases the text has been simplified, not always in accordance with the Arabic.²² As for corrections of the text, Reland has not even adapted the translation in the one place where he explicitly states in his explanatory footnote that he considers it incorrect, namely on p. 85, where he criticises the use of the word 'awls' (see the complete list of Reland's annotations below).

The 'revision', in short, amounts to practically nothing where the translation itself is concerned. Of more interest and importance are the explanatory

20 See, for example, Rieuwertsz, p. 6, margin: *disciplinae mathematicae*, omitted in Van der Veer, p. 17; Rieuwertsz, p. 43, margin: *Repraesentatio forma*, omitted in Van der Veer, p. 134.

21 Rieuwertsz, p. 64 l. 24 text: *toevoegsels*, margin *attributa* = Van der Veer, p. 200 l. 5 from below, text: *eigenschappen*, marginal note omitted. The replacing synonym is also used elsewhere in the text, for instance Rieuwertsz, p. 72 l. 7, *toevoegselen* = Van der Veer, p. 224, *eigenschappen*. Other examples include: Rieuwertsz, p. 3 l. 3: text: *by overdragt*, margin: *Metaphorice* = Van der Veer, p. 7 text: *met een ontleende manier van spreken*, marginal note omitted; Rieuwertsz, p. 4 l. 37, text: *overnatuurkundige*, margin: *metaphysica* = Van der Veer, p. 13 l. 1: text: *boven-natuurkundige*, marginal note omitted; Rieuwertsz, p. 9 l. 30, text: *toevoegselen*, margin: *attributa* = Van der Veer, p. 13 l. 1, text: *eigenschappen*, marginal note omitted; Rieuwertsz, p. 69 l. 29 text: *de beroovinghe*, marginal note: *privatio* = Van der Veer, p. 215 l. 7–8, text: *een vernietiging*, marginal note omitted.

22 For example, Rieuwertsz, p. 7 l. 16 text: *Borgerlyk Bestier of zyne Staatkunde*, margin: *Politica* = Van der Veer, p. 21 l. 5, text: *zyne Staatkunde*, marginal note omitted = Pococke's Arabic text, p. 17 l. 13: *al-siyāsa al-madaniyya*, Latin text, p. 17 l. 20, text: *Politici*; Rieuwertsz, p. 35, l. 16–17, text: *der waare reeden van de Vorm*, margin: *Ratio formae* = Van der Veer, p. 109 l. 2, text: *van de vorm*, marginal note omitted = Pococke's Arabic text, p. 89 l. 14: *ḥaqīqat šūrat al-shay'*, Latin text, p. 88 l. 22: *verae rationis formae*; Rieuwertsz, p. 37 l. 29, text: *de reeden der Vorm*, margin: *Ratio formae* = Van der Veer, p. 116 l. 2, text: *de vorm*, marginal note omitted = Pococke's Arabic text, p. 94 l. 11: *ḥukm al-šūra*; Latin text, p. 95 l. 21: *formae ratio*; Rieuwertsz, p. 47 l. 28, text: *de waare reden van zijne weezenheid*, margin: *ratio essentiae* = Van der Veer, p. 148 l. 2, text: *zijne wezenheid* = Pococke's Arabic text, p. 121 l. 1: *ḥaqīqat dhātīhi*, Latin text, p. 119 ult.-120 l. 1: *verum autem rationem essentiae suae*.

remarks also announced in the preface. They are varied in nature, and reflect Reland's specific knowledge and interests, discussing theological matters as well as natural science. He regularly criticises Ibn Ṭufayl for illogical or inconsequential treatment of his subject matter: p. 88: Ḥayy could not study minerals, because he had no access to them; p. 124: Ibn Ṭufayl was wrong in stating that the circle described by Canopus is the smallest; p. 125: contrary to what Ibn Ṭufayl says, Ḥayy could not possibly have observed both poles at the same time; p. 184: here Ibn Ṭufayl's text is inconsistent with p. 53, where it is stated that no rapacious or dangerous beast is found on the island; p. 229: here the text is also inconsistent regarding Āsāl's access to food. A particularly interesting note is that on p. 223, where Reland sets forth his plan for writing *De Religione Mohammedica*, mentioning the sources he intends to use.

For the benefit of scholars who do not read Dutch, we offer here a full translation of Reland's comments and explanatory notes in order to present a complete picture of his role in Van der Veer's edition.²³

2 Reland's Notes to the Introduction

p. 2. Reland explains the use of the *shahāda* by the author. Noteworthy is that he supplements the text as it appeared in the 1672 translation, where only the first part of the *shahāda* is given: '... has no companion (Dutch: 'meedegenoot'), etc.'. Reland inserts after 'companion': 'and that Muhammad is his Messenger [Dutch: 'Gezant'; the Arabic text has: 'his servant', '*abduhu*'] and Prophet, etc.'. He takes this over from Pococke's Arabic text, but omits the subsequent eulogies of the Prophet, which take up several lines in the Arabic text. Apparently he considered them irrelevant for his purpose. He comments: 'This basic summary of the Muslim creed was usually placed at the beginning of their books by the authors who adhered to this religion. Christians see this as a strange habit, although with the Turks it is quite common in almost all kinds of writings. In this way they mean to distance themselves from the Christians, who present their Redeemer as part of the Divinity, and thus, in their view, acknowledge more than one God'.

p. 3. Reland explains who Ibn Sīnā was: 'This is the man known by Europeans as Avicenna. The noble Leader, as the word is translated here, otherwise means prince, and this is the reason that in the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts kept in the Escorial one reads Princeps Avicenna. This made some people, who

23 References are to the page numbers of the Van der Veer edition, which are identical to those of the Schouten edition of 1721.

did not know that this title can be obtained by merits and scholarly achievements as well as through possession of actual principalities, believe that this Avicenna was King of the city of Cordoba, even though it is a well-established fact that, being born in Harmatain or Apshana²⁴ in Persia, he served as physician of a sultan in Bagdad. He lived, however, in a princely enough way, to the extent that the shoes of his horse were of silver. But they said that he did not do this out of pride, but to show the world how many riches the art of medicine had brought him, in order to stimulate the waning enthusiasm to engage in science’.

p. 5. Reland explains the verses cited in the text: ‘The meaning of these words is that his understanding of the matter has led to certainty, but that he cannot make explicit the manner in which he has arrived at understanding it’.

p. 17. Reland gives some information about al-Fārābī: ‘This *Abu Nasri* has obtained a wide reputation among his co-religionists because of his knowledge of philosophy. If Leo Africanus is to be believed, he originated from the city of Balch in the province Pharab. This Balch is not the same city as the capital of the region of Chorasaan, which has the same name, and has reportedly been built or considerably expanded by Loraspes.²⁵ It may be the remnants of the ancient and famous Bactra’.

p. 22. Regarding the translation of the title *Alshepha* (Arab. *al-shifāʾ*) as *der genoegzaamheit* (satisfaction) in the Dutch text, Reland points out: ‘The learned Pocok, Professor at Oxford, already remarked that one should read here *Alsipha* and translate it as Healing (Dutch text: *Genesinge*)’.

p. 24. About al-Ghazālī’s *Tahāfut*, mentioned in the text, Reland remarks: ‘This book of Gazalius seems to have been written as a counterattack to the ideas generally held by the philosophers. Don Isaac Abarbanel,²⁶ Leo Africanus²⁷ and others have mentioned this. The great Reinesius found this book mentioned by Scaliger but did not understand the title. So he wrote to

24 Kharmaythan, as most Arabic sources spell the name (see Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sina*, p. 119 n. 5), and Afshana were villages in the territory of Bukhārā.

25 Reland may base himself here on Golius, who in the notes to his posthumous edition of al-Farghānī gives the following information, citing Yāqūt: ‘Conditam à لراسف *Loraspe*, patre Hydaspis. Persico rege, tunc cum à Nebucadnezar Hierosolyme diriperentur, tradit Jacutus’ (‘Founded by Loraspes, father of Hydaspes, Persian king, at the time that Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebucadnezar, as Yāqūt reports’), see Golius (ed.), *Muhammedis fil*, p. 175. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 1, p. 479 (lemma ‘Balkh’) gives the name as *Luhrasf* and says: ‘his friend Nebucadnezar, *ṣāhibuhu Bukht Naṣṣar*’.

26 Jitschak ben Jehuda Abarbanel, or Isaac Abravanel, Lissabon 1437–Venice 1508.

27 Leo Africanus was a traveller, diplomat and author of the *Descrittione dell’ Africa*. His Arabic name is al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyātī or al-Fāsī, his Christian name is Johannes Leo de Medicis. He was born between 894 and 901 AH/1489 and

Rupertus, who in 1639 consulted Caspar Hoffmann, who made quite another suggestion about the work, until Reinesius himself finally discovered what it was about, as one can read in his letters published in Leipzig in 1660,²⁸ not without being amazed about the amusing guesses these men made about it'.

p. 29. Regarding the Qur'ānic words in the text: 'God is ver boven het gene de Onregtvaardigen zeggen' ('God is far above what the unjust say about Him', Qur'ān 17:43), Reland explains: 'This is a saying taken from the Alcoran, and very widespread among the Mohammedans when they have mentioned an erroneous statement and want to show their abhorrence of it. It is more or less equivalent to: "Far be it from me!"'

p. 32. There are three pages with this number. This is the third, a separate page with a text that is not part of the original Arabic and does not occur in the edition of 1672. It contains an Arabic saying, taken from Erpenius' collection of Arabic proverbs of 1615, *Selecta quaedam Arabum adagia*: 'He who explores, adds to science, but he who simply accepts, adds to error'.²⁹

3 Reland's Notes to the Main Text

p. 35. Reland explains the Fourth Clime: 'The Ancients, who had no extensive knowledge of the inhabited part of the world, counted seven Climes in all, and were of the opinion that the fourth, being in the middle, also had to be the most moderate'.

p. 73. Regarding the story of the raven burying its slain brother, Reland notes: 'Rabbi Eliezer has invented the same thing in order to show how men have learned how to bury their dead—as if people needed to be taught this by animals. Adam, he says, seeing his murdered son, did not know what to do with the body, until he saw a raven burying its companion in a pit and followed its example. Mohammed, who was not loath to include Jewish confabulations in his Alcoran, tells the same thing in the fifth chapter, but replaces Adam by Cain—as if one would have no idea where the fable originated from'.

p. 85. In this note Reland comments on the use of 'priemen' (awls) and the following words, which he believes to be rendered incorrectly from the

1495 CE, and died after 1550 CE. See 'Leo Africanus', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 5, pp. 723–724.

28 *Th. Reines I.D. ad viros clariss. D. Casp. Hoffmannum, Christ. Ad. Rupertum. Profess. Noricos epistolae* (1660). We have not checked Reinesius's reference to al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut*.

29 This proverb is taken from Erpenius's edition of Luqmān's fables. See Erpenius, *Locmani sapientis fabulae*, p. 65, no. LVII: 'Man yujarrib yazid 'ilman; man yu'min yazid ghalatān', 'Qui experitur auget scientiam; qui verò credit auget errorem'.

Arabic—although he leaves the translation intact apart from some minor adaptations in the spelling: ‘The word *Machatifon* that is found here basically means *hooks to attach things to one another* (Dutch text: *haakskens, dienende tot zamenvoeging*). Thus it seems that Hay Ebn Jokdan used thorns to attach the reeds from which his building consisted, so that this material would also protect his house against the attacks of other animals. Since the translator thought that this could not be right here, he replaced it by the word *Michzafon*, which means *awl*, adding that to this purpose he sharpened reeds on stones. The Arabic, however, formulates this quite differently, namely saying that he made the reeds equal in length on stones and put them together in order to make a dwelling for himself, as he had observed from the swallows. I do not know what use the awls could have been for him here. On account of the wording it is more likely that the reeds and the thorns served him to build his dwelling, the more so since we will subsequently hear him mention his pantry, which is also enclosed by reeds’.

p. 88. Reland remarks regarding Hayy’s studying the minerals: ‘I do not understand how our philosopher could discover the minerals, for experience shows that these are not on the surface of the earth but buried deeper; or we must conclude that Hay Ebn Jokdan had sufficient means and enthusiasm to manage this job by himself. It is a common error of our author that he introduces too early Hay Ebn Jokdan to exact knowledge of many matters of nature’.

p. 124. Reland comments on what the text has to say about the location of Hayy’s island, mentioning the star Sohayl, Canopus: ‘The circle of the star Canopus is by no means the smallest, since it is 36 degrees removed from the South Pole, which is just about as far as the star in the head of Cepheus is removed from the North Pole. It would be just as illogical to say that that star of Cepheus describes the smallest circle around the North Pole as it is to state that the star Canopus describes the smallest circle around the South Pole. For the stars of Hydra (Dutch text: *Waterslang*) and Musca (Dutch text: *Indiaanse Bye*)³⁰ are much closer to the South Pole, which Hai Ebn Jokdan must have been able to see for a substantial part, since it is said that he lived below the equator’.

p. 125. (note 1) Reland explains *Alpharkadain*: ‘*Alpharkadain* are the two stars that are closest to the North Pole, in the tail of Ursus Minor (Dutch text: *kleinen Beer*)’.

p. 125. (note 2) Reland explains that what Ibn Ṭufayl says here about Hayy being able to see both poles from the location where he lives is impossible: ‘It is not really possible (for whatever reasons may seem to exist for this are

30 Rob van Gent kindly provided the Latin name of this latter constellation.

overthrown by the experience of practised astronomers who have observed the sky below the equator) that someone will be able to observe the axis points of both the North and the South pole from one particular spot. For the bulge of the earth globe that blocks our view and the vapour that continuously obscures the horizon make this impossible. It is true that one can imagine a mountain with a top from which this might be possible, but it is better to bring things into agreement with experience'.

p. 127. Reland points out that Pocock's suggestion of a different reading (not taken over in the Dutch translation of 1672) is unnecessary: 'Mr. Pocock, who translated this from Arabic into Latin, was of the opinion that one ought to read "from West to East"; but he has not paid attention to the two kinds of movement of the Moon distinguished by the astronomers. For that reason there is no need to change anything here. For it is obvious that the Moon when it is said to be full stands in the East, opposite the West where the Sun sets; and that, when the Moon is new and in conjunction with the Sun, it sets almost simultaneously with the Sun in the West. So our author may have had this common and obvious movement of the Moon in view, without paying special attention to the other movement (the one that is specific for the Moon, and takes place in 27 days, 7 hours and 43 minutes from West to East)'.

p. 147. Regarding Hayy's awareness of a Necessary Being devoid of corporeality, Reland remarks: 'Through his very essence he understands the soul. The Arabic word, *Dhaton*, means the essence of something in general, and the soul of a rational being. So Hai Ebn Jokdan is here on the way to deciding that his soul is not something physical, and that accordingly it must be immortal'.

p. 158. Reland explains the Dutch word in the text, *beroovinge* (Pococke 128: *privatio*, Arabic: *al-'udm*): 'The Arabic word *Alodmon* means a deficiency, but may also mean that something is not, or ceases to be. In this sense it fits well the ideas of our philosopher'.

p. 160. Reland explains regarding the Dutch word in the text, *wezentheden* (essences): 'These are the spirits, or *Intelligentiae*, that the Aristotelian philosophers believed to exist in the celestial world'.

p. 161. Reland adds to the remarks in the text about the elements: 'This idea is very widespread among Mohammedan philosophers. They even think that they can prove it, as the author of the *Mirror of the World*, edited in Arabic by Abraham the Maronite of Lebanon, has tried to do in the year 1641.³¹ "Does one not see every day", he says on page 50, "how water is being changed into stone, and air into water by the cold? Does the air not glow from fire in closed ovens and smithies? And is water not boiled into air on the fire? Does chemistry not

³¹ Ecchellensis, *Mukhtasir*.

teach us how to change earthy parts into fluids?" A philosopher of our day will be able to see how strong these proofs are'.

p. 184. Reland objects: 'I do not know how this fits in with what has been said on p. 53, where the author states that no rapacious or dangerous beasts were found on this whole island'.

p. 186. (note 1) Reland adds: 'My impression is that the author adds this in order to show how natural and rational the Mohammedan religion is in imposing all these different ablutions, which he suggests that Hai Ebn Jokdan had thought fitting purely on the strength of his reason'.

p. 186. (note 2) Reland continues: 'The same reason that I just mentioned makes our author say that Hai Ebn Jokdan took up exercises which involved making circular movements. For thus (p. 187) he tries to demonstrate how rational it is to circumambulate Zafa and Merva, two holy places situated near the town of Mecca, and to circumambulate frequently the Meccan temple; all of which are ceremonies that are common among the Mohammedans. While I also read here that these circumambulations follow the example of the celestial bodies whose orbits are also circular, there comes to my mind an embellishment (Dutch text: *versiersel*), fiction from beginning to end, that as far as I can remember I have not read anywhere else but in an Arabic manuscript written by Abulabas,³² namely that the Meccan temple, named the Caba, was built by the angels a thousand years before the earth globe according to the image of a temple that was in Heaven under God's throne and that according to God's command they used to circumambulate as an example to mankind, who would practise their religion in a similar way around the Caba'.

p. 215. Reland explains 'vuurvlieden', fireflies (the Arabic word in the Qur'ān is *farāsh*): 'The Arabic word that is found in the 101st chapter of the Alcoran means a winged animal that flutters around a candle, or, according to what others write, lives in dirt. The Latins call it *Pyrallides*. It is known from Plinius, Aelianus and others'.

p. 223. Reland explains 'zyne heerlijke namen', His magnificent names: 'The Mohammedans count 99 of these Names of God, and they divide them into three categories. The first consists of the names that refer to the divine being, such as the word God. The second contains the names that express God's glory and majesty, such as the King, the Almighty, the Victorious. The third expresses God's qualities, specifically in relation to man, such as the Creator, the Provider, the Generous. I have learned this from an Arabic text about the Mohammedan religious rites, described by Abulabas Ahmed Ebn Jousapha, a

32 This is probably the same 'Abulabas' as the author mentioned by Reland in his notes to p. 223 below.

teacher so much honoured among his coreligionists that he received the title “Glowing Torch of Religion.”³³ If Heaven grants me sufficient years of life I will insert many chapters of this work already translated into Latin into a book about the Mohammedan religion, in which I propose to explain the religion of those peoples on the basis of about ten creeds and proper accounts of Mohammedan religious science written in Arabic and Persian and not hitherto divulged in print’.

p. 229. Regarding Āsāl’s presenting Ḥayy with food Reland remarks: ‘I find this strange if I compare it to what is written on p. 224. There I find that Āsāl needed food, and that he tried to obtain it by hunting and by other means, and that God continuously provided him with what he needed to feed himself. How, then, can I believe what the author states here, namely that Āsāl still had food from the other island? For in that case he would not have needed other sustenance for his daily needs’.

p. 235. (note 1) Reland explains the passage about eschatological reward and punishment: ‘The Mohammedans believe that all man’s good and evil deeds, or the papers on which these deeds have been noted down by the angels, will be weighed on the so-called scales. The Angel Gabriel will hold the scales, which are so big that Heaven and Earth can be weighed in them without any difficulty. Many people among the Mohammedans interpret these scales as nothing but God’s justice, which will weigh good and evil on the Day of Judgment’.

p. 235. (note 2) Reland explains the weighing of human deeds: ‘This place is not understandable for someone who knows nothing about the religion of the Mohammedans. Its idea is that on the Last Day all people, believers as well as unbelievers, will have to cross a certain road or bridge that has the width of a hair and the sharpness of a sword, and runs directly over the fire of Hell. And as if the passage was still too easy, they say that the sides of this bridge are covered with thorns and curved hooks. Muhammad will be the first to cross it and to lead his believers safely across, but the godless, the Jews and Christians, will fall from the bridge into the pit of hell. This idea, however, is by no means so

33 Cf. Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo*, ‘Index manuscriptorum’ (no. 7): ‘Liber theologicus, in quo agitur de ceremoniis quae in templo debent observari, de vitiis, aliisque argumentis affinibus, auctore Schahaboddino Abul Abas Ahmed Ibn Amad etc., cujus titulus plenior, addita patria et secta, hic est Al-Shaykh al-‘allāma Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Imād ibn Yūsuf al-Aqfahsī al-Shāfi‘ī’ (Reland’s Arabic transcribed). Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, p. 93 and Supplement vol. 2, p. 111, gives the author as Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. al-‘Imād al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Aqfahsī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfi‘ī, d. 808/1405, author of *al-Durra al-daw‘iyya fī al-aḥkām al-sunnīya*. The manuscript consulted by Reland is al-Aqfahsī’s *Tashīl al-maqāsid li-zuwwār al-masājīd*, the present-day MS Leiden, University Library, Acad. 29.

widely accepted that it does not have its opponents among the Mohammedans themselves. It is openly mocked by the Motazilites, a group of people who are not so gullible as these people, and who only accept things on the basis of rational thinking’.

p. 237. Reland explains ‘bode’, messenger: ‘Thus Muhammad is called par excellence’.

These, then, are Reland’s comments on the text of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. They clearly reflect his scholarly interests and opinions, and form an interesting prelude to his *De Religione Mohammedica*. As such, they make Van der Veer’s annotated re-edition a valuable addition to the scholarly and philosophical discussion of the time. What still remains is the problem of the mysterious abbreviation S.D.B., according to some added by Reland to this edition.³⁴

4 From ‘S.D.B.’ to Gerrit van Broekhuizen

Before going into the question of the mysterious ‘S.D.B.’, it may be helpful to recapitulate the editorial history of the Dutch *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. In the original translation published by Jan Rieuwertsz in 1672 the name ‘S.D.B.’ does not occur—nor that of Joannes Bouwmeester for that matter. Twenty-eight years later, in 1700, a second Latin edition of Edward Pococke the Younger’s *Philosophus autodidactus* came off the press at the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford. There can be little doubt that this triggered the demand for a new Dutch retranslation, which appeared in two different versions in 1701. The first of these, published in Amsterdam by Willem Lamsveld, retains the title of the first Dutch retranslation, *Het Leeven van Hai ebn Yokdhan*.³⁵ The second version was published in Rotterdam by Pieter Van der Veer under a new title which better reflects Pococke’s Latin: *De natuurlyke wysgeer, of het Leven van Hai ebn Jokdan*.³⁶ Both are essentially a re-edition of Joannes Bouwmeester’s Dutch translation of 1672, and the involvement of Adriaan Reland in the version printed by Van der Veer in Rotterdam has already been discussed in detail above. In both versions from 1701 the name S.D.B. is mentioned for the first time as the Dutch translator. Since it has already been proved that he was not the translator of the 1672 edition printed by Rieuwertsz, he must have been responsible for a textual revision, but it appears that he did this with a light touch. Neither re-edition includes Pococke’s introduction to the text.

34 For example Funke, ‘*Philosophus autodidactus*’, p. 112 n. 8.

35 Ibn Ṭufayl, *Het Leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan* (1701).

36 Ibn Ṭufayl, *De natuurlyke wysgeer* (1701).

We have already touched briefly upon the interpretation of the initials 'S.D.B.' as an inverted form of 'B.d.S.' or Benedict de Spinoza. This identification, proposed with steadily growing confidence until it almost gained the status of a fact, appears to go back to the end of the nineteenth century. In 1896 the aforementioned Spinoza scholar K.O. Meinsma remained cautious when he noted that on 29 December 1671 the society *Nil Volentibus Arduum* had commissioned Joannes Bouwmeester to translate *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* from the Arabic (sic!), and that such a translation had indeed appeared in Amsterdam in 1672 (referring, of course, to the Rieuwertsz edition from Amsterdam). In a footnote Meinsma added that it was unknown to him whether Bouwmeester had actually performed this translation, but that 'a *second translation* by S.D.B. had appeared in Rotterdam in 1701' (italic added, A.V.), and he suggested a link between S.D.B. and B.d.S., Benedict de Spinoza.³⁷ Apparently, Meinsma did not compare the two editions, or he would have noticed that the translations are practically identical.

In 1922 Willem Meijer cited Meinsma's earlier work in an article on the consensus between Spinoza's metaphysics and Arabic-Islamic philosophy, and proposed that 'the translation (i.e. Lamsveld 1701) be ascribed to a certain S.D.B., whose initials, when read from right to left, may signify Benedict de Spinoza'. At the same time he remarked that Rieuwertsz had also published other works by Spinoza. Since these works had partly appeared under the initials B.d.S., this could only enhance the association between S.D.B. and B.d.S. Moreover, Meinsma wrote, the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam possessed a composite volume which contained both Spinoza's *Opera posthuma*—published by Rieuwertsz in 1677 under the initials B.d.S.—and Pococke's Latin translation of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, with the tacit implication that B.d.S. and S.D.B. were providentially or mystically united in one single book.³⁸ Meijer acknowledged that Bouwmeester had indeed made the translation, but still believed that Spinoza had recommended Pococke's edition-cum-translation of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* to his closest associates—among whom Joannes Bouwmeester figured prominently.³⁹

37 Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, pp. 440–441 n. 2: 'Werkelijk is in 1672 te Amsterdam verschenen: "Abu Jaaphaar Ebn Tophail, Het Leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan. In het Arabisch beschreven en uit de Lat. overzett. van Ed. Pocock in 't Nederd. vert.'" (40). Eene tweede vertaling door S.D.B. (B.D.S. zou kunnen zijn Ben. de Sp.) verscheen in 1701 te Rotterdam. ('t Bleef mij onbekend of de eerste van Bouwmeester's hand is').

38 W. Meijer, 'De consensu', pp. 16–17: 'versio adscripta est S.D.B. cuidam, quae initiales literae a laeva parte dextrorsum lectae Benedictum de Spinoza significare possunt'. For a discussion of Meijer's article see von Brockdorff, 'Spinozas Verhältnis', pp. 19–32.

39 Meijer, 'De consensu', p. 18.

However, the caution exercised by Meinsma and to a lesser extent by Meijer was abandoned by C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute in her work *Nederlands Cartesianisme* of 1954, where she made the casual statement that S.D.B. was the inversion of Spinoza's initials. They were printed on the title page of the re-edition of the Dutch *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* published by Pieter Van der Veer in 1701, 'presumably in order to attract the reader's attention to the connection that was perceived to exist between this western Arabic novel and Spinoza's writings'.⁴⁰ If we understand her correctly, the use of S.D.B. was intended as a tribute to Spinoza. But if this was the case, it must have been a veiled compliment indeed, since Spinoza's true initials B.d.S. had previously been used by Rieuwertsz and withstood the scrutiny of the Law. The fact that Bouwmeester had translated the Latin text at the behest of Nil Volentibus Arduum was not disputed by her.⁴¹

As for the role of Adriaan Reland, it must be noted that Willem Meijer was the first to suggest in 1922 that Reland—whose name does not appear on the title page—had been involved in the version published by Van der Veer in Rotterdam, although he failed to give a source. Only in 1954 did Thijssen-Schoute point out that Reland's name was duly mentioned in the publisher's list she found at the end of the Leiden copy of this edition.⁴²

But if S.D.B. was not Spinoza, who was he? Although it must be conceded that S.D.B.'s involvement in the Dutch translation never went beyond a superficial revision of the text, the confusion caused by these mysterious initials alone would justify a reconstruction of the name hiding behind them. The possible solution to this enigma starts with the title page of another work published in 1701 by Willem Lamsveld and associates, *Historie der Sevarambes* [Fig. 5.2].

This is a Dutch translation of another utopian work, *Histoire des Sevarambes, peuples qui habitent la terre Australe* published 1677–1679 by Denis Vairasse or

40 Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands cartesianisme*, p. 415: 'Door op de titel de initialen van Spinoza in omgekeerde volgorde te plaatsen, zal men des lezers aandacht hebben willen vestigen op het verband, dat naar men gevoelde, bestaan moest tussen deze west-arabische roman en de geschriften van Spinoza'.

41 Ibid., p. 414: 'Bouwmeester [werd] opgedragen het leven van Hayy Eb ben [sic] Jokdan, uit het Arabisch over te zetten. Deze opdracht werd vervuld, al vertaalde Bouwmeester niet uit het Arabisch, maar uit het Latijn' ('Bouwmeester was commissioned to translate the Life of Hayy Eb ben Jokdan from the Arabic. This commission was fulfilled, although Bouwmeester made his translation from Latin rather than Arabic').

42 Ibid., p. 415. See Leiden, University Library, 841 F 23, sig. Aaiv: 'Het leve van Hai Ebn Jokdan, op nieuws met de Arabische grond text vergeleke, door d'Heer Adriaan Reelant, Hoogleraar der der [sic] Oostersche tale te Uytrecht' ('The Life of Hai ebn Jokdan, newly compared with the original Arabic text, by Mr. Adriaan Reelant, Professor of Oriental languages at Utrecht').

FIGURE 5.2 Frontispiece and title page of *Historie der Sevarambes...*, Door S.d.B., Amsterdam, Willem de Coup, Willem Lamsveld etc., 1701
COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, 1366 E 16

HISTORIE DER SEVARAMBES,

Volkeren die een Gedeelte van het
darde Vast-land bewoonen, gemeenlyk

ZUID-LAND

genaamd,

Behelzende een naauwkeurig verhaal van de Regeering,
Zeden, Godtsdienst, en Taal, dezer tot noch toe
aan de Volkeren van Europa onbekende Natie.

Door S. d. B.

In dezen Tweden Druk vermeerderd met een *nieuwe Reize* na
het gemelde Land, mitsgaders een zeer naauwkeurig *Jour-*
naal *wegens de Voyagie derwaarts gedaan in de Jaaren 1696.*
en 1697. op ordre der Hollandsche Oost-Indische Maatschappy
door de Schepen de Nyptang, de Geelvink, en de Wezel.

Vercierd met kopere Platen.

AMSTERDAM,

By WILLEM de COUP, WILLEM LAMSVELT, PHILIP
VERBEEK en JOANNES LAMSVELT, Boekverkoopers. 1701.

Veiras (ca. 1630–1672).⁴³ The first part has only the initials S.d.B., but in the three following parts this disguise is dropped and the name of G.v. Broekhuizen appears as the translator. Admittedly, it is quite a distance from S.d.B. to G.v. Broekhuizen, but ‘d.’ may stand for ‘de’, the translation of ‘van’, and ‘B.’ obviously for ‘Broekhuizen’. Only the ‘S.’ remains elusive. G. van Broekhuizen—who never mentions his first name—appears to have had recourse to various pen names, writing under his true initials ‘G.v.B.’,⁴⁴ as well as its inverted form ‘B.v.G.’,⁴⁵ and the pseudonym ‘Eduward Melton’, an imaginary English nobleman whom we shall have the pleasure of meeting again below.⁴⁶

Given the fact that the initials S.D.B. were also used in a different work originating in the circle of Willem Lamsveld and associates, this would also decide the argument of whether the Amsterdam edition of 1701 preceded Pieter Van der Veer’s Rotterdam edition from the same year. Apparently Van der Veer and Reland saw Lamsveld’s edition and believed that S.D.B. was the name of the original translator. This is also borne out by the title page of Van der Veer’s edition, where it is said that the Dutch translation had *previously* (in Dutch: ‘Voordezen’) been made by S.D.B. There is nothing to indicate that either Van der Veer or Reland associated the initials S.D.B. with Spinoza, and consequently that the ‘inverted initials of Spinoza’ would have been used as a tribute to the great philosopher, as Thijssen-Schoute believed.

Was it entirely coincidental that G. van Broekhuizen translated or revised both the fictitious and exotic *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* and the *Sevarambes*? Hardly so, for our further enquiries have revealed that he was a prolific author whose 25 translations or compilations include an impressive nine works related to the Orient or the exotic world in general; not only imaginary travels but also true voyages from the seventeenth century by Jean de Thévenot, Pierre Dan, Paul Rycaut, John Chardin and the less well known Guy Tachard, who wrote on a French embassy to Siam. The first of these was printed in 1681, the last in 1701 (for a list of Oriental works see the Appendix). He started his career with the translation of a considerable number of light French novels, all published in 1679–1680, but in 1681 he switched to the more serious subjects of travel and

43 Vairasse, *Historie der Sevarambes*. The first edition, Amsterdam, Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1682, mentions only G. v. Broekhuizen as the translator. The occurrence of the initials S.D.B. on the first volume of the second edition of 1701 and the full name of G. van Broekhuizen of all three subsequent volumes was already noted by P.A. Tiele, *Nederlandsche bibliographie*, p. 111, sub ‘Historie der Sevarambes’.

44 The initials G.v.B. were used in de Brémond, *Den nieuwen pelgrim*.

45 See Perdou de Subigny, *De valsche Clelie*.

46 Melton, *Eduward Meltons, Engelsch edelmans, zeldzaame en gedenkwaardige zee- en landreizen*. See Tiele, *Nederlandsche bibliographie*, p. 165.

history, mixed with other topics such as a Life of Descartes by Adrien Baillet (1649–1706), printed in 1700.⁴⁷ In the final stage of his career he revised some older translations, not only our *Hayy ibn Yaqẓān* but also the fifth edition of Lambert van den Bosch's translation of *Don Quixote* (1699).⁴⁸ His last translation, from Latin and French, was a black satire on the empty rhetoric and vanity of the world by Johann Balthasar Schuppius (printed 1705), a fitting end to a long career.⁴⁹

G. van Broekhuizen worked with various booksellers, above all Timotheus ten Hoorn (1644–1715), but also with his brother Jan Claesz ten Hoorn and his nephew Nicolaas ten Hoorn (1674–1728).⁵⁰ He worked too with Jan Bouman,⁵¹ who was a close associate of the Ten Hoorns, and to a lesser extent with Aert Dirksz Oossaen (1657–1693),⁵² Willem de Coup (1660–1706)⁵³ and his business associates Jan and Willem Lamsveld. His books were illustrated by engravers such as Jan Luyken and the aforementioned Jan Lamsveld. Timotheus ten Hoorn was a small bookseller who frequently teamed up with colleagues in comparably straitened circumstances to share the expenses of printing and publishing, but in spite of his efforts he died ridden with debt. Frank Peeters has shown, however, that Ten Hoorn typically belonged to the seedier kind of bookseller who was prepared to take the risk of publishing works that were either forbidden, controversial, novel or simply outré, not necessarily out of conviction but simply because there was more money in it, and in this way furthered the cause of the early Enlightenment. In 1695, for instance, charges were brought against Timotheus ten Hoorn for selling copies of the posthumous works of Spinoza, but he extricated himself from the affair by marrying the witness for the prosecution.⁵⁴

In stark contrast with Van Broekhuizen's impressive output, almost nothing is known about his life. In 1855 A.J. van der Aa's biographical dictionary identified him as Godofridus van Broekhuizen, the pastor ('dominee') of the Dutch Reformed church of Hekelingen, a village not far from Rotterdam. He was appointed in 1681 (obviously not in 1618 as Van der Aa has it), retired in 1729 and died in 1731. His father had been pastor of the Lambertus church in the

47 Baillet, *'t Leven van den heer Descartes*.

48 Cervantes y Saavedra, *Den verstandigen vroomen ridder*.

49 Schuppius, *De verstandige heekelaar*.

50 Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, pp. 162–166.

51 Ibid., vol 3, pp. 40–42.

52 Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 22–25.

53 Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 83–84.

54 Peeters, 'Leven en bedrijf van Timotheus ten Hoom', pp. 20, 27. Spouses could not give evidence against each other in criminal cases.

village of Engelen, Brabant, in 1649–1668, as had his grandfather before him in 1641–1648.⁵⁵ Earlier Van Broekhuizens or Broekhuijzens served at the parish church of Dodewaard: Hermannus van Broekhuijzen (d. 1624) and another Godefridus van Broekhuijzen, who died in 1637.⁵⁶

Yet this identification is not as straightforward as it seems. If the Hekelingen pastor Godofridus van Broekhuizen was really our translator, then why were almost all of his works published in Amsterdam rather than, for instance, Rotterdam, which was practically on his doorstep? And why would a minister of God's Word translate and publish several works of undeniable moral levity such as *L'héroïne mousquetaire: histoire véritable* by Jean de Préchac (1647–1720), translated into Dutch under the title *De musket-draagende heldin* (1679), or a Life of Descartes (1700), hardly a favourite of the Calvinist establishment? And all this under his own name? And why did he publish his last translation in 1705 if he only retired in 1729?

It is far more likely that the true G. van Broekhuizen lived not in the village of Hekelingen but in Amsterdam. The baptism, marriage and burial registers of the city's parishes, however, do not reveal the name of a Gotfried van Broekhuizen, but there is a certain Gerrit or Gerard, son of Gerrit van Broeckhuijsen (senior) and Eva Vos, who was baptised on 28 September 1653 at the Oude Kerk, and buried at the Westerkerk on 3 November 1706.⁵⁷ This Gerrit van Broekhuizen would have remained anonymous if the Amsterdam scholar and burgomaster Nicolaes Witsen had not lost his temper over his abuse of the aforementioned pseudonym Eduward Melton, the chimerical author of an itinerary in Egypt, the Levant and the Indies. This is, in fact, a compilation of shamelessly plagiarised texts from Johann Michael Wansleben and Jean de Thévenot, published in 1681 as *Zeldzaame en gedenkwaardige zee- en landreizen, door Egypten, West-Indien, Perzien, Turkyen, Oost-Indien, en d'aangrenzende gewesten [...]*.⁵⁸ In a letter of 9 April 1713 an irate Witsen wrote to the Deventer intellectual Ghisbert Cuper:

In Your Excellency's learned letter you cite the itinerary published under the name of Melton, but please be aware that no such traveller has ever

55 Van der Aa et al., *Biographisch woordenboek*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1855), col. 1374; *Verkade's Dominees Memories* (where his name is spelled Godefridus van Broekhuijzen); *Protestantse Kerk Engelen*.

56 *Hervormd Dodewaard*.

57 See Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief, *Doopregisters 1564–1811*, DTB 9, p. 64, and *Begraafregisters 1553–1811*, DTB 1230, p. 443.

58 'Rare and memorable voyages and travels through Egypt, the West Indies, Persia, Turkey, the East Indies and adjacent territories'; see also above, n. 40.

existed, since the book has been patched together and pilfered from sundry works and voyages of others by a certain Broekhuijsen, the brother of the captain who was a man of great learning. His children are here in the orphanage and he drank himself to death.⁵⁹

5 Gerrit and Joan van Broekhuizen

The 'learned captain' in question was Joan van Broekhuizen (also Jan or Johan, 1649–1707), who combined his intellectual pursuits as an accomplished Latinist and poet with a career as an officer in the army of the Dutch Republic, and who has received far more scholarly attention than his ill-fated younger brother Gerrit. We know, for instance, that their father Gerrit van Broekhuizen, senior, was a hatmaker who later worked as a clerk in the Admiralty. In view of his exceptional talent, Joan was allowed to continue his education at the Latin School, which was unusual for children of his humble background. He was afterwards apprenticed to an apothecary, but around 1672 he ran away, enlisted in the army, obtained a commission and fought in the great war against France, England and the bishops of Cologne and Münster, the so-called 'Year of Catastrophe' ('Rampjaar'). In 1674 he joined Admiral Michiel de Ruyter on his expedition against the French possessions in the West Indies. After the Treaty of Nijmegen (August 1678) he returned to the Dutch Republic. Evidently not a man to let a slight pass unnoticed, he mortally wounded an opponent in a duel, but was pardoned by Stadtholder William III of Orange. At a certain point he was stationed more or less permanently in Utrecht, and from 1684 onwards we find him in Amsterdam, where he was captain of the city guards. In his leisure time he wrote poetry, first in Dutch but later almost exclusively in Latin, and built up a network of powerful friends in politics and academia. He is known for his poems in praise of his patrons or against his many enemies, but his reputation as a scholar rests first and foremost on his anonymously

59 See Tiele, *Nederlandsche bibliographie*, p. 165, with reference to Gebhard, *Het leven van Mr. Nicolaas Cornelisz. Witsen*, vol. 2, p. 361; see also Smits, 'De Verenigde Nederlanden op zoek naar Egypte', p. 42: 'U wel Ed. gest. haelt aen, in sijne geleerde brief, de beschrijvinge onder de naem van Melton, dog hij believe te weten, dat er nojt sodaenigen reysiger in de werelt is geweest, want dat boek is door sekeren Broekhuijsen, de broeder van den capiteyn, die van grooten studie was, bijeengeflanst en gestolen uyt allerhande werken en vojagien van anderen; sijn kinderen sijn hier int weeshuis, en hij dronk sig doot'. See also Smits, 'Ontmaskering op termijn', pp. 290–295, 335. Note, however, that none of these sources go into the identity of the learned captain. On Van Broekhuizen's use of Wansleben's itinerary of Egypt see recently Hamilton (ed.), *Johann Michael Wansleben's Travels*, p. 42.

published editions of Latin texts, all published by the firm of Hendrik Wetstein in Amsterdam. In 1689, for instance, he edited the Neo-Latin poetry of the Italian humanist Jacopo Sannazaro and the three Amalteo brothers, followed in 1695 by the *Opera* of Aonius Palearius. He was also known for his knowledge of Italian. In November 1697 he was honourably discharged from the army and the next year retired to a cottage in the village of Amstelveen, where he spent his final years as a recluse, compiling widely appreciated editions of the Augustan poets Propertius (published 1702) and Tibullus (1707). He died on 15 December 1707, one year after his brother Gerrit.⁶⁰

In view of the above, the attribution of all the Dutch translations to Gerrit van Broekhuizen, an unknown alcoholic who died destitute and destined his children for the orphanage, does not ring quite true. Apart from Nicolaes Witsen, who flew into a rage because of Van Broekhuizen's plagiarism, no one else seems to have remembered him. This is unusual, especially if one compares him with the slightly earlier professional translator Jan Hendrik Glazemaker (1625–1682), who has received ample attention in modern scholarship.⁶¹ Would Joan van Broekhuizen, the officer-poet, have used the name of his younger brother as an *alter ego*? There is no hard evidence to sustain this, but it may be interesting to consider the following arguments, which show that the lives and careers of both brothers converge to a large extent and may even blend into one single person.

In the first place there is the financial argument. We know nothing about Joan van Broekhuizen's circumstances, but he moved in high circles and his pay as a simple captain may have been inadequate. He is known to have composed eulogies for Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg, for which he was paid handsomely.⁶² He published a slim volume of Dutch poetry, *Gedichten*, in 1677, followed in 1684 by an equally modest collection of his own Latin poems (*Carmina*, Utrecht 1684), and, as we have seen, his scholarly editions were few and far between, so his own works can hardly have been a considerable source of income. He may thus have been obliged to supplement his financial resources with a large number of translations, published under a slightly different name and with different publishers of somewhat doubtful repute such as the Van Hoorns or Lamsvelds.

Not only did Gerrit van Broekhuizen have a penchant for pseudonyms and (inverted) initials; his elder brother Joan had exactly the same habit, publishing his Latin editions anonymously and writing poetry under adopted names such

60 On Joan van Broekhuizen see Worp, 'Joan van Broekhuizen', pp. 40–113.

61 See, for instance, Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker'.

62 Worp, 'Joan van Broekhuizen', pp. 68–69.

as the fictitious Joannes Vossius—apparently based on his mother's name Eva Vos—or even the name of a certain Rutgerus Hermannides, a person who had actually existed and who had been a professor at the University of Harderwijk until his death in 1680.⁶³

Both Gerrit and Joan van Broekhuizen were connected with authors who were manifestly interested in the Orient, the most influential of whom was the aforementioned Nicolaes Witsen. Joan offered two poems to Witsen,⁶⁴ whereas Gerrit van Broekhuizen dedicated a compilatory description of Europe to him in 1703.⁶⁵ Ten years later Witsen complained that Eduward Melton was the same as Gerrit van Broekhuizen, the 'brother of the captain who was of great learning', and perhaps he discovered this only after the death of the two brothers in 1706 and 1707 respectively.

Moreover, Joan van Broekhuizen contributed a Latin poem in praise of Cornelis de Bruyn's *Reizen door de vermaardste delen van Klein Asia [...]* (Delft, 1698).⁶⁶ His name is also found in the list of subscribers,⁶⁷ and a copy of the book is in the auction catalogue of his private library of 1708, *Catalogus bibliothecae Jani Broukhusii*.⁶⁸ In contrast, Gerrit van Broekhuizen does not appear among the subscribers, although he would naturally be interested in it, if only because De Bruyn cited from the work of his *persona* Eduward Melton. In his dedicatory poem Joan van Broekhuizen is profoundly negative about the Orient, which he describes as 'a heap of ashes', 'overrun by the Turkish Mars'.⁶⁹ But if he was so negative about the Orient, then why should he wish to possess a copy of the book? Cornelis de Bruyn appears to have been unaware that Eduward Melton, whose itinerary he had used for his own *Reizen*, was actually the translator Gerrit van Broekhuizen.⁷⁰ One can hardly believe that Joan van Broekhuizen, who was in close contact with De Bruyn, was unaware that his own brother Gerrit had used the pseudonym Melton. But if Joan himself had written a book under the name of Melton he would have had good reason to keep silent about it towards De Bruyn.

When Joan van Broekhuizen died in 1707 he turned out to possess an impressive collection of books on the Orient. In his auction catalogue from 1708 we

63 Worp, 'Joan van Broekhuizen', p. 73 ('Joannes Vossius'); pp. 78, 82 ('Rutgerus Hermannides').

64 Ibid., p. 72.

65 See van Broekhuizen, *De nieuwe bereisde wereld*. Note that the dedication is formally signed by the bookseller, Jan ten Hoorn.

66 See de Bruyn, *Reizen*, fol. **iv.

67 Ibid., fol. *4v, left-hand column.

68 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Jani Broukhusii*, p. 188, no. 448.

69 See Gaspar (ed.), *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, 'Bredere aantekening BA/3'.

70 See ibid., 'Bredere aantekening BA/102'.

find the French edition of Paul Rycaut's *History of the Turkish Empire* and the French originals of the voyages of De Thévenot, Chardin and Tachard, all four of which had been translated into Dutch by Gerrit van Broekhuizen.⁷¹ But in addition we come across many more Oriental voyages or histories, such as Jan Hendrik Glazemaker's Dutch translation of the *Six voyages* of Jean Baptiste Tavernier (Amsterdam, 1682) and Sanson's *Voyage ou relation de l'état présent de Perse* (Paris, 1695),⁷² as well as a slightly earlier work by Vincent de Stochove, *L'Othoman, ou L'abrégé des vies des empereurs Turcs* (Amsterdam, 1667).⁷³ But a real surprise is the presence of Oriental works from the first half of the sixteenth century, such as Andrea Cambini's *Commentario della origine de Turchi* of 1538 and Joannes Cuspinianus' *De Turcorum origine* of 1541.⁷⁴ Such books must already have been rare and expensive by the end of the seventeenth century.

In addition, Joan van Broekhuizen's private library allows us to establish a link with Adriaan Reland himself in the absence of any surviving correspondence. In the auction catalogue we find various copies of four works by Reland printed between 1702 and 1706: a treatise on Samaritan coins *De inscriptione nummorum quorundam Samaritanorum* (1702), a similar treatise on Arabic inscriptions on marble slabs *De marmoribus Arabicis* (1704), a copy of the first edition of *De religione Mohammedica* (1705) and the first volume of Reland's collected studies *Dissertationes miscellaneae* (1706).⁷⁵ All of these books point to a consistent interest in Reland's Oriental studies which is hardly to be expected from a Neo-Latin poet. Conversely, Reland possessed a copy of Joan van Broekhuizen's edition of the elegiac poetry of Propertius of 1702, given to him by the editor himself, which proves that the two men were actually in touch with one another.⁷⁶

Finally, Joan's library contained a fair number of French works on Western subjects which had been translated into Dutch by Gerrit, or even the translations themselves. Of course it would have been quite normal for any Amsterdam intellectual to possess several Oriental works, but this is simply too much, especially for the Latinist Joan van Broekhuizen, who ostensibly regarded the

71 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Jani Broukhusii*, p. 30, no. 280, p. 190, nos. 1922–1924.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 189, *in-4*, no. 952, *in-8*, no. 1920.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 187, no. 1033.

74 *Ibid.*, p. 30, nos. 275, 277.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 126, no. 1365, p. 127, no. 1377, p. 128, no. 751, p. 140, no. 1479, p. 199, nos. 1992–1994.

76 Utrecht, University Library, MS 1551 (1 J 6), personal communication from Dr Bart Jaski. On the title page the Utrecht copy has a dedication of the simplest possible kind, 'Cl[arissimo] Relando d[onavit] Auctor Janus Broukhusius'.

Orient as a 'heap of ashes'.⁷⁷ At the same time it is conceivable that all these Oriental books were once in the possession of Gerrit van Broekhuizen, even if he does not strike us as a wealthy bibliophile, and that he left them to Joan upon his death in 1706. But even if this is true, then why were the books not sold off immediately after his death, if only to keep his children and heirs out of the orphanage?

6 Two Brothers, One Career?

However, the most compelling argument for the blurred identity of Joan and Gerrit van Broekhuizen is perhaps the intertwined chronology of the two brothers' lives, which shows that they were never active at the same time. If one was active, the other was correspondingly idle and vice-versa. The two volumes of poetry published by Joan van Broekhuizen in 1677 and 1684 have been omitted from the following schedule on account of their modest size.

Joan

In August 1678 the Treaty of Nijmegen is signed, ending the war with France, and Joan returns to the Netherlands, where a life of relative inactivity awaits him.

In 1686 Joan has serious problems with his intended spouse and he sees himself compelled to break off the engagement, a tragic circumstance that will lead to legal proceedings against him.

Gerrit

In 1679, Gerrit starts publishing his first translations in quick succession, mostly light French novels. Every single year between 1679 and 1687 he publishes at least one, but often more translations.

In 1686, however, Gerrit does not publish a single translation.

⁷⁷ See above, p. 135.

In the decade from 1689 to 1698, Joan lives through an extremely active phase of his career. In 1689 he publishes Sannazaro and the Amalteo brothers. In 1693 the court finally rules against him in the marriage lawsuit and in the same year he starts making a Latin translation of Huet's *Nouveaux mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Cartésianisme*, which never sees the light of day. In 1695 the Palearius edition appears. In 1696 he is wounded during a riot in Amsterdam and only makes a slow recovery. In November 1697 he is discharged from the army and at the end of 1698 retires to Amstelveen to dedicate himself to his studies.⁷⁸

In 1701 Joan is busily engaged with the edition of Propertius, which is published in 1702.

In 1687 Gerrit resumes his work and produces two Oriental itineraries; in 1688 the third and last volume of De Thévenot's travels comes off the press. During the decade between 1689 and 1698, Gerrit publishes nothing at all.

In 1699 Gerrit makes his comeback with a slight revision of the translation of Don Quixote, and in 1700 publishes a translation of Adrien Baillet's *Life of Descartes*.

In 1701 there is only Gerrit's slight revision of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*.

In 1703 Gerrit publishes his compilation of a description of Europe, *De nieuwe bereisde wereld*. In 1705 he publishes a translation of the morose reflections of Schuppianus and this is the last we hear of him.

⁷⁸ For the chronology of Joan Broekhuizen's career as an author, see Worp, 'Joan van Broekhuizen', pp. 65–85.

Towards the end of 1705 Joan decides to concentrate on the edition of Tibullus. In October 1706 he finishes the proofs of Tibullus and in August 1707 the book comes off the press. He dies in December 1707.⁷⁹

These reflections are of course to a certain degree speculative, and there is no denying that Gerrit van Broekhuizen, the younger brother of Joan van Broekhuizen, actually existed and that the Oriental translations were published under the name 'G. van Broekhuizen' or aliases. Nonetheless, the constant play with identities and pseudonyms, the contacts with other Dutch authors of Oriental works, a rich collection of Oriental books and the alternating appearance and disappearance of both brothers like the figures in a Black Forest weather box, all allow the assumption that it was the competent Latinist and army officer Joan van Broekhuizen who was responsible for a large number of Oriental translations rather than his hard-drinking and destitute younger brother Gerrit. However, more facts will have to come to the surface before this question of the two brothers can be settled with any certainty.

With regard to the more relevant issue of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, its Dutch translation and subsequent revisions of 1701 and the involvement of Adriaan Reland, we may safely assume that in 1701 the Amsterdam bookseller Willem Lamsveld re-issued Joannes Bouwmeester's original Dutch translation from 1672, slightly revised by Gerrit van Broekhuizen, who signed with the initials 'S.D.B.' His identity could be established with the help of one of his other translations, the *Historie der Sevarambes*, also signed 'S.D.B.' and published by Lamsveld in 1701. We have also seen that Van Broekhuizen translated or revised seven more Oriental voyages from the seventeenth century. A collation of the various editions reveals that Reland used the anonymous first Dutch version of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* published by Rieuwertsz in 1672 for his extensive annotations to the translation, which remained largely untouched. The result was published, also in 1701, by the Rotterdam bookseller Pieter Van der Veer, who must have known about Lamsveld's edition and decided to retain the initials 'S.D.B.' as the name of the presumed translator. Scholars unaware of Van Broekhuizen and his activities later suggested that these initials were an inversion of Spinoza's initials 'B.d.S.' Since there is no indication that Benedict de Spinoza was in any tangible way involved in the original translation from 1672, this myth must be discarded once and for all.

79 Ibid., pp. 86–94.

Appendix: The Oriental Translations of Gerrit van Broekhuizen

1681—Jean de Thévenot (1633–1667), *Gedenkwaardige en zeer naauwkeurige reizen van den heere de Thevenot [...]*, 3 vols, Amsterdam, Jan Bouman, 1681–1688. [2nd edn., Amsterdam, Nicolaas ten Hoorn, 1723; 3rd edn, Amsterdam, Gerrit Bos, 1731]. Translation of: [1] *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant [...]*, 1664; [2] *Suite du voyage au Levant [...]*, 1674; [3] *Troisième partie des voyages de M. de Thevenot, contenant la relation de l'Indostan, des nouveaux Mogols [...]* (1684). [Tiele, p. 238]

1681—Eduward Melton [pseudonym of G. van Broekhuizen], *Eduward Meltons, Engelsch edelmans, zeldzaame en gedenkwaardige zee- en landreizen, door Egypten, West-Indien, Perzien, Turkyen, Oost-Indien, en d'aangrenzende gewesten [...]*, Amsterdam, Jan [Claesz] ten Hoorn, 1681. [2nd edn., Amsterdam, Jan Verjager, 1702]. [Tiele, p. 165; Buisman, no. 290–293]

1682—Denis Vairasse (ca. 1630–1672), *Historie der Sevarambes, volkeren die een gedeelte van het darde Vast-land bewoonen, gemeenlijk Zuid-land genaamd [...]*, Amsterdam, Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1682. [2nd edn., Amsterdam, Willem de Coup, Willem Lamsvelt, Philip Verbeek en Joannes Lamsvelt, 1701]. Translation of: *Histoire des Sevarambes, peuples qui habitent la terre Australe*. [Tiele, pp. 111–112; Buisman, nos. 2290–2291; Gieles and Plak, no. 117; Mateboer, no. 635]

1684—Pierre Dan (–1649), Simon de Vries (1628–1679 fl.), *Historie van Barbaryen en des zelfs zeeroovers [...]*, Amsterdam, Jan ten Hoorn, 1684. Translation of: *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires*. [Tiele, p. 70]

1684—Paul Rycaut (1628–1700), *Historie der drie laatste Turcksche keizers [...]*, Amsterdam, Timotheus ten Hoorn and Jan Bouman, 1684. Translation of: *Histoire des trois derniers empereurs des Turcs, depuis 1623 jusqu'à 1677*.

1687—Jean (John) Chardin (1643–1713), *Dagverhaal van den Ridder Chardyn na Persien en Oost-Indien, door de Swarte Zee en Colchis*, Amsterdam, Sander [Wybrants] van de Jouwer, 1687. Translation of: *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales, par la Mer Noire & par la Colchide*. [Tiele, p. 59]

1687—Guy Tachard (1651–1712), *Reis na Siam, gedaan door den ridder de Chaumont, gezant van zyn allerchristelykste majesteit aan den koning van Siam*, Amsterdam, Aart Dircksz Oossaan, 1687. (The last part, *Verhaal van het gezantschap des ridders de Chaumont aan het hof des konings van Siam*, was also published separately). Translation of: *Voyage de Siam des Pères Jesuites, envoyés par le roy, aux Indes & à la Chine*. [Tiele, pp. 235–236]

1701—Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Ṭufayl (ca. 1106–1185), ed. Edward Pococke (the Younger, 1648–1727), *Het Leeven van Hai ebn Yokdhan, in het Arabisch beschreeven door Abu Jaaphar ebn Tophail, en uit de Latynsche oversettinge van Eduard Pocock. A.M. In het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.D.B.*, Amsterdam, Willem Lamsveld, 1701. [Slightly revised edition of Rieuwertsz 1672]. [Buisman, no. 3; Mateboer, no. 885]

1701—Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Ṭufayl (ca. 1106–1185), ed. Edward Pococke (the Younger, 1648–1727), *De natuurlyke wysgeer, of het Leven van Hai ebn Jokdan, in het Arabisch beschreven door Abu Jaaphar ebn Tophail. Voordezen uit de Latynsche overzetting van Eduard Pocok, A.M. In het Nederduitsch vertaald door S.D.B. En nu op nieuws met de Arabische grondtext vergeleken, en met aanmerkingen over eenige duistere plaatsen en spreekwyzen verrykt*, Rotterdam, Pieter Van der Veer, 1701. [Slightly revised version of the edition Lamsveld 1701, with notes by Adriaan Reland]. [Buisman, no. 4; Mateboer, no. 1118].

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