

as follows: ‘the portrait-in-octavo, apparently not a fantasy portrait, executed (...) when Van Woensel was in his early forties (...) [is] found in front of his first volume of his *Journey through Turkey and Russia*. Let us remove in our minds that Russian costume and take off that fur cap from his head (...). What build can be conjectured from this small head and small shoulders? A stature scarcely of medium size; a slightly built and well-shaped little figure. And what does that small, black, upward curved moustache tell? What does that rounded chin mean, those closed lips, that intrepid nose, those small dark eyes? Features may deceive, but the characteristic ones less so than the fine. And so I read in Van Woensel’s countenance, firstly, more finesse still than shines through in his writings; from which I conclude that as a writer he has not always done justice to his gift, and that the fabricating of proper names like signor Babbelarini [Chatterini], signor Queetbeeterik [Qnobetteric] and more suchlike drolleries must be thought to have been beneath the dignity of his talent and nature. He looks far too decent for such things. On the other hand I also look fruitlessly for a hint of malice or disposition to treason. If this is a type of a male slanderer, one would wish for our eyes’ comfort that many men in our Fatherland belonged to the class of slanderers.’¹

[title page]

Officially, *Remarks* is an anonymous work. Even in the posthumous sales catalogue of Pieter’s own estate, copies of the book were dutifully listed by title only.² The title page and prelims constitute a fine specimen of Orientalised bibliographical misinformation. The author’s name is substituted by an unnamed portrait

Van der Willigen, in turn, was a long-time collaborator in Tydeman’s *Mnemosyne* series. Finally, the latter was much impressed by Van Hall’s study of Admiral Van Kinsbergen, Van Woensel’s protector (cf. *Drie voorlezingen*, p. ix), and it is tempting to assume that he did some research into the Admiral’s inner circle.

- 1 Busken Huet, ‘Vijfde lezing. Van Woensel en Loosjes’, p. 169.
- 2 Cf. *Verzcat* 4692, lot no. 1102.

in ‘the disguise of a Turkish habit’³ above enigmatic Orient-ish letters; Constantinople figures as the fantasy place of publication; the year of printing is given as ‘the year MCCVI of Hijra’; the publisher is named as the Arab Portlohah Effendi.⁴ The work lacks a Table of Contents, and, as a matter of course, the specification ‘Volume I’ is absent, as a second volume was envisioned but uncertain (Preface, p. x).

Our Doctor would continue this Oriental play through his alter ego, the Turkish chief physician ‘Hekim-Bachi Amurath-Effendi’, in the articles and caricatures he published in his *Lantaarn* series,⁵ aimed at stimulating discussion through his ‘Arabian brain-waves’ (*arabische invallen*).⁶ In the *Bij-Lichter*, while revealing his real name, Pieter wrote that he assumed an Ottoman *nom de plume* ‘half from whimsicality, half from a pleasant memory of my Musulman Friends.’⁷ So in a fictitious ‘Autobiography of Doctor Woenselius *alias* Lamp-light’, one of Van Woensel’s adversaries derided him as a convert to Muhammedanism, circumcised while in Turkey, and showing his true colours in his attire.⁸

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- 3 *The Monthly Review*, vol. VI (1791), p. 518, ‘It is an anonymous publication: but the portrait, which fronts the title-page, notwithstanding the disguise of a Turkish habit, is very well known to be that of a Dutch physician (...).’
 - 4 On p. 454 – see my Commentary there on this *éditeur fantôme*. Sometimes similar smoke screens concealed the place and date of publication so well that they are still disputed; a famous example is a printing of the French Koran translation by Claude-Étienne Savary, cf. Hamilton, *Forbidden fruit*, pp. 18–20, with facsimile of the title page, ‘À la Mecque. | L’an de l’Hégire 1165’.
 - 5 For Van Woensel in Turkish costume, see reproductions in, e.g., Nieuwenhuis, *Satire*, p. 133 (from *De Lantaarn voor 1798*); pp. 127, 128 and 134 (from *De Lantaarn voor 1800*).
 - 6 *De Lantaarn voor 1796*, p. 118.
 - 7 *Bij-Lichter* (bound with *De Lantaarn voor 1801*), p. 193. (*half uit een gril, half uit eene aangenaame herinnering aan mijn Vrienden de Musulmans*)
 - 8 Thus Bernardus Bosch, *De Burger Politieke Blixem* 33 (10 November 1800), ‘De levensbeschrijving van Doctor Woenselius *alias* Lamplicht’, pp. 281–283, viz. 282, ‘ik (...) liet my besnyden en wierd *Turks*

The year of printing is ambiguous: 1206 *anno Hegiræ* corresponds with the period of 31 August 1791–18 August 1792 *anno Domini*.¹ *Remarks* 1 contains a clear *terminus post quem* in the form of Van Woensel's mention, on p. 427, of the *Aeneid* translation (by the unnamed, Eugenios Voulgaris), the first volume of which was published in 1791.² It would indeed appear that it came on the market in the first months of 1206H, i.e., the autumn of 1791, or at the latest October 1791, when it was listed in Saakes' overview of new publications that month.³ That same quarter a review appeared in the 1791 *Monthly Review* issue 'from September to December, *inclusive*', probably written by their Holland-based correspondent Thomas Cogan, an English physician-minister.⁴ The first critiques in Dutch literary magazines appeared in 1792, notably an approving one in *De Recensent*, communicating that the book was published in Amsterdam in 1791 – important details, given the assumed presence in the

editorial board of Willem Holtrop, the publisher of the journal's first five issues, as well as of *Remarks*.⁵

Volume Two of *Remarks*, detailing the Anatolian and Crimean part of Van Woensel's journey, was again dated according to Hijri chronology, 'Hegira MCCIX', which corresponds with the period of 29 July 1794–19 July 1795.⁶ By that time a revolutionary new chronology had entered history, the French Republican Calendar. Introduced on 5 October 1793, and resetting 22 September 1792 as Day One of Year One, it entered the Lowlands as the 'Calendar of the Batavian Freedom' late in 1795.⁷ Itself part of a wider attempt to remove all religious and royalist influences from culture, it came with a Rural Calendar in which each day of the year had a unique name associated with the rural economy, in imitation, and substitution of the Roman Catholic saints' calendar. The seventh day of the autumn month Vendémiaire, for example, was called Carotte, the nineteenth day of the summer month Fructidor Tagette (Marigold). In clear mockery

of *Muhamedaansch*; zoo als ik my nog in die waare kleeding voor mynen *Bylichter*, al gietende met den *oleum veritatis*, in mynen Lamptaarn de eer heb te verbeelden.' The text is paraphrased in modern Dutch in Hanou, *Revolutie in woorden*, pp. 91–93; on Bosch's attack, see Nieuwenhuis, *Satire*, pp. 185–187.

- 1 *Caveat*: note that different era conversion programmes and reference books compute slightly different data.
- 2 See further Commentary to p. 427.
- 3 Saakes, *Naamlijst*, October 1791, no. 2, p. 156, sales price given as *f* 6. Involving the creation and management of a huge network of correspondents, Saakes' list modernised the book trade; cf. Kloek, 'Lijst'; *Bibliopolis*.
- 4 See Nangle, *The Monthly Review*, p. 15, 'From 1775 until 1788 nearly all the reviews for the Foreign Appendix were written by Archibald Maclaine, the minister of the English Church in The Hague. In 1788 (...) [he] suggested to Griffiths that the responsibility (...) be assumed by Cogan and [the Presbyterian minister Benjamin Choisey] Sowden (...). This arrangement was adopted, and lasted until the end of 1793, when Cogan stopped writing for the *Monthly*.' Van Galen, 'Blauwe beul', pp. 69–70; Broecheler, *Staat*, p. 52, resp. p. 60, note 7.

- 5 *Algemeene konst en letterbode*, on 23 March 1792, p. 92. *De Recensent*, of *Bydragen tot de letterkundige geschiedenis van onzen tyd* 11 [1792], pp. 387–388; mind the square brackets: notoriously, neither the journal's contents, nor the surviving original blue wrappers (preserved in Leiden, UBL 1169 E 23–25), or the afterwards provided composite volume wrappers yield unassailable data for most issues. For *De Recensent*, the remarkable, candid review journal, its driving force Wilhelmus van Irhoven van Dam (an 'Atheist with an awful pen', according to some opponents), Willem Holtrop as one of its elusive editors, and J.A. Crajenschot, the publisher from 1790 onwards, see Van Galen, 'Blauwe beul'.
- 6 This time it took more than a year before its inclusion in Saakes, as the 'second and last volume', also costing *f* 6; cf. Saakes, *Naamlijst*, September 1796, no. 2, p. 284. As De Jong built almost solely on Saakes in continuing the Van Abkoude-Arrenberg *Naamregister* (witness his *Alphabetische naamlijst*, p. v, and see Van Lieburg, 'Catalogues', pp. 14–15), the long delay caused him to mistake the year of listing for that of the year of publication, resulting in the erroneous entry for both volumes in *Alphabetische naamlijst* (1832), p. 4, '1796. Amsterdam, J.S. van Esveldt Holtrop. 12,00.'
- 7 The 'Kalender van de Bataafsche Vrijheid' lasted seven years; for its influence on, e.g., Dutch almanacs, see De Niet, 'Almanak', pp. 75–76.

of these developments the Doctor ‘specified’ the year his party left Constantinople: “This was in the sixth year of the oppression of the Hoorn Carrots and the Marigolds, more precisely in the ninth year before the complete introduction of Christendom in *Swedish Lapland*, or yet more precisely in the month *Rebiel-eval* 1199 of *Hijra* (...).¹ That is, in January of the year 1785.² In the face of the progressive annexation and plunder by France, Pieter’s chronology became sharper. In *De Lantaarn voor 1800* a would-be proclamation is ‘given thus, at *Clot Castle*, etc. etc., in *The First Year of the Madhouse Break*’; in the same issue a cartoon caption reads: ‘Entrance of the Trojan Horse [France] in *Bestiania*, the xviiith year after the birth of Mister C. Contention.’³

1 *Remarks* II, p. 4. (*’t Was nu in den zesden jaare der verdrukkinge van de Hoornsche-wortels en der Goudsbloemen, duidelijker in ’t negende jaar vóór de volkomen invoering van ’t Kristendom in Zweedsch Lapland, of noch duidelijker in de maand Rebiel-eval 1199 van de Hegira*). Around 1750 a new carrot variety was cultivated in North Holland, orange-yellow coloured and usually named after the town of Hoorn.

2 An incomprehensible incongruity in the light of external evidence, notably the letter by Heidenstam dated 19 May 1786, ‘Le docteur Van Woensel est parti pour Isfahan’, that is, in the month Rajab of 1200 H. Cf. NA, archive no. 1.02.22, inv. no. 668.

3 *De Lantaarn voor 1800*, p. 98. (*aldus gedaan op Uilenstein, enz. enz. ’t Eerste Jaar van ’t Uitgebrooken Dolhuis*); *ibid.*, cartoon facing p. 89. (*intrée van ’t Trojaansche Paerd in Bestiania, het xviii^{de} jaar na de geboorte van den Heere C. Kattekwaad*). The same in *De Lantaarn voor 1801*, p. 81. ‘Uilenstein’ and ‘t Uitgebrooken Dolhuis’ are elucidated in *De Lantaarn voor 1801*, Tweede Stuk, ‘Bijlaagen’, pp. 98–99, ‘Seriously, doesn’t it look like a duds’ dance with people blowing hot and cold from the same mouth? When they most solemnly recognise a nation as free and independent while constantly obstructing it in the exercise of its sovereignty? Saying quite plainly: “I am your lord and master! You will dance to my tune.”?’ (*in ernst lijkt het niet wel uilenspel, wanneer men zo uit éénen mond heet en koud blaast? wanneer men op ’t plechtichste een volk voor vrij en onafhankelijk erkent, en ’t ieder ogenblik in de uitoffening zijner souverainiteit belemmert? zo goed als met ronde woorden*

While Van Woensel hijracised to add Islamic flavour,⁴ the Ottomans themselves were gradually shifting towards the Year of our Lord. Though the Moon-based Hijra era would long remain in use in the Turkish cultural and religious realm, Sun-powered Nature (= crops, tithes, revenues) had by the seventeenth century forcefully convinced the Ottoman State to adapt to the solar-based calendar for its civic expenditure and military payments. If not, it faced a chronic cycle of famine, rebellion and defeat as the gap between Sun year and Moon year (eleven days shorter) widened to an untenable maximum every 32 years.⁵ This process of transition had been underway for well over a century by the time Van Woensel arrived, and expanded into many more sectors shortly afterwards, but hardly any Western visitor had an inkling of it. It seems to me that among the Doctor’s known sources it is only in d’Ohsson (1740–1807) – who was a specialist and a local, and not a layman traveller – that the subject is specifically brought up, in a volume only published in 1824, when both men were already dead.⁶

zegt “ik ben uw heer en meester! naar mijne pijpen zult gij danzen”?)

4 While in Russia as a secret agent in the years 1796–1797, he often added ‘O.S.’ (Old Style) to the dates of his Dutch letters (not the French ones), to indicate that he was reckoning by the Julian, and not the Gregorian calendar. NA, archive no. 2.01.08, inv. no. 317.

5 For this important thesis advanced by Halil Sahiloğlu, see, e.g., Zarinebaf, *Crime*, p. 62.

6 Mouradgea d’Ohsson, *Tableau* VII, pp. 257–258. There are very brief references to it dispersed over earlier publications, e.g., Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, s.s.v.v. **Ab**, **Azar**, **Cebissah**, **Felvaris**, **Ianaris**, **Jouliah**, **Jounious**, ‘Les Musulmans, qui se servent de l’année Arabique, ne pouvant fixer les Solstices ni les Équinoxes dans leurs mois qui suivent le cours de la lune, employent ceux du Calendrier Julien, & empruntent par conséquent le nom de leurs mois.’ Thornton, *Present state* (first edition 1807), pp. 26–27 (1809 ed., vol. 1, p. 72), “They reckon time by lunar revolutions (...). In religious affairs, they are restricted to this mode; but in order to conciliate it with the revolutions of the sun, they are reduced to use the Gregorian calendar for civil purposes.’

(1683–1757), produced a ‘massive history of insects,’¹ and others, like Egbert Buys, who produced encyclopedical works where ‘the smallest inarticulate creature and the tiniest plant have a place, but more modest than that reserved for the description of an elephant and oak’, in order to remedy that ‘chaos of words with which entire pages have been filled, whereas one *paragraph* would have sufficed.’²

gentlemen A.B.C. – Z. ... A typical Sternean pun, compare *Tristram Shandy*, vol. 1, ch. 8, ‘there is no disputing against Hobby-Horses (...) Nor does it much disturb my rest, when I see such great Lords and tall Personages as hereafter follow; such, for instance, as my Lord A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, and so on, all of a row, mounted upon their several horses’. Similar in *De Lantaarn voor 1792*, pp. 114–115, ‘the Ladies and Gentlemen Critics’ (*Heeren en Dames kritieken*) A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H.³

► On Sterne in Van Woensel’s work, see further above, commentary to p. iv.

the fantastic and the marvellous ... Compare Lady Mary Montagu, ‘We travellers are in very hard circumstances. If we say nothing but what has been said before us, we are dull and we have observed nothing. If we tell anything new, we are laughed at as fabulous and Romantic (...).’⁴ Two young Dutch travelling companions who took along Her Ladyship’s account, actually found that it often was marvellous and romantic. Joan Raye (1737–1823): ‘ainsi n’admirez plus dans le beau roman qu’on attribue à Mylady que la manière vive et gracieuse dont elle décrit les sujets, car jusqu’à présent je peux dire qu’il y entre dans son livre beaucoup d’enthousiasme et du merveilleux et

1 *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire des insectes*. 6 volumes. Paris: de l’Imprimerie Royale, 1734–1742. Cf. Hook and Norman, *Science and medicine* II, p. 651, no. 1804.

2 Buys, *Woordenboek*, preface to vol. 1 (1769), p. iii. (Incidentally, the lemma *oorworm* (earwig) was granted two-thirds of a page.)

3 Cf. Savornin Lohman, *Sterne*, p. 83.

4 *Letters*, edition Halsband, vol. 1, p. 385 (10 March 1718, to Lady Mar).

qu’elle omet très souvent la vérité.’⁵ Van Spanbroek shared his reservations: ‘il m’a paru par plusieurs de ses lettres qu’on peut regarder plutôt ses mémoires comme un roman que pour histoire véritable.’⁶

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Ovid’s sweet singing-voice ... Van Woensel had no patience for classicising romanticism.⁷ ‘There are people who just can’t get enough of the Histories of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Even at this time of day some still share in the adventures of Ulysses and Æneas as if they were their next of kin.’⁸ Pieter has several sly digs at Lady Craven in *Remarks*, and since she is the only one among his declared sources relating the, unreferenced, Ovid anecdote, this is probably another one. ‘It is said Varna was the place where Ovid was sent into banishment; it might be so; but the chief part of his exile was passed in Moldavia; the borders of a lake where he often walked have become famous; the gentleness of his manners, and the sweet tone of his voice have been recorded from father to son, down to the present inhabitants of that part of Moldavia.’⁹ The irony is that her imagination had nothing to do with it. The story featured in *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie* (1778), an authorita-

5 Cf. Flinkenflögel, *Perruques et turbans*, facsimile of Letter 3[0] September 1765, facs. [14] and Dutch p. 46. Doedens and Mulder, *Een levenslustig heer*, p. 41.

6 *Voyage*, ed. Vigne, p. 180.

7 Inevitably, such lore abounded in the lands where the great Heroes walked in days of yore. Yet even devoted lovers of Antiquity such as Choiseul maintained a critical distance: ‘ses habitans [of the island of Chios] (...) conservent encore quelque souvenir de ce grand homme [Homer], & prétendent qu’il venoit donner ses leçons sur un rocher qui se trouve à une lieue (...). Il est inutile de relever le peu de vraisemblance de cette tradition.’ *Voyage pittoresque* I, p. 92.

8 *De Lantaarn voor 1798*, p. 68. (*er zijn ’er, welke zich niet kunnen verzadigen aan de historien der oude Grieken en Romeinen. Zommigen deelen nog huiden ten dage in de lotgevallen van Ulysses [en] van Æneas, als of ’t hunne naaste bloedverwanten waren*)

9 Craven, *Journey*, Letter 61.

tive book on the region by Jean-Louis Carra, and the ambiance this traditional tale evoked was so popular in England that the press published the entire passage in translation:

‘An inhabitant of the country assured me that he composed many poems in the Moldavian language (...). The memory of this great man has left such an impression on the people of this country, as to make them vain of it; they say, by tradition, ‘that there came from the banks of the Tyber an extraordinary man, who (...) when he spoke to anyone, honey seemed to flow from his mouth. (...) I could not take a view of it [i.e., the lake] without emotion. Methought I saw his manes sometimes hovering over the lake (...) sometimes I heard them sighing under the shade of a sycamore near his beloved fountain (...) there his enchanting lyre breathed forth the verses with which love and sweet melancholy had inspired him.’¹

As it happens, this was the least representative passage of a sober country report by a seasoned traveller who could not be farther removed from sentimentalism, and who even ‘invited’ Mr. Rousseau to come and live in the Moldavia forests for a year if he was that convinced that savage people are better than civilised people.²

► See also below, Commentary to p. 442 (Guys).

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and such important stuff ... Compare p. 10, on the journey’s first leg, Amsterdam–Turkey: ‘afraid of boring my readers when relating well-known or trifling matters (...) I will leave my fatherland in a single step.’ A huge contrast to the prevailing mood in travelogues as captured by Lady Craven’s motto: ‘Mine at present is a geographical intercourse with the

world; and I like to find the road I travel smooth.’³ As for the Anatolian sequel, Pieter would have preferred to have skipped that too, by ballooning: ‘For someone in a great hurry, a *Montgolfier* is an excellent craft. But for us it would have been a bit too cumbersome, even if the trade winds had allowed for its use.’⁴

Following the pioneer flights in France in the second half of 1783 by the Montgolfier brothers, and Jean-François Pilâtre de Rozier, the news and pictures of *montgolfières* travelled fast and wide. In September 1784, French Abbot Guillaume Martin received befriended Turkish Imam ‘Isman’ aboard his ship anchored in the Bay of Smyrna. As they sat and drank liqueur, ‘he was intrigued by an engraving I had in my cabin, representing a balloon; he could not keep his eyes off it. (...) He asked Isaac Bey, my interpreter, for an explanation of the globe, which was a mystery to him. (...) One can easily imagine how surprised he was upon learning that men fly in France.’⁵ Martin gave him the engraving as a present. In 1785 we find the first accounts of hot-air balloons traversing the Turkish skies: ‘[May,] 17. Account received of a balloon expedition at Constantinople, by permission of the Grand Signior. The travellers (...) landed at Burs[a].’⁶

1 From *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 48 (August 1778), p. 378, no. 77 in ‘List of Books – with Remarks’; same text in *The Gentleman’s and London Magazine: Or Monthly Chronologer*. October 1778, p. 563A. The original text in Carra, *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie*, long footnote on pp. 7–10.

2 Carra, *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie*, p. 197.

3 Letter 33, Petersburg, Friday Feb. 18, 1786. Confirmed by Heidenstam, Letter 19 May 1786, ‘Elle voyage pour s’instruire, c’est une femme d’esprit.’ (Having said this, ‘Mais elle est angloise, par conséquent froide’. – Letter 3 June 1786.) NA, archive no. 1.02.22, inv. no. 668.

4 *Remarks II*, p. 9. (*voor iemand, die groote haast heeft, is een Montgolfier een zeer goed voertuig. Voor ons zou dit wat volle omslagtig geweest zijn; zelfs zo passaatwinden ’er ’t gebruik van toegelaaten hadden*). And cf. *De Lantaarn voor 1800*, p. 73.

5 Martin, *Voyage*, pp. 45–49, viz. 48. (*une gravure que j’avais dans ma chambre, et qui représentait un ballon, l’occupa beaucoup; il ne pouvait se lasser de le regarder. (...) il demanda à Isaac Bey, mon interprète, l’explication du globe, qui était pour lui un mystère (...). On peut facilement imaginer quelle fut sa surprise, en apprenant que les hommes volent en France*)

6 Cf. *The Town and Country Magazine, Or Universal Repository* (...), vol. 17 for the Year 1785 (‘Chronology of remarkable events of 1785’), p. 709. Earlier in the issue, p. 273, the event itself is dated ‘Constantinople, March 15 [1785], with more details – see next note.

These (hearsay) expeditions became so embellished they ended up resembling fiction: manned by crews of three (a ‘Persian physician’ with two ‘Bostangis’) wearing rich pelisses presented to them by the Sultan, and ascending from the gardens of the Seraglio in the presence of all the Sultanas, to land exactly at the foot of Mount Olympus near Bursa,¹ ‘where the Mahometans were struck with (...) dread and horror, upon the supposition that their prophet was coming to take vengeance for their manifold offences. In this terror they prostrated themselves everywhere upon the earth; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the aeronauts could (...) undeceive a few of the most sensible and courageous, as to procure assistance for securing the balloon. (...) the Grand Signior (...) ordered the balloon to be hung up in the church of St. Sophia as a perpetual memorial of so wonderful an event.’²

Firsthand reports by Western travellers are, on the other hand, surprisingly sober,³ with the great

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- 1 *The Town and Country Magazine*, vol. 17 for the year 1785, p. 273. Same and paraphrased versions in, e.g., *New London Magazine; Being an Universal and Complete Monthly Repository* (...), for January 1786, p. 37; *Walker’s Hibernian Magazine* for 1786, p. 59, etc.
 - 2 *The Gentleman’s and London Magazine: Or, Monthly Chronologer*, vol. 55, Part II, ‘Supplement for the year 1785’: ‘Balloon intelligence for the year 1785’, p. 1032; reused in Dodsley’s *The Annual Register* (...) for the year 1786 (published 1788), pp. 54–55.
 - 3 For example, Toderini, *Littérature* II, pp. 22–23, note 1, ‘J’ai connu ce poëte [‘Abdelrah man Reefet’] dans les prairies de Boujuck-Déré, le jour qu’on lança un ballon aérostatique, au milieu du concours & des battements de mains de toutes les nations. (...) Je le priaï de faire quelque chose sur la nouvelle expérience de l’aérostat; mais peu de jours après, j’appri avec douleur qu’il étoit mort à la fleur de l’âge.’ Respectively *Letteratura turchesca* II, p. 22, note (a), ‘(...) nelle praterie di Bojuxderè, quando con grande concorso, e plauso di tutte le nazioni, sollevossi in aria il pallone aerostatico.’ Miranda, *Diarios*, p. 181 (17 September 1786), people flocked to the ‘Paseo’ of Büyükdere after rumours that another paper balloon had gone up, like the one launched a fortnight before by ‘Musthaphá el Ynglés’, chief of the Engineers. (*para llegar* (...) *al Paseo; q^o. estava sumamente lleno de gentes con motivo de averse*

exception of Baron Munchausen. One morning, ‘in a pleasure barge on the Marmora, which commands a view of the whole city of Constantinople (...) I observed a globular substance in the air, which appeared to be about the size of a twelve-inch globe, with something suspended from it.’ He downed it with his barrel gun and found that the ‘strange aerial traveller’ was a ‘French experimental philosopher’ who had drifted astray.⁴ More fiction followed, with the exotic Islamic world as an ideal backdrop for aerial and spatial tales. In 1789, Dutch writer Rhijnvis Feith set an exo-planetary parable in Samarkand, where young Prince Abu is convinced to stop dreaming of conquest and destruction by a hoary wise man who used the example of the fools on the planet Nar (known as ‘the Madhouse of Creation’, and bearing an unsettling resemblance to Planet Earth) circling the star Haro eight thousand light years from Sirius.⁵ In 1811 – a good half-century before Jules Verne’s *Cinq semaines en ballon* – Dutch lawyer, historian, poet and linguist Willem Bilderdijk (1756–1831) wrote the science-fiction story *A short account of a remarkable aerial voyage and discovery of a new planet*.⁶ A European dabbling in Oriental languages, who ended up being stranded in Persia where he now presents himself as a medical man, is not believed when he confirms the existence of

exparsido la voz de que se elevava un ballon de papél como sucedio hace quinze dias, q^o. Musthaphá el Ynglés gefe de Bombaraderos hizo el experimento con uno para divertir las gentes del paseo)

- 4 Raspe, *Adventures of Baron Munchausen* (third ed. 1786), pp. 61–66.
- 5 Feith, *Zedelijke verhaalen*, ‘Abu; een sprookje’, pp. 195–206; also incorporated in *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* 1789, pp. 518–522. The similarity in sound between Arabic *nâr* (from the root *nwr*, ‘(to) light, fire’) and Dutch *nar*, ‘fool, jester’ seems intentional.
- 6 Published anonymously in 1813, *Kort verhaal van eene aanmerkelijke luchtreis, en nieuwe planeetontdekking*. See Van der Horst on *Luchtreis* and early astronomical tales; text edition with commentary by Verkuyl; annotated English translation by Vincent and De Vos. On the period 1660–1830 (viz. in France) see also Goulemot, ‘Nouveautés: les utopies’. Ottoman ballooning, Munchausen and Abu are absent from these studies; the Islamic dimension also goes unmentioned.

the aircraft the locals of Shirvan hear so much about from Russian border troops. The Muslims can at best imagine something akin to the flying Wooden Horse from the *Arabian Nights*, operated by a peg, or key, in its neck.¹ Hard pressed he orders that an aerostat be made (emergency parachute included). The emir has no problems with the physician having an aerial view of the women, but because of co-pilot Joussouf he orders the fair sex to stay indoors on launch day. When the countdown reaches ‘*bismillab!*’ and the craft clears the platform, the panicked helper leaps from the basket. Much accelerated by this sudden loss of ballast the balloon escapes Earth’s gravity and lands on a hitherto undiscovered little moon orbiting our Planet.² Wearing out his supple Persian slippers our aeronaut, now astronaut, explores it, even finding millennia-old traces left by a previous visitor.

an additional volume ... Van Woensel had clearly already planned this second volume, see p. 280, note 79, and p. 331, note 92.

(6)
afterwards ... See also p 12, ‘my scribbling-block’.

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I can impossibly please readers everywhere ... The same in *Russia considered*, pp. 21–22. Passim in Montaigne, *Essays*, and compare Cervantes, *Don Quixote* II, ch. 3, ‘he who publishes a book, runs an immense risk; because, it is absolutely impossible to compose such an one as will please and entertain every reader.’

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- 1 Compare the story about Clavileño el Aligero, ‘Wooden Peg the Winged’ in *Don Quixote*. Muslim readers were also familiar with aviation tales involving the tyrant Nimrod, and Iskender (Alexander). For fifteenth-century Turkish versions and additional literature, see *DM*, § 1.284, 3.95.
 - 2 As suggested by the book’s reviewer, an idea sprung from the dwarf planets such as Ceres in the asteroid belt between Mars and Jupiter, newly discovered by Piazzi in 1801. Cf. *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* 1813, Part One, pp. 455–462, viz. 456.

(7)
I have certainly tried ... Pliny, Book II, Letter 5.7.

(8)
at a dinner party ... Pliny, Book II, Letter 5.8. The same thought again below, in Bundle Five, p. 325, note 89 (cont’d), ‘Has anyone ever rightly censured a meal because he did not sample one of the dishes on the table?’³

Pieter van Woensel relishes proverbs, sayings and metaphors; their omnipresence is one of the defining elements that render his language so modern and colloquial. In his figurative language, similes from the world of construction and food comparisons call the tune. He likens his writings to a mixed ‘mash’ (*hakmoes*), or a banquet – aptly in keeping with the etymology of the Latin word *satire*, a mixed dish – and food imagery features in no less than 31 articles in his *Lantaarn*.⁴ A ‘satirical’ *satire* is found in ‘I have been to Paris too.’ A son just back from Paris explains to his father the phenomenon of French menu cards ‘where all these dishes are listed (...) and you just choose at a guess, because it doesn’t matter, all the names are unintelligible, but so beautiful! you lick your lips at the way they sound! That’s truly the beauty of Paris, where things so dead simple and common with us, become so fine just for their names. *Poisson au bleu* I read: Oh boy! (...) that means blue fish! that’s definitely dolphin (...) that must taste great! You know what it was, father? cooked flatfish! As I live!’ (Intrigued by the ring of holiness to its name, he also ordered a sauce ...) ‘à la sainte ménéhoud (...)’, that was just ordinary mustard sauce to which they above all did not forget to add water, and a ‘*demi bouteille vin de Bordeaux* (alias pickle-on-beetroot)’, and everything, of course, at exorbitant prices.⁵

3 Also in *Russia considered*, pp. 21–22.

4 Total taken from Nieuwenhuis, *Satire*, pp. 66–67. Examples in our volume of *Remarks* include pp. xii note 9, 49 and 307f.

5 ‘Ik ben ook in Parijs geweest’, pp. 100–103. (*daar staan dan al die schotels opgenoemd (...) en dan kies je maar op de gis uit; want het is krek om ’t even, niemand kent die namen, en zo mooi! je smult al van ’t gehoor. Dat is toch waarlijk ’t mooie van Parijs, dat, dingen die zoo dood eenvoudig en gemeen bij ons te lande zijn, daar door den*

a foreign Envoy ... The Turkish love of trees was well known, as many European residents had their summer mansions in the spectacular setting of the Belgrade Forest and the Great Valley, Büyükdere. Lady Craven, for example, wrote 'I have been to see the forest of Belgrade, where the oaks are extremely venerable, and, from a superstitious idea, not one of them is ever felled so that the greatest part of them are spoiling.'¹ French naturalist Olivier discussed the 'Arrival at Buyuk-déré. Of the plane-tree which is there met with' in a separate chapter.² Half a century later, travel books and guides would still sing the praises of the extraordinary tree formations in this meadow, among them 'the most splendid group of trees on the Bosphorus, consisting of 7 plantains, which together form the *Seven Brothers, Jedi-Kardash*.'³ It seems very probable that Antoine-Laurent Castellan, the French painter, architect and engraver who visited the country in 1797, drew precisely this group: with the Bosphorus waterside in the background nearby, we see seven huge trunks rising in a circle, appearing to be all connected by their base.⁴

The culprit in our story appears to have been the French envoy De Tott. As a frequent guest of the Dutch Van der Schroeff, and Tor families, who had their houses in the area too, Miranda (himself wildly

1 Lady Craven, *Journey*, Letter 59. Potocki, *Voyage* (1788), pp. 80–81, 'ce qui achevera sans doute de vous gagner en faveur des Turcs, c'est leur respect pour les arbres; les couper est un crime énorme, qui sait murmurer tout le voisinage,' with examples.

2 Olivier, *Travels* 1, p. 68, in the French original, *Voyage* 1 (1801), ch. 8, 'Arrivée à Buyuk-déré. Du platane qu'on y remarque.'

3 Murray, *Hand-book* (1845), p. 214. On the same group, MacFarlane, *Constantinople* (1828), p. 426, citing Olivier (namely from *Travels* 1, p. 75; resp. *Voyage* 1, pp. 116–118). The plane tree: *platanus orientalis*, in Turkish *çınar* (*çenar*).

4 Castellan, *Lettres*, Part 2, plate 20, facing p. 158. Other plates include town views of Gelibolu (Gallipoli). See also Melling, *Voyage pittoresque* (1819), plate 'Prairie de Buyuk-déré', with accompanying text in vol. 1.

enthusiastic about the place), will no doubt have heard first-hand and delivered with much indignation, how 'el Señor de Tott had the goodness' to fell a majestic and gorgeous group of trees under the pretext that he needed the timber for some jobs in hand.⁵ Pieter van Woensel also knew the merchant family Van der Schroeff, with whom he had made a boat trip to the Princes' Islands on one of his first outings after his arrival in Constantinople, as we know from a letter by Kroll.⁶

Volume 1, p. 108 ... Van Woensel refers to the work's Dutch translation, *Gedenkschriften* 1, p. 108; the Arsenal comment between brackets is his own.⁷ To be sure, the imagery was widely used, and therefore unjustly imputed to De Tott alone. Montesquieu already wrote, 'When the savages of Louisiana are desirous of fruit, they cut the tree to

5 Miranda, *Diarios*, p. 160, 15 August 1786, 'retornamos por la Pradera que es el Paseo general, y hai alli un grupo de arboles qe. llaman pláttano, qe. no me canso de admirar desde la primera vez que le vi! Está compuesto de 18 arboles sembrados en forma circular y unidos, tan altos y frondosos que cubren a los que están debaxo perfectamte. del sol, y presentan el golpe de ojo mas ameno, y magestuoso que quiera imaginarse ... en el medio forma como una glorieta bastante expasiosa ... Ó que hermoso rasgo de la naturaleza! Un otro casi de la misma hermosura qe. este, estava a poca distancia en un sementerio del lugar ... mas el Sr. de Tott tuvo la bondad de arruinarlo con pretexto de cortar la madera para ciertas obras que traía entre manos.'

6 NA, 'Consulaatsarchief Smyrna', archive no. 1.02.22, inv. no. 49, Letter by Kroll, 20 April 1785, 'De Heer en Mevrouw Heidenstam verzeld [sic] van de Heer en Mevrouw van der Schroeff, de Hollandsche Doctor van Woensel en de Heer de Shabane, zyn zeedert voorleede maandag naar de Prinsen Eilanden vertrokken en jousseeren van het fraayste weer dat voor hen te wenschen is.' For the business of Van der Schroeff & Co. at Constantinople, and Smyrna, cf. *Bronnen* 4, 'Index van persoonsnamen', and 'Index van handelshuizen', s.v.

7 De Tott, *Memoirs* 1, pp. 62–63; *Mémoires* 1, p. 53, resp. FT 81–82.

the root, and gather the fruit. This is an emblem of despotic government.¹ In the same vein was Baldwin's perceptive definition of the nature of all despotism: 'cut down the tree, to get at the fruit'.² (It be remarked that, after Ottoman usage, whoever planted a tree on vacant land was considered its owner, and, in the case of waste (State) lands, also of the soil five feet around it.)³ It is odd that Van Woensel should scold De Tott, because his own works through the years show that he was in full agreement with him. A decade earlier, denouncing serfdom and landlord absenteeism, he had written: 'Nothing keeps up industry better than the prospect of reaping its fruits.'⁴ This view would be reiterated in the second volume of *Remarks*: 'To reap the fruits of any labour requiring foresight and planning, one must have patience, and work on with persistence. (...) But one seldom plants a tree without prospect of its fruit; no one willingly works for somebody else.'⁵ Again a year later, in *De Lantaarn voor 1796*, on why the planters in the Dutch West Indies did not invest in adequate housing or awnings and foliage to block the tropical heat, he concluded: 'It goes with the *Surinammers*, as with so many other

-ers in this world: they put off life's joys till an uncertain future and let the present slip, mostly looking to make a quick fortune. It is perhaps owing to this that the direly needed foliage so seldom gives a pleasant shade here.'⁶

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Theriaki or *Opium-gobblers* ... We shall never know if Van Woensel, helped by his knowledge of the Turkish term, and usage, might have become the sole translator to date to correctly interpret the episode in *Don Quixote* with the 'two Toraquis, that is, a couple of drunken Turks', for he retrenched that entire story in his reworking.⁷ (Curiously enough, elements of it seem to surface in a real-life story he relates later on.)⁸ With Cervantes apparently the sole Spanish author to have ever employed the word, no *Cervantista* editor or Castilian etymologist seems to have collated or tracked this *Hapax legomenon*, despite Paul Ravaisse's detailed explanation in 1909 in his important series on Arab and Moorish loan words in *Don Quijote*.⁹

1 Montesquieu, *The spirit of laws*, Book v, ch. 13.

2 Cited in Capper, *Observations*, p. 84.

3 Cf. d'Ohsson, *Tableau* VI, p. 124, and vol. VII, p. 282, on 'adâ'id, vulg. 'adâ'id.

4 *The present state of Russia*, p. 176. (*niets onderhoudt meer de nyverheid dan het vooruitzicht van 'er de vruchten van te plukken*); cf. pp. 205–206, 'Russia will never feed a happy people until serfdom has been abolished. (...) If the nobility began by giving its peasants a property, which they might enlarge by their industry (...) the nobility would lose nothing, and the empire would gain by it beyond words.' (*Rusland zal niet eer een gelukkig volk voeden, voor dat de lyfeigenschap worde afgeschafd. (...) Indien de adel begon met zyne boeren een eigendom te geven, welken zy door hunne nyverheid mogten vermeerderen (...) zou de adel niets verliezen, en 't ryk zou 'er onuitsprekelyk by winnen*)

5 *Remarks* II, pp. 258–259. (*om te oogsten de vruchten van eenigen arbeid, die met vooruitzicht en beleid moet worden aangelegt, moet men geduld hebben, en bij aanhoudendheid blijven voortarbeiten. (...) Maar zelden plant men een boom, zonder vooruitzicht op de vruchten; niemand arbeidt gaarne voor een ander*)

6 *De Lantaarn voor 1796*, p. 137. (*'t Gaat met de Surinamers, als op aarde met veele andere -ers; zij stellen 't genot des levens tot een onzeker toekomstige uit, en latende zich 't tegenwoordige ontslippen, zijn zij meest bedacht om een haastig fortuin te maaken. Misschien is 't hier aan te wijten, dat een zo nodig lommer hier zeldzaam eene aangenaame schaduw geeve*). The reviewer of Pieter's 'West-Indische fragmenten', in all likelihood Lamens, wrote that the writer portrayed the Surinamers mainly 'as sly noodles, who do not know their interests, and are in fact incapable of making their lives bearable.' *Surinaamsche almanak* (1820–1821), p. 53. In truth, the colonists' *animus revertendi*, 'the intention to return', was widely acknowledged as a barrier to Suriname's growth and development; cf. Lichtveld and Voorhoeve, *Spiegel*, p. 152 and passim.

7 *Don Quijote* II, ch. 63, 'dos toraquis, que es como decir dos turcos borrachos'.

8 See below, Commentary to p. 288, note 81 (cont'd).

9 Ravaisse, 'Les mots arabes et hispano-morisques', pp. 30–32, s.v. *toraqui*. Ravaisse already observed: 'Cervantès est peut-être le seul écrivain espagnol sous la plume duquel le mot Toraqui soit tombé. Toujours

For (archive) details, see my Commentary to p. 250, note 70.

- For Kantelaar, see further below, s.v.

Album Amicorum for Cornelis Versluys. UBL, inv. no. BPL 3579.

Handwritten inscription on p. 87 by Pieter van Woensel for law student Cornelis Versluys (1748–1807), dated Leiden, 12 November 1768.

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- In the present study, the Merle edition of the 1553 first printing is indicated with AM; e.g., AM449 stands for: Belon, *Observations* (1553), edition Merle, p. 449. The most notable difference between later versions and the 1553 edition is that the person of the narrator has shifted from 'I' to 'we', and the numbering of the chapters is one place behind starting Book 3, ch. 12.