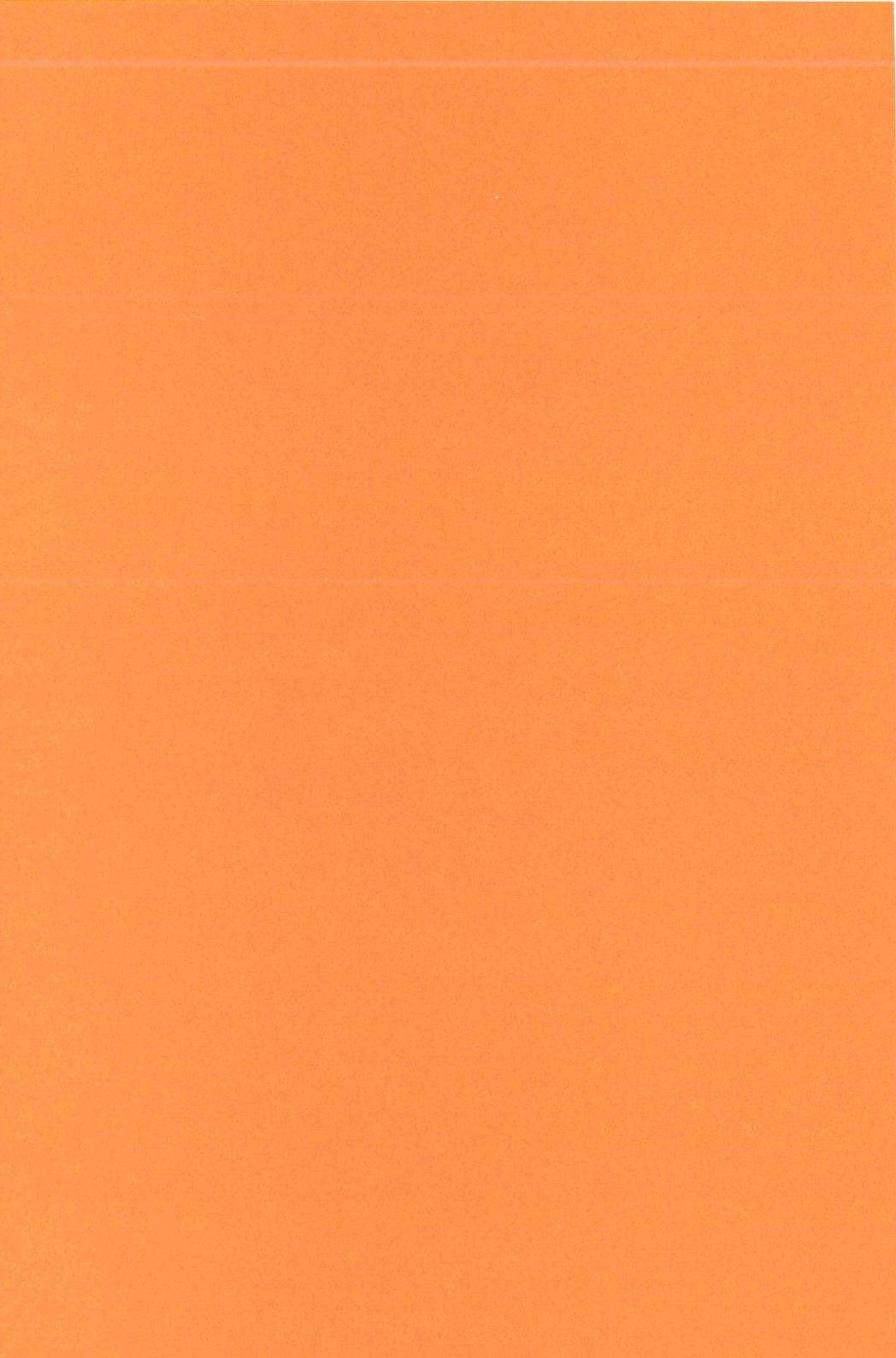


Muslims in the Dutch Golden Age
Representations and realities of religious toleration

Fourth Golden Age Lecture
Delivered on Tuesday 23 May 2006
by Benjamin J. Kaplan



I'd like to begin with a poem by Jan van der Veen, an apothecary from Deventer. Written in 1630 to celebrate a friend's wedding, his comic verses evoke the religious diversity of the Dutch Republic in its Golden Age. It begins,

Laat vry preeken alle Secten:
Laat vry preeken d'onbevleeten:
Laat vry preeken wie dat wil,
't Zy tot treves of geschil.
't Zy van oorlog ofte vrede,
Of yet anders inde stede.
Preek vry Paus en Cardinaal,
Met u Ordens altemaal,
Met al u geschooren knapen;
Jesuiten, Leken, Papen,
Preek vry, Luther en Calvijn,
Preek vry, Menno en Armijn,
Laat vry preken Zwinglianen,
Puriteynen, Arrianen,
Libertijn en Perfectist,
Socinianen en Sophist,
Robbert Robbertsen den flouwer.
Den Mennisten Bruyloft-houwer,
Ian Taurens, int suchtend' huys,
Broeders van de Rose-cruys.
Turken, Ioden ende Heyden,
Knipperdollingh, Ian van Leyden,
Preek vry, Preek, Ian Alleman,
En wat lepel lecken kan,
Preek dat al de kocx op-schaffen,
Preek vry dat de honden blaffen,
...
Preek vry reusel uyt de Swijnen,
Preek vry suyker uyt rasiijnen,
Preek vry ellef ellen langh,
't Minnen gaat sijn oude gangh.¹

Van der Veen employs in this bit of doggerel a series of rhetorical tricks. He collapses time: Knipperdolling and Jan van Leyden were sixteenth, not seventeenth-century figures. One group he double-counts, calling them both Arians and (their more common name in the Netherlands) Socinians. Alongside major denominations he mentions obscure lay preachers, sophists, a secret society, and people who refused to belong to any church, whom Calvinists called “Libertines.” Catholicism he treats as a multiplicity of orders and ranks. All these tricks have the apparent purpose of maximizing the number of faiths the poet can list as being “preached.” Still, all these “sects” did exist in the Netherlands. Van der Veen also, though, mentions “Turks, Jews, and heathens.” Has the poet now left behind his homeland to speak of the entire world, or is he implying that these groups too formed part of the Dutch religious scene? Jews, of course, were famously permitted to live and worship in Amsterdam and a handful of other cities. But the presumption of historians has always been that few if any “Turks,” a term often used in the seventeenth century to mean Muslims in general, were present in the Dutch Republic.²

In fact, Muslims are mentioned frequently by contemporaries, both Dutch and foreign, as among the religious groups tolerated in the Republic. Perhaps the most famous example is Andrew Marvell’s poem “The Character of Holland”: “...Hence *Amsterdam*, *Turk-Christian-Pagan-Jew*/ Staple of Sects and Mint of Schisme grew;/ That *Bank of Conscience*, where not one so strange/ Opinion but finds Credit, and Exchange.”³ Here the quartet of “Turk-Christian-Pagan-Jew” seems to perform a symbolic function, representing all the faiths of the world. Marvell’s description of Amsterdam is meant to be derogatory, in contrast to the admiring one by Jean-Francois Le Petit, an immigrant from Artois. According to him,

In dese Stadt syn ontfangen ende welcome alderley Natien, die daer vrije moghen resideren, sonder eenich ondersoeck in Religie, sy zijn Francoysen, Duytsche, Engielsche, Italianen, Spaengiaerden, Portugesen, Schotten, Dane, Sweedsche, Noortwegers, Cymbres, Poelsche, Lijfflanders, Lithauwers, Oosterlinghen, ofte andere vande Noortsche quartieren, als Moschoviten, Russen, Tartres, ende Schyten: Ja oock Turcken ende Joden.⁴

Granted that many people came to Amsterdam who left no documentary trace, it seems unlikely that Laplanders or Tatars ever formed substantial communities. As a source of facts, this list too lacks credibility. As a representation, though, of the religious toleration prevailing in

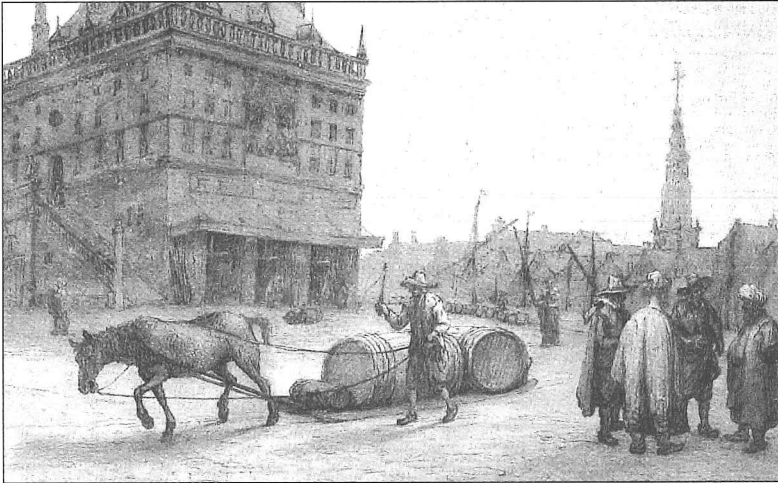
Amsterdam, it gains power, just as Van de Venne's does, precisely from its length – from the number and variety of groups enumerated.

It is not just written descriptions, though, that suggest a Muslim presence in the Republic; so do visual images – or at least on first sight they seem to. People wearing Muslim styles of clothing appear regularly in paintings of the Dam, here in Amsterdam, like this painting by Gerrit Berckheyde (Figure 1). Berckheyde churned out paintings of the Dam with such figures in them. Significantly, he did not include them in paintings of other locales, like the Grote Markt in his home town, Haarlem. Many other artists embellished their paintings of the Dam with such figures too, including Johannes Lingelbach, Jan van Kessel, Cornelis de Bie, and Jan van der Heyden. People dressed in Muslim styles also figure in this delicate drawing by Lambert Doomer (Figure 2).

Now, of all the places where Muslims, if there were any in the Republic, might have been seen, the Dam seems one of the most likely, given Amsterdam's commercial ties to North Africa, the Levant, Persia, and lands further east. A remark by the Swiss military officer Jean Baptiste Stoupe raises the same expectation. Writing in 1673, he first listed all the Christian groups to be found in the Republic, then he added,



1. Gerrit Berckheyde, *Dam Square, view to the North*, 1674 (detail).



2. Lambert Doomer, *View of Old Town Hall and the Waag*, c. 1640 or 1650.

Ick wil vande Jodenen, Turcken, en Persianen niet melden...
Ick geloof oock niet, dat in dese landen, Turcken, en Persianen,
gevonde[n] worde[n], als alleen in Amsterdam, en misschien noch
eenige in andere Zee-Stede[n]; In voege, dat daer uyt geen gevolgh,
in't regard van andere stede[n], getrocken kan worden.⁵

Stoupe's observation has a caution and specificity that lend it a ring of truth. It was precisely Amsterdam and other major port cities that stood most open to the world, where Muslim merchants or sailors might conceivably have been encountered coming and going, or conducting business.

Yet who are these figures in exotic clothes really, or rather, what do they represent? Their turbans, hats, and long, loosely fitted robes make clear they are meant to be people from Muslim lands, but that does not mean they are necessarily Muslim; Jewish and Christian minorities in the "territories of Islam" wore similar clothes. One possibility is that these images portray Armenian merchants (Figure 3), who were Christians, with their own form of Christian faith and worship. Migrating from Persia and the Levant, Armenians settled in Amsterdam in increasing numbers over the seventeenth century.⁶ One does not, though, have to take these images so literally. Notice, for instance, the juxtaposition in the Dappert drawing of exotic foreigners and a humble wagoner with horse and sled; it recurs in numerous images of the Dam.

The very regularity of the juxtaposition (like the regular appearance of the foreigners themselves) suggests we are dealing here not with a scene observed at some moment but with stock figures. As art historian Boudewijn Bakker has suggested, the figures should probably be understood as “the personification of local business and international commerce.”⁷ If that is their meaning, one does not need to assign them to a specific ethnic or religious group; their generic presence represents Amsterdam’s commercial ties to the Islamic world and conveys the city’s proud self-image as *emporium mundi*.



3. 'A Merchant of Armenia'. Engraving from Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les navigations pereginations et voyages, faits en la Tvrqvie* (Antwerp 1576).

So, where does this leave us? Were there Muslims in the Republic? Did the toleration for which the Republic was renowned extend also to them? If not, how do we account for the discrepancy between representations and reality? In fact, Muslims did come to the Netherlands, more than scholars have previously recognized. With one chief exception, those who came were welcomed. Their numbers, though, were indeed small, and none, so far as we know, established permanent residence.⁸ As sporadic, temporary visitors, Muslims had a very marginal presence in Dutch society. The puzzle is thus that Muslims played a role in the image of Dutch religious toleration that was out of all proportion to their presence.

The fact that Muslims were “infidels” who rejected Christianity did not in itself prevent them from being tolerated. If that were the case, Jews would not have been tolerated in the Republic either. It is worth considering for a



4. Romeyn de Hooghe, *The former Portuguese synagogue on the Houtgracht*, ca. 1675-1695.

moment the specific arrangements by which Jews were accommodated, for they reveal something about the variety of forms toleration could take, and about what forms were deemed appropriate for non-Christians.

The first Jews to settle in the Republic (apart from a very few in the Ommelanden of Groningen) were Sephardim whose ancestors had been forcibly baptized in Portugal. When they arrived, they were still Conversos, that is, Catholics of Jewish ancestry, with little knowledge of rabbinic Judaism. As Miriam Bodian and other scholars have shown, they had to learn what rabbinic Judaism was, and the process by which they came to accept its norms was complex, even painful.⁹ Their first congregation, organized before 1609, met for worship in the home of one of its members, Jacob Tirado. A few years later, a second congregation had constructed on the Houtgracht a house whose interior was designed to serve as synagogue. Like the “schuilkerken” that Christian dissenters established, this synagogue was semi-clandestine: everyone knew the building’s purpose, but no external feature identified it as a synagogue. In 1618, a third congregation began to meet in a warehouse. So far, arrangements for Jewish worship were much the same as those for worship by Christian dissenters in the officially Calvinist Republic.¹⁰

The 1630s, though, saw a crucial parting of the ways: on the one hand, Catholics, Mennonites, and other native Dutch dissenters continued to worship in buildings whose exteriors disguised – if only superficially – their function. On the other hand, Amsterdam’s Jews, who now joined together in a single congregation, had a grand new façade put on the front of their Houtgracht synagogue (Figure 4). A few years later in 1642, Stadholder Frederick Hendrick paid an official visit to this synagogue. Jews, in other words, were now able to worship publicly. The new synagogues constructed in Amsterdam in the 1670s declared Jews’ presence there even more forcefully, and one of them, the famous Portuguese Esnoga, served as model for synagogues later constructed in The Hague and elsewhere.

Jews in the Republic were subject to a distinctly different dispensation than were Christian dissenters – that is, the form of toleration they enjoyed was qualitatively different. They suffered more civil disabilities than did any dissenters. In Amsterdam, where by far the largest number lived, they could buy citizenship but not pass it on to their children. They were admitted to only a handful of guilds, which meant they were barred from most occupations. Jewish life was regulated legally in unique ways. An Amsterdam ordinance of 1616 forbade Jews from proselytizing, insulting the Christian faith, or having sex with Christians (though more than a few Sephardic men seem to have slept with their maidservants

anyway). By the same token, the toleration Jews enjoyed was official and formal. They could have their own cemeteries, and as we have seen, they could worship publicly.¹¹ Christian dissenters, by contrast, were tolerated “by connivance.” The only civil disability they faced, at least in Holland and the other maritime provinces, was exclusion from government office. Religiously, though, they had to organize discreetly, worship privately, and be buried alongside Calvinists. Catholics in particular were subject at times to harrassment and extortion. Christian dissenters occasionally complained, as did Catholic Father Johannes Kyser, that Jews enjoyed more freedom than they did.¹² This was a selective and self-serving comparison, but it does highlight the fact that toleration could take different forms.

There was just one exception to this contrast between Jews and dissenters, namely Lutherans. For them, just as for Jews, the 1630s saw a breakthrough from private to public worship with the construction of their church on the Spui, which, though it lacked a tower or bells, was manifestly a “formeel aansienlyck kerkgebouw” (Figure 5).¹³ And again like the Jews, in the 1670s they built in Amsterdam an even more splendid and obvious place of worship. What was it that Lutherans and Jews had in common that set them apart from other non-Calvinists? The most apparent factor, as Peter van Rooden has observed, is origin: both groups were foreigners.¹⁴ Most Sephardim spoke Portuguese, wrote Spanish, and in other respects too remained Iberian in culture. To Dutch people, the Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim seemed even more foreign. Most Lutherans in the Republic were first- or second-generation immigrants from northwestern Germany or Scandinavia. Even in Amsterdam, whose Lutheran congregation had been founded by refugees from Antwerp, preaching was mostly in German, and three quarters of the people who joined the congregation in the 1630s came from German-speaking lands.¹⁵ In the conditions of their worship, these foreigners actually had it better than did native dissenting groups. The reason why, I would suggest, is because they did not belong to the local community in the same way native dissenters did. As outsiders, their presence, even if very visible, did not impinge on the religious identity of the community. To be sure, wherever Jews were allowed to settle, they were regulated and restricted, and one should not forget that they were never admitted to most Dutch cities. Precisely because they were so alien, though, their beliefs so different, Jews seemed, in the view of some Christians, to pose little threat. “[W]e already have many [religions] here,” wrote Hugo Grotius, “and the least danger is from the one that is most different: *acerrima fratrum odia, et facilis ex proximo lapsus*”



5. 'Lutheran Church on the Spui'. Engraving from Olfert Dapper, *Historische beschryving der stad Amsterdam...* (Amsterdam, 1663).

("most bitter are the hatreds of brothers, and easy is the fall from nearby").¹⁶ By this reckoning, Jews had little chance of making many converts or undermining the position of the official, Reformed church. In Lithuania, which had a substantial minority of Muslims, the same was said of them: "Infidels do not spread abroad their poyson amongst others, as [the] Heretiques do."¹⁷ Many of the other arguments made by Grotius for tolerating Jews could have been made for Muslims too. It was the duty of Christians to try to convert them, and that would not be possible if one "cut them off from the conversation of Christians." Nor was this an aim which, according to Protestants, Catholics had any hope of achieving, for Muslims, like Jews, were repelled by aspects of Catholicism they considered idolatrous. Muslims, like Jews, were children of Abraham. And besides, argued Grotius, a civilized society should extend hospitality to all foreigners.¹⁸

By this logic, Muslims who came to the Republic should have been well treated, and indeed it seems most of them were. Apart from the pioneering research of Gerard Wiegers, this topic has been little studied, so that any conclusions here must be tentative.¹⁹ Nevertheless, it seems clear that the number of Muslims in the Republic was minuscule

compared to the number of Jews. As a consequence, many of the issues posed by Jewish immigration never arose in connection with Muslims. For instance burial: we know of only one Muslim who died in the Republic; he was buried in the cemetery of the Oude Kerk in Middelburg, his body laid on its side facing Mecca, in accord with Islamic precept.²⁰ As for worship, it is far from certain, but one group of Muslims may have established, for a time, a sort of mosque in Amsterdam. The group in question were Moriscos, who along with slaves, diplomats, merchants, and corsairs, account for most of the Muslims who came to the Netherlands.

During the Middle Ages, slavery had been a large-scale phenomenon in the Christian lands in and around the Mediterranean. Muslims who were captured by Christians in battle were enslaved; so were Muslims on ships seized by Christian privateers, while the Knights of Malta and St. Stephen, among others, launched predatory raids against Muslim coastal communities. Muslim slaves in southern Europe worked the land, practiced crafts, and served households; among the domestic servants a high proportion were women or children. All this continued into the early modern era, but over time the scale of domestic slavery declined, and by the late seventeenth century what remained principally was the hard core, as it were, of early modern slaves: adult male captives, most of whom served as oarsmen on the galleys of Europe's Mediterranean naval powers: Venice, Genoa, Tuscany, the papacy, France (from the 1660s), and Spain.²¹

It is, I think, a well known story, but the liberation by the Dutch of Muslims who had been Spanish slaves paved the way for the Republic to forge alliances with Morocco and the Ottoman Empire.

Several factors led the Republic to seek alliances with these Muslim states: first and foremost, they shared a bitter enemy, Spain. All who counted the Habsburgs as their foes had at least one common cause, and as early as the 1530s it had led the French crown to make the first in a series of pacts with the Ottoman Turks. With the Revolt against Spain, Dutch rebels too found that the Ottomans were a natural ally, and indeed the Revolt might well have been crushed had Philip II not had to divide his military resources between the Netherlands, France, and the Mediterranean, where he was locked in a struggle with the Ottomans for naval supremacy. In 1565, an Ottoman envoy came to the Netherlands and offered support to the rebels; another one came in 1580-81. Ideas were floated, though never acted on, for the Ottomans and Dutch to coordinate their military efforts against Spain.²²

As an officially Protestant land, the Republic had an additional reason to ally with Muslim powers: the hatred which Protestants and Muslims shared of Catholicism, which both condemned for its “idolatry.” Visiting The Hague in 1613, Moroccan envoy Ahmad ibn Qasim al-Hajari expressed sympathy for the Calvinist faith of his hosts; in turn, according to him, Protestant scholars taught people “that they should not hate the Muslims because they are the sword of God on His earth against the worshippers of idols.”²³ Not all Protestant scholars really felt such solidarity, but some did appreciate that it was Catholic states and rulers, above all the Habsburgs, who bore the direct brunt of Muslim assaults, both in the Mediterranean and on land in central Europe. Musing on the mysteries of divine providence, Englishman Thomas Fuller observed how

all West-Christendome oweth her quiet sleep to [the King of Spain’s] constant waking, who with his galleys muzzleth the mouth of Tunis and Algier. Yea, God in his providence hath so ordered it, that the Dominions of Catholick Princes (as they term them) are the case and cover on the East and South to keep and fense [sic] the Protestant countreys.²⁴

In an age of religious wars, Protestants and Muslims had common interests, an embarrassing truth that gave plausibility to the smears of Catholic polemicists who accused their Protestant foes of “Calvino-Turkism,” suggesting that the two religious groups had common beliefs and practices, as well as interests.²⁵ Emperor Charles V might have squelched the Protestant Reformation in an early phase if not for the Ottoman threat and other distractions. Later, by forcing Philip II to divert his resources, the Ottomans helped make possible the success of the Dutch Revolt against Spain.

By the turn of the seventeenth century, Dutch authorities were also concerned for the safety of Dutch merchants and sailors. For the Christian enslavement of Muslims mentioned earlier was no one-way street: not only did the Ottomans enslave Christian prisoners of war and some of their Balkan subjects; more pertinent for the Dutch, the Barbary corsairs seized Christian ships, their cargoes and their crews, whom they sold as slaves or held for ransom.²⁶ Based in Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and the Moroccan port of Salé, they attacked Dutch shipping in the eastern Atlantic, including vessels returning from the East Indies, and made the *Straatvaart*, that is, Mediterranean commerce, extremely perilous. At the same time, Dutch merchants were growing increasingly interested in the Levant, and they began to demand that their trading rights there be put on a secure footing.

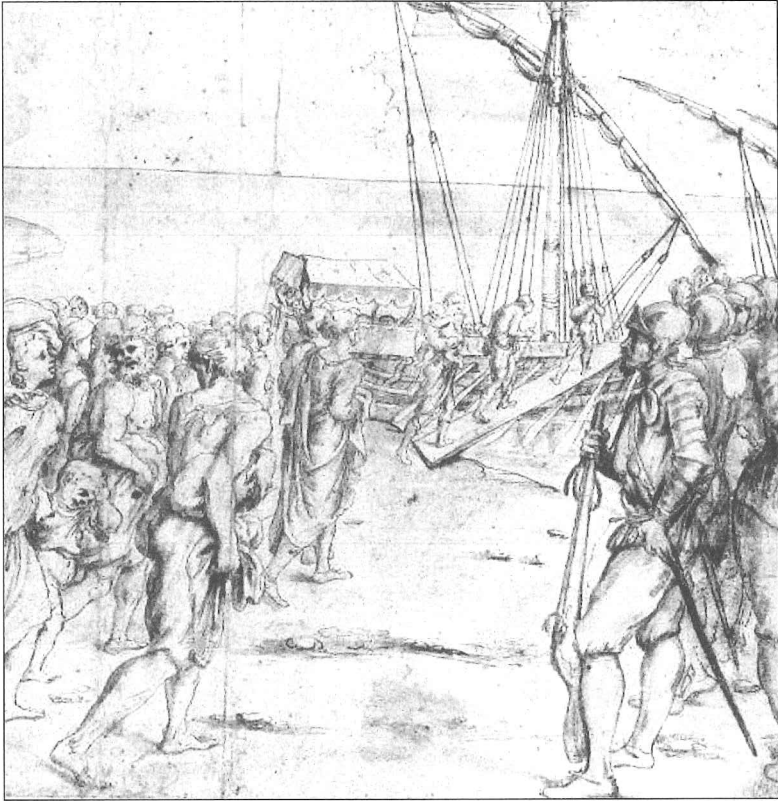


6. 'Ambassadors from Salé'. Engraving from Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten...* (Amsterdam, 1676).

In 1596, Dutch forces captured, during an attack on Cadiz, “a Moor from Barbary” named Mahumeth Oachia, “born in the city of Fez.” He was taken back to the Netherlands, where an Amsterdam merchant lodged him. At the merchant’s suggestion, the States-General sent the former slave home, with a letter requesting the king of Morocco’s friendship. This gesture failed to bear fruit.²⁷ In 1605 the States-General tried again: the previous year the Dutch army had captured the town of Sluis, whose deep-water harbor was used by the Spanish fleet. Some one hundred thirty-five Muslim slaves had been taken from the Spanish galleys there. Temporarily they were lodged in Zeeland. They seem to have been well treated – certainly they were fed good Dutch fare on the journey home: cheese and beer daily, and a warm meal with meat or fish twice a week. About a hundred were taken via Safi to Marrakech, where they were presented, in stunning new clothes, to the new King of Morocco, Muly Zidan; the “other slaves or Turks” were brought to Algiers.²⁸ All this was done at Dutch expense, and – what impressed Moroccan and Turkish rulers most – no ransom money was requested. Later too, some former Spanish slaves found their way home via the Netherlands.²⁹

In 1610, the Republic finally concluded its long-desired treaty with Morocco. Two years later, it did the same with the Ottomans, and in 1622 an agreement was reached with Algiers, although the Algerians proved highly selective in their fidelity to it.³⁰ Consequent to these treaties, the States-General sent a series of ambassadors who were resident in Morocco and the Ottoman Empire, starting with Pieter Maertensz Coy in Marrakech and Cornelis Haga at the Sublime Porte, the Ottoman court, in Istanbul. They also established various consulates, including ones in Aleppo and Algiers. Muslim rulers did not establish equivalent embassies or consulates, either in the Republic or elsewhere in Europe. In general, they preferred Christian diplomats to come to them, and as it happened, this suited well many European princes, who did not wish to be seen honoring and befriending infidels; diplomacy conducted abroad was more discreet. When Muslim rulers did need agents in Europe, they often employed Jews, as a series of Moroccan kings used the Sephardic Pallache family in the Republic.³¹ Thus while Muslim ambassadors to the Republic were not unknown, they came only sporadically for specific missions. From Morocco came three such ambassadors, one after another, between 1609 and 1613; two others paid visits in later years. The Corsairs of Salé sent their own envoys twice (Figure 6), having abjured in 1626 their allegiance to the Moroccan king and established the independent corsair republic of Bou Regreg.³² Three Ottoman envoys came to the Republic. The only Persian ambassador visited in 1626-1627.³³

These ambassadors stayed for periods that ranged from a month to over a year; a majority were in the Netherlands for some four to eight months. They came with suites, of which the Ottoman envoys had the largest: the one who came in 1614, named Ömer Aga, came with a suite of 19 persons (not all of whom were Muslim). While in the Netherlands, these dignitaries spent most time in The Hague, but they did get around. They travelled to and from the Netherlands via Rotterdam, Den Briel, Delft, Hellevoetsluis, and Amsterdam. Some also made a point of touring: Ömer Agha, for example (who was sent by Khalil Pasha, admiral of the Ottoman navy, specifically to gather information on the Republic) was shown around Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, and Utrecht.³⁴ Moroccan envoy Ahmed ben Abdallah spent a month with the Dutch army in 1610, observing it as it besieged Julich, while the Persian ambassador visited a series of garrisons, being received “with great honors and firing of salutes.”³⁵ The same ambassador, when he first arrived in The Hague, was met by the stadhouder accompanied by thirty-six coaches full of nobles, military officers, and other worthies. In short, the presence of these envoys had a certain visibility. In 1659, three ambassadors from Salé



7. Vicente Carducho, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos*, 1609?

brought with them, among other gifts, an ostrich, which was put on display in Amsterdam. It died after a few days because boys had fed it nails, to test the rumor that this extraordinary creature could digest anything, including steel.³⁶

In addition to these ambassadors, accredited to the States-General, non-official envoys came to the Netherlands as well. I mentioned earlier al-Hajari. Sent to France by the king of Morocco, he returned home via the Netherlands, where he spent June through September 1613, mostly in Leiden, where he had a friend, Thomas Erpenius, the first professor of Oriental languages at the University. In later years al-Hajari wrote a wonderful autobiographical work, *Nasir al-din*, with an account of his trip. In it he recalls in touching detail several encounters he had with the stadholder, Prince Maurits, who “welcomed me, uncovered his head, took me by my hand and made me sit down with him.”³⁷

Like several other Muslim ambassadors who visited the Republic, al-Hajari was by origin a Morisco, that is, a descendant of the Spanish Muslims who had once had their own kingdoms in Iberia and who in the sixteenth century had been forced to receive baptism. Most Moriscos, though formally Christian, had remained loyal to Islam, and in 1568 those in Granada had taken up arms to resist the suppression of their Muslim way of life. Spanish governments came to view Moriscos as a seditious fifth column, an internal enemy that was conspiring with Muslims and Protestants abroad, among them the Dutch. Thus in 1609 Philip III decided finally to expel them from Spain. About three hundred thousand men, women, and children, the largest group of religious refugees in early modern history, were forced to leave their homeland (Figure 7). Most fled, either directly or via France, to North Africa, while others went further east.³⁸ At least a few went to Amsterdam.

Not long after the first expulsion order was issued, the Duke of Medina Sidonia warned Philip that “great numbers” of Moriscos were fleeing for Holland, where they were receiving a “warm welcome.”³⁹ The Duke seems to have been exaggerating about the numbers, but not greatly about the welcome. Three years later, Ambassador Haga in Istanbul received a visit from a delegation of Moriscos led by a man whom the Ambassador called Mahomet Abulac and whom Gerard Wiegers has identified as a Morisco scholar named Muhammad abu ‘l-Asi, a.k.a. Alonso de Luna.⁴⁰ As Haga reported to the States-General, Abu ‘l-Asi heaped praise on the Dutch for their treatment of his people,

van wegen haere gantsche natie mijn bedanckende ten regarde van U.H.M.E. ende S.E., dat hare natie soo wel ende eerlijck van de onse in hare schepen in Barbaria overgevoert, getracteert zijn geweest, oock dat sij, in onse landen comende, wel ontfangen werden.... presenterende voorts aen mijn den dienst van alle haer natie, hier in groot getal sijnde, ende dat sij de eere van de landen [i.e. nederlanden] allesints willen verbreyden, mijn biddende, dat mijn soude believen hare natie aan U.H.M.E. ende S.E. te recommanderen, dat sij, uuyt Vranckrijck ofte andere plaetsen daer comende, soudén mogen met onze schepen in dese landen gesonden worden.

Haga later thanked Abu ‘l-Asi for his assistance, praised the Moriscos, and promised that they could expect from him and the Dutch authorities “only what can be of profit to your nation both here and in our fatherland.”⁴¹ This exchange confirms that some Moriscos had come to the Republic, though it is unclear whether any remained there as of 1612.



8. Jacob de Gheyn II, *A Muslim (Moorish) Merchant*, ca. 1610 or 1620.

If any Muslims ever established a mosque in the Dutch Republic, it was this group of refugees. Two contemporary sources suggest they did. One, the *Annales* of Catholic priest Franciscus Dusseldorp, states that a considerable number of “Moors” who fled Spain came to Amsterdam and were given permission to establish there a “synagogue.” Given that Dusseldorp is speaking explicitly of Moriscos, it is clear that he is using the word “synagogue” generically to mean a non-Christian place of worship, i.e. in this context, a mosque.⁴² The other source is a chronicle kept by the Catholic canons of Haarlem. It asserts too that a “synagogue” was opened by people who had been banished from Spain on account of their conspiring with Africans and Hollanders.⁴³ Unfortunately, both these sources are problematic in ways that would be tedious for me to explain here. It would be rash to draw any definite conclusions from them, but still, I find it entirely believable that Morisco refugees, arriving as a group, would have gathered together regularly for prayer. That they could do, depending on their numbers, in a room in a house where one of them lodged. If that is what’s meant by mosque, then Moriscos would simply have been doing what another group of refugees from Iberia, Sephardic Jews, were doing in Amsterdam at the same time.

Abu ’l-Asi’s request – that the Dutch transport future arrivals from France or elsewhere to Ottoman lands – expressed an expectation that

more Moriscos might come to the Republic subsequently. We know that at least a few did. In 1629 an ambassador from Salé, Mohammed Vanegas (himself a Morisco), asked the States-General for a squadron of ships they were dispatching to North Africa to convoy to Salé (unfortunately, the source doesn't specify from where) "a small ship having on board 25 or 26 Moriscos with their wives and their children." Five years later, the rulers of Salé received report that there were "two Andalusian Moors" in Amsterdam; they asked the States-General to arrange for the two to be sent back to Salé. Then there is the case of Lorenzo Escudero, a musician and comedian from Seville. He was said, at least (by two men who testified to the Holy Office in Spain) to be a Morisco: in 1658 he converted in Amsterdam to Judaism.⁴⁴

How many merchants of Muslim faith (Figure 8) ever came to the Republic remains an open question.⁴⁵ Certainly merchants from Morocco and the Levant had by treaty the right to come and trade in the Republic. It's possible the two Andalusian Moors in Amsterdam in 1634 were merchants. Moreover, authorities in Salé had heard about them "from some Moors who have come from there," i.e. Amsterdam.⁴⁶ Perhaps the latter were merchants who traded between Amsterdam and Salé. What is clear is that Muslim merchants did not settle in the Republic and establish the kind of communities that Sephardic merchants did. This fits a broader European pattern, for as in diplomacy, so in commerce Muslims generally preferred Europeans to come to them, rather than vice-versa.⁴⁷ On occasion, Muslim merchants did bring goods to European ports such as Malta, Palermo, Livorno, Marseilles, Toulon, Bordeaux, and Plymouth.⁴⁸ But the one and only city in Christian Europe where Muslim merchants resided continually and in number was that age-old meeting place of east and west, Venice. There they constituted a recognized community with corporate privileges and a communal residence, the famous *Fondaco dei Turchi*, founded in 1621.⁴⁹ In general, though, little of the trade between Christian and Muslim lands was in Muslim hands. In the late Middle Ages, Venetian and Genoese merchants had carried much of it; in the sixteenth century, Sephardic Jews had come to play key roles, while Dutch, English, and French merchants dominated in the seventeenth. For the most part, European merchants travelled to Muslim lands, not vice-versa, and even in Aleppo, Smyrna (Izmir), and other major Levantine commercial centers, most trade with Europeans was mediated by local Jewish and Christian minorities. Among those minorities were the Armenians, who gradually extended their own trade networks and by the early eighteenth century had a thriving community in

Amsterdam. Like Jews and Lutherans, this group of foreigners too were granted, in 1714, what native Christian dissenters never were, permission to build a proper church, a visible, public place of worship, on the Kromboomsloot.⁵⁰

The last and largest category of Muslims in the Republic were corsairs from the Barbary coast. Some came to the Republic involuntarily, having been captured in engagements with Dutch ships.⁵¹ One such prisoner was a janissary from Algiers named Ali Alabasco. Brought back to Enkhuizen in 1620, he rotted in jail there for eighteen months, starved by a guard who ate more than half his food rations. Alabasco was released after a truce was struck between the Republic and Algiers (Figure 9). Upon this happy turn of events, he was treated as a celebrity, the cream of Enkhuizen society inviting him to their houses. He was shown around Hoorn, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Schiedam, Den Briel, Vlissingen, Middelburg, and Veere. Once he was no longer an enemy, he and his hosts seem to have developed quickly a strong mutual regard. Alabasco was clearly an extraordinary man: not only did he learn Dutch, he counted – and was able months later to recount – the number of large, medium, and small vessels in all the ports he visited. He returned to Algiers in 1622 in the company of Cornelis Pijnacker, the Dutch consul, who treated him, he said, like a brother. Urging the Algerian authorities to make peace with the Republic, he told them the Dutch were “de vroomste ende trouwste luijden van de gheheele werlt” and “dat Ambsterdam [sic] was Constantinopolis.”⁵²

Other corsairs visited the Republic of their own accord. The 1612 treaty with the Ottoman Empire, known as the Capitulations, gave them a right to sail into Dutch ports, stipulating that “[w]hen corsairs of Algiers reach Dutch harbours, they must be treated with respect” and sold the matériel and supplies they needed.⁵³ At least ten corsair ships took advantage of this right in the 1620s, arriving in Veere, Vlissingen, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Enkhuizen.⁵⁴ Some came to seek shelter and make repairs, having been battered by storms or by the cannon of their intended victims. Others came to sell their booty. Their presence was an embarrassment to Dutch authorities, who anticipated (correctly) that their French and English allies might accuse the Republic of condoning and even assisting pirates who preyed on their shipping. Even more embarrassing, some of the corsair ships were themselves prizes, that is, captured Christian vessels. To make the diplomatic dilemma more complex, some of the ships had Christian slaves on them, whom Dutch authorities insisted on setting free. This action the corsairs denounced as a treaty violation.⁵⁵



9. 'The city of Algiers.' Engraving from Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten...* (Amsterdam, 1676).

The most difficult question, though, was raised by the fact that some of the corsairs were actually Dutchmen who had, as the saying went, “turned Turk,” that is, settled in Muslim lands and converted to Islam. Known in Europe as “renegades,” such converts were no small group: by some accounts half or more of all the Barbary corsairs in the early seventeenth century (fewer later) were renegades from one part of Europe or another.⁵⁶ Some were sailors who had converted to Islam as a way to gain their freedom, having been captured at sea and made slaves in North Africa. Others were privateers who had adopted one of the Barbary ports as their home and converted more or less freely. In either case, those who embraced Islam found paths to advancement open, some rising to positions of high rank, like the notorious Jan Janszoon from Haarlem, a.k.a. Murad Raïs, admiral of the Salé fleet. Many others did well for themselves on a smaller scale, like one Lambrecht Pieterszoon from Enkhuizen, who at the age of fourteen had been taken captive by corsairs from Salé. By the age of twenty-one, he had three ships of his own.

The arrival of corsair vessels in Dutch ports thus confronted Dutch authorities with an unprecedented question: how to treat Christian converts to Islam. In December 1623, the States-General decided the matter, at least in principle. If renegades wanted to return to Christianity, they

would be received back and have their freedom. But if they did not, it would be reasonable to punish them just as Turks punished those who abjured Islam (“deselve also te tracteren, als Turcken Cristenen geworden synde, ende ... wederom in Turckien gebracht werden[de], aldaer onthaelt ende gestraft werden”). As the States-General surely knew, and as subsequent inquiries confirmed, apostates from Islam were liable in Muslim lands to be burnt. In other words, the States-General threatened to execute any renegades who came to the Republic. This was, to put it mildly, a harsh policy, and not a wholly realistic one, despite being based on the principle of reciprocity. In the first place, it violated treaties the Republic had signed, which made no distinction between persons raised as Muslims and converts to Islam. In the second place, Muslim rulers often sent renegades as their ambassadors to Europe. The Ottoman envoy who had come to the Netherlands in 1580-81, for example, had been a renegade Frenchman, while a Moroccan envoy in 1610 had probably been a Spaniard by origin. For this latter reason in particular, the States-General hesitated, declaring it inconvenient for the time being (“nyet dienstich ... voor dese tyt”) to introduce such a policy.⁵⁷ Initially, they hoped simply to avoid the issue by asking the Turkish sultan to prohibit renegades from visiting the Republic in future. This hope proved vain when, the very next winter, a “Turkish” vessel with three renegades on board, one of them the above-mentioned Pieterszoon, was driven by foul weather into Vlissingen.⁵⁸ The three men were immediately thrown in jail.

As the States-General pondered the fate of these renegades, they received a forceful remonstrance from a Moroccan ambassador, Youssef Biscaïno, who happened at that moment to be in the Netherlands. In a letter addressed to Prince Maurits, Biscaïno protested that the renegades had come to Vlissingen in good faith “als in een haven van onse vrunden ende geallieerden.” He argued further that to jail, never mind execute renegades was inconsistent with the Republic’s general policy of religious toleration. The renegades in question, he noted, had “met haeren willen ende sonder eenigen dwang” become “Moors,” and if the Dutch authorities doubted it, he challenged them: give the renegades their freedom and let them do as they wish, “naerdien sy in een lant syn, daer de conscientie vry is ende men nyemant om de religie en brant.”⁵⁹

In response, the States-General explained that the renegades were “odious” – as odious to Christians as Muslim converts to Christianity were to Muslims. For the sake of friendship between their lands, the States-General would have this group of renegades released when their ship set sail, but this clemency would be for the last time. Please ask your ruler, they told Biscaïno, to ensure that no more renegades come, and

warn that hereafter they will be treated as Turks treat those who abjure Islam.⁶⁰ The States-General issued the same warning in a letter to the “viceroy” of Algiers, to whom they explained that popular sentiment in the Republic demanded such harsh action.⁶¹ Writing from Istanbul, Ambassador Haga suggested the States-General would do well to make good their threat, making an example of one renegade, or group of renegades. Likewise he advised them to punish as pirates the next corsairs to sail a French or English prize into Dutch harbor. This, he thought, would deter others from paying any further visits.⁶² Haga did not convince his masters in The Hague, but he had some success with the sultan, who issued an order prohibiting Algerian and Tunesian corsairs from landing in the Netherlands. Between them, the States-General’s threat and the sultan’s order seem to have had the desired effect, for though it took time for word to spread, after 1626 there were no more corsair landings. In the end, the States-General never executed anyone.⁶³

In 1668, a Holland patriot boasted, “Holland wil den naam hebben, en niet eenen Hollander, behoeft zich te schamen, dat men zeid, dat het een Vrije Provincie is, en daar men niet alleen alle Christenen Vrijheid geeft: maar zelve de Joden, Persianen en Turken, zoo ze hier quamen: Dat is een Tak aan onze Kroon.”⁶⁴ To the knowledge of this man, it seems, there were no Turks in Holland, but if they did come he felt certain they would be welcome. As we have seen, “Turks” in the broad sense of Muslims did visit the Republic occasionally, but their numbers were small and, apart from a few who converted to Christianity, none, so far as we know, settled there permanently. Most who came were received hospitably: slaves were set free; ambassadors were treated with honor; Moriscos, as fellow enemies of Spain, were hailed as allies and given refuge. Few Muslim merchants seem to have come to the Republic, but that did not mean they were unwelcome; rather, it reflected how little long-distance trade generally was in their hands. Corsairs were a political embarrassment and discouraged from visiting, but it was their piracy, not their faith, that caused problems. Of all the Muslim who came to the Republic in the seventeenth century, the only ones not tolerated on religious grounds were the renegades. Threatened with execution, Dutch converts to Islam provoked a reaction that foreign-born Muslims never did.

Two factors, I believe, explain why renegades were treated so harshly. The first has to do with ideas and emotions surrounding religious conversion. For to say that conversion was a sensitive affair in early modern Europe is an understatement: as occasions when the most

personal convictions of an individual became matters of intense public concern, conversions were the ultimate religious “scandal.” To the group losing a member, they were a betrayal of God, truth, church, friends, and family. To be sure, conversions from one Christian faith to another seem to have been common in the young Dutch Republic, and attitudes to such conversions relatively mild there. Conversions to Islam, though, were an entirely different matter. They were an apostasy which all Dutch Christians, of whatever “gezindte,” could agree in condemning vehemently. To quote the States-General, renegades were found “odious”: they evoked feelings of anger and repugnance in a way born infidels did not. The second factor is the distinction between natives and foreigners. For as we saw with regard to Jews and Lutherans, people of different faiths were treated differently, in the Republic as elsewhere in Europe, depending on whether they were foreigners or natives. Armenians offered another example of this: when numerous enough to afford to build a proper church, visible as such from public thoroughfares, they were allowed to do so. And by allowed I do not mean just that they received permission from the city government, but that their church and the activities in it were tolerated also by neighbors and others. In this respect, foreigners enjoyed a religious freedom denied to native dissenters. One could say likewise that foreign Muslims were treated better in the Republic than native ones.

Between the representations we began with and the realities we then explored, I think the contrast is now clear. Mentioning Turks, Persians, and pagans in the same breath as Jews, representations of Dutch religious toleration commonly blurred the distinction between large, small, tiny, and possibly non-existent groups. They suggested that Muslims had a far greater presence in Dutch society than they had. This was a rhetorical manoeuvre, a way to emphasize through exaggeration a very real feature of the Republic, unique in seventeenth-century Europe, namely the number and variety of religious groups tolerated. In blurring distinctions between groups, the representations also implied that all groups were tolerated more or less equally, in the same way. Yet as we have seen, there were important differences in how groups were treated – not always better or worse, either, but simply different sets of arrangements, each with advantages and disadvantages. The *schuilkerk*, for all its fame and importance, was by no means the only accommodation made for non-Calvinist worship. Further examination would reveal still more variety in the forms and patterns of religious toleration in the Dutch Republic. But that’s another story.

1. Jan van der Veen, *Ian vander Veens Zinne-beelden: oft Adams appel, Verciert met seer aerdige constplaeten; Mitsgaders syne oude ende nieuwe ongemeene bruydt-lofs ende zege-zangen* (Amsterdam, 1642), 338-9.
2. The same is true of heathens, in the religious sense of pagans (the term was also used to denote gypsies), but in what follows I will leave them aside.
3. Andrew Marvell, "The Character of Holland," in his *Miscellaneous Poems* (London, 1681), 113.
4. Jean-Francois Le Petit, *Nederlantsche republycke, bestaende in de Staten so generale als particuliere van 't Hertochtd. Gelder, Graefsch. van Holland, ... Geconferereert ende vergeleken met die van Swytsersche Cantoenen...* (Arnhem, 1615), 102.
5. Jean-Baptiste Stoupe, *De religie van de Hollanders, vertoont in diversche brieven/ Gheschreven door een officier van de conincklijke Fransche armée, aen eenen professeur van de theologie in Berne* (Cologne, 1673), 37. Other descriptions suggesting the presence of Muslims include Thomas Helwys, *A short declaration of the mystery of iniquity* (London, 1935), 69, 210-11; and Anon., *Colloquium Ofte een t'Samenspraec Over een Wonderlijcken Droom van Dromo Philetairois* (Knuttel pamphlets, 10492) (N.p., 1672), unpaginated.
6. René Bekius and Wout Ultee, "De Armeense kolonie in Amsterdam 1600-1800," *De Gids: nieuwe vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* 148 (1985): 216-24.
7. Boudewijn Bakker et al., *De verzameling Van Eeghen: Amsterdamse tekeningen 1600-1950* (Zwolle, 1988), 80.
8. This generalization does not include a small number of Muslims who converted to Christianity. One was Henri Cherif, a Moroccan prince, who converted to the Reformed faith in 1603 and married a woman from Sluis. In 1690, three Turkish boys taken prisoners of war in Hungary were baptized as Catholics in Den Bosch. Henry de Castries, ed., *Les sources inédites de l'histoire de Maroc de 1530 à 1845, Série I, Dynastie Saadienne (1530-1660) II, Archives et Bibliothèques des Pays Bas*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1906-1923), 1:42-9; F. van Anrooy et al., *Nederland in stukken. Beeldkroniek van Nederlandse archieven* (Haarlem, 1979), 131.
9. Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington, 1997); Yosef Kaplan, *Les nouveaux-juifs d'Amsterdam. Essais sur l'histoire sociale et intellectuelle du judaïsme séfardite au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1999); Yirmiyahu Yovel, *Spinoza and Other Heretics: The Marrano of Reason* (Princeton, 1989), esp. ch. 3.
10. On the early Sephardic congregations in Amsterdam and their synagogues, see esp. Jacob Zwarts, "De eerste rabbijnen en synagogen van Amsterdam naar archivalische bronnen," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Genootschap voor de Joodsche Wetenschap in Nederland* 4 (1928): 147-241; E. M. Koen, "The Earliest Sources Relating to the Portuguese Jews in the Municipal Archives of Amsterdam up to 1620," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 4 (1970): 25-42; E. M. Koen, "Waar en voor wie werd de synagoge van 1612 gebouwd?," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 57, no. 9 (1970): 209-212; H. J. Zantkuyl, "Reconstructie van een vroege 17e eeuwse synagoge," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 57, no. 9 (1970): 199-207; R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *De Sefardim in Amsterdam tot 1795. Aspecten van een joodse minderheid in een Hollandse stad* (Hilversum, 1989), 37-83.
11. Fuks-Mansfeld, *De Sefardim in Amsterdam tot 1795*, 53-8, 76-83.
12. Zwarts, "De eerste rabbijnen," 202 note. Lutherans in Arnhem complained likewise: see K. G. van Manen, "Verboden en getolereerd. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Evangelisch-Lutherse Gemeente te Arnhem in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen [Vereniging Gelre]* 83 (1992): 87.
13. Quoted in Jacqueline Kerkhoff, Tanja G. Kootte, Martinus Wingers, and Franciscus Maria, eds., *Geloven in verdraagzaamheid? : voorwerpenlijst* (Utrecht, 1998), 35.
14. Peter van Rooden, *Religieuze regimes. Over godsdienst en maatschappij in Nederland, 1570-1990* (Amsterdam, 1990), 25.
15. Erika Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad. Immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e-eeuwse Amsterdam* (Hilversum, 2005), 104-111, 366-7. See likewise on Lutherans in Utrecht, where German services continued through the eighteenth century, Ronald

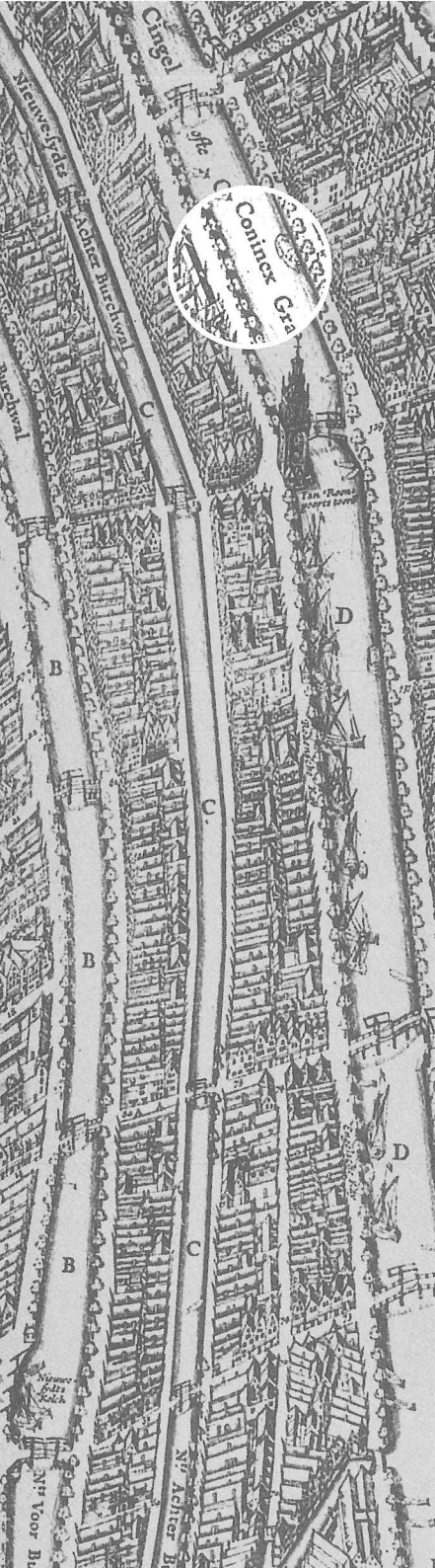
- Rommes, *Oost, west, Utrecht best?: driehonderd jaar migratie en migranten in de stad Utrecht (begin 16e-begin 19e eeuw)* (Amsterdam, 1998), 195 and passim.
16. Hugo de Groot, *Remonstrantie nopen de ordre dije in de landen van Hollandt ende Westvrieslandt dijert gestelt op de joden*, ed. J. Meijer (Amsterdam, 1949), 113 (adages from Tacitus and Seneca).
 17. Johann Junius Brutus Polonus [pseud. Johann Crell], *A Learned and exceeding well compiled Vindication of Liberty of Religion*, trans. John Dury (n.p. [London], 1646), 11.
 18. De Groot, *Remonstrantie*, quotation on 110. Cf. the millenarian hopes of Reformed theologian Johannes Cocceius for the general conversion of Muslims at the end of time: J. van Amersfoort and W. J. van Asselt, eds., *Liever Turks dan Paaps? De visies van Johannes Coccejus, Gisbertus Voetius en Adrianus Relandus op de islam* (Zoetermeer, 1997), 19.
 19. G. A. Wiegiers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius: Ahmad b. Kâsim al-Andalusî and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands* (Leiden, 1988); G. A. Wiegiers, "Learned Moriscos and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands, 1609-1624," in *Romania Arabica: Festschrift für Reinhold Kontzi zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. J. Lüdtke, 405-17 (Tübingen, 1996); G. A. Wiegiers, "De Nederlanden en de islam in de zeventiende eeuw: wisselwerking tussen cultuurcontact en beeldvorming?," in *Religie, cultuur en minderheden. Historische en maatschappelijke aspecten van beeldvorming*, ed. W.A. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, 141-53 (Tilburg, 1999); G. A. Wiegiers, *Het inquisitieproces van Alonso de Luna. Moriscos in Spanje en de diaspora in de zeventiende eeuw en hun geschriften over het christendom* (Nijmegen, 2004).
 20. Wiegiers, "De Nederlanden en de islam," 143, 150 note 16. The man, who died in 1602, was Abd al-Hamîd, head of a delegation from Atjeh.
 21. P. S. van Koningsveld, *Islamitische slaven en gevangenen in West-Europa tijdens de late Middeleeuwen* (Leiden, 1994); Salvatore Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna: galeotti, vu' cumpra', domestici* (Napoli, 1999); Alessandro Stella, *Histoires d'esclaves dans la péninsule ibérique* (Paris, 2000), 69-70, 88; Paul W. Bamford, "The Procurement of Oarsmen for French Galleys, 1660-1748," *American Historical Review* 65 (1959): 31-48; L. A. Berbrugger, "De l'esclavage musulman en France," *Revue africaine* 1 (1856-1957): 38-41; Gillian Weiss, "Commerce, Conversion and French Religious Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean," in *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France*, ed. Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass, and Penny Roberts, 275-88 (Bern, 2000).
 22. A. H. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic: A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations, 1610-1630* (Leiden/Istanbul, 1978), 83; Alastair Hamilton, *Arab Culture and Ottoman Magnificence in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Oxford, 2001), 8.
 23. Ahmad ibn Qasim al-Hajari, *Kitab nasir al-din 'ala 'lqawm al-kafirin* (The Supporter of Religion against the Infidel), ed. and trans. P. S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai, and G. A. Wiegiers (Madrid, 1997), 195.
 24. Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Holy Warre*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, 1651), 281.
 25. A pioneering polemic, in this regard, was William Rainolds and William Gifford, *Calvino-Turcismus id est, calvinisticæ perfidiæ, cum Mahvmetana collatio, et dilucida vtrivsqve sectæ confvrtatio: quatuor libris explicata* (Antwerp, 1597). See M. E. H. N. Mout, "Calvinoturcisme in de zeventiende eeuw. Comenius, Leidse Orientalisten en de Turke Bijbel," *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 91 (1978): 576-607.
 26. For overviews, see Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2003); Stephen Clissold, *The Barbary slaves* (London, 1977). On the ransoming of Dutch captives, see C. J. den Ridder, "Gedenk de gevangenen alsof gij medegevangenen waart. De loskoop van Hollandse zeelieden uit Barbarijse gevangenschap, 1600-1746," *Tijdschrift voor Zeegechiedenis* 5 (1986): 3-22.
 27. This idea was proposed by the Amsterdam merchant Bartholomæus Jacobsz on behalf of the city of Amsterdam. It was modelled on the example of the English, who had returned "seekere evangene Torcquen ende Mooren die den ridder

- Draeck loffelicker memorien [ie Francis Drake] mede vuyt Ingen [England] brachten." De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 1:18-30, quotation on 18-19.
28. De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 1:51-79, quotation on 69.
29. See e.g. A. Th. van Deursen et al., eds., *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal: Nieuwe reeks, 1610-1670*, 7 vols. (Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, 135, 151, 152, 176, 187, 208, 223) ('s-Gravenhage, 1971-), 6:524 (3 May 1624); "Resolutiën Staten-Generaal 1626-1651," web pages available at <http://test.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/RsgWerkversie> [accessed 28 April 2006], 15 Sept 1626 (I am grateful to the Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis for allowing me to access the material on their website). Other impoverished Turks given assistance to aid their return home from the Netherlands may also have been former slaves: see e.g. Van Deursen et al., *Resolutiën Der Staten-Generaal*, 7:608 (6 Nov 1625); "Resolutiën Staten-Generaal 1626-1651," 2 Jan, 19 Apr, 1 Oct 1627, 22 Feb 1629. Similarly, in a 1628 peace treaty with Algiers the French crown promised that all Muslim slaves who had escaped from the lands of Algiers' enemies would be given free passage through France to return to Algiers. Weiss, "Commerce, Conversion and French Religious Identity," 278.
30. For the text of these treaties, see De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 1:577-85; De Groot, *Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, 247-60; Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Saken van staet en oorlogh, in, ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden, beginnende met het jaer 1621, ende eyndigende met het jaer 1632*, 6 vols. ('s Gravenhage, 1669), 1:144-6. In fact, an initial agreement with the Algerians had been reached in 1617, but had broken down almost immediately. A. H. de Groot, "Ottoman North Africa and the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 39 (1985): 135-6. See also G. S. van Krieken, *Kapers en kooplieden: de betrekkingen tussen Algiers en Nederland, 1604-1830* (Amsterdam, 1999); K. Heeringa, "Een Bondgenootschap tusschen Nederland en Marokko," *Onze Eeuw* 7 (1907): 81-119.
31. Mercedes Garcia-Arenal and G. Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore, 2003); for a later period, see Johan de Bakker, "Slaves, arms, and Holy War: Moroccan policy vis-à-vis the Dutch Republic during the establishment of the Alaw-i dynasty (1660-1727)," Ph.D. dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1991.
32. See Jonathan I. Israel, *Diasporas Within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires (1540-1740)* (Leiden, 2002), 291-311; Roger Coindreau, *Les Corsairs de Salé* (Paris, 1948).
33. The Ottoman ambassadors were Ömer Agha in 1614, "Hussein" in 1618-19, and Mustafa Aga in 1641; Moroccan ambassadors were Hammou ben Bachir in 1609-10, Ahmed ben Abdallah in 1610-11, Ahmed el-Guezouli in 1612-13, Youssef Biscaïno in 1624-25, and Mohammed ben Askar in 1645; the Persian ambassador was Musa Beg in 1626-1627; from Salé came Mohammed Vanegas in 1629, and Brahim Duque, Mohammed Penalosa, and Brahim Manino together in 1659. See the extensive materials for these years in De Castries, *Sources inédites*. A large number of entries concerning these Muslim ambassadors' visits can be found also in the resolutions of the States-General. For 1609 see N. Japikse and H. H. P. Rijperman, eds., *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, 14 vols. ('s-Gravenhage, 1915-1970), vol. 14 (RGP Grote serie, 223); for the years 1610-1625 see Van Deursen et al., *Resolutiën Der Staten-Generaal*; for 1626-1630 see "Resolutiën Staten-Generaal 1626-1651." For all these years and exclusively for 1631 on, see Nationaal Archief, The Hague [henceforth cited as NA], Staten-Generaal, 1550-1796, 1.01.03, inv. nrs. 3168-3218. On the Ottoman embassies, see also K. Heeringa, ed., *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen handel*, 3 vols. (The Hague, 1910), 1:161-2, 653-68, 1109; on the Persian embassy, Hendrik Dunlop, ed., *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië* ('s-Gravenhage, 1930), lxxiii-lxxiv, 144, 201-3, 227, 675-82, 694-705 et seq.; on the Moroccan embassies, Jacques Caillé, "Ambassades et missions Marocaines aux Pays Bas à l'époque des sultans Saadiens," *Hesperis-Tamuda* IV (1963): 5-67.

34. De Groot, *Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, 127.
35. Hermann Goetz, "Persians and Persian costumes in Dutch Painting of the Seventeenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 20 (1938): 282.
36. Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten van Egypten, Barbarijen, Lybien, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abessynie...* (Amsterdam, 1676), 239; S. de Vries, *Handelingen en Geschiedenissen, Voorgevallen tusschen den Staet der Vereenighde Nederlanden En dien van de Zee-Roovers in Barbaryen; Als der Rijcken en Steeden van Algiers, Tunis, Salee en Tripoli; Van 't Jaer Christi 1590. tot op 't Jaer 1684* (Amsterdam, 1684), 94; De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 6:610.
37. al-Hajari, *Kitab Nasir*, 200-202. Other non-accredited envoys who came to the Republic include one Sidi Ahmed ben Kassem, secretary to the king of Morocco, mentioned in 1623; it is unclear whether he is the same as cAbd al-cAziz b. Muhammad, who came in 1609 as secretary to Hammu b. Bashir and stayed on a few months more after the ambassador himself had departed (Wiegiers, "Learned Moriscos and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands, 1609-1624," 408). Also, "een man genaemd Abdulla" was sent to Dutch Republic in or before 1615 by Ismael Aga, a highranking official in Istanbul, to rescue his sister, who with another woman was a slave in France; al-Hajari, *Kitab Nasir*, 203-4 note 28. In 1645 we hear of Turks coming to Amsterdam to hire ships for deployment in the war over Crete that had broken out between the Ottomans and Venice; who they were is not known. *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 5 (1918): 53-4.
38. On the diaspora of the Moriscos upon their expulsion, see *L'expulsió dels moriscos: Conseqüències en el món islàmic i el món cristià: 380è aniversari de l'expulsió dels moriscos, Congrés internacional: Sant Carles de la Ràpita, 5-9 de desembre de 1990* (Barcelona, 1994); Mikel de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid, 1992); M. García-Arenal, *La Diáspora de los andalusíes* (Barcelona, 2003); Abdeljelil Temimi, "Le passage des Morisques à Marseille, Livourne et Istanbul d'après de nouveaux documents italiens," *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine* 55-56 (1989): 303-16; Abdeljelil Temimi, *Le gouvernement ottoman et le problème morisque* (Zaghouan, 1989); J. Mathorez, *Les étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime. Histoire de la formation de la population française*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1919), 1:155-71; Robert Sauzet, "Les relations entre chrétiens et musulmans à travers quelques écrits autobiographiques du midi de la France," in *Chrétiens et musulmans à la Renaissance. Actes du 37e colloque international du CESR* (1994), ed. Bartolomé Bennassar and Robert Sauzet, 265-74 (Paris, 1998); Santiago La Parra López, *Los Borja y los moriscos: repobladores y "terrateníentes" en la huerta de Gandia tras la expulsión de 1609* (Valencia, 1992).
39. As paraphrased in García-Arenal and Wiegiers, *A Man of Three Worlds*, 59.
40. Wiegiers, *Inquisitieproces van Alonso De Luna*, 11.
41. Heeringa, *Bronnen*, 1:214-15, 218-19.
42. "Undecima Septembris huius anni [1609] rex Hispaniae scribit ad ducem Parmae, marchionem, Deniae, se comperisse quod Mauri in regnis Valentiae et Granatae, ex Mahometanis reliquiae, cum Turca et Marochiano rege conspirassent; quibus etiam accessissent heretici septentrionales maritimii, nonnulli principes Christiani, hostes magnitudinis Hispanicae. ... Quare jubet rex Hispanus, ut Mauri omnes ante certum diem, cum illis bonis quae corpore suo portare possent, finibus Hispaniae decederent. Aliquot eorum continuo Amstelredamum appulerunt; quibus concessa fuit ibidem synagoga, in quam ex praecipuis istius civitatis hereticis nonnulli, circumciso inguine, nomen dederunt. Usque adeo calvinismo et turcismo convenit." R. Fruin, ed., *Uittreksel uit Francisci Dusseldorpii Annales, 1566-1616* (The Hague, 1893), 387-8. This passage has been variously interpreted. Taking the term "synagoga" literally and ignoring its context and usage, Zwarts claimed that Dusseldorp was accusing Calvinists in Amsterdam of converting not to Islam but to Judaism; according to him, the last sentence referred in particular to the Converso Pereyra family, who embraced rabbinic Judaism and were circumcized around that time. Zwarts, "De eerste rabbijnen," 202-3 note **: In contrast, Wiegiers has suggested

- that the "leading heretics" mentioned in the passage were not Calvinists but Moriscos – i.e. that, having reached Amsterdam, they underwent a transformation parallel to that of Jewish Conversos in the city, who became professing, practicing Jews. So, according to Wiegers, the Moriscos turned from secret or would-be Muslims to circumcized, full-fledged practitioners of Islam and members of a mosque. Wiegers, "De Nederlanden en de islam," 144. Dusseldorp, though, does not use "Mauri" and "heretici" as synonyms: by "heretici" he means Calvinists, and the point of the passage is to slur the latter – it's a variant on the accusation of "Calvino-Turcism" found in other Catholic polemics. My thanks to Dr. Jan Bloemendal for assistance in interpreting this passage.
43. "11 Sept. [1609] Amstelodami aperitur synagoga Judaeis, exulibus ex Hispania propter conspirationem cum Africanis et Hollandis." J. J. Graaf, ed., "Tabula Chronologica Episcopatus et Ecclesiae Cathedralis Harlemensis Etc.," *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis van het Bisdom van Haarlem* 1 (1873): 238. According to this entry, it was Jews who opened at that time a synagogue in Amsterdam. But it cannot be coincidence that the date of the entry, 11 September 1609, was the day the first order was issued in Spain expelling the Moriscos. The rationale for the order was precisely that Moriscos were conspiring with Spain's African and Dutch enemies. Jews had been expelled from Spain in 1492, and, although some later returned, the great majority of Sephardic Jews who came to Amsterdam in the 1600s-10s did so from Portugal.
44. De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 4:242-3 note 2, 5:355; Yosef Kaplan, "Les prosélytes juifs dans la communauté portugaise d'Amsterdam au XVIIe siècle. Le cas de Lorenzo Escudero," *Actes du septième congrès mondial des études juives. Histoire des Juifs d'Europe*, 87-101 (Jerusalem, 1981) (my thanks to Prof. Kaplan for communicating the substance of this article to me); Kaplan, *Les Nouveaux-Juifs d'Amsterdam*, 76; I. S. Revah, *Spinoza et le Dr Juan de Prado* (Paris, 1959), 31, 61-8. It is unclear whether Escudero was a Morisco in the sense of a crypto-Muslim; there were only a few such in Spain at this late date (Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: their conversion and expulsion* [New York, 1968], 321-93). But it is likely that Escudero was at least of Moorish/Morisco ancestry.
45. A group of "Turkish" merchants granted privileges in Antwerp in 1582 were in fact Greek Christians. J. A. Goris, "Turksche kooplieden te Antwerpen in de XVIe eeuw," *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 14 (1922): 30-8.
46. De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 5:355.
47. For arguments concerning the reasons for this preference, see Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York, 1982), esp. 61; Nabil Matar, ed. and trans., *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 2003), xv-xxxiii; Olivia R. Constable, "Muslim Merchants in Andalusi International Trade," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, 759-73 (Leiden, 1992). On the groups active in commerce within the Ottoman Empire and on Dutch-Ottoman commerce generally, see Mehmet Bulut, *Ottoman-Dutch economic relations in the early modern period 1571-1699* (Hilversum, 2001), esp. 46-57, 174-9.
48. Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians*, xviii-xix; Weiss, "Commerce, Conversion and French Religious Identity," 278-9, 286.
49. See i.a. Paolo Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi* (Florence, 1975); Ugo Tucci, "Tra Venezia e mondo turco: i mercanti," in *Venezia e i Turchi: Scontri e confronti di due civiltà*, 38-55 (Milan, 1985); Cernal Kafadar, "A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima," in *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 97-124 (Brookfield, Vt., 1996). Muslim merchants (many but not all) were housed together in Venice from 1579, initially in an inn.
50. Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zijne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, vorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, schoulen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1760), 2:218; Bekius and Utee, "De Armeense kolonie in Amsterdam".
51. In August 1619, there were "een groot getal Zee-roovers t' Amsterdam gevancklijck binnen gebracht." They would have been given "de Strop te loon," according to De Vries, except that the

- governor of Algiers wrote the States-General pleading for their lives, which indicates that they were from Algiers and strongly suggests they were Muslim. De Vries, *Handelingen en Geschiedenissen*, 36. In May 1635, two ships from Salé were captured by Dutch captains. The latter sold off in Spain many of the crewmen from the ships, but brought back to the Netherlands the two ships' captains plus "cinq ou six autres Mores de ladicte [town of] Salé." In addition to instigating a suit against the two Dutch captains, David Pallache, agent of Morocco's king, asked the States-General to provide the two captains and their men passports so they could return home. De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 5:370. In November 1658, forty-seven "Moors" from a corsair ship out of Salé were brought back to the Netherlands on a Dutch naval vessel after their ship was attacked and destroyed while under Dutch protection. After being kept first in the Rotterdam admiralty jail, then on board a ship, the Moors were returned home, their captain receiving partial indemnification for his loss. De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 6:468-522.
52. Cornelis Pijnacker, *Historysch verhael van den steden Thunes, Algiers ende andere steden in Barbarien gelegen*, ed. G. S. van Krieken ('s-Gravenhage, 1975), 51, 53, 57-61 (quotation 60-1); cf. Van Aitzema, *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, 1:148-50.
 53. Art. XXI (170), in De Groot, *Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, 252; the right reinforced by article 13 of the 1622 treaty with Algiers (Van Aitzema, *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, 1:145).
 54. Extensive materials concerning these ships' visits, and the dilemmas they posed, can be found in De Castries, *Sources inédites*, vol. 4; and in the resolutions of the States-General for the years 1623-1626: see references in note 33. See also De Vries, *Handelingen en Geschiedenissen*, 57-66; Heeringa, *Bronnen*, 1:905-28, 979-80.
 55. NA, Staten-Generaal, 1.01.03, inv. nr. 3184, 95v-96r (8 Mar 1625); Heeringa, *Bronnen*, 1:927.
 56. Joke E. Korteweg, *Kaperbloed en koopmansgeest. 'Legale zeeroof' door de eeuwen heen* (Amsterdam, 2006), 110. See also Bartolomé Bennassar and Lucile Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d'Allah: l'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 1989); Mercedes García-Arenal, ed., *Conversions islamiques. Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen* (Paris, 2001), 141-223.
 57. NA, Staten-Generaal, 1.01.03, inv. nr. 3182, 503r-v (22 Dec 1623).
 58. De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 4:98. On Janszoon, see most recently Korteweg, *Kaperbloed en koopmansgeest*, 109-11.
 59. De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 4:120. Biscaïno's feelings toward Dutch had been colored by the fact that his cousin, who had accompanied him to the Netherlands, had been murdered by a sailor in Den Briel. On that occasion, Biscaïno had accused the States-General of anti-Muslim sentiment and of not doing all they could to catch the culprit. Taking offence at the accusation, the States-General had responded that the ambassador "beter wiste dat men hier te lande de Mahometanen ofte die van andere gesintheneden in 't stuck van religie syn nyet en sochte t' outrageren." De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 4:10; cf. Van Deursen et al., *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, 7:268.
 60. De Castries, *Sources inédites*, 4:124; quotation at NA, Staten-Generaal, 1.01.03, inv. nr. 3184, 96r (8 Mar 1625).
 61. NA, Staten-Generaal, 1.01.04, inv. nr. 6898, letter dd. 11 Mar 1625. Algerian authorities cooperated to the extent that in 1626 they promised the States-General that if any Algerian vessels should, by chance or on purpose, go to "Fiandra," no "renegati Fiamengi" would be permitted to leave the vessel, "a fine che no siano facti alcuni tradimenti et rumori." Heeringa, *Bronnen*, 1:985.
 62. Heeringa, *Bronnen*, 1:499-500.
 63. Years later, when a group of renegades was captured at sea, the States-General applied the principle of reciprocity in much more benign fashion: they offered the captives to the families of Dutch men being held as slaves in North Africa, for exchange to obtain the latter's release. NA, Staten-Generaal, 1.01.03, inv. nr. 3203, 496v (1 Nov 1644).
 64. Anon., *Den Zeeuwsen Buatist, of Binnenlandsen Verrader, Ontdekt in een Oproerig en Landverdervend Pasquil...* (Rotterdam, 1668), 28.



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