‘*Wisdom’s the noblest ware that Travel brings*’: English Clerics and Experiences of Travel within the Mughal and Ottoman Empires, 1616-1724

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‘*The Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters; yea, than the mighty waves of the Sea*’ – Psalm 93:4, cited on the title page of Edward Terry’s *A Voyage to East-India* (1655).

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Abbreviations and Conventions

Add. MS: British Library Additional Manuscripts.

All other abbreviations are noted first in the text. All dates before 1752 are given in Old Style, with the year taken to begin on 1 January.

Short Abstract

This thesis centres on a small group of clerics within the Church of England, all of whom travelled throughout either Mughal India or the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth century. It examines their understandings and perceptions of the myriad religious traditions that populated those states, most notably Eastern Christianity and Islam. In so doing, this thesis explores the impact of travel to the Mughal and Ottoman empires, and of first-hand exposure to their religious diversity specifically, on how English travellers thought about religious theory, ceremony and practice within the Church of England. In short, it considers how experiences of travel within the East shaped English travellers' views of the right and wrong ways of worshipping God, and how they sought to apply this knowledge in their service of the English Church.

Within this broader framework, this thesis makes several interlocking arguments. Firstly, that our travellers used their experiences overseas to reflect on the role of Church-led education and learning in the cultivation and consolidation of right worship. Secondly, that there exists a uniquely English, as opposed to Western, or European, experience of the Mughal and Ottoman empires in the early modern period, insofar as that experience was shaped by uniquely domestic frames of reference, regarding, say, the Church of England. And finally, that our travellers, as a result of their experiences abroad, frequently thought and wrote about religious issues in ways that distinguished them from their non-travelling contemporaries, and that paved the way for new, and even controversial, intellectual and practical approaches to the established Church. In making these arguments, this thesis seeks to open up new avenues for the study of early modern English travel, on the one hand, and of the early modern Church of England, on the other.

Long Abstract

In written, first-hand accounts of the Mughal and Ottoman empires, seventeenth-century English travellers frequently discussed and examined the religions that they had encountered within those states, including not only Islam, but also other creeds such as Catholicism, Eastern Christianity and Hinduism. Religious difference was a major source of fascination for most English travellers to Islamic polities, not least because of the intensity of contemporary debates, in both England and Western Europe more broadly, over the nature of God, religion and religious worship. In this thesis, we shall explore how travel to Islamic states, and to the Mughal and Ottoman empires specifically, became a resource for tackling these issues, using a small group of travellers from the Church of England as micro-historical case studies.

All three of the travellers under study served as clerics for the Church of England, and travelled throughout either Mughal India or the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth century, at various points between 1616 and 1677. They also produced written accounts of their experiences overseas, either during their travels or after, which exist in several forms, from published travelogues and sermons to unpublished journals and correspondence. Crucially, all three men drew on their experiences of travel, and of different religions and creeds in particular, to intervene in disputes over the structure, theology and worship of the English Church between the 1650s and the 1690s, at a time when these issues were deeply divisive. For our travelling clerics, then, the Mughal and Ottoman empires became a vital aspect of their reflections on what it meant to worship and conceive of God correctly, and on how such knowledge might be applied to the myriad liturgical, theological and devotional commitments of the English Church.

As our travellers reflected on their varied experiences of religious worship overseas, they highlighted the importance of education and learning to right religion, and envisaged a prominent role for the established Church and its clergy in this regard. By examining this dynamic, this thesis argues that seventeenth-century English travellers commonly experienced a different Mughal or Ottoman world to their European counterparts, not so much because their experiences of those worlds were inherently different, as because they were partly informed by, and in turn helped to inform, their engagement with the English Church. Indeed, our clerics integrated their experiences of travel into discussions of religious tolerance, the value of specific rites and ceremonies, the relationship between faith and works, styles of church architecture and government, and the authority and purpose of the clergy. They did so in ways that often marked them out from their non-travelling contemporaries, and that added another dimension to what was being written about the English Church by those working from Scripture, or from written, and typically more scholarly, accounts of paganism, Christianity and other systems of belief both past and present. Their travel-inspired writings also frequently had creative and practical consequences for the established Church, some of which proved controversial among contemporaries.

This thesis therefore seeks to paint a richer, more nuanced picture of seventeenth-century English perceptions of the Mughal and Ottoman empires, and of Islam, overseas Catholicism and Eastern Christianity especially. By exploring the impact that local English discussions and contexts might have on English views of Islamic states, and of the religions and cultures therein, we shall move beyond categories of ‘East’ and ‘West’, or ‘Europe’ and ‘the Islamic world’, to consider individual travellers working through specific and frequently personal problems, which were informed by local English conditions and concerns. In so doing, we shall move away from a tendency among historians to document

and describe, as opposed to analyse, instances of English contact and engagement with the seventeenth-century Mughal and Ottoman empires. We shall examine how the nature of this connectedness differed from not only person to person, but also place to place, including between England and other Western European countries, as a result of individual and local meanings, contexts and attachments. This thesis does not concern itself, meanwhile, with establishing the existence of an early English cosmopolitanism vis-à-vis Islamic and Eastern cultures and societies, or with the English use of Islam and Islamic states as an 'Other', against which they could define themselves. Both of these themes are well-covered in the existing literature, and we shall focus instead on the English use of the Mughal and Ottoman worlds as a kind of mirror, which travellers employed to reflect, and thereby re-think, some very practical aspects of their own society, and of their state church and its organisation and worship in particular.

The personal and professional lives and contexts of our travellers, including their views of, and approaches to, religion and the Church of England, are therefore absolutely crucial to what follows. So too are the local conditions and contexts into which these travellers inserted themselves, both at home in England and overseas during their travels. As a result, this thesis combines the careful examination of travellers' archives, on the one hand, with the close study of regionally specific historiographies, on the other, regarding the religious and political vicissitudes of the England from which they came, and those of the Islamic polities to which they travelled. In this way, this thesis broaches a topic that is normally considered part of 'global history', but with a keen awareness of locally specific and micro-historical knowledge and expertise, which has sometimes been overlooked within that field. Within this context, this thesis contributes to a burgeoning historiography on early modern English clerics overseas, while simultaneously providing a more complete intellectual history of the seventeenth-century English Church. This is one that

acknowledges the engagement of contemporary Church of England clerics and thinkers with less familiar conversation partners, beyond fellow Reformed or indeed Catholic churches, for instance, or the early Christian tradition. Finally, at this micro-historical level, it is much easier to discern the impact that such outside examples, relating to Mughal and Ottoman religion, might have on not only religious ideas and theory, but also on the everyday fabric and worship of the English Church during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

This thesis centres on, and is accordingly structured around, three Church of England clerics who travelled within Mughal India or the Ottoman Empire at various points between 1616 and 1677. Either during their travels or after, between the 1620s and the 1720s, all three of these figures wrote at length about their experiences of different religions and sects within the Mughal and Ottoman worlds. They produced the bulk of their work in this regard between the 1650s and the 1690s, when the identity of the Church of England was very much at stake. The first is Edward Terry (c. 1590-1660), who served as chaplain (1616-19) to the first official English ambassador to the Mughal court, the better-known Sir Thomas Roe (served 1615-19). The second figure is Dr John Covel (1638-1722), who served as chaplain to successive English ambassadors to Istanbul during the 1670s. It was here that Covel met and befriended the third figure of this thesis, Sir George Wheler (1651-1724), who visited parts of Greece and Asia Minor between 1675 and 1676, before his ordination in 1683, following his return to England. These travellers have been chosen partly for their extensive and largely untapped archives, particularly Covel and Wheler, many of whose writings remain unpublished. Yet they have also been chosen for their lively engagement with the religious cultures of the overseas territories that they visited, with Islam and Eastern Christianity receiving the most coverage across their work.

Although there are many differences in how, where and why Terry, Covel and Wheler interacted with, and subsequently wrote about, the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires, there are also several important similarities between them, which make it worthwhile to bring these three figures together into a single study. As we shall see, all three men were absolutely committed to church unity and the avoidance of sectarianism, and they demonstrated a remarkable willingness to learn from other religions and cultures in pursuit of their aims for the Church of England. Furthermore, when they wrote about the Church, most of their discussions were connected to at least one of the following three themes, all of which were widely debated among Church thinkers during the second half of the seventeenth century. Firstly, the extent to which humans were responsible for their own moral actions, and what kinds of works, if any, contributed to their potential for salvation. Secondly, the growth of religious heterodoxy in England, and of Christians outside the established Church, from the 1640s onwards. And finally, how the Church and its clergy ought to respond to a rising tide of anti-clerical feeling. Within this context, it makes sense to compare a Commonwealth figure, namely Terry, with two Restoration ones, for it enables us to draw out some major consistencies, as well as changes, across the discussions and themes that pre-occupied the Church of England from the 1640s to the 1720s.

The lives of our travellers, and the religious issues with which they engaged, will help to structure much of what follows. In Chapter I, we shall focus on Terry's use of Mughal India to reflect on the dangers of excessive religious tolerance in England, and to insert himself into contemporary debates surrounding the content of a new confession of faith for the state church. In Chapters II and III, we shall explore the role of Covel's travels abroad in helping him to develop a vision of Christianity that foregrounded what he called 'ye inner practice of religion', or 'inward affection'. Chapters IV and V examine Wheler, and how his first-hand experience of Greek Christians and the Greek Orthodox Church, both in England

and overseas, informed his thinking about the authority and independence of the Church of England, and about the value of learning to right religion. Finally, Chapter VI compares what Terry, Covel and Wheler wrote about Mughal and Ottoman religion, and considers how they used their experiences of travel to think more deeply about the dynamics of bad religion, or superstition, priestcraft and idolatry. Over the course of these six chapters, this thesis will knit together multiple historiographies, for only in this way can we properly understand how seventeenth-century English travellers conceived of, and responded to, the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman worlds.

Introduction

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, English travellers to India and the eastern Mediterranean commonly produced first-hand ethnographic accounts of the Mughal and Ottoman empires. In so doing, many of these travellers detailed, with varying levels of accuracy, the religious diversity, or myriad forms of religious practice and belief, that existed within those states, from varieties of Christianity and Islam to Hinduism and Zoroastrianism. Accounts of this nature existed in several forms, including unpublished journals and correspondence, in addition to published sermons, travelogues and works of devotional literature.[1] Using a sample of these sources, this thesis will examine how a small group of seventeenth-century English travellers, all of whom served as clerics for the established English Church at a time of great religious upheaval, grappled with the diversity of the religious cultures that they encountered within the Mughal and Ottoman empires.

This thesis will focus in particular on its travellers' engagement with, and views of, Catholicism, Eastern Christianity and Islam, for these were the three religious traditions that were typically most visible to them overseas. In this way, it will explore how English travellers used the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman polities to reflect on what religion, and on what the Church of England specifically, meant to them, and to think more deeply about what made their faith distinctive, not only from other forms of Protestantism and Christianity, but from other religions too. In writing this thesis, I have therefore made a conscious decision to focus on England and the English state church. For reasons of space,

[1] The historiography on early modern English travellers and travel literature is vast. See, for example, William H. Sherman, 'Stirrings and Searchings (1500–1720)', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17–36; Nandini Das, 'Early Modern Travel Writing (2): English Travel Writing', in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 77–92; Eva Johanna Holmberg, 'Introduction: Renaissance and Early Modern Travel – Practice and Experience, 1500–1700', *Renaissance Studies* 33, no. 4 (2019): 515–23.

and in order to maintain greater coherence in terms of the issues that I discuss, the experiences and views of non-establishment clerics in England, and of clerics in Scotland, Wales and Ireland, will not be considered here, except tangentially.

The central argument of this thesis is that English travellers used their experiences of religious worship within the Mughal and Ottoman empires to reflect on what it meant to worship and conceive of God correctly. As we shall see, this involved using their first-hand experiences of travel, and of other religions and sects specifically, to identify the essential building blocks of a suitably reverent English Church and society. This was a Church and society in which the right kinds of religious worship took place, and the wrong kinds were avoided, or eliminated entirely, principally through Church-led education and learning. Within this context, this thesis argues that English travellers frequently experienced the Mughal and Ottoman empires differently to many of their European counterparts, insofar as they integrated their observations of those states into uniquely English theological and political discussions and debates, harnessing those observations to intervene in contemporary disputes over the future of the English Church. Finally, by examining this process, this thesis also makes a case for the role of travel, and of first-hand exposure to religious diversity specifically, in shaping and shifting travellers' views of familiar issues at home, in ways that often distinguished them from their non-travelling contemporaries. In other words, experiences of travel gave rise to new intellectual possibilities within the Church of England, some of which had very practical consequences for its organisation and worship. As Robert Creswell wrote in his dedicatory poem to Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), one of the many texts under study in this thesis, '*Wisdom*'*s the noblest ware that Travel brings*.'[2]

[2] Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East-India* (London, 1655), sig. A8v.

As we shall explore, Church of England ministers used their experiences within the Mughal and Ottoman empires to reflect on distinctly English topics, which were unlikely to be discussed elsewhere in Europe, because of their specificity to the English Church. These topics included the confessional priorities of the Church of England, and its relationship with non-conforming Christians; whether the English Church should enforce specific controversial rites and ceremonies, including the sign of the cross in baptism and kneeling to receive the sacrament; the structure and layout of English state churches; and the nature of domestic devotion among lay members of the Church of England. As a result, it is possible to speak of a distinctive English experience of travel within the Mughal and Ottoman empires during the seventeenth century, insofar as that experience was shaped by domestic frames of reference, and was therefore distinct (though never entirely detached) from broader European frameworks and tropes, or from the experiences of other European travellers to those regions.

By analysing this English experience, and appreciating the various local or distinctly English contexts that informed it, we may come to a deeper, richer understanding of seventeenth-century English perceptions of the Mughal and Ottoman worlds, and of Islam, overseas Catholicism and Eastern Christianity in particular. This understanding will be at once more nuanced and finely tuned than those provided by discussions of, say, 'East' and 'West', or 'Europe' and 'the Islamic world'. We may also provide a more global context to seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century ecclesiastical debates in England, by examining the impact of transnational and transcultural examples of what, for English travellers, was religion done well, and what was religion done poorly. Fundamentally, this global context will produce a more complete intellectual history of the seventeenth-century English Church. This is one that takes into account the views of those who thought and wrote about the Church using first-hand examples of overseas forms of religious practice and belief. For

as we shall examine, this group added another dimension to what was being written about the Church by those in university libraries and offices, or in studies elsewhere, working from Scripture and written accounts of Christianity and other religions both past and present.

Integrating the Local with the Global

Over the last two decades or so, following the publication of Nabil Matar's *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (1998), a large corpus of historical literature has emerged examining early modern British perceptions of the cultures, societies and peoples of the Mughal and Ottoman empires, in light of Britain's growing diplomatic and commercial involvement with Islamic states.[3] Inspired by Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), as well as Samuel Chew's path-breaking *Islam and England during the Renaissance* (1937), much of this work has assumed a literary focus, exploring representations of the Mughal and Ottoman worlds in early modern English drama and romance.[4] This work has made a number of valuable contributions to our understanding of early modern Britain. Its authors have drawn on a huge

[3] Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005); Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); James Mather, *Pashas: Traders and Travellers in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Julia Schleck, *Telling True Tales of Islamic Lands: Forms of Mediation in Early English Travel Writing, 1575-1630* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2011); Nabil Matar, *Henry Stubbe and the Beginnings of Islam: The Originall & Progress of Mahometanism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

[4] Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576-1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Daniel J. Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Rosalind Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England, 1662-1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579-1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005); Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Bernadette Andrea, *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640-1685* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007); Bernadette Andrea and Linda McJannet, eds., *Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (London: Allen Lane, 2016).

array of previously overlooked or understudied sources, using them to highlight the complexity and variety of early modern British perceptions of the Mughal and Ottoman empires, and of other Islamic polities. Historians of the field have also made a persuasive case for the importance of interaction with these states in helping to forge various facets of British culture and identity, particularly those expressed through literature. In this way, they have offered a more global picture of early modern British history, and have rightly challenged the notion that early modern Western perceptions of Islam and Islamic polities were invariably hostile, or driven largely by proto-colonial ambitions.

This thesis seeks to contribute to this historiography in several ways. At a very basic level, it aims to add another, non-literary dimension to the study of early modern English perceptions of the Mughal and Ottoman worlds. By moving beyond plays and literature, and focusing instead on clerical accounts, this thesis helps to shift our focus from English cultural representations of the Mughal and Ottoman empires to the impact that those states, and travel to them specifically, might have on English religious debates, institutions and worship. Consequently, this thesis tends more towards intellectual and religious history than literary criticism and theory. Within this framework, it is less concerned with processes of othering than with the English use of the Mughal and Ottoman worlds as a kind of mirror, in order to reflect, and thereby re-think, some very practical aspects of their own society, and of their public church and religious worship in particular. To that end, this thesis examines an aspect of England's response to both the Mughals and the Ottomans in this period that is generally overlooked within the current literature: the intersection between the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires, on the one hand, and thinking about the English state church, on the other. In so doing, this thesis takes inspiration from William Bulman's *Anglican Enlightenment* (2015). Bulman's study explores the life and times of the Anglican cleric and traveller Lancelot Addison (1632-1703), who served as a chaplain in

the English colonial outpost of Tangier during the 1660s. Crucially, Bulman uses Addison's example to explore how first-hand studies of Islam, Judaism and North Africa forced a reconsideration of the liturgical, theological and devotional commitments of the English Church from the 1670s onwards.[5]

Reading Bulman's work, one gets a very clear sense of how far English travellers were able to integrate their experiences of the Mediterranean world into some very complex Anglo-centric discussions regarding, say, the nature of religious corruption; the most effective forms of pastoral technique; the relationship between faith and politics; and schemes for civil peace following the English Revolution (1642-60). Bulman has used such processes of integration and argumentation to illustrate the existence of what he calls an 'early Anglican Enlightenment', whereby clerics from the Church of England harnessed Enlightenment methods of enquiry, most notably historical scholarship, to identify means for the maintenance of social order.[6] Although this thesis does not engage with Bulman's concept of the 'early Enlightenment', it certainly shares his broader desire to explore how ministers from the Church of England integrated their experiences overseas into domestic religious frameworks. Consequently, there is some crossover between this thesis and Bulman's general observations in this regard, primarily when it comes to English clerics' use of other religious traditions to reflect on how the state church might distinguish and defend itself from and against its enemies.

Nevertheless, the emphasis of this thesis also differs slightly in several important respects. Firstly, by using a different cast of characters, this thesis expands beyond Bulman's focus to consider English travellers' views of not only Judaism and Islam, but also of Eastern

[5] William Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and Its Empire, 1648-1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[6] Ibid., esp. 1-13. For another work that explores England, Islam and the Enlightenment, as well as the impact of the Islamic world on English religious thought, albeit during a slightly later period, see Humberto Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment, 1670-1840* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

Christianity, Hinduism and Zoroastrianism. Secondly, the study of multiple clerics, who travelled and wrote about their experiences out of England between the 1620s and the 1720s, will enable us to identify trends within their accounts of religious difference over time, including *before* the re-establishment of the Church of England in 1662. And finally, whereas Bulman's study ranges widely across Addison's views of Jewish and Islamic doctrine, history, scripture, politics and custom, this thesis concentrates more tightly on the engagement of English travellers with the nature and material culture of more popular, everyday forms of religious worship overseas. In so doing, it sheds further light on the anthropological and ethnographical interests of seventeenth-century English travellers to the Mughal and Ottoman empires, particularly when they found themselves faced with religious difference.

In its focus on religion and politics over culture, and its tendency towards intellectual over literary history, this thesis also takes its cue from several studies of late medieval and early modern Western ideas about Islam, the Ottomans and the Ottoman world, most notably those of Norman Daniel, Nancy Bisaha, Margaret Meserve, Alexander Bevilacqua and Noel Malcolm.[7] These studies have identified several broad and sometimes contradictory trends within the history of Western attitudes towards Islam and Islamic polities such as the Ottoman Empire. This includes the development of a humanist discourse, and of a genuine desire on the part of many Europeans, and of European scholars specifically, to study Eastern cultures and societies, whether Islamic or not, on their own terms, by learning their languages and collecting their antiquities; the persistence of

[7] Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (London: Oneworld, 1993); Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Alexander Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018); Noel Malcolm, *Useful Enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

medieval polemical tropes, and of crusading rhetoric in particular; and the interpretation of the Ottoman Empire as a political entity, and of Islam as a political religion, as evidenced by the evolving Western concept of 'oriental despotism'.[8]

In mapping these trends, all of these scholars have demonstrated that there was not only active, but also creative Western engagement with the cultures and societies of Islamic states, and of the Ottoman Empire especially. Examples involving Islamic, Ottoman and more broadly 'Eastern' frames of reference became a common feature of internal Western debates over religion, politics, society, war and so on, and were used to develop novel ways of thinking about these topics. To borrow Noel Malcolm's phrase, 'Eastern material … was used to shake things up, to provoke, to shame, to galvanize.'[9] In common with this thesis, then, these works maintain that studying Muslim states, not least the Ottoman Empire, was a way for early modern Europeans to reflect on their own cultures and societies, and to suggest means both for their defence and reform. For although processes of othering, and of accentuating differences between East and West, were certainly important to early modern European approaches to the Mughal and Ottoman empires, so too were discourses and studies that emphasised commonalities, and sought to discern universal concepts and principles in areas such as religion and politics.

Yet of course this thesis differs from these works insofar as it focuses uniquely on England, and on ministers of the English Church specifically. As a result, it is able to examine in greater detail the impact that local or domestic (in this case, English) contexts might have on Western views of Muslim states, using a small group of Church of England

[8] For the study of Eastern languages and collecting of oriental manuscripts and other antiquities in early modern Europe, see also G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Alastair Hamilton, Maurits H. van den Boogert, and Bart Westerweel, eds., *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies* (London: Allen Lane, 2006); Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). For the concept of oriental despotism, see also Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Oriental Despotism and European Orientalism: Botero to Montesquieu', *Journal of Early Modern History* 9, no. 1 (2005): 109–80.

[9] Malcolm, *Useful Enemies*, 417.

travellers to the Mughal and Ottoman empires as micro-historical case studies. For although intellectual frameworks imported from the continent were undoubtedly important to the early modern English experience of those polities, so too were more immediate and practical local conditions and concerns. Indeed, European intellectual pre-occupations such as antiquarianism, humanism and Oriental despotism, all of which have been examined by the scholars cited above, form only part of the English story. In the cases of the English travellers that we shall discuss, local or Anglo-centric concerns, including a specific set of issues surrounding the settlement of the English Church, were equally important to how they thought about the Eastern territories that they visited.

Thus whereas the scholars mentioned above have focused largely on broader 'Western' or 'European' patterns of thinking about Islam and Islamic states, this thesis is more concerned with how these broader patterns acquired local inflections, or how entirely local patterns of thought emerged. For as we shall see, English travellers approached the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires with very particular issues and questions in mind, many of which were informed by the domestic debates that pre-occupied them. There was, therefore, a local English context that shaped broader intellectual processes from the continent, and served to distinguish English travellers and commentators from their European counterparts. By exploring this dynamic, this thesis underlines the value of context, or of thinking beyond categories of 'East' and 'West', 'Christianity' and 'Islam', or 'Europe' and 'the Islamic world', to consider individual travellers working though very specific problems informed by very specific local conditions and concerns. After all, the broader European or Western view, though undoubtedly rich and fascinating, has also inevitably flattened much of what makes individual travellers so interesting, that is to say, the local contexts into which they inserted themselves, not only at home, but also overseas. By drawing out these local inflections, we shall see that not all Europeans experienced the

same Mughal and Ottoman empires, partly because they all travelled to different places and encountered different people, of course, but *also* because they all examined those states through different lenses, and with different agendas in mind. Indeed, the idea that historians can write of a distinctive *English* experience of the Mughal and Ottoman worlds in the early modern period is one of the major underlying arguments of this thesis.

With its focus on the relationship between these local and personal contexts, on the one hand, and English views of the Mughal and Ottoman empires, on the other, this thesis intends to pick up where much of the historiography inspired by Matar has left off. As mentioned, this body of work has painted a powerful, impressionistic picture of global or cross-cultural connectedness between early modern England and Muslim states. Within this framework, some of these studies have chosen to emphasise an early English cosmopolitanism, or open-mindedness, vis-à-vis the Mughal and Ottoman worlds, whereas others have opted to examine the use of these territories and their inhabitants as an 'Other', which could be employed to stabilise or destabilise notions of Englishness.[10] The former approach has been a consequence, in part, of the prominence of issues surrounding globalisation since the 1990s, and the corresponding rise of global history, with its exploration of interconnection and integration between cultures and societies long before the rise of the West.[11] Within the context of the history of (Near) East-West relations, this impulse to recount historical narratives of interaction and exchange has been given added impetus by two not unrelated factors: a desire to combat the notion of a 'clash of civilizations' between Islam and the West, and the deterioration of East-West relations in

[10] For examples of the former approach, see MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*; Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Mather, *Pashas*; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*; Matar, *Henry Stubbe*. For instances of the latter approach, see Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*; Vitkus, *Turning Turk*; Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients*; Birchwood, *Staging Islam*; MacLean, *Looking East*.

[11] For the rise of global history, see Patrick O'Brien, 'Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History', *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 1 (2006): 3–39; Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016); John-Paul A. Ghobrial, 'Introduction: Seeing the World like a Microhistorian', *Past & Present* 242, Supplement 14 (2019): 1–5.

the wake of September 11 2001.[12] When it comes to the use of the 'Other', meanwhile, we see clearly the influence of postcolonial theory, even if few scholars now attempt anachronistically to apply Said's notion of Orientalism to early modern England.[13] Perhaps unsurprisingly, many of the scholars adopting this postcolonial approach have been literary theorists themselves.[14]

What has sometimes been overlooked, however, in our efforts to demonstrate cross-cultural connectedness and cosmopolitanism, or the use of the concept of the 'Other', is the extent to which a huge array of local and personal contexts, including the immediate religious and political priorities of travellers, helped to shape ostensibly 'global' travel accounts in early modern England, including those of the travellers explored in this thesis.[15] This is particularly true of works emphasising connectedness and cosmopolitanism, where there has been a tendency to document and describe rather than analyse. Indeed, these studies have identified myriad examples of contact between early modern England and Islamic polities, but have generally failed to investigate the complex local processes and contexts that underpinned and informed these encounters. Acknowledging that early modern England

[12] For the notion of a 'clash of civilizations' between Islam and the West, see Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996). Several works on historical East-West relations have explicitly set themselves against Huntington's model, including John Victor Tolan, Gilles Veinstein, and Henry Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic World: A History*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

[13] A point made by Anders Ingram in his *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 10. Matar explains the inapplicability of Said's model to early modern England in his *Islam in Britain*, esp. 11-14.

[14] See n.4, 11.

[15] This elision of what Ghobrial has called 'local processes of identification' is a common problem within global history, and has been much discussed by historians both within the field and without. See John-Paul A. Ghobrial, 'Moving Stories and What They Tell Us: Early Modern Mobility Between Microhistory and Global History', *Past & Present* 242, Supplement 14 (2019): 243–80. See also David A. Bell, 'This Is What Happens When Historians Overuse the Idea of the Network', The New Republic, 26 October 2013, https://newrepublic.com/article/114709/world-connecting-reviewed-historians-overuse-network-metaphor, accessed 16 September 2021; David A. Bell, 'Questioning the Global Turn: The Case of the French Revolution', *French Historical Studies* 37, no. 1 (2014): 1–24; John-Paul A. Ghobrial, 'The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory', *Past & Present* 222, no. 2 (2014): 51–93; Jeremy Adelman, 'What Is Global History Now?', Aeon, 2 March 2017, https://aeon.co/essays/is-global-history-still-possible-or-has-it-had-its-moment, accessed 16 September 2021; Ghobrial, 'Introduction'; Jan de Vries, 'Playing with Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano', *Past & Present* 242, Supplement 14 (2019): 23–36.

was deeply and constructively immersed in the Mughal and Ottoman empires is undoubtedly important, but discussions and isolated examples of connectedness and cosmopolitanism tell us little about the agendas of individual English travellers, which need to be built into our studies of their writings in a much more finely grained way. For of course the consequences of connectedness and cosmopolitanism varied from person to person and place to place, in accordance with the variety of local attachments and meanings that shaped, and were in turn shaped by, these global processes.

This thesis will therefore situate the personal contexts of travellers, most notably their views of religion and the Church of England, at the heart of its story. This will be complemented by the close study of the local contexts or conditions into which these travellers inserted themselves, both in England and overseas. While uncovering the personal involves the careful examination of travellers' archives, uncovering the local necessitates the close study of regionally specific historiographies, regarding the England these travellers left behind, and the Muslim states, cultures and societies to which they travelled. In this respect, this thesis responds to a recent call by historians to return 'place-based knowledge and expertise' to the writing of global history.[16] My emphasis on the local and personal will help to paint a more comprehensive picture of global or cross-cultural connectedness, one that is rooted in the empirical experiences of travellers and their contacts. Within the English context, this approach will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the consequences of the country's early diplomatic and commercial relations with the Mughal and Ottoman empires.

Against this backdrop, this thesis speaks to a more specialised historiography, concerning the relationship between English diplomacy and commerce, on the one hand,

[16] Ghobrial, 'Introduction'. See also Lara Putnam, 'The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast', *The American Historical Review* 121, no. 2 (2016): 377–402.

and English scholarly interests, on the other. As Simon Mills has shown, overseas Levant Company employees and associates, and particularly clerics, were commonly at the heart of English archaeological and philological enquiry in the Middle East during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They studied local languages, including Arabic, Greek and Hebrew; catalogued and collected biblical and Greco-Roman antiquities; and helped to print and propagate some of the earliest Protestant literature in Arabic. In this way, they pioneered the modern field of Oriental studies.[17] Building on this work by Mills, this thesis explores some of the other ways in which this intellectual impulse manifested itself among travelling English clerics in the East. As we shall see, English travellers, and Church of England clerics specifically, frequently harnessed their experiences of travel for not only scholarship, but also debates over more mainstream religious and political issues, such as those surrounding the liturgy of the English Church, or the nature of church government and decoration.

Thus whereas Mills writes about the contributions of English travellers to antiquarianism and Oriental studies, this thesis is more interested in what English travellers had to say about the nature of everyday religious worship abroad, and how they used their observations in this regard to think through the identity of the English Church. Historians have certainly discussed the ways in which the identity of the early modern Church of England was shaped by engagement with other creeds. Yet they have tended to focus on the English Church's use of more familiar conversation partners, including the churches of the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland; continental European churches, both

[17] Simon Mills, 'The English Chaplains at Aleppo: Exploration and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1620–1760', *Bulletin for the Council for British Research in the Levant* 6, no. 1 (2011): 13–20; Simon Mills, 'The Chaplains to the English Levant Company: Exploration and Biblical Scholarship in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England', in *Die Begegnung Mit Fremden Und Das Geschichtsbewusstsein*, ed. Judith Becker and Bettina Braun (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 243–66; Simon Mills, 'Scholarship', in *The Corporation as a Protagonist in Global History, c. 1550-1750*, ed. William A. Pettigrew and David Veevers (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 255–76; Simon Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge: Trade, Religion, and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). For a European-wide overview of this subject, the most effective recent study is Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*.

Catholic and Reformed; and the early Church.[18] Much less has been written about the consequences of the Church's engagement with the religions of the Mughal and Ottoman worlds, with the possible exception of the Greek Orthodox Church.[19] Yet even when it comes to relations with the Greek Church, there remains work to be done. For although historians have amply demonstrated the considerable extent of early modern 'Anglican-Orthodox' contact, they have not necessarily investigated the impact of this contact on the nature and fabric of everyday English worship.[20] By examining the Church of England's engagement with the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires, this thesis therefore aims to expand our understanding of how early modern English people articulated their view of their established Church.

Finally, at this micro-historical level, we shall see different priorities emerge within our travellers' accounts of the Mughal and Ottoman empires – that is to say, different priorities from those that are normally discussed within the historiographies on early modern English and European views of the East. Whereas many previous studies have taken a general view of the subject, and have focused, for instance, on the impact of the Ottoman world on complex English and Western debates over theology and political theory, this thesis, with its more intimate focus on three clerics, all of whom led congregations within the English Church, will highlight how such major topics were frequently secondary to more everyday practical or pastoral concerns. Thus although debates over, say, the despotic features of 'oriental' regimes were unquestionably important, so too were discussions of

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[18] See, for example, Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). For the Church of England and the early Church, see also Chapter IV, esp. n.1.

[19] For relations between the Church of England and the Greek Orthodox Church between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, see Chapter V, esp. n.1. William Bulman has commented on a dearth of studies of the seventeenth-century Church of England's encounter with global religious diversity, and with Judaism and Islam in particular. See Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*, 9–10.

[20] Peter M. Doll, ed., *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years After the 'Greek College' in Oxford* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006). See also Chapter V, esp. n.1.

what Eastern cultures and societies might teach English Christians about issues such as the right way to receive Communion, or how services should be conducted, congregations taught, and the interiors of churches decorated and structured.

Three Travellers, Two Empires and One Church

This thesis centres on the writings of three English figures who lived, worked and travelled within the Mughal and Ottoman empires at different times between 1616 and 1677, and who served as clerics for the established Church either before or after their travels. Between the 1620s and the 1720s, all three of these figures wrote at length about their experiences of the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman worlds, with a particular focus on Eastern Christianity and Islam. They produced the bulk of their work in this regard between the 1650s and the 1690s, when the structure, theology and worship of the English Church were all hotly contested. This was within the febrile atmosphere of the English Revolution, the restoration of the Monarchy (1660), the re-establishment of the Church of England (1660-62), and the overthrow of James II (r. 1685-88) in favour of William III (1688-89).[21]

The sources under study include published works, correspondence and manuscripts relating to three main individuals. The first is Edward Terry (c. 1590-1660), who, between 1616 and 1619, served as chaplain to the first official English ambassador to the Mughal court, the better-known Sir Thomas Roe (c. 1581-1644, served 1615-19).[22] The second is Dr

[21] There exists an expansive historiography covering the issues facing the English Church in the second half of the seventeenth century. See, for example, John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); J. A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and Its Enemies, 1660-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby, eds., *Religion in Revolutionary England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Grant Tapsell, ed., *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*; Grant Tapsell, 'The Church of England, 1662–1714', in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829*, ed. Jeremy Gregory, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 25–48.

[22] Several studies dating back to the nineteenth century have examined Roe's embassy to the Mughal court. Two particularly effective more recent studies are Mehreen M. Chida-Razvi, 'The Perception of Reception:

John Covel (1638-1722), who served as chaplain to successive English ambassadors to Istanbul during the 1670s. It was here that Covel met and befriended the third and final individual under study here, Sir George Wheler (1651-1724), who travelled around parts of Greece and Asia Minor between 1675 and 1676, before his ordination in 1683, following his return to England. The focus of this thesis therefore broadly spans the period from 1616 to 1724, between Terry's arrival in Mughal India and the death of Wheler, the last of our three travellers to pass away.

I have chosen to draw on the lives of Terry, Covel and Wheler partly because extensive, though largely untapped, primary sources exist for all three. This is particularly true of Covel and Wheler, large parts of whose correspondence and work remain unpublished. This oversight may owe something to the fact that historians have preferred to focus on other types of English travellers than clerics, most notably diplomats, merchants and captives. The reasons for this focus are not hard to discern, given the justifiable interest among historians in the dynamics of diplomacy, slavery and trade between early modern England and Islamic states, and particularly the Ottoman Empire.[23] Although clerics are certainly present within the historiography, their roles have generally been minor, and the extent and breadth of their travel-related activities and interests overlooked. There are exceptions, of course, including the excellent work of Simon Mills, cited previously.[24] Yet

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The Importance of Sir Thomas Roe at the Mughal Court of Jahangir', *Journal of World History* 25, no. 2/3 (2014): 263–84; Rupali Mishra, 'Diplomacy at the Edge: Split Interests in the Roe Embassy to the Mughal Court', *Journal of British Studies* 53, no. 1 (2014): 5–28.

[23] See n.3, esp. Matar, *Islam in Britain*; Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*; Matar, *Britain and Barbary*; MacLean, *Looking East*; Mather, *Pashas*; MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*; Schleck, *Telling True Tales*. See also Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998); Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002); Michael Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017).

[24] See n.17. See also John Batteridge Pearson, *A Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains to the Levant Company, Maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna, 1611-1706* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, 1883); Games, *Web of Empire*, 219–53; Daniel O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company, 1601-1858* (London: Continuum, 2012); Haig Z. Smith, 'Risky Business: The Seventeenth-Century English Company Chaplain, and Policing Interaction and Knowledge Exchange', *Journal of Church and State* 60, no. 2 (2018): 226–47.

even Mills has yet to focus in any detail on the clerics under study here, and in any case, this thesis takes a slightly different tack, examining Terry, Covel and Wheler's contributions, in line with their experiences of religion overseas, not to antiquarianism, or Oriental studies, but to the liturgical, theological and devotional priorities of the Church of England.

The fact that clerics appear, perhaps unsurprisingly, to have been more interested than other travellers in the nature of religious worship abroad is crucial. Indeed, I have also chosen to concentrate on Terry, Covel and Wheler because of their lively engagement with the religious cultures of the Islamic territories that they visited. As we shall see, these figures devoted considerable time and effort to examining and recording the everyday worship of Catholics, Eastern Christians, Muslims and others. Terry, for instance, was among the first English travellers to encounter and write about not only Hinduism and Zoroastrianism, but also Islam beyond the Ottoman Empire and North Africa.[25] Covel's correspondence and diaries from the 1670s, meanwhile, can be said to represent a cruder form of seventeenth-century religious compendia, which sought to catalogue the practices and beliefs of religions both past and present.[26] As for Wheler, he was fascinated by the Greek Orthodox Church in the eastern Mediterranean, through which he looked for evidence of early Christianity.

Although Terry, Covel and Wheler cannot be grouped together under any particular label beyond that of the Church of England, there are several important similarities between them, which make it appropriate and constructive to bring them together into a single study. In one way or another, all three men emphasised the importance of church unity and the avoidance of theological controversy and sectarianism. They also favoured a level of adaptability and flexibility within the Church of England, in order to create as broad a

[25] Donald F. Lach and Edwin Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 547–69.
[26] For the role of religious compendia in seventeenth-century British scholarship, see R. J. W. Mills, 'Alexander Ross's *Pansebeia* (1653), Religious Compendia and the Seventeenth-Century Study of Religious Diversity', *The Seventeenth Century* 31, no. 3 (2016): 285–310.

community of believers as was reasonably possible. In their pursuit of this vision, Terry, Covel and Wheler adopted a measure of openness, demonstrating a willingness to learn from travel and other religions and cultures, and harbouring a sense that religious truth could be found in multiple places. All three figures wrote about their travels in a way that highlighted the value of cultural and religious exposure to re-thinking distinctly English topics. In this way, they made a case for not retreating into narrow religious factions, which was itself connected to their commitment to church unity and avoidance of theological controversy and sectarianism. The depth and breadth of Terry, Covel and Wheler's frames of reference should equally be understood as a result of their humanistic Oxbridge education, not to mention the fact that they were writing for an increasingly graduate and specifically Oxbridge educated clergy.[27]

Taken together, then, Terry, Covel and Wheler provide an intriguing snapshot of the fascination with which seventeenth-century English travellers, and establishment clerics specifically, might approach the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman worlds. They also provide valuable evidence of *how* English travellers might come into contact with different religions and sects overseas. This thesis therefore explores how Terry, Covel and Wheler gathered information about the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires. To that end, it investigates not only the books they read, but also the places of worship they visited, the rites and ceremonies they witnessed, and the worshippers they interrogated. In other words, it considers how English writings about religious difference might be embedded in actual, physical encounters abroad, and hence it analyses the relationship between the textual legacies of our travellers, on the one hand, and their first-

[27] For the curriculum at Oxford and Cambridge in the seventeenth century, see Mordechai Feingold, 'The Humanities', in *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume IV, Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 211–358. For the growth of a graduate clergy in Tudor and Stuart England, see Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558-1642* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979).

hand experiences of religious ceremony and material culture, on the other. This approach will help us to appreciate how Terry, Covel and Wheler came to the conclusions about religion that they did, not least by trying to re-create their methods of interaction and work. In so doing, this thesis looks to shed further light on the mechanics of the connectedness that has been shown by historians to have operated between early modern Europe and Muslim states, including the Mughal and Ottoman empires. For as John-Paul Ghobrial has observed, '[such] "connectedness" is itself sometimes more often asserted than demonstrated.'[28]

My decision to focus on Terry, Covel and Wheler was motivated by another, arguably more important factor too: the intellectual consequences of their engagement with the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires. Crucially, all three men used their experiences of travel to reflect on right religion, and on what was most pleasing to God. In this way, they sought to use their travel-based expertise both to defend the established Church and to identify means for its reform. As a result, this thesis is not simply about a variety of English travellers to the Mughal and Ottoman worlds, and their responses to Middle Eastern and Indian culture and religion, but also explores their pre-occupations with the state of the English Church, vis-à-vis the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires. When it comes to Covel and Wheler, we shall see that this outlook entailed them thinking about not only abstract theology, or religious ideas and theory, but also about the arrangement, order and other practicalities of ceremony and everyday religious worship within Anglicanism. Hence large parts of this thesis are concerned with the impact that overseas travel might have on the actual organisation and practice of the Church of England. For all three of our travellers, and for Covel and Wheler especially, engagement with the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires was more than simply an abstract

[28] John-Paul A. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 9. The notion of connectedness between early modern Europe and the Ottoman world is also explored in Pascal Firges, ed., *Well-Connected Domains: Towards an Entangled Ottoman History* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

intellectual exercise, insofar as it enabled them to develop new, creative approaches to their faith, some of which had practical, and even controversial, consequences for the English Church.

Thus our chosen writers approached their encounters with different religions and creeds with a view to settling the public Church in England, and a desire to resolve the various ceremonial and theological challenges faced by the self-same Church. This is not to say that their reactions to religious diversity were necessarily similar, though we shall certainly identify commonalities. Rather, these reactions simply tell us a significant amount about the role of travel, and of religious difference across the Mughal and Ottoman worlds, in shaping how English travellers thought about right worship within the Church of England, and about how these ways of thinking might be distinct from those of their non-travelling contemporaries. Within this context, there is value in comparing a Commonwealth figure, namely Terry, with two Restoration ones, for it enables us to identify important continuities and shifts in the debates that animated Church of England clerics between the 1640s and the 1720s.

The English Context

At this stage, before we dive into our three case studies, we may sketch a brief overview of some of the religious questions that were animating Terry, Covel and Wheler, and that had such a profound impact on their engagement with the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires. Readers will notice that what follows in this introduction is only a brief, cursory review of the English context, and that we are not yet addressing what was important about this period on the Mughal and Ottoman sides. This is a conscious decision, borne out

of the fact that we shall explore these themes in detail over the course of the next six chapters, within the framework of our travellers' lives and experiences abroad.

Although our travellers wrote about a wide range of issues relating to the Church of England, the vast majority of these were connected to at least one of the following three themes, all of which were of great interest to the English Church at large in this period. Firstly, the extent to which humans were responsible for their own moral actions, and what kinds of religious practice or works, if any, were associated with achieving salvation.[29] Secondly, how the English Church should respond to the growth of religious heterodoxy in the country, and of Christians outside the established Church, following the Civil Wars of the 1640s.[30] And finally, how establishment clerics might safeguard their authority in the face of a rising tide of anti-clerical sentiment.[31] Such questions were not at all uncommon in continental Europe too, where they might also be discussed with reference to Islam and Islamic states. Yet as we shall see, although English thinkers were exploring familiar questions about right worship vis-à-vis Mughal and Ottoman territories, they did so in different ways to many of their continental counterparts, partly as a result of local conditions and concerns, which produced a distinctly English outlook on the subject.[32]

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[29] See, for example, Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660-1780. Volume I: Whichcote to Wesley*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, esp. 279-330; Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c. 1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), esp. 320-36; Stephen Hampton, *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Sarah Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[30] For the growth of religious diversity in seventeenth-century England and responses to it, see Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke, eds., *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow: Longman, 2000); John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture: Religious Intolerance and Arguments for Religious Toleration in Early Modern and 'Early Enlightenment' Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[31] See, for example, Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, esp. 219-29; Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken*; Justin Champion, '"Religion's Safe, with Priestcraft Is the War": Augustan Anticlericalism and the Legacy of the English Revolution, 1660-1720', *The European Legacy* 5, no. 4 (2000): 547–61.

[32] Thomas Palmer makes a similar point about Jansenism in his recent *Jansenism and England: Moral Rigorism across the Confessions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

As the citations in this introduction and throughout this thesis demonstrate, these questions relating to the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Church of England have been widely covered by historians. What we seem to have largely missed, however, is the extent to which travel to the Mughal and Ottoman empires might become a resource for tackling these issues, and for opening up new perspectives on them.[33] Indeed, as we shall see, Terry, Covel and Wheler thought and wrote, at times, very differently about these questions than theologians in England, most of whom were working out of university libraries and offices, and relied more on reading than direct experience of other kinds of religion. This is a point worth emphasising. Many of the travel-inspired ideas and solutions that Terry, Covel and Wheler discussed, and sometimes even implemented, among their congregations were not only unique, but also, in the case of Wheler at least, controversial among contemporaries. As a result, a more complete intellectual history of the English Church in this period involves figures such as Terry, Covel and Wheler, who were thinking about these issues overseas, using first-hand examples of religious practice and belief. By acknowledging Terry, Covel and Wheler in this way, this thesis seeks to add a more global dimension to early modern ecclesiastical debates in England, by examining their frequently transnational and transcultural frames of reference.

These local English contexts will help to structure much of what follows. In Chapter I, we shall explore how Terry used his experiences of travel not only to warn of the dangers of excessive religious tolerance and pluralism in England, but also to intervene in a debate between two prominent English divines over a new confession of faith for the public Church. In Chapters II and III, we shall turn to Covel, and examine the role of his travels in developing his vision of religion as consisting fundamentally of what he called ‘inward affection’, involving the performance of good works and the cultivation of virtue. Chapters

[33] Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*, 9–10.

IV and V centre on Wheler, showing how his first-hand engagement with Greek Christians and the Greek Church, both in England and the eastern Mediterranean, influenced his thinking about how Anglicans, and Anglican clerics specifically, might safeguard their authority and independence, at a time when both were seemingly threatened by popery and Protestant dissent. In so doing, these chapters will also consider Wheler's insistence on the value of learning as a way to right worship, and examine the impact of his travels in helping him to articulate this perspective.

The opening chapters on Covel and Wheler, namely Chapters II and IV, will focus more on their religious ideas and theory, whereas the second chapters on these figures, namely Chapters III and V, will explore their resulting thoughts about the practicalities of Anglican worship. In this way, we shall draw out more clearly important shifts within their travel-inspired thinking about the Church; shifts that took them from theory to practice. Finally, Chapter VI will compare Terry, Covel and Wheler's writings about religious difference, and highlight some major similarities and differences between them. In this chapter, we shall see how our travellers used their experiences of other religions and sects not only to think about correct worship, but also to reflect on what it meant to worship and conceive of God *in*correctly.

Given that Chapters II through VI centre, at least to some degree, on Covel, Wheler, or both, the Ottoman Empire is a major part of the narrative. As we shall explore, the Ottoman world provided Covel and Wheler with a useful example of non-Christian rule over a substantial body of Christians. This situation enabled them to think more deeply about the nexus between church and state. Indeed, Covel and especially Wheler used the status of Christians within the Ottoman Empire to reflect on how the English Church might exist and prosper at one remove from the state, and express itself and its authority in ways that did not necessarily rely on state power. As we shall examine, this issue was particularly relevant

during the 1670s and the 1680s, when Anglicans were confronted with the prospect, and then the reality, of a Catholic as monarch and therefore head of the Church.

As this introduction has made clear, this thesis will knit together several historiographies, for only in this way can we truly understand where Terry, Covel and Wheler were coming from when they wrote about their experiences of religious diversity overseas. At the heart of this story, then, lie three travellers, whom I hope I have allowed to speak on their own terms, and in their own way. When I began my research, I had a tendency to think of my travellers' observations of the Mughal and Ottoman empires in terms of ignorance and knowledge, or prejudice and cosmopolitanism. Yet the reality, I quickly learnt, was so much richer and more complex, and all the more fascinating for it. In their writings about religious difference, Terry, Covel and Wheler were almost invariably thinking about the right ways to worship God, and what this meant for the Church of England. For our travellers, the discovery of new cultures, religions and creeds, however seemingly alien at first, was a powerful means to improve their understanding of what, for most men and women of their time, was most dear to them: their relationship with God.

Chapter I: Faith, Works and the Dangers of Religious Tolerance: Edward Terry and the 'instruction and use' of the Mughal Empire

In September 1616, a young Church of England cleric named Edward Terry (c. 1590-1660), a chaplain for the English East India Company (henceforth EIC), arrived in Surat, in north-west India (see fig. 1). Here, Terry was selected to replace the late John Hall as chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe (c. 1581-1644), the first official English ambassador to the court of the Mughal Empire (served 1615-19), where he represented the interests of both the Stuart Crown and the EIC, which paid his salary. Over the next two and a half years, Terry followed Roe around much of northern India, covering the present-day states of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, before his return voyage from Surat in February 1619 (see fig. 2). Following his return from the Subcontinent, Terry lectured briefly at Christ Church, Oxford, his alma mater, before he became rector of Great Greenford in Middlesex. He served in this capacity until his death in 1660, shortly after the Restoration. In the meantime, Terry had waited until 1655 to publish an account of his observations and experiences overseas, which he entitled *A Voyage to East-India*.[1]

As Richard Raiswell has observed, by the time that Terry published *Voyage* in the mid-1650s, he was certainly aware that his observations of India were hopelessly out of date in empirical terms.[2] In the preface to *Voyage*, Terry conceded that '*there be now a very great space of time 'twixt the particulars then observed, and their publication now*; *which may*

[1] Terry, *Voyage*. For Terry's biography, see Michael Strachan, 'Terry, Edward (1589/90–1660), Travel Writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27148, accessed 16 September 2021. For Roe's biography, see Michael Strachan, *Sir Thomas Roe, 1581-1644: A Life* (Wilton: Michael Russell, 1989).
[2] Richard Raiswell, 'Edward Terry and the Calvinist Geography of India', *Études Anglaises* 70, no. 2 (2017): 171.

make thee look upon that which is here brought forth as an untimely birth.' Consequently, Terry recommended his work not so much for 'relation and novelty' as:

> … for instruction and use … So that they, who fly from a Sermon, and will not touch sound, and wholesom, and excellent treatises in Divinity, may happily (if God so please) be taken before they are aware, and overcome by some Divine truths that lie scattered up and down in manie places of this Narrative.[3]

In this way, Terry's *Voyage* constitutes a rather unusual example of travel literature, concerned less with the chronological narration of movements and events, or with the observation of geographic and ethnographic phenomena, as with communicating the kind of religious and moral edification that readers might normally have expected to receive from a sermon or homily.[4]

In this chapter, we shall examine how Terry's belated decision to publish *Voyage* in 1655, more than thirty-five years after his travels, stemmed at least partly from his desire to comment on the fraught religious context in his home country in the early to mid-1650s. For as clerics and secular magistrates in England sought to reform the established Church during this period, following the upheavals of the Civil Wars (1642-51), Terry was moved to reflect on his experiences of religion in Mughal India. By analysing *Voyage*, this chapter will therefore demonstrate that Terry, like most of his clerical colleagues, was deeply immersed in contemporary debates over the future of the English Church, but that unlike most of them, he chose to engage with these debates by producing a travel narrative about Mughal India, based on a voyage that was nearly four decades old. These debates have not

[3] Terry, *Voyage*, sig. A3r-A4r.

[4] Variants of this theme are explored in Corinne Lefèvre, 'Entre Despotisme et Vertu : Les Représentations de l'Inde Dans *A Voyage to East-India* d'Edward Terry', in *Rêver d'Orient, Connaître l'Orient : Visions de l'Orient Dans l'art et La Littérature Britanniques*, ed. Isabelle Gadoin and Marie-Élise Palmier-Chatelain (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2008), esp. 142-46; Raiswell, 'Edward Terry and the Calvinist Geography of India'; Daniel Carey, 'Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East-India* (1655): A Chaplain's Narrative of the Mughal World', *Études Anglaises* 70, no. 2 (2017): 187–208.

been examined in recent studies of Terry, namely those of Corinne Lefèvre, Richard Raiswell, Daniel Carey and Rita Banerjee. These scholars have focused instead on the textual strategies that Terry deployed to draw out the moral and spiritual meanings of travel (Carey and Lefèvre), or on how Terry's work conformed to broader European intellectual developments, from Calvinism and demonology (Raiswell) to Enlightenment rationality and the use of an 'Other' to construct the self (Banerjee).[5]

The immediate context for *Voyage*, or at least for much of the argument within it, was shaped by the debates that took place in England in the early to mid-1650s over a new confession of faith for the public Church. Like many of his contemporaries, Terry favoured a confession (and therefore a Church) that would exclude some of the more radical religious opinions of the day, most notably those of Socinians and Quakers, and much of this chapter will explore how Terry used the religious diversity of the Mughal Empire to argue for that outcome. In so doing, this chapter will consider how Terry's use of Mughal examples in *Voyage* helped him to flesh out an argument that he had expressed in a reduced form nearly a decade beforehand, in a publication that he had entitled *Lawlesse Liberty* (1646), regarding the role of a strong national church in suppressing heresy.[6] In its closing section, this chapter will also examine how Terry drew on his observations and experiences overseas to insert himself into a dispute between two divines, John Owen (1616-83) and Richard Baxter (1615-91), over the theology underpinning the new confession. In this later section, we shall see how Terry's argument in *Voyage* dovetailed with Baxter's calls for a relatively broad confession, that is to say, one that elevated the morality of Church members over their

[5] Lefèvre, 'Entre Despotisme et Vertu'; Raiswell, 'Edward Terry and the Calvinist Geography of India'; Carey, 'Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East-India*'; Richard Raiswell, 'Edward Terry and the Demons of India', in *Knowing Demons, Knowing Spirits in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Michelle D. Brock, Richard Raiswell, and David Winter (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 171–210; Rita Banerjee, *India in Early Modern English Travel Writings: Protestantism, Enlightenment, and Toleration* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

[6] Edward Terry, *Pseudeleutheria. Or, Lawlesse Liberty. Set Forth in a Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable the Lord Major of London, &c. in Pauls, Aug. 16. 1646* (London, 1646).

commitment to Reformed theology, partly out of a concern for Christian unity, and partly to ensure that 'good works' were not considered irrelevant to Christian life. Fundamentally, this chapter will demonstrate that Terry called in *Voyage* for more unity and morality among English Christians, using the religious diversity of Mughal India as a warning and exemplar, respectively.

This chapter will begin with a brief overview of the publishing history, structure and content of *Voyage*, before examining how Terry's understanding of the created universe, and of natural law specifically, informed his choice of Mughal India as a means through which to reflect on the state of religion in England. It will then consider the historical context in which Terry wrote *Voyage*, including the debates of the early to mid-1650s over a new confession of faith for the public Church. We shall then see how within this context, Terry used the religious diversity of Mughal India to call for the suppression of radical Protestant sects in England, in order to prevent their disruptive ideas, most notably anti-clericalism, from undermining the broader unity of English Christians. Finally, this chapter will explore how Terry, in relation to the Baxter-Owen dispute, and with reference to religious cultures within the Mughal Empire, called for what was otherwise a relatively broad, unifying confession, which would promote the value of good works to salvation. By analysing these areas of Terry's thought, this chapter will draw out two defining features of Terry's approach to religion: his tendency to equate and contrast English Christians with the Muslims and Hindus of the Mughal Empire, and his commitment to individual morality and church unity above all else.

A Voyage to East-India **(1655): The History of a Text**

In his address 'To the Reader' at the start of *Voyage*, Terry explained that he had adapted the present work from a much shorter manuscript account, which he had written and gifted to Prince Charles by 1622.[7] Unfortunately, neither this manuscript account, nor any material on which it might have been based, such as a journal, have survived. Nevertheless, an edited version of Terry's manuscript account can be found in the second volume of Samuel Purchas' *Pilgrimes* (1625), an enormous, four-volume collection of travel accounts covering Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, from antiquity to the present-day.[8] Terry's *Voyage* of 1655 is nearly eight times longer than the account that features in *Pilgrimes*, however, running to 547 octavo pages and over 130,000 words.[9] It also differs tonally, featuring long religious and moral disquisitions and repeated allusions to Scripture, both of which are almost entirely absent from the *Pilgrimes* account. These differences are so stark that they cannot simply be explained by the fact that Purchas had edited Terry's manuscript account for *Pilgrimes*. As a result of these differences, *Voyage* frequently assumes the character of a polemical tract, which reflects the context in, and purpose for which, it was produced, as we shall see.

Terry divided *Voyage* into three main parts. In the first, which is the shortest, at just under eighty pages, Terry narrates his overseas voyage to India, via the Cape of Good Hope.[10] In the second, which is the longest, at just under 375 pages, Terry offers a general description of Mughal India. He split this section into thirty chapters, each of which deals

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[7] Terry, *Voyage*, sig. A2r.
[8] Samuel Purchas, ed., *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. 2 (London, 1625), 1462–82. See also David Armitage, 'Purchas, Samuel (Bap. 1577, d. 1626), Geographical Editor and Compiler and Church of England Clergyman', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22898?rskey=OBw5iU&result=1, accessed 16 September 2021.
[9] Carey, 'Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East-India*', 188–89.
[10] Terry, *Voyage*, 1–78.

with a different aspect of Mughal geography or society, such as agriculture, diet, language, religion, government, and so on.[11] The remaining 100 or so pages, meanwhile, which constitute the third and final section of Terry's account, provide a '*Corollarie and conclusion*', in which Terry reflects on the wider, largely Christian significance of his observations of the Subcontinent.[12] It is this third and final section that features the most important elements of Terry's argument for England, and that will therefore form the basis of much of the discussion to follow.

At the start of *Voyage*, Terry emphasised that he 'was an eye-witnesse of much here related, living more than two years at the Court of that mighty Monarch the great *Mogol*'. Terry felt that his first-hand experience of India distinguished him from those who wrote about the Subcontinent from the West, without ever having travelled to the region. According to Terry, these writers were 'traveling *India* in *England*, or *Europe*', insofar as they sourced their information from others, and were forced to 'take up Wares on trust'.[13] Yet although Terry framed *Voyage* as the product of his direct experience, the work gives the reader very little indication of how Terry actually spent his time overseas. With the exception of part one, which covers Terry's outward voyage, the vast majority of Terry's work is taken up with a generalised description of the Mughal Empire. On the whole, readers do not come away with a good sense of the places that Terry visited, the nature of his ministry, the people whom he met, or indeed how he sourced his information. Nevertheless, Terry interspersed his general description of Mughal India with first-hand examples, which gave credence to his claim that he 'was an eye-witnesse of much here related', and thus to his attempt to bolster his credibility by insisting that he had seen with his own eyes the things that he described.

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[11] Ibid., 78–451. Readers should of course bear in mind that Terry had visited only a small portion of the Mughal Empire, consisting of the present-day Indian states of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh.
[12] Ibid., 452–545.
[13] Ibid., sig. A2v.

Terry, Calvinism and 'the light of Nature'

For Terry, as for so many mid-seventeenth-century English Christians, the English were akin to the Israelites of the Old Testament, insofar as they were God's chosen people, and 'it might [once] have been said of *England* (as one speaks of *Israel*) that the Lord made that people a president of his love and favour, that all the Nations of the world might learn by them'.[14] Set against these remarks, Terry's choice of Mughal India as a pedagogical tool for the English certainly seems unusual. Many of Terry's compatriots, particularly those who shared his view 'that if God have a people, a Church in any place *under Heaven*, … they may be found in this Nation', might well have questioned what England could possibly learn from a non-Christian society on the other side of the world.[15] Yet Terry's view that the English could learn from their Mughal counterparts, in terms of policies to avoid and behaviours to emulate, was rooted in contemporary philosophy and theology. It was a logical consequence of two interrelated aspects of his thought in particular, namely his Calvinist conception of the universe, and his understanding of what he and his contemporaries commonly called 'the light of Nature', or the innate awareness among human beings of natural law.[16]

According to Richard Raiswell, Terry was deeply influenced by the writings of John Calvin (1509-64), whom he described in *Voyage* as 'good and reverend'.[17] Raiswell has argued, for instance, that Terry shared Calvin's view that the state of creation at any

[14] Ibid., 463, recte 519. For seventeenth-century English Christians, Jews and biblical Israel, see Achsah Guibbory, *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in 17th-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). For the role of biblical parallels in the thinking of Oliver Cromwell and those around him, see Blair Worden, *God's Instruments: Political Conduct in the England of Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 13-32 ('Cromwell and the Sin of Achan').
[15] Terry, *Voyage*, 467–86, recte 515-16.
[16] See, for example, ibid., 348–49, where Terry mentions that Hindus follow 'close the light of Nature in their dealings with men'.
[17] Raiswell, 'Edward Terry and the Calvinist Geography of India'; Terry, *Voyage*, 470. Incidentally, Calvin was one of the very few contemporary (or near-contemporary) authors whom Terry cited in *Voyage*, at least by name.

point in time was 'an expression of the Creator, … precisely ordered and uniquely accommodated to human cognition', and therefore 'full of tropes and figures intended to be read and glossed' with the assistance of Scripture, for the enlightenment of God's elect. Like Calvin, Terry believed that fallen humanity was utterly incapable of fathoming anything of the nature or will of the divine, except via clues that God provided through Scripture and the physical world, with the latter supplementing the former. For Terry, then, Mughal India was 'part of a divinely authored argument', which could be 'juxtaposed against England in order to amplify … its respective virtues and vices.'[18] More recently, Raiswell has expanded on this argument, exploring how Terry felt that God was allowing Satan to take possession of India. Within this context, Terry regarded the region as 'the geographical analogue of the demoniac', which God used to warn his chosen people, the English, of the perils of religious division, and to reveal His own omnipotence and benevolence, in contrast with the Devil.[19] Raiswell's perspective on *Voyage* has rightly challenged an earlier characterisation of Terry as some kind of proto-Orientalist in the Saidian sense, whose observations of India laid the groundwork for later English and British colonial discourse about the region.[20]

Another important aspect of Calvin's conception of the universe, and one that certainly appears to have influenced Terry in his approach to India, was his view that a sense of the Deity or 'Godhead' was 'written in the hearts of all men', and the Decalogue likewise, regardless of whether those 'men' were Christians or not.[21] Like many Reformed

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[18] Raiswell, 'Edward Terry and the Calvinist Geography of India', esp. 167.
[19] Raiswell, 'Edward Terry and the Demons of India'.
[20] See, for example, Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995); Jyotsna G. Singh, 'History or Colonial Ethnography? The Ideological Formation of Edward Terry's A Voyage to East-India (1655 & 1665) and The Merchants and Mariners Preservation and Thanksgiving (1649)', in *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 197–207; M. G. Aune, 'Elephants, Englishmen and India: Early Modern Travel Writing and the Pre-Colonial Moment', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 11, no. 1 (2005): 4.1-35, https://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/11-1/auneelep.htm, accessed 9 September 2021; Pramod K. Nayar, *English Writing and India, 1600-1920: Colonizing Aesthetics* (London: Routledge, 2008).
[21] John Calvin, *The Institution of the Christian Religion*, trans. Thomas Norton (London, 1578), 4v, 140r. According to Raiswell, this edition of Calvin's *Institutes* is the one that Terry is most likely to have consulted, on the grounds that it was the first English translation of the full text, and would have been more readily

theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most notably Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), Calvin believed that God had imprinted natural law, or the moral law found in the Old Testament, which outlined the fundamental rules for a godly society, on the hearts of Adam and his descendants (that is to say, all humankind). Although this law had been greatly obfuscated by the Fall of Man, and further distorted by the passage of time (hence the need for Scripture), its dictates were still dimly accessible via conscience and the application of reason, though both of these faculties were largely corrupted. Consequently, men were able to behave with a modicum of morality and decency, even without access to Scripture.[22]

These aspects of Terry's thought were apparent several years before the publication of *Voyage*. In a sermon that Terry had preached in August and printed in September 1646, under the title of *Lawlesse Liberty*, he noted that the 'Lawes of God were first written in the *fleshy tables of mans heart*', paraphrasing 2 Corinthians 3:3, 'but *sin* did either blot or wear them out thence.'[23] Terry added that were it not 'for those *hookes* and *bitts* which God hath put in the jawes and nostrils of men, they would be more unruly, more untamed, then all the creatures of the world beside.'[24] This perspective had important implications for Terry's understanding of Mughal India, for it enabled him to argue that the right religious behaviour and '*moral* virtues' of non-Christians, and particularly Muslims and Hindus, came not from their respective religions, but rather:

available than its continental French or Latin counterparts. See Raiswell, 'Edward Terry and the Demons of India', 175n.13.

[22] John T. McNeill, 'Natural Law in the Teaching of the Reformers', *The Journal of Religion* 26, no. 3 (1946): 168–82; William Kempla, 'John Calvin on Natural Law', in *John Calvin and the Church: A Prism of Reform*, ed. Timothy George (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990), 72–95; David A. Pailin, 'The Confused and Confusing Story of Natural Religion', *Religion* 24, no. 3 (1994): 199–212; Sachiko Kusukawa, *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy: The Case of Philip Melanchthon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 65–67; Stephen J. Grabill, *Rediscovering the Natural Law in Reformed Theological Ethics* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2006); Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 23.

[23] Terry, *Lawlesse Liberty*, 5.

[24] Ibid., 10.

> ... from those *Remnants* & *Remaines*, from those common *impressions* & *notions*, which are sealed up in the *minds* of every one that hath a reasonable *Soule*, a part of *Adams* first integrity before his fall, a substance or blessing in a tree that seemed to be dead.[25]

Indeed, Terry referred in *Voyage* to 'the law of Nature … so ingraved upon the hearts of very many, both *Pagans* and *Mahometans*'.[26] He also alluded to '*the works of the law written in their hearts*', paraphrasing Romans 2:14-15, and echoing Calvin and other Reformed theologians such as Melanchthon, who referred frequently to this passage.[27] For although the inhabitants of the Mughal Empire, Terry explained, were but 'strange and remote', they were also, like all human beings, 'endued with reason', which enabled them to 'speak *ex re natâ*, upon any offered occasion, very exceeding well'. This reason also allowed them to grasp so much of '*the works of the law written in their hearts*', even without the access to Scripture that Christians took for granted.[28]

In this way, Terry was able to commend the morality of individual Muslims and Hindus, but without endorsing their respective theologies. He was also able, when it suited his argument, to point to Islamic and Hindu practices as consistent with natural law, such 'that it may make multitudes, who professe themselves Christians (if they would but turn their eyes inward) extreamly to wonder, how it comes to be so much worse out of theirs.'[29] As we shall see, Terry therefore wrote extensively of high standards of natural morality, piety and devotion among Muslims and Hindus, and used these examples to reproach English Christians, whom he accused, by contrast, of abandoning natural law precepts, including over the issue of tithes. In so doing, Terry constructed what Corinne Lefèvre has called the 'moral lesson' underpinning *Voyage*.[30] Thus unlike most other English thinkers,

[25] Terry, *Voyage*, 258.
[26] Ibid., sig. A6r.
[27] Ibid., 258.
[28] Ibid., 233.
[29] Ibid., sig. A6r.
[30] Lefèvre, 'Entre Despotisme et Vertu', esp. 141-46.

Terry did not write about natural law and natural light in some abstract theological or philosophical way, but with recourse to first-hand, real-world examples. These examples were also distinctive insofar as they came not from the pagans of ancient Greece and Rome, but from the Islamic and Hindu communities of modern-day northern India.[31]

Terry, *Voyage* and the Cromwellian Church Settlement

We have therefore examined why Terry felt that Mughal India could be used as a pedagogical tool for English Christians, but an important question remains: why did Terry feel that a pedagogical tool was even necessary for England in the first place? To answer this question, we have to understand the religious and political context in which Terry wrote *Voyage*, which has generally been overlooked by historians studying his life and work. At the end of *Voyage*, Terry's printer addressed a short note 'to the Reader', in which he regretted that the work was more of 'a *bundle*, … then a *book*', explaining that:

> … the Author revising, and enlarging some of it, while I was printing the rest, in conclusion it grew much bigger, than either of us supposed it would, which hath put me now upon this Apologie, who had proceeded so far in the printing thereof, as that I thought it great pity to make what I had done waste paper.[32]

The printer's comments indicate that Terry was still adding to *Voyage*, or editing its contents, shortly before its publication in 1655. Indeed, several page numbers in *Voyage* are out of sequence, most notably in Terry's '*Corollarie and conclusion*', which features the bulk of his critical observations and argument regarding England.[33] The contents of these pages,

[31] For early modern Western thinkers, natural law and paganism, see John Marenbon, *Pagans and Philosophers: The Problem of Paganism from Augustine to Leibniz* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), esp. 233-303.
[32] Terry, *Voyage*, inserted between pages 443 (recte 542) and 554 (recte 543); the pages between which the printer's note appears are therefore out of sequence.
[33] See, for example, ibid., 479–94, recte 509-24; 443, recte 542.

some of which we shall discuss below, suggest that Terry was reacting to contemporary events, and specifically the progress of the Cromwellian church settlement throughout 1654 and early 1655. Other sections of *Voyage*, meanwhile, imply strongly that Terry was responding to the religious situation in England leading up to the debates of 1654-55 (incidentally, *Voyage* had first been added to the Stationers' Register in September 1651).[34] Terry's use of Mughal India as a pedagogical tool for English Christians should therefore be understood within this dynamic religious context, which we shall now briefly explore, before turning to the contents of *Voyage* itself.

Between 1642 and 1646, during the First English Civil War, Parliament dismantled the episcopal structure of the Church of England, and from 1646, a faction within Parliament attempted to replace it with a Presbyterian system modelled on the Scottish Kirk. This scheme failed to take hold in the vast majority of English counties, however, and was criticised by much of the Presbyterian clergy for being too Erastian, or over-reliant on Parliament.[35] By the time that Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) became Lord Protector of England in December 1653, the established Church still lacked an effective organisational structure, and during 1654, Cromwell therefore set out to replace its discredited Presbyterian regime. Cromwell's church settlement, which he devised in concert with a series of Independent divines under John Owen, consisted of four primary components. Firstly, it retained the basic idea of a state church, but extended liberty of conscience to all Christians except Catholics, episcopalians and radical Protestants, or those who practiced 'licentiousness'. Secondly, it maintained the parochial system and the tithe. Thirdly, it

[34] G. E. Briscoe Eyre, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, from 1640-1708 A.D.*, vol. 1 (London: Privately Printed, 1913), 379.
[35] John Morrill, 'The Church in England 1642-1649', in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (London: Longman, 1993), 151–58; John Morrill, 'The Puritan Revolution', in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 68–74.

established a central body of 'Triers' to vet ministerial candidates. And finally, it created local county committees of 'Ejectors' to investigate and expel unfit incumbent ministers.

All of these provisions flowed directly or indirectly from the Instrument of Government, Britain's first written constitution, under which Cromwell had assumed Protectoral authority in December 1653. Although the Instrument effectively outlawed Catholicism and episcopalianism, as well as any attempt, 'under the profession of Christ, [to] hold forth and practise licentiousness', it was generally agreed that its guarantee of liberty of conscience was too broad, and that there was a need to define acceptable religious opinion more narrowly and precisely. Cromwell and his allies recognised this necessity, and from February 1654, they encouraged leading Independent and Presbyterian divines to agree a new confession of faith for the English Church, in a series of debates that we shall explore below. No agreement was reached, however, and to make matters worse for Cromwell, when the First Protectorate Parliament met in September 1654, its members refused to ratify his religious innovations. They focused instead on questioning the content and validity of the Instrument of Government (incidentally, one of their major concerns was to provide a stricter definition of liberty of conscience). By January 1655, Parliament had failed to pass a single act, and Cromwell angrily dissolved the body towards the end of the month, on the earliest date possible under the terms of the Instrument. Although Cromwell's religious settlement remained in place, and he continued to develop it throughout 1655, his Church lacked a confession of faith, not to mention formal parliamentary approval, and its future was therefore uncertain. In the meantime, radical Protestant sects continued to proliferate, much to the horror of more mainstream Protestants such as Terry.[36]

[36] Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 416 (for the religious terms of the Instrument); Sarah Gibbard Cook, 'The Congregational Independents and the Cromwellian Constitutions', *Church History* 46, no. 3 (1977): 335–57; Blair Worden, 'Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate', *Studies in Church History* 21 (1984): 199–233; Alan G. R. Smith, *The Emergence of a Nation State: The Commonwealth of England, 1529-1660* (London: Longman, 1997), 341–47; David L. Smith, 'Oliver Cromwell, the First Protectorate Parliament and Religious

The Erastian nature of Cromwell's church settlement helps to explain Terry's interest in natural law and natural light. In a system where civil authorities set the parameters of the state church, the notion of a widespread natural knowledge of God assumed added significance, because it could be used to explain why secular magistrates, and not clerics, or those with ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority, should determine some of the most fundamental principles of the Church. As Sarah Mortimer has shown, the concept of a natural knowledge of God was therefore a crucial part of the intellectual framework behind the Cromwellian church settlement.[37] Thus Terry's defence of the idea of natural light, which he accomplished with recourse to his experiences of travel, should be understood in light of his desire to preserve two of the most important elements of Cromwell's religious reforms: the suppression of radical sectarianism and the maintenance of the tithe. Of these two issues, which were interconnected, it was the first that most pre-occupied Terry.

Terry, Mughal India and the Dangers of Religious Tolerance

In his *World Turned Upside Down* (1972), the historian Christopher Hill famously explored how during the 1640s and under the Commonwealth (1649-60), a variety of radical Protestant sects (such as Ranters, Socinians and Quakers) increasingly challenged some well-established religious orthodoxies in England, including the authority of the clergy; the validity of a national church supported by tithes; the truth of the Bible and the historicity of Jesus; as well as the existence of such fundamental Christian concepts as sin, hell and the Trinity.[38] Although John Morrill has argued convincingly that such Protestant radicalism

Reform', *Parliamentary History* 19 (2000): 38–48; Jeffrey R. Collins, 'The Church Settlement of Oliver Cromwell', *History* 87, no. 285 (2002): 18–40; Austin Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution, 1625-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 563–683.

[37] Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, Chapter VIII, esp. 210–11.

[38] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London: Temple Smith, 1972). See also J. F. McGregor and B. Reay, eds., *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*

was only ever confined to a small minority, its very presence, however relatively insignificant, led to intermittent outbreaks of moral panic in England from the mid-1640s.[39] In 1650, one of these outbreaks prompted Parliament to pass the Blasphemy Act, which targeted antinomians or Ranters, who preached and practiced a belief that the Holy Spirit had liberated them from any requirement to follow divine or human law.[40]

Terry shared in this atmosphere of moral panic in the 1640s and early 1650s. He insisted in *Voyage* that 'as God is one, so is his will one, and oh how happie were it for Christians, if they could get into, & keep in that way.'[41] As early as 1646, in the midst of the rampant sectarianism that grew out of the First English Civil War, and the unorthodox religious ideologies and sects that accompanied it, Terry had complained in *Lawlesse Liberty* of an explosion of 'ancient and damnable heresies', with followers he characterised as:

> … of *proud, uneven, unquiet, untractable, unpeaceable, uncharitable spirits*[,] differing and dissenting much amongst themselves, carried away headlong by the violence of their owne wills, which they improperly and by misconceiving *call their consciences*.[42]

Terry attacked three radical sects specifically, all of which were particularly notorious at the time, namely anabaptists, or simply Baptists, who opposed infant baptism; antinomians or Ranters, who rejected the moral law; and Seekers, who were known for rejecting all forms

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); Ann Hughes, 'Religion, 1640-1660', in *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. Barry Coward (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), esp. 362-68; Andrew Bradstock, *Radical Religion in Cromwell's England: A Concise History from the English Civil War to the End of the Commonwealth* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

[39] Morrill, 'The Church in England', 148–50. For the work of Presbyterian heresy hunters during the 1640s, see Ann Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[40] For the circumstances surrounding the passage of the Blasphemy Act in 1650, see Clive Holmes, *Why Was Charles I Executed?* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), 134–36. For the Ranters more specifically, see J. F. McGregor, 'Seekers and Ranters', in *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, ed. J. F. McGregor and B. Reay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 121–39; Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London: Penguin, 1991), 184–258; Hughes, 'Religion', 365; Bradstock, *Radical Religion*, 75–93.

[41] Terry, *Voyage*, 469.

[42] Terry, *Lawlesse Liberty*, 12.

of organised worship (many Seekers would later join the Quakers, whom Terry attacked in *Voyage*, as we shall see).[43]

Against this radical religious backdrop in 1646, Terry stressed '*the necessity of Government, as well in Church as State*', in order 'to curbe and restraine all tumultuous and heady spirits, all offensive and disordered persons, whether in Church or Commonwealth.'[44] To that end, Terry lent enthusiastic support to the proposal, then under consideration in Parliament, to establish a Presbyterian national church under parliamentary supervision. It appears that Terry supported this project not because he was a committed Presbyterian, but simply because he wanted English Christians to unite around a strong national church, with the means and will to fight against what he termed a *'Lawlesse Liberty*', or a 'generall liberty … in matters which concerne Religion, by people (of what spirit I know not) to do what they please, not what they should.'[45] Indeed, Terry never discussed specific forms of church government in his work, though this was one of the most hotly debated ecclesiastical issues of the 1640s and 1650s. When he outlined his religious vision, Terry generally preferred to discuss broader, less divisive topics, such as the need for a national church, or the dangers of radical Protestantism. Thus Terry elevated unity over ideology or form, even if this came at the expense of detail relating to how the Church ought to be structured and governed.

In *Lawlesse Liberty*, Terry encouraged English Christians to 'labour after unity, as first unity and agreement amongst our selves', adding that 'unity and agreement of Christians build up a Church, as dissension puls it downe.'[46] Within this framework, Terry could argue that 'the [Presbyterian] church government [under parliamentary control]

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[43] J. F. McGregor, 'The Baptists: Fount of All Heresy', in *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, ed. J. F. McGregor and B. Reay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 23–63; McGregor, 'Seekers and Ranters'; Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 1991, esp. 25-26 (for Baptists), 184-230 (for Seekers); Hughes, 'Religion', 362-68 (for Baptists and Seekers); Bradstock, *Radical Religion*, 1-25 (for Baptists), 76-77 (for Seekers).
[44] Terry, *Lawlesse Liberty*, sig. A2r, 5.
[45] Ibid., sig. A2r.
[46] Ibid., 28.

resolved on to be established in this Kingdome, and now establishing, … is a good government, that hath very much of God in it', though 'it is slandered, contradicted, resisted, by a number amongst us, who would be left to their liberty'.[47] When Terry published *Lawlesse Liberty* in September 1646, he received his imprimatur from John Downame (1571-1652), a Presbyterian sympathiser closely associated with the Westminster Assembly of Divines, which had been convoked by Parliament to revise the doctrine, liturgy and government of the Church of England. Terry also dedicated the text to Sir Gilbert Gerard (1587-1670), MP for Middlesex, where Terry was rector of Great Greenford. Gerard was one of twenty lay members of the Westminster Assembly, whom the historian David Scott has described as 'among the more zealous promoters of a clericalist Presbyterian church.'[48]

In many ways, Terry's *Lawlesse Liberty*, which has invariably been neglected by historians studying his life and work, helps us to understand Terry's intellectual framework in *Voyage*. In his address 'To the Reader' at the start of *Voyage,* Terry returned immediately to the theme of religious radicalism in England, lamenting an age 'whose fair innocence hath been extreamly stubber'd by Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and what not'.[49] In his account of Mughal India, Terry therefore lifted several of his arguments against sectarian excess, on the one hand, and in favour of a powerful state church, capable of extirpating that heresy and uniting English Christians, on the other, more or less directly from *Lawlesse Liberty*, and combined or reinforced them with his observations of Mughal religious diversity. For what Terry feared in England by the mid-1650s, of course, was the kind of religious licence that he felt existed in the Subcontinent.

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[47] Ibid., 14–15.
[48] For Downame, see Randall J. Pederson, *Unity in Diversity: English Puritans and the Puritan Reformation, 1603-1689* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 89–152. For Gerard's biography, see David Scott, 'Gerard, Sir Gilbert, First Baronet (1587–1670), Politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 28 May 2015, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-66621?rskey=KxIE43&result=3, accessed 16 September 2021.
[49] Terry, *Voyage*, sig. A2r.

In the Mughal Empire, Terry had come into contact with, and would later write about, not only Sunni Muslims, but also communities of Shi'i, Hindus, Zoroastrians and Christians, most notably Jesuit missionaries from Portugal and Spain. Consequently, one of the features of Mughal society that most struck Terry was the presence of so many different systems of religious worship and belief, which he perceived as a consequence of the Empire's policy of generous religious tolerance.[50] In *Voyage*, Terry noted that 'every one there hath liberty to profess his owne Religion freely and if he please may argue against theirs, without feare of an *inquisition*'.[51] In the Mughal Empire, he later added, 'all Religions are tolerated', and the emperor, Jahangir (r. 1605-27), 'would speak well of all of them, saying that a man might be happy, and safe in the profession of any Religion'. Terry also informed his readers that in 1596, Jahangir's father and predecessor, Akbar (r. 1556-1605), had invited a Spanish Jesuit missionary, Jerome Xavier (1549-1617), 'to argue before him the doctrine of Christianity', which took place in a series of debates at Akbar's court over a period of eighteen months.[52]

In one section of *Voyage*, Terry recalled a conversation that he had had in India with Thomas Coryate (c. 1577-1617), an English traveller to the region, on the subject of Mughal religious tolerance.[53] Coryate had accompanied Roe's embassy 'for some months'

[50] For the religious diversity of the seventeenth-century Mughal Empire, see Stephen Dale, 'India Under Mughal Rule', in *The New Cambridge History of Islam, Volume 3: The Eastern Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. David O. Morgan and Anthony Reid, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 266–314.
[51] Terry, *Voyage*, 271.
[52] Ibid., 440–46. Terry had heard this story from another Jesuit missionary, Francisco Corsi, in the service of Portugal. According to Terry, Corsi visited the English embassy 'often, usually once a week ... he knowing all news which was stirring and might be had, which he communicated unto us.' For the Jesuits at Akbar's court, including Xavier, see Hugues Didier, 'Du Déguisement Du Messager Au Déguisement Du Message. Les Jésuites à La Cour d'Akbar', in *Frontières Religieuses Dans Le Monde Moderne*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Denis Crouzet (Paris: PUPS, 2013), 177–87.
[53] Terry, *Voyage*, 270–71. For Coryate, see M. G. Aune, 'Thomas Coryate versus John Taylor: The Emergence of the Early Modern Celebrity', *Cahiers Élisabéthains* 101, no. 1 (2020): 85–104.

as Terry's 'Chamber-fellow or Tent-mate', having travelled to India via the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Persia.[54] According to Terry:

> *Tom Coryat* upon a time having heard their *Moolas* [imams] often (as before) so to cry[,] got him[self] upon an high place directly opposite to one of those Priests, and contradicted him thus. *La alla illa alla, Hasaret Eesa Ben-alla*, that is, no God, but one God, *and the Lord Christ the son of God*, & further added that *Mahomet* was an *Impostor*: and all this he spake in their owne language as loud as possibly he could, in the eares of many *Mahometans* that heard it ... That he did so, I am sure, and I further believe how that bold attempt of his, if it had been acted in many other places of *Asia*, would have cost him his life with as much *torture* as cruelty could have *invented*. But he was here taken for a mad-man, and so let alone.[55]

The distinction that Terry drew here, rightly or wrongly, between the more religiously tolerant Mughal Empire, on the one hand, and less tolerant 'places of *Asia*', on the other, is one that he appears to have adopted from Coryate, who claimed that 'in the Mogols Dominions a Christian may speake much more freely than hee can in any other Mahometan Country in the world.'[56]

In any case, we see that Terry viewed, or at least depicted, Mughal India as the kind of state that tolerated even the most egregious religious heterodoxy, or rather arguments and ideas that conflicted with some of the most fundamental precepts of its primary religion, Islam. This was a fairly one-dimensional portrait of Mughal religion and government, of course, which flattened the complexity of the Mughal religious landscape, and the importance and prominence of its Hindu community in particular. Whether this portrait was borne out of ignorance or design (or indeed a combination of both) is difficult to know, but what is clear is that it suited Terry's argument, enabling him to use examples from Mughal India to warn of the dangers of excessive religious tolerance in England.

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[54] Terry, *Voyage*, 57–78.
[55] Ibid., 270–71.
[56] Thomas Coryate, *Mr Thomas Coriat to His Friends in England Sendeth Greeting: From Agra the Capitall City of the Dominion of the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, the Last of October, 1616.* (London, 1618), sig. A17r.

In Terry's analysis in *Voyage*, the kind of religious licence that apparently existed in the Mughal Empire, where everyone had 'liberty to profess his owne Religion freely', seemingly without limits, and where Hindus alone were 'distracted into *four-score*, and *four* several *Sects*, each differing from others', was not something to be celebrated, but feared.[57] As Richard Raiswell has observed, Terry regarded the diversity of religious opinion in Mughal India as evidence of the work of '*Satan*', whom Terry called 'the author of division' and 'the seducer of them all.'[58] In his '*Corollarie and conclusion*' at the end of *Voyage*, Terry affirmed that 'Strife and Division in Religion, is a sad presage, that either God hath, or else is about to leave a People.' For it was 'a principle in Nature', he added, that:

> *Strength united receives more strength*; and Experience shews that Planks and Timber well joyned together make a Ship, but disjoyned they cause shipwrack; So connexion of Stones and other materialls make an House, but *dissipation* of them a *ruin*; So Agreement of Christians builds up the Church, Dissention amongst them pulls it down.[59]

Roe had been similarly unsettled by the religious tolerance, and therefore diversity, of Mughal India, writing in April 1616 of 'Religions infinite: lawes none. In this Confusion what can bee expected?'[60] Thus Roe and Terry were alike insofar as they connected excessive religious tolerance with an absence of law and order, or what Terry called a '*Lawlesse Liberty*'.

According to Terry, 'Agreement of Christians' in England was only possible if the country avoided the example of Mughal India, and instead fought actively against those seeking liberty of conscience in order 'to grub, and root up the very foundations of Religion, by turning all fundamentals (which should be received, not controverted) into questions and

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[57] Terry, *Voyage*, 344–45.
[58] Raiswell, 'Edward Terry and the Demons of India'; Terry, *Voyage*, 344–45.
[59] Terry, *Voyage*, 468.
[60] William Foster, ed., *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-19, As Narrated in His Journal and Correspondence*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1899), 168.

disputes'.[61] Referring to Hindus earlier in *Voyage*, Terry had commented that '[f]or *Heathens*, that have neither light nor guide[,] to be thus divided, and to live in darknesse[,] hath not so much wonder in it, but for Christians, who have been in the *valley of visions*[,] thus to separate, ministers matter of wonder, or pity, nay, of both.'[62] When Terry wrote of England in his conclusion, he lamented that the 'Ancient heresies' documented by Irenaeus and Epiphanius had been 'raked up out of their corruption … with new faces and glosses put upon them, presented to this Nation in Printed Books, … to the endangering of the very life and Soul of Religion'.[63]

In order to make his comparison between England and Mughal India more relevant, Terry likened some of these 'heresies', or radical Protestant sects, to religious cultures that he had encountered on his travels around the Subcontinent. In one of his chapters on Islam, for instance, Terry criticised Muslims for their refusal to accept the divine nature of Christ, likening them to the widely reviled Socinians, who were notorious in Christian Europe for denying the Trinity.[64] Although Terry recognised that 'to beleeve … that God should be *made a Man*', and 'that this Man Christ should be born of a Virgin', was 'one of the hardest and greatest taskes for Faith to encounter', he insisted that 'These are Articles of our Faith; and we are not Christians if we believe them not.'[65] Terry's attack on Socinianism might be understood within the context of the case of John Biddle (c. 1616-62) in England, who had been imprisoned by Parliament in December 1654 for denying the Trinity and divinity of Christ, and for advancing several other unorthodox opinions about the nature of God in particular.[66]

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[61] Terry, *Voyage*, 464.
[62] Ibid., 345.
[63] Ibid., 470.
[64] Ibid., 279; Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, esp. 33-38.
[65] Terry, *Voyage*, 279–80.
[66] Worden, 'Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate', 203–5, 218–22; Smith, 'Oliver Cromwell', 42–43; Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, 612; Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 221–22, 224–27.

As Blair Worden and David Smith have shown, Biddle's case heightened fears of not only Socinians, but also Quakers, with whom Socinians were often confused by contemporaries.[67] Quakers rejected the concept of a formal ministry, and emphasised instead the importance of God's guiding light within, which they valued above Scripture. Following their emergence in England in 1652, the Quakers had acquired a sinister reputation for their determined evangelism, their opposition to social hierarchies, and their refusal to swear oaths or pay tithes.[68] Consequently, they attracted the attention of the First Protectorate Parliament in December 1654, following the imprisonment of Biddle, when several members agreed to devise a bill against them.[69] Terry also attacked Quakers in *Voyage*, likening them to Sufis, or Islamic ascetics renowned for their mysticism and world-renouncing piety, whom Terry criticised as '*Idolaters*' and '*mad men*'.[70] These Islamic 'Votaries', as Terry called them:

> … somtimes take intoxicating things which make them to talk wildly, and strangely (as some of our *Quakers* doe in their strange distempers) and then the foolish common people will flock about them, and (believing they then *Prophesie*) hearken unto them with all *attention*.[71]

Terry's contempt for Quakers was hardly unusual, given their unorthodox views on the Holy Spirit and Scripture, and their opposition to not only the ordained clergy, but to social hierarchies more broadly. For when it came to the organisation of society, Terry and most of his contemporaries were convinced of what Terry himself referred to in *Voyage* as

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[67] Worden, 'Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate', 220; Smith, 'Oliver Cromwell', 42.
[68] B. Reay, 'Quakerism and Society', in *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, ed. J. F. McGregor and B. Reay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 141–64; Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 1991, 231–58; Hughes, 'Religion', 364–66; Bradstock, *Radical Religion*, 95–115.
[69] Worden, 'Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate', 220; Smith, 'Oliver Cromwell', 42; *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 7, 1651-1660* (London, 1802), https://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol7/pp409-410, accessed 9 September 2021.
[70] Alexander Knysh, 'Sufism', in *The New Cambridge History of Islam, Volume 4: Islamic Cultures and Societies to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Robert Irwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 60–104; Terry, *Voyage*, 283–84.
[71] Terry, *Voyage*, 281–83.

'an absolute necessity amongst men of superiority and subordination, where some must command, and others obey.'[72] The equivalence that Terry drew between Quakers and Sufis, however, was certainly more unconventional. Several Sufi orders, or *tariqas*, had established themselves in northern India since the thirteenth century, some of which combined quiet or silent personal contemplation of the divine with *dhikr*, or the recitation, which could be internal or external, of short Islamic prayers or utterances, such as the names and attributes of God.[73] In *Voyage*, Terry wrote of Indian Sufis who spent most of their time:

> … In Contemplation, stirring not at all from the places they first fix on, but *ad requisita naturae*, crying out continually in these or the like expressions *Alla Achabar*. &c. that is, God Almighty looke upon me, I love thee, I love not the world, but I love thee, and I do all this for thy sake, *look upon mee*, *God Almighty*.[74]

The translation that Terry provided was a very loose interpretation of the Arabic expression that he had cited. It seems likely that Terry intended to make Sufis sound more like Quakers than was actually the case. For in England, Quakers were similarly known, and scorned, for silently seeking the guidance of their inner light, which was reported to move them to ecstatic utterances, or 'strange distempers', as Terry regarded them. As a result of these apparent similarities, however superficial they might have been, Terry was able to establish an unsettling link between Quakers and Sufis, and, by extension, between England and Mughal India, where, for Terry, liberty of conscience had been taken to extremes – extremes that England would do well to avoid.

When Terry discussed the 'heresies' of Socinianism and Quakerism in *Voyage*, he did so in the wake of debates within Parliament, before its dissolution in January 1655, over a new confession of faith for Cromwell's church. These debates were themselves connected

[72] Ibid., 156.
[73] Knysh, 'Sufism', 99–102.
[74] Terry, *Voyage*, 281–82.

partly to concerns over radical Protestant sects, including Socinians and Quakers. For although there were divisions among MPs and the clergy over how strictly they should define the confession, there was general agreement that it would have to exclude any semblance of Socinianism or Quakerism, and there were certainly those, both within Parliament and without, who intended to use such a confession to bolster their fight against these sects. When Cromwell dissolved Parliament towards the end of January 1655, however, he interrupted not only efforts to devise a new confession, but also legal proceedings against Socinians and Quakers.[75] These developments would almost certainly have unsettled Terry, who might also have been writing *Voyage* following the release, and subsequent re-arrest, of John Biddle in May 1655, as well as the appearance of provocative Quaker tracts by lay preachers such as James Parnel (c. 1636-56), Priscilla Cotton and Mary Cole.[76]

The failure of attempts to devise a new confession undermined what Terry had identified in *Lawlesse Liberty* as the main bulwark against religious radicalism: a powerful state church committed to 'purity of worship', and prepared therefore to stamp out '*Schismes* and *Divisions*, … as wise men doe with *Snakes*, *Vipers*, venemous creatures, they stay not till they have *stung* or *bit* them, but they crush and kill them before-hand'.[77] Hence Terry returned to this theme in *Voyage*, stressing the importance of '*Order* and *Discipline* in the Church, which may direct, uphold, encourage and defend people in the profession of Religion.'[78] Such ecclesiastical discipline was almost entirely absent in the Mughal Empire,

[75] Worden, 'Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate', 216–20; Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 220–25.
[76] For Biddle, see Worden, 'Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate', 220–22. For Parnel, see Reay, 'Quakerism and Society', 148–49; Adrian Davies, 'Parnel [Parnell], James (Bap. 1636, d. 1656), Quaker Martyr', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-21387?rskey=15Zpwz&result=1, accessed 16 September 2021. For Cotton and Cole, see Kate Peters, '"Women's Speaking Justified": Women and Discipline in the Early Quaker Movement, 1652–56', *Studies in Church History* 34 (1998): 205–6.
[77] Terry, *Lawlesse Liberty*, 14, 32.
[78] Terry, *Voyage*, 465.

of course, where everyone had 'liberty to profess his owne Religion freely', and was also permitted to 'argue against theirs [Islam], without feare of an inquisition, as Tom Coryat did at another time with a Moolaa', stating bluntly, and without consequence, that only Christians were 'true believers'.[79] Much to Terry's concern, England seemed to be headed in the same direction:

> It was never worse in *Israel, than when every one did that which was right in his own eyes*, … And how ill it hath been in this Church wherein we live, since the Reigns of Discipline have been slackened, or broken … Because Anarchy and confusion must needs stretch, crack and break those Bands asunder, which hold men firmly together in a State; and like a Moth by degrees eats up the life, the very Soul of Religion in the Church.[80]

For Terry, then, it was this '*want of* Discipline in the Church' that had 'been the most principal cause of the *Ignorance* and *error* and *heresie* and *Athesme* [atheism], *which hath corrupted so many minds amongst us*.'[81] As a result, he encouraged the restoration of ecclesiastical 'Order and Discipline' through the urgent application of 'safe and good Rules', which he described as 'so consistent to the well being of a Church or State, as that they cannot be separated or severed without much damage and detriment unto both'.[82]

In order to spur civil magistrates in England to act more firmly along these lines, Terry referred, once again, to Mughal India. In *Voyage*, he noted that the Mughal government, which was under the almost complete control of the emperor, Jahangir, made no effort to support the state religion, or to enforce any kind of religious uniformity, in order to 'make the Tyrannicall Government there more easily to be endured'.[83] Although brief and seemingly nondescript, this comment is also arguably significant within the broader context

[79] Ibid., 271.
[80] Ibid., 464–65.
[81] Ibid., 490.
[82] Ibid., 465.
[83] Ibid., 440. For Terry and oriental despotism, see Lefèvre, 'Entre Despotisme et Vertu'.

of Terry's work, for it saw him associate state tolerance of religious heterodoxy, which he consistently opposed, with 'Tyrannicall Government', or political tyranny. In this way, Terry can be said to have fired off a warning to English civil magistrates, or to have even subtly criticised Cromwell's Protectorate, which he doubtlessly felt was failing to stem the rising tide of radical sectarianism in England. This would certainly have chimed with a common critique of Cromwell as a tyrant, which was frequently made by former Parliamentarians in particular.[84]

Terry, Mughal India and the Scourge of Anti-Clericalism

For Terry, one of the most damaging features of this '*Lawlesse Liberty*' in England, which demonstrated the absolute necessity of an exclusive confession and thereby public church, was the anti-clericalism of radical Protestant groups. One of the most obvious signs of this anti-clericalism was the proliferation of lay preachers, for which radical sects such as the Quakers were particularly notorious. Indeed, as John Morrill has observed of England in this period, there was certainly no shortage, most notably among radical Protestant sects, of lay intellectuals eager to spurn clerical claims to spiritual authority.[85] In *Lawlesse Liberty*, Terry was unequivocal in his condemnation of this development:

> Oh how hath the *Pulpit* been abused, (since the *hedge* hath been downe about our Church) by a liberty, which without doubt, Posterity will not beleeve, could be taken at such *a time as this*; when he that pleaseth *consecrates himselfe*, when the lowest among the people, without any lawfull *Call*, or *Commission*, take upon them[selves] to be publique Teachers of others.[86]

[84] Robert Zaller, 'The Figure of the Tyrant in English Revolutionary Thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 54, no. 4 (1993): 604–7.
[85] Morrill, 'The Puritan Revolution', 76.
[86] Terry, *Lawlesse Liberty*, 11.

Terry's mention of a 'lawfull *Call,* or *Commission*' indicates that he was referring to clerics with formal legal recognition, though whether this was civil, ecclesiastical or even both, he neglected to say. Terry's ambiguity over this issue is striking, given that debates over ordination were a major feature of English discussions of the Church during the 1640s and 1650s.[87] As we have seen, however, Terry felt that debates over the mechanics of church government, which had proved highly fractious, were ultimately a distraction from a much more fundamental aim: the union of English Christians around a strong national church, capable of suppressing sectarian heresy. Within this context, Terry presumably felt that divisive debates over ordination were unnecessary, at least in the short term, given that any kind of legal recognition of clerics, whether civil, ecclesiastical or both, was enough to construct a national church and exclude radical Protestant sectaries. In the case of anti-clericalism, Terry's broader approach to the issue of English church government was crucial, for it helped to underpin his move to discuss Mughal India, as we shall see.

In his defence of the 'lawfull' clergy, Terry argued that 'there are no such *chaines* of Authority, ... as in those tongues, which God hath armed from above and enabled, and set apart, and sent cut in his service.'[88] As a result, he railed against those who 'esteeme themselves above all ordinances, and therefore shamefully neglect them: So depending (as they say) upon Christ, that they care not for any Preacher in the world'. Referring to Proverbs 3:5, Terry encouraged his listeners to:

> Leane not to thine owne understanding, … But beleeve how that others who labour to get the knowledge, the right interpretation of Gods revealed will declared in his word; First, from God by prayer; Secondly, from men by conference; Thirdly, from Bookes by reading; And are further able to reade the holy Scriptures in that language wherein they were first written.[89]

[87] See, for example, Collins, 'The Church Settlement of Oliver Cromwell', 37; Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, 297–98.
[88] Terry, *Lawlesse Liberty*, 12.
[89] Ibid., sig. A3v-A4r.

In these attacks on anti-clericalism, we begin to see why Terry believed that English clerics were important and worthy of respect. In his comments about the clergy's 'tongues' and those about their superior 'knowledge', Terry was constructing an argument for clerical authority on the basis of the clergy's learning. This would certainly explain his disdain for what he termed that 'spirituall Pride, that great sin which banes thousands, by sad and severall mistakes, in entertaining a floating knowledge, for true wisdome'.[90] Terry also emphasised that such anti-clericalism was not only a product, but also a cause of religious radicalism, noting that the 'wild *conceivings*' of lay preachers were responsible for the 'multitude of strange opinions amongst us'. Consequently, England risked further descent into religious division, thereby fulfilling the 'Papist' proverb, 'that if a man cannot find his Religion in *Poland*, nor *Amsterdam*, let him seeke for it in *England*.'[91]

Thus it seems that for Terry, clerics were important not so much because of how they were selected, as because of how they behaved in office, and because of the function they served there. In *Voyage*, Terry stressed that 'the high *calling* of a Minister of the Gospel deserves *honour*', assuming that 'the Messengers of God labour in our whole course to *walk in wisedom*', demonstrating and inspiring qualities such as '*Love, Charity, Long-suffering, Gentlenesse, Goodnesse, meeknesse, modesty, temperance*', and so on.[92] This focus on clerical conduct and learning, as opposed to more technical issues such as ordination, was crucial, for it enabled Terry, when it came to *Voyage*, to draw more relevant parallels between English clerics, on the one hand, and Mughal imams, on the other, particularly as the latter were not formally ordained in the Christian sense.

[90] Ibid., sig. A4r.
[91] Ibid., 12. See also Terry, *Voyage*, 365, where Terry cites the proverb again.
[92] Terry, *Voyage*, 479–87.

In *Voyage*, Terry connected English clerics, as ever, with learning and the communication of knowledge, describing them as '*teachers* and *instructers* of others'.[93] In another section, he explained that 'A *wise* and faithful Minister of the *Gospel* must consider that he hath *lambs* in his flock as wel as *sheep*', adding that he 'must fit his discourse unto all the *several capacities* of his *hearers*', and 'deale with these *babes* who are but newly entred into the *school of Christ*, as parents do with their little children when they begin to *spel* or *read*'.[94] Terry also described Mughal imams in similar terms, noting, for instance, that they 'imploy much of their time as Scriveners to doe businesses for others; or to teach their yong Children to write and reade their language in written hand, for (as before) they have no Printing.'[95] These parallels were important, for in *Voyage*, Terry used the situation of Mughal imams to condemn the treatment of clerics in England, and radical opposition to their tithes in particular.

During the 1640s and the 1650s, radical Protestants in England had increasingly called for the abolition of the tithe, and in 1653, they had come close to achieving their aim. Following the dissolution of the Rump Parliament in April of that year, Cromwell had convened a Nominated Assembly of 140 godly men, selected by himself and the Council of Officers, which controlled the New Model Army.[96] As Sarah Cook has shown, the Nominated Assembly, which first met in July 1653, featured a substantial, well-organised minority of radical Protestant sectaries, who raised the question of tithes early in the session and referred it to committee. Although the Committee for Tithes recommended their retention on 2 December, the Assembly, under radical sectarian influence, rejected the Committee's report by a narrow margin only eight days later. Consequently, more moderate

[93] Ibid., 220.
[94] Ibid., 491.
[95] Ibid., 264–65.
[96] Austin Woolrych, *England Without a King, 1649-1660* (London: Routledge, 1993), 26–27; Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, 539.

members declined to co-operate any further with the Assembly, which was dissolved on 12 December.[97]

When Terry published *Voyage* in the mid-1650s, then, the retention of the tithe, which had continued to receive criticism from radical Protestant sects, was hardly something that could be taken for granted. For although the Instrument of Government, which was implemented following the dissolution of the Nominated Assembly, had agreed to maintain tithes for the time being, it also committed to replacing them with a less controversial way of funding a public ministry, as soon as one could be conceived and implemented.[98] In *Voyage*, in the midst of this atmosphere of uncertainty surrounding the financial future of England's publicly maintained ministry, Terry attacked those:

> … very great numbers amongst us, being very much led away by principles of wordly mindedness and covetousness, [who] cannot abide us [clerics] for our maintenance sake, not considering how that they who *preach the Gospel must live by the Gospel*, and that by Divine right we have an honourable maintenance allowed unto us by Almightie God, as it is most cleere by many passages of the *new Testament*, as well as the *Old*.[99]

Terry's view that clerics had a 'divine right' to tithes echoed a commonly invoked argument in England, dating back to the late sixteenth century, that tithes existed *jure divino*, or by divine law. The English divine Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626) had advanced this argument in a doctoral dissertation of 1590, which was published in 1647.[100] Andrewes' work invoked examples from not only Scripture and the Church Fathers, but also the Greco-Roman world, suggesting that tithes were due by not only sacred, but also natural law. Andrewes' thesis was challenged by John Selden (1584-1654), however, whose *Historie of*

[97] Cook, 'Congregational Independents', 346. See also Woolrych, *England Without a King*, 27–29; Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, 556–59.
[98] Gardiner, *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, 416.
[99] Terry, *Voyage*, 473.
[100] Lancelot Andrewes, *Of the Right of Tithes* (London, 1647).

Tithes (1618) argued that the payments were owed only by positive secular law. Like Andrewes, Selden bolstered his argument with reference to not only Scripture and the Church Fathers, but also the pagans of the ancient world.[101]

In *Voyage*, Terry's observations of how Muslims and Hindus behaved strengthened the idea that tithes were due by natural as well as divine law. As we have seen, Terry attributed the 'more accurat walking' of Muslims and Hindus to their tendency to 'keep *close* unto those *principles* (most of them founded in the book of Nature) which are given them in charge to *walk by*.'[102] Indeed, as we shall see, Terry devoted an entire chapter of *Voyage* to '*the most excellent moralities which are to be observed amongst the People of those Nations*', with a particular focus on Muslims and Hindus.[103] Within this context, Terry wrote of the considerable amount of respect that Muslims and Hindus exhibited for their 'Priests', noting that '*the people in general of those parts, honour and reverence a Churchman, and for that very reason because he is so*'.[104] Much to Terry's delight, they also extended this respect to 'Priests or Ministers of any Religion', who could 'find regard and esteeme amongst the people.' On this point, Terry claimed that he:

> ... never went abroad amongst that people; but those that met me upon this consideration, that I was a *Padre* (for so they call'd me) a Father or Minister, they would manifest in their behaviour towards me, much esteem unto me.[105]

Against this backdrop, Terry found that the Muslims and Hindus of Mughal India would therefore '*give their Priests not only honour, but comfortable maintenance* & without grudging', unlike in England, where tithes were widely disputed. In *Voyage*, Terry insisted

[101] John Selden, *The Historie of Tithes* (London, 1618). See also G. J. Toomer, 'Selden's "Historie of Tithes": Genesis, Publication, Aftermath', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 65, no. 3/4 (2002): 345–78; G. J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 257–310.
[102] Terry, *Voyage*, 487.
[103] Ibid., 248–58.
[104] Ibid., 472.
[105] Ibid., 440–41.

that laws enforcing the tithe be maintained, in order 'to direct and lead some, as to constrain and bind others, for there is no hope in this case to work Convictions upon many, … who would defraud us [the clergy], if they could, of all our just rights.'[106] Like Andrewes before him, but with recourse to Mughal India, Terry had shown that these 'just rights' existed by not only divine, but also natural law, and that they should be enforced by civil magistrates on this basis. In this way, Terry cycled back round to his primary objective: the establishment of a strong national church, capable of extirpating Protestant radicalism, and anti-clericalism specifically.

One may notice a slight tension in Terry's argument here. If an inability to suppress radical religion had led to anti-clericalism in England, as Terry implied, why had the same anti-clerical sentiment not emerged in Mughal India, where tolerance of religious heterodoxy (and therefore radicalism) was so much more advanced, as Terry argued? If Terry was aware of this tension, he made no sign of it in his work. What was more important was driving his message about anti-clericalism home, and if that meant using Mughal India as a positive example, then that was something that he was willing to do. Indeed, this was a style of rhetoric that Terry used on several other occasions in his work, most notably regarding the vexed issue of moral agency.

Baxter, Owen and A New Confession of Faith

In his Mughal-inspired argument for tithes, Terry drew on a long Western tradition of what Noel Malcolm has called 'shame-praising', but applied it to a very specific English context. This rhetorical technique saw Western Christians praise the virtues of non-Christians (such as charitableness and discipline) in order to highlight perceived corresponding deficiencies

[106] Ibid., 473–74.

within their own societies, whether secular or religious.[107] This style of rhetoric was a common feature of Terry's work. It was at the heart, for instance, of the 'moral lesson' that Terry fashioned for readers of *Voyage*, which has been explored by Corinne Lefèvre, Richard Raiswell, Daniel Carey and Rita Banerjee. Their studies have examined how Terry, in the style of a sermon, drew on examples of morality, devotion and piety among Muslims and Hindus in order to shame English Christians, who were supposed to know better, owing to their access to the Gospel.[108] Yet within the context of this moralising too, Terry's use of the rhetoric of shame-praising spoke to a very specific religious and political situation in Cromwellian England, which historians studying *Voyage* have yet to acknowledge.

From February 1654, Cromwell encouraged a series of meetings between leading Independent and Presbyterian divines, with a view to producing a new confession of faith for the public Church. Although there was widespread support among these divines for a confession that would exclude radical Protestant sectaries, a major dispute emerged over the theological framework of the new confession. On the one hand, there was a group of divines, led by the Independent John Owen, who wanted to ensure that only ministers with strictly Reformed beliefs could enter the English Church. On the other, there was a group associated with the Presbyterian minister Richard Baxter, who were much less concerned with purity of doctrine, and reluctant to impose a rigidly Calvinist framework. This was partly because, like Terry, they wanted to ensure a relatively broad Church after years of fractious disputes over church government and theology. Yet it was also because they were deeply concerned with the ethics and morality of individual Church members, and were therefore

[107] Malcolm, *Useful Enemies*, 37–38.
[108] Lefèvre, 'Entre Despotisme et Vertu', esp. 141-46; Raiswell, 'Edward Terry and the Calvinist Geography of India'; Carey, 'Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East-India*'; Banerjee, *India in Early Modern English Travel Writings*.

uncomfortable with Owen's commitment to traditional Reformed soteriology, which held that good works contributed nothing to one's salvation.[109]

According to the orthodox Reformed account of humanity's relationship with God, Adam's original sin had wholly corrupted human nature, meaning that men and women could not help but sin, and were unable to abide by the law of God. On the basis of Christ's sacrifice, however, which paid the penalty for that sin, a merciful God had arbitrarily elected (or predestined) a minority of Christians, known as 'the elect', to salvation, while condemning 'the reprobate', or the rest of humanity (whether avowedly Christian or not), to the eternal damnation that it deserved. In this account, a minority of humans were therefore saved not by their own efforts, but by God's irresistible grace, and the redemptive power of Christ's sacrifice. Thus Christians were asked simply to have faith that God would fulfil the promises made to the elect in the Gospel. Against this backdrop, good works and virtue were considered signs of grace or election, and were said to contribute nothing to one's salvation, which was pre-determined.

In opposition to this view, there emerged another perspective from within the Reformed tradition, loosely termed 'Remonstrant', which was fostered by thinkers such as Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), Simon Episcopius (1583-1643) and, within the English context especially, William Chillingworth (1602-44). The Remonstrant view held that Christ died for all, and that God's grace was therefore offered to everyone, who could choose to accept or reject it. For those who chose to accept, God's grant of grace was conditional on not only faith, but also the performance of good works, or continued obedience to His law, as revealed by Scripture, or discernible via reason. For unlike hard-line Calvinists, the Remonstrants believed that human faculties (such as reason) were still of some value in determining right

[109] Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 220–25. See also Paul Chang-Ha Lim, *In Pursuit of Purity, Unity, and Liberty: Richard Baxter's Puritan Ecclesiology in Its Seventeenth-Century Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 161–66; Tim Cooper, *John Owen, Richard Baxter and the Formation of Nonconformity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 169–95.

from wrong, even if they had been damaged by the Fall.[110] Baxter was influenced by these Remonstrant trends, and favoured a confession that would encompass those who sought to carve out a role for moral agency within Protestant Christianity. Owen wanted a theologically much narrower confession, however, which reflected his absolute commitment to the orthodox Reformed doctrine of justification by faith alone.

Terry's intervention in this dispute came late in *Voyage*, towards the end of his lengthy '*Corollarie and conclusion*'. His remarks on the subject are relatively brief, but telling:

> … we that are forward to condemn the Papists for their mad conceivings about works of Supererrogation, must never think that Faith without works, will justifie us before God. That we, who wonder at such people as I have named in East India, as at others for their austeritie of life, … must never conceive that doing vvhat vve please, what vve vvill, can bring us at last to true happiness. God hath called us (saith the Apostle) to glory and vertue, to vertue and holiness as the means, to glory and happiness as the end.[111]

The page on which Terry made these comments is out of sequence, suggesting that he added these pointed remarks to *Voyage* shortly before its publication. Thus Terry's comments on justification were likely a response to contemporary debates over the issue, which accompanied attempts to draft a new confession of faith throughout 1654 and early 1655. For in this passage, Terry affirmed, like Baxter, that works were needed alongside faith for justification. He insisted that it was not enough for English Christians simply to assume elect status and expect salvation on that basis; their moral and spiritual conduct had to reflect consistently the high standards outlined and demanded by the Gospel. Only in this way, Terry argued, would their elect status be in any way fulfilled.

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[110] Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, 9–11. See also Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*.
[111] Terry, *Voyage*, 443, recte 542.

Although Terry likely added these comments about morality and justification to *Voyage* later, they are entirely consistent with the overall thrust of his account, which focuses to a considerable extent on '*the most excellent moralities which are to be observed amongst the People of those Nations*', and which encourages English Christians to behave similarly, in order to ensure their salvation. Indeed, elsewhere in his conclusion, Terry argued that:

> … when the truth and power of Religion is separated from the profession thereof, … there is small difference 'twixt an Israelite and an *Ishmaelite*, 'twixt a Circumcised Hebrew, and an uncircumcised Philistine, 'twixt a Baptized Englishman, and an unwashen Turk. For the barren Figtree in Gods Orchard is in no better case, than the bramble in the wilderness, for God will lap them both up in the same bundle of condemnation, It being all one to deny the faith, and not soundly and sincerely to profess it.[112]

Here, Terry implied strongly that faith alone, without virtue and works, was insufficient to save Christians from the damnation that awaited members of other religions and creeds. Furthermore, by emphasising, throughout *Voyage*, the exemplary moral and spiritual conduct of 'meer *natural* men', though 'endued with reason', Terry echoed the Remonstrant view that human reason, and therefore human agency, had an important role to play in determining right from wrong.[113] Thus important parts of Terry's argument in *Voyage*, made within the context of his travel-inspired 'moral lesson', foreshadowed or informed his late intervention in the Baxter-Owen dispute in his '*Corollarie and conclusion*'.

Within this framework, Terry used the example of Mughal India to call for higher moral and spiritual standards among English Christians. In *Voyage*, Terry observed how 'Indians … walk in that little light they have, unreproveably in respect of moralities, and

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[112] Ibid., 541. Terry had made exactly the same point, almost word for word, in 1649, in a sermon that he had published under the title of *The Merchants and Mariners Preservation and Thanksgiving. Or, Thankfvlnesse Retvrned, for Mercies Received. Set Forth in a Sermon of Thanksgiving, Preached at St. Andrewes Undershaft, Sept. 6. 1649. To the R. Worshipfull, The Comittee of Merchants Trading for the Eastern India, Upon a Late Returne of Seven of Their Ships Together* (London, 1649), 30–31.
[113] Terry, *Voyage*, 254-55 (for 'meer *natural* men').

doubtless, if they knew better, would do better'. Whereas English Christians, he argued, 'live amongst so many clear visions, yet even there do so shut up their eyes against their light, as that they know nothing in Religion as they ought to know it.'[114] This contrast was a source of great unease for Terry:

> Surely, it cannot but grieve every good heart, to hear that which is too often, and truly spoken, to the shame and reproach of the *Gospel*; that there is more *Truth* and *Fidelity*, more just *dealing* and *moral honesty*, more *care* of their word, more good *neighbourhood* and kindnes, more *Charity* and mercifulnes, among a number of meer *natural* men, nay, among *Turks* and *Infidels*, than amongst a great many, who are of chief note for the profession of the Gospel.[115]

In *Voyage*, Terry felt that he could blast English Christians for a whole variety of sins, including drunkenness, sexual promiscuity, gluttony, deceit, violence, pride, idolatry, anti-clericalism, sectarianism and laxity in worship. Terry's concern for the moral state of the English nation was certainly shared by many of his contemporaries in the 1640s and early 1650s, not least in government. In 1650, for instance, the authorities had imposed the death penalty for adultery, incest or fornication (though no one was ever actually put to death), and acts were also passed against blasphemy, swearing, cursing and non-observance of the Sabbath.[116] This desire to root out iniquity in England was a defining feature of Cromwell's government too, which was constantly searching for the origins of God's righteous judgement on the land.[117] Within this context, Terry felt that his compatriots stood to learn from their Islamic counterparts in particular.

Although Terry argued that the morality of individual Muslims could not be attributed to divine revelation, 'it cannot bee denied', he conceded, 'but that there are some things in the precepts which *Mahomet* hath prescribed to be received and observed by his

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[114] Ibid., 460.
[115] Ibid., 254–55.
[116] Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution*, 453.
[117] Worden, *God's Instruments*, 13-32 ('Cromwell and the Sin of Achan').

followers, that are good'.[118] Here, Terry listed 'eight commandments' supposedly 'layd downe' by Muhammad for his followers. Although he did not acknowledge his source, it appears that Terry had copied these 'eight commandments', almost verbatim, from another seventeenth-century travelogue, authored by William Biddulph (fl. 1600-12), entitled *The Trauels of Certaine Englishmen* (1609).[119] Like Terry, Biddulph had been an English chaplain within the Islamic world, serving the Levant Company in Aleppo in the early seventeenth century.[120] Biddulph's *Trauels*, which had been published only six years before Terry left for India, might therefore have been something of an inspiration for the EIC chaplain, perhaps even before he sailed for the Subcontinent. In any case, Biddulph had himself cribbed the 'eight commandments' of Islam from *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* (1597), by an anonymous author, though Biddulph added his own commentary.[121] These 'eight commandments' contained four of the five basic tenets or 'pillars' of Islam, as outlined by the Qur'an and the Hadith: the statement of faith (*shahada*), daily prayers (*salat*), fasting (*sawm*) and the provision of alms (*zakat*). One of the five pillars, pilgrimage (*hajj*), was therefore omitted, though another four maxims were added instead, ordering Muslims to obey their parents, to treat others as they would expect to be treated themselves, to marry and have children, and prohibiting them from murder. According to Jonathan Burton, Biddulph's discussion of the 'eight commandments' of Islam helped to 'decontextualise' Muslim doctrine, providing him 'with a venue for musing on problems in the English community.'[122] The same went for Terry, who was always looking for more effective ways

[118] Terry, *Voyage*, 262.
[119] Ibid., 262–63; William Biddulph, *The Trauels of Certaine Englishmen* (London, 1609), 52–58.
[120] MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, 51.
[121] Ibid., 87. See also *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1597), 15r–16r.
[122] Jonathan Burton, 'Emplotting the Early Modern Mediterranean', in *Remapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writings*, ed. Goran V. Stanivukovic (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 25–26.

to instruct his compatriots in good Christian ethics and behaviour, which he regarded as so important to their salvation.

Thus Biddulph's 'commandments' were another key part of the 'moral lesson' underpinning *Voyage*. The sixth commandment, for instance, '*that children must obey their parents*', recalled some of Terry's observations from an earlier chapter of *Voyage,* concerning Muslims and Hindus' '*piety* to their *Parents*'. Terry had explained that 'if their Parents be in want', their Hindu or Muslim children, though for the most part very poor themselves, 'will impart at the least half of that little towards their necessities, choosing rather to want themselves, than that their Parents should suffer need.' Terry included this detail to shame those 'who call themselves Christians, yet most shamefully neglect those loynes from which they fell', and he cited passages from Scripture that emphasised the importance of caring for one's parents.[123] Furthermore, when it came to inculcating such virtues among English Christians, Terry clearly envisaged a major role for the clergy, whom he described, as we have seen, as '*teachers* and *instructers* of others', who ought, he later added, 'to *live up* unto those duties *our* selves which in our exhortations we *commend to others*.'[124]

In a series of examples that Terry might equally have cribbed from other authors, but which he framed as direct personal observations, Terry heaped praise on the piety and zeal of ordinary Muslims in the everyday profession of their religion. In *Voyage*, he noted approvingly that Muslims were enjoined to pray five times a day, regardless of where they found themselves, or what they were doing. In Mughal India, he added, this injunction was apparently observed by everyone from '[t]he *Mogol* ... who sits on the *Throne*', to 'the *shepherd* ... that waits on his *flock* in the field'.[125] Terry saw that Muslims prayed both

[123] Terry, *Voyage*, 249–51.
[124] Ibid., 484–85.
[125] Ibid., 273.

frequently and with devotion, arguing that Christians, by contrast, were 'so negligent in that *great prevailing duty*', failing 'to pray ... *five times* in a *weeke,* a *moneth,* a *year*.'[126] Much to Terry's chagrin, English Christians took a similarly irreverent approach towards Scripture, with so many of them 'unwilling to part with a *Penny* for that most rich *commodity*', the Bible.[127] After making this complaint, Terry observed how '*Mahometans* should never see their *Alcoran* (though but a fardle of falshoods and fooleries) or hear any part of it read, without a *shew* of great *attention, affection,* and *reverence*'.[128]

Terry was equally impressed by the submissiveness of Muslims before God. They removed their shoes and washed their feet before entering their '*Churches*', or mosques, and their prayers once inside were both focused and suitably reverent, 'expressing the *Omnipotency,* and *Greatness,* and *Eternity,* and other *Attributes* of God.'[129] Muslims also prostrated themselves during their prayers (*sujud*), 'confessing in divers submissive gestures, their owne unworthiness, when they pray casting themselves low upon their *Face*', acknowledging 'that they are *Burdens* to the *Earth,* and *poyson* to the *Ayre*'.[130] That Terry approved of the Islamic practice of *sujud* is hardly surprising, when we consider his belief that God expects physical as well as spiritual devotion, 'for as *God will be worshipped in spirit*; so in the outward man likewise; ... God looks for, and expects *reverence from both.*'[131] Most of Terry's Christian contemporaries, however, were content to merely 'babble' their prayers, 'as if there were no God to hear, or to *judg,* and no *Hell* to *punish*.'[132]

Terry therefore demonstrated a deep concern for the morality of individual Christians, which he connected, alongside faith, to their potential for salvation.

[126] Ibid., 274–75.
[127] Ibid., 477–78.
[128] Ibid., 478.
[129] Ibid., 272.
[130] Ibid., 272–73.
[131] Ibid., 293–94.
[132] Ibid., 275.

Underpinning this view was the idea that humans were endowed with reason, which they could use, alongside Scripture, to deduce universal moral truths. Consequently, humans could not be said to lack moral agency or responsibility. As we have seen, these were arguments that Terry advanced in *Voyage* (and elsewhere) with recourse to the Hindu and Islamic communities of the Mughal Empire. In this way, Terry was well poised, within his '*Corollarie and conclusion*' to *Voyage*, to make a late intervention in one of the most vexing disputes of the day, regarding a new confession of faith for the English Church.

Conclusion

By the 1650s, Terry was dismayed by the trajectory of English society as he perceived it. With the breakdown in ecclesiastical discipline that had accompanied the onset of the English Civil Wars, and the growth of radical Protestant sects that followed, Terry felt that England was headed inexorably down the path of excessive religious tolerance, or an acceptance of the errors, heresies and blasphemies of radical Protestant sects, most notably anti-clericalism. Sensing that these radical groups threatened the broader unity of English Christians, Terry used the religious diversity of Mughal India to argue for a confession of faith, and a national Church, that would ensure their suppression. If his suggestions vis-à-vis church reform sometimes appear vague, it should be remembered that Terry wrote at a time of seemingly unprecedented division and debate, and that he sought to cut through what he regarded as petty disputes 'about the list and fringe of Christs garment', to address issues that he felt were more fundamental, as well as more likely to unite orthodox English Christians, namely the need for a strong national Church that could eliminate radical Protestantism.[133] '[L]et us labour after unity', Terry wrote in 1646, 'as first unity and

[133] Terry, *Lawlesse Liberty*, sig. A3v.

agreement amongst our selves', for 'unity and agreement of Christians', he added, 'build up a Church, as dissension puls it downe.'[134]

Yet Terry also used his experiences of travel to intervene in a long-running Protestant debate over morality and salvation, which was thrown into sharp relief by attempts to devise a new confession of faith for the English Church during 1654 and early 1655. In this instance, Terry's focus was not only on the unity of English Christians, but also their morality, which he felt went some way, in combination with faith and divine grace, in determining whether they were justified before God. Against this backdrop, Terry baulked at the moral state of the nation, particularly when he compared the ethics and spirituality of English Christians, on the one hand, with those of the Muslims and Hindus of Mughal India, on the other, though the latter were but 'meer *natural* men'.

[134] Ibid., 28.

Chapter II: '[*I*]*nward Affection*' over 'meer outward *forms of Godliness*': John Covel and the Mediterranean World

In his *Account of the Present Greek Church* of 1722, Dr John Covel (1638-1722), an Anglican cleric and long-time master of Christ's College, Cambridge, reflected on how human beings, and Christians specifically, might best please God (see fig. 4).[1] In so doing, Covel argued that disputes over '*the outward Dress and Fashion of Religion*', or 'meer outward *forms of Godliness*'[2] such as the acts of fasting, praying and prostration, were only important insofar as they helped worshippers to develop what he called 'inward affection':

> All outward Gestures in our Humiliations and Supplications ought to be lookt upon as only Customs and Fashions of Countries; so with us Western Christians, *Bowing, Kneeling, being Bare-headed*; so *Prostration* with *Armenians, Greeks, Turks* and other Eastern People; *beating the breast, lifting up Hands and Eyes*, almost every where; but the *inward Affection in all these*, is the only thing which is *acceptable with God*, the rest may be all *Feign'd and Hypocritical*; and in our private Addresses to God, *Sitting, Standing, lying in our Beds, on Couches, in Coaches, falling Prostrate* before him, *with Heads covered or uncovered*, all these outward things are alike in his Eyes; if the *Heart* in our Prayers, Ejaculations, and Supplications *be sincere and right*.[3]

For Covel, 'inward affection' was difficult to define, but easy to identify. It was evidenced by 'the *unfeigned Exercise* of a holy Life', which entailed the performance of good works, combined with the cultivation of more abstract virtues such as sincerity, solemnity, patience, moderation, faith, honesty and conviction.[4] In Covel's view, such a version of Christianity

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[1] John Covel, *Some Account of the Present Greek Church* (London, 1722). For Covel's biography, see Elisabeth Leedham-Green, 'Covel [Colvill], John (1638–1722), College Head', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 4 October 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6471?rskey=TlGgQV&result=1>, accessed 16 September 2021. See also Thomas Dallam and John Covel, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. J. Theodore Bent (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893), xxvi–xxxiii; John Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505-1905, and of the Earlier Foundation, God's House, 1448-1505*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 559–61.
[2] Covel, *Some Account*, lv–lvi.
[3] Ibid., 281–82.
[4] Ibid., lvii.

was more consistent with what he termed 'the Moral Law … written upon the Heart of Man', which was accessible to all humans, whether Christian or not, via the application of reason.[5]

Over the course of the next two chapters, we shall explore how Covel, between his education at Cambridge in the 1650s, and the publication of his *Account* in the 1720s, came to conceptualise the worship of God in this way. In so doing, we shall focus in particular on the impact of his travels around the Mediterranean during the 1670s, and of his exposure to the religious diversity of the Ottoman world, which he generally studied comparatively. This first chapter will open with a brief overview of Covel's itinerary overseas. It will then turn to the nature of the archival evidence that will feature in the next two chapters alongside Covel's *Account*, and that will enable us to reconstruct Covel's intellectual development from around the 1650s onwards. Indeed, we shall subsequently use some of these sources to explore Covel's education and early career at Christ's, where he established intellectual and personal links with two of the most prominent Anglican theologians of the day: Ralph Cudworth (1617-88) and Henry More (1614-87).

As we shall see, both Cudworth and More emphasised the moral content of religion, arguing that individual virtue was more important than strict adherence to specific ceremonies and institutional forms. Within this context, they posited the existence of universal moral truths, which were discernible via reason and therefore accessible to all, prompting them to reject the vilification of other religions and creeds. We shall examine how these patterns of thinking manifested themselves in Covel's engagement with the religious diversity of the Mediterranean world, with a particular focus on two interrelated areas of his character and thought in this regard. Firstly, Covel's willingness to attend, and also sometimes participate, in non-Anglican ceremonies abroad, and to engage in strictly non-controversial, mutually informative theological dialogue with worshippers from

[5] Ibid., 281–84.

different religions and creeds. And secondly, his tendency to draw out similarities between different systems of religious worship, particularly when it came to what he called 'inner practice', or ultimately 'inward affection'. In so doing, this chapter will highlight Covel's move towards the idea, in line with his experiences of travel, that this 'inward affection', rather than 'meer outward *forms of Godliness*', constituted the most effective way of pleasing God. Through this analysis, we shall see how Covel's observations abroad led him to question the sharp distinctions that were presumed to exist not only among Christians, but also between Christians and members of other religions, most notably Islam.

Covel's Travels and the Nature of the Evidence: Correspondence, Travel Diaries and Commonplace Books

Towards the end of September 1670, John Covel, then a fellow at Christ's College, Cambridge, sailed from southern England for Istanbul. Covel had been selected to replace Thomas Smith as resident chaplain for the English embassy to the Ottoman Porte, and for the ambassador, Sir Daniel Harvey (served 1668-72).[6] Covel travelled to the Ottoman capital via Tunis and Izmir, from where he visited the ancient ruins of Carthage and Ephesus, respectively, permitting him to indulge his passion for classical antiquity. Covel arrived in Istanbul in late December 1670, where he remained as embassy chaplain until April 1677. On his return voyage to England, Covel travelled throughout much of Greece, including Mount Athos, a major centre of Greek Orthodox monasticism, as well as around Italy and France. Covel recorded his arrival back in England on 20 January 1679.[7] According to F.

[6] London, British Library, Add. MS 22912, 13r; Peile, *Biographical Register*, 1:559; Leedham-Green, 'Covel'. See also Eliab Harvey, London, to John Covel, Cambridge, 17 March 1670, London, British Library, Add. MS 22910, 29r.
[7] For Covel's arrival back in England, see London, British Library, Add. MS 22914, 93v.

W. Hasluck, Covel was both the first English traveller to be admitted to the monasteries of Mount Athos, and the first Englishman to write a first-hand account of the area.[8]

During his chaplaincy, Covel had ventured out of Istanbul on several occasions, visiting large parts of Thrace and Asia Minor, most notably Edirne, Bursa and, for the second time, Izmir. His voluminous diaries, which he maintained throughout his travels in the 1670s, and annotated following his return to England, cover a remarkably diverse range of topics, including topography, botany, zoology, ethnography, medicine, politics, diplomacy, commerce, religion, architecture, archaeology and epigraphy. Their 704 folios contain not only text, but also sketches, maps and copies of Greek and Latin inscriptions that Covel recorded on his travels around the Mediterranean.[9] It appears that Covel intended to publish his work (though he never did), for he numbered the pages of his diaries and provisionally divided parts of their text into books and chapters. Covel did this in various sections of his diaries, including 102 pages of what would later become Add. MS 22912 in the British Library, which he also divided into 'Lib. 1' and 'Lib. 2', covering his voyage to Istanbul and his account of the city, respectively.[10]

The information that features in these diaries can also be supplemented by reference to Covel's correspondence, the vast majority of which is contained in two volumes at the British Library, with the items in this collection dating from between 1655 and 1715.[11] Finally, two of Covel's commonplace books survive, though sadly he failed to date them properly. The first, which Covel maintained between 1660 at the earliest, and 1713 at the

[8] F. W. Hasluck, 'The First English Traveller's Account of Athos', *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 17 (1910): 103–31.
[9] Covel's travel diaries exist in three volumes at the British Library in London (henceforth BL), Add. MS 22912-14. As of 2021, only extracts of these extensive diaries have been published. See Dallam and Covel, *Early Voyages*; Hasluck, 'The First English Traveller's Account'; Julian Raby, 'A Seventeenth-Century Description of Iznik-Nicaea', *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 26 (1976): 149–88; Jean-Pierre Grélois, ed., *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677. Texte Anglais Établie, Annoté et Traduit Par Jean-Pierre Grélois* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1998).
[10] Add. MS 22912, 5r-112r.
[11] BL, Add. MS 22910-11.

latest, judging by its contents, is held at the British Library.[12] Most of this commonplace book is taken up with pen and ink drawings of plants, animals, coins and medals, with accompanying descriptive text. Covel's second commonplace book, meanwhile, which is dated 1689 by his own hand, but which he clearly maintained between that date and the early eighteenth century, given the references therein, can be found in the Beinecke Library at Yale University.[13] This second commonplace book will be especially important for our purposes, as it contains many of Covel's musings on religion and religious practice in particular.

Unlike *Account*, which is a more polished text, with a more developed argument surrounding 'inward affection', Covel's manuscripts from the later seventeenth century onwards are considerably messier (quite literally, at times), and less clearly defined in terms of structure, content and argumentation. Instead, they show Covel grappling with the religious diversity of the territories that he visited, and using this diversity to reflect, however tentatively, on what was most important to the worship of God. Thus Covel's evolving views of the myriad religious cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire will form the basis of our discussion over the course of the next two chapters. When it comes to the study of Covel, this approach is somewhat distinctive, for when historians have considered the depiction of overseas religion in Covel's work, they have invariably focused on his engagement with the Greek Orthodox Church (henceforth the Greek Church), which was certainly of particular interest to him.[14] Indeed, Covel's only publication, which

[12] BL, Add. MS 57495.
[13] Yale University, Beinecke Library, Osborn b140.
[14] F. W. Hasluck, 'Notes on Manuscripts in the British Museum Relating to Levant Geography and Travel', *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 12 (1905): 196–215; Judith Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox: Unity and Subversion, 1559-1725* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2003), esp. 108-55; Ephrem Lash, '"Incoherent Pageantry" or "Sincere Devotion": Dr John Covel (1638-1722) on the Liturgy in Constantinople', in *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years after the 'Greek College' in Oxford*, ed. Peter M. Doll (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 133–52; Lucy Pollard, 'John Covel: A Levant Company Chaplain at Constantinople in the 1670s', in *Knowledge Is Light: Travellers in the Near East*, ed. Katherine Salahi (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 1–7; Lucy Pollard, '"Every Stone Tells a Story": The Uses of Classical Texts by Seventeenth-Century English Visitors to Greece and Asia Minor', *Classical Receptions Journal* 4, no. 1 (2012): 48–65; Lucy Pollard, *The*

appeared towards the end of his long life, was an *Account of the Present Greek Church* (1722), as we have seen. Yet in the extensive diaries, correspondence and commonplace books that he maintained from his travels in the 1670s to the early eighteenth century, Covel also wrote at length about not only Greek Orthodoxy, but various other forms of religious worship too. This included Sunni Islam, multiple forms of Judaism and certain other varieties of Christianity, including Catholicism and the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Writing to George Davies, the English consul in Naples, in July 1678, during his return voyage from Istanbul, Covel recalled only some of the many religious cultures that he had encountered and studied on his travels over the previous eight years:

> I have been in the Turkes Mosche's at Constant[ino]^{ple}, many and many times at their houses of prayer; I have seen their devotions and manner of worship; and I have all their prayers and functions in Arabick and Vulgar Greek. Next I have been often and often in the Synagogues of ye Jewes and converst wth them and their bookes as well wth those who are cal'd ye Rabinaïms [of Rabbinic Judaism], as the Karaïms [of Karaite Judaism], which are counted schismaticks by the others, … Thirdly I have been to see ye Greeks say their Liturgy or Masse a hundred times, and have conversed wth all patriarchs and m[et]ropolites which were in my time. I have done the like wth ye Armenians and as many of ye Georgians and Russians as I could meet at Constant[ino]^{ple}, and truely of all these I think I am able to give a tolerable account especially as to their Religion and devotion.[15]

In this passage, Covel places an interesting emphasis on the expertise that he gained from witnessing not only diversity of religion, but also actual moments of devotion within different systems of belief. Covel's manuscripts are certainly filled with detailed recollections of various forms of everyday worship, which he used to think more deeply about the relationship between inward affection and outward form.

Quest for Classical Greece: Early Modern Travel to the Greek World (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015); Efterpi Mitsi, *Greece in Early English Travel Writing, 1596–1682* (Cham: Springer, 2017).

[15] Covel, Rome, to George Davies, Naples, 5 July 1678, Add. MS 22910, 164v.

Christ's College, Cudworth and More: Covel's Intellectual and Theological Background

Born in Horringer in Suffolk in 1638, Covel was educated at a grammar school in nearby Bury St Edmunds, followed by Christ's College, Cambridge, from 1654. He graduated BA in 1658 and MA in 1661, and was also elected a fellow of the college in 1659.[16] Although we have no evidence of the exact or even approximate date of Covel's ordination, he was said to be 'a Batchilour of Divinity and in full orders' in a letter of October 1669, from Thomas Leader to Dr Samuel Parker.[17] Following the award of his BA, Covel continued to live and work at Christ's until September 1670, when he departed for Istanbul. He retained his fellowship during his absence, however, revealing the extent to which he was considered part of the fabric of the college. Indeed, on his return to Christ's in 1679, Covel was swiftly appointed Lady Margaret Preacher and awarded a Doctor of Divinity by royal mandate.[18]

Throughout this entire period, between the 1650s and the 1680s, Christ's was the college of two highly influential English thinkers, whose work helped to transform Anglican understandings of the relationship between religion and morality. The first was Ralph Cudworth, who served as master of the college from 1654 until his death in 1688, when he was succeeded by Covel, who served until his own death in 1722. The second was Henry More, a fellow of Christ's from 1641, who died in 1687. Covel was intimately connected to these two scholars, and to the intellectual circles in which they moved. As a result, Cudworth and More's view of religion, and of Christianity specifically, helped to inform Covel's

[16] Leedham-Green, 'Covel'.
[17] Thomas Leader to Dr Samuel Parker, 8 October 1669, Add. MS 22910, 31r.
[18] Leedham-Green, 'Covel'. See also Richard Langhorne to Covel, 24 February 1670, Add. MS 22910, 27. In this letter, Langhorne, a barrister at the Inner Temple, answered a series of questions about how non-residence might affect a fellowship at either of the universities. For Langhorne's biography, see Thomas M. McCoog, 'Langhorne, Richard (c. 1624–1679), Barrister and Victim of the Popish Plot', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 3 January 2008, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16018?rskey=OZn3X4&result=1, accessed 16 September 2021.

response to the religious diversity of the Mediterranean world, even if he occasionally deviated from some of their conclusions, or drew on the work of other scholars too (many of whom were, in any case, influences or even contacts of both Cudworth and More, most notably Grotius and John Locke [1632-1704]).

Although the views of Cudworth and More were rarely in complete alignment, there was a significant degree of convergence in their general conception of what was most important to religion, which they shared with a wider circle of later seventeenth-century Anglican divines, particularly at Cambridge. Specifically, both Cudworth and More emphasised the moral content of religion, which they regarded as more important than strict adherence to specific ceremonies and institutional forms, or debates over complex doctrinal matters. Within this context, they favoured the establishment of a broad-based Anglican Church, with a significant degree of latitude in questions of doctrine, ritual and church organisation and leadership. They encouraged Christians to focus instead on the importance of right moral conduct, or the pursuit of a holy and virtuous life. To that end, they promoted the application of reason over blind faith, claiming that rational enquiry enabled individuals to discern universal moral truths.[19] Preaching before the House of Commons in 1647, Cudworth had condemned 'the superstitious reverence of outward ceremonies', leading to the neglect of that 'inward *Soul* and *Principle of Divine Life*, that spiriteth all these; that enliveneth and quickeneth, the dead carkasse, of all our outward Performances whatsoever.'[20]

[19] See, for example, J. A. Passmore, *Ralph Cudworth: An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), esp. 79-89; John Spurr, '"Latitudinarianism" and the Restoration Church', *The Historical Journal* 31, no. 1 (1988): esp. 75-76; Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, 25–88; Gill, 'Rationalism, Sentimentalism, and Ralph Cudworth', *Hume Studies* 30, no. 1 (2004): 149–81; Sarah Hutton, *British Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 136–59; Sarah Hutton, 'The Cambridge Platonists', in *The Cambridge History of Moral Philosophy*, ed. Sacha Golob and Jans Timmermann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 245–56.

[20] Ralph Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons at Westminster, March 31. 1647* (Cambridge, 1647), 17, 73.

In a sermon that he preached to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, and subsequently published in 1664, Cudworth expressed a similar sentiment, warning that 'we ought not to place the chief of our Religion in the mere Observation of *outward Rites* and *Ceremonies*, whilest in the mean time we hypocritically neglect the *Morals* and *Substantials*.'[21] In his *Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness* (1660), which is listed in Covel's library catalogue of 1716, More argued likewise that:

> … there should be no more *Ceremony* in the Church, then the Use thereof may be obvious to understand … the love and admiration of our Blessed Saviour in Heaven, and of that Heavenly and Divine Life that he came into the world to beget in the hearts of all true Believers.[22]

Cudworth and More's focus on the moral content of religion above all else was particularly common at Cambridge during the 1650s, when Covel was a student and later fellow, and when not only Cudworth and More, but also thinkers such as Benjamin Whichcote (1609-83), John Worthington (c. 1618-71) and John Wilkins (1614-72) were all heads of colleges.[23] Whichcote, for instance, who served as Provost of King's College between 1645 and 1660, and preached the Sunday afternoon sermon at the nearby Trinity Church for nearly two decades, famously declared that 'There are but *Two* things in Religion; Morals and Institutions', and that 'Morals' were 'nineteen parts in twenty, of all Religion.'[24]

Although the religious views of Anglican scholars such as Cudworth, More and Whichcote were frequently characterised by hostile critics as essentially amorphous, they were developed in response to a very specific intellectual and theological climate at Cambridge (and in England) during the 1640s and 1650s. On the one hand, they were part

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[21] Ralph Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached to the Honourable Society of Lincolns-Inne* (London, 1664), 59.
[22] Henry More, *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness* (London, 1660), 546; 'Catalogue of the Library of John Covel, of Cambridge, in the handwriting of H. Wanley, 5 March 1715/6', BL, Add. MS 70485, 39r.
[23] Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, 28–31.
[24] Ibid., 76.

of an attempt to cut through the fierce debates over church ceremony, doctrine and form engendered by the tumult of the English Revolution, and to cope with the various restrictions imposed on the English Church during that same period.[25] On the other hand, they were part of a broader Remonstrant reaction in England, which we explored in Chapter I, against traditional Reformed soteriology; a reaction that sought to highlight the compatibility and co-operation of human moral agency and divine grace. Although the Remonstrants gradually gained the upper hand following the Restoration, especially in Cambridge, Calvinist soteriology remained highly influential well into the eighteenth century, most notably in Oxford. The resulting debates over salvation were therefore a major part of the intellectual and theological landscape into which figures such as Cudworth, More and later Covel inserted themselves from the 1650s, as they championed the role of human virtue in religion.[26] Such efforts were likely to attract accusations by hostile contemporaries of 'moralism', or any commitment to moral works (and the natural capabilities of man) that was thought to undermine divine grace.[27] Naturally, there was also a fair degree of flux between these two positions, which further complicated an already volatile debate.

One further context for the views of Cudworth, More and other Anglican 'moralists' should be mentioned here: the situation of Protestant dissenters (or non-conformists), or those whose consciences prevented them from joining the established Anglican Church. Following the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, Charles II (r. 1660-85) sought the creation of an ideologically broad or 'comprehensive' national church, combined with a generous level of tolerance for those who felt unable to conform, extended to Catholics as well as Protestants. In the event, neither objective was met. Charles' vision of a comprehensive national church, which had appeared to command widespread support

[25] Ibid., 27.
[26] Ibid., esp. 11-12; Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 279–330; Tyacke, *Aspects*, esp. 320-36 (for Remonstrants and Calvinists post-1662); Hampton, *Anti-Arminians*.
[27] Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 298.

at first, was scuppered by the stringent terms of the Act of Uniformity (1662). One of the most controversial stipulations of the Act was the requirement for Church of England ministers to swear 'unfeigned assent and consent' to the contents of the new Prayer Book. Many of its rubrics, however, were deeply offensive to even moderate puritans, most notably the Presbyterians associated with Richard Baxter, who were otherwise generally supportive of the need for a national church, and keen to involve themselves. There were intense disputes, for instance, over the fact that ministers were required to wear a surplice, and to make the sign of the cross in baptism, while parishioners were expected to kneel in order to receive the sacrament.

As a result of these and other contentious terms, when the Act came into force on 24 August, it led to the deprivation of nearly 1,000 ministers, who joined the roughly 700 ejected between 1660 and 1662. To make matters worse (for non-conformists at least), the so-called 'Cavalier' Parliament (1661-79) enacted a series of draconian measures against not only Catholics, which was perhaps to be expected, but also dissenters, which severely restricted their already limited freedom of worship.[28] Within this context, the framing of Christianity as a moral religion, first and foremost, as conceived by Cudworth, More, Whichcote and others, can be understood as part of an ecumenical attempt to move beyond endless cycles of debate over church ceremony, by either convincing dissenters to renounce their liturgical scruples, or persuading the Anglican establishment to drop some of the more divisive ceremonial requirements of the new Prayer Book.

There can be little doubt that Covel was part of the intellectual and friendship networks maintained by Cudworth and More, both of whom were his colleagues at

[28] John Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689', *The English Historical Review* 104, no. 413 (1989): esp. 928-36; Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 30–76. The figures for clerical ejections between 1660 and 1662 are taken from David L. Smith, *A History of the Modern British Isles, 1603-1707: The Double Crown* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 209.

Christ's.[29] Among Covel's manuscripts in the British Library, there are two Latin testimonials in favour of Covel as a fellow of Christ's, dated 1 March 1659 and 31 August 1670, only weeks before his departure for Istanbul. Both have been signed by the master of the college, Cudworth, and the rest of the fellows, including More. Curiously, the same set of manuscripts also comprises Cudworth's certificate of election to the mastership of Christ's, dated 17 November 1655, which confirmed his appointment from the previous year.[30] A letter from Covel to More, meanwhile, dated 11 March 1677, suggests shared interests in the study of Karaite Jews, whom Covel had visited outside Istanbul. Indeed, Covel sent More, accompanying this letter, 'what bookes they [the Karaites] had amongst them of any antiquity or Curiosity', though sadly we have no record of the titles or contents of any of the works that Covel claimed to have dispatched.[31] More's request for information about the Karaites had come to Covel through Sir John Finch (1626-82), a physician and early member of the Royal Society, who had succeeded Sir Daniel Harvey as ambassador in 1672, and would serve until 1681.[32] Finch had studied at Christ's in the 1640s under More, who was himself, through Finch, a close friend and lifelong correspondent of Finch's beloved half-sister, the philosopher Anne Conway (1631-79). Like More, who served as her philosophical mentor from 1650, Conway stressed the wisdom, goodness and justice of God.

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[29] For an account of the intellectual and friendship networks maintained by Cudworth and More at Christ's, which are said to include Covel, see Marilyn A. Lewis, '"Christ's College and the Latitude-Men" Revisited: A Seminary of Heretics?', in *History of Universities*, ed. Mordechai Feingold, vol. 33/1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 17–68.

[30] Add. MS 22910, 6r-7v (for Cudworth's certificate of election), 8r (for Covel's first testimonial), 39r (for Covel's second testimonial).

[31] Covel, Istanbul, to Henry More, 11 March 1677, Christ's College, Cambridge, MS 21, 28r-29v. The same letter, with contextual information, has been printed in Johannes van der Berg, 'Chapter Four–Appendix: John Covel's Letter on the Karaites (1677)', in *Johannes van Der Berg, Religious Currents and Cross-Currents: Essays on Early Modern Protestantism and the Protestant Enlightenment*, ed. Jan de Bruijn, Pieter Holtrop, and Ernestine van der Wall (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 57–63. Various rough notes by Covel regarding the Karaites, which appear to have formed the basis of his letter to More, feature in Add. MS 22911, 373r-79v, under the title of 'Some Account of Y^{e} Jewes Karaims & Rabanaims'. The account is undated, however.

[32] MS 21, 28r (for More's request for information via Finch); Sarah Hutton, 'Finch, Sir John (1626–1682), Physician and Diplomat', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9439, accessed 16 September 2021.

She also occasionally went further than More ever did, arguing for the doctrine of universal salvation (*apocotastasis*), for instance, and thereby denying the eternity of hell, which she regarded as irreconcilable with God's benevolent nature.[33]

It seems likely that Covel knew Conway personally, for she and her husband are known to have visited Christ's while Cudworth was master. In an undated 'account of y^{e} master's Lodgings in y^{e} College', Covel himself recalled how 'my Lord & Lady Conway & their whole attendance were entertain'd by M^{r} Cudworth many dayes, & were lodged partly at his private, & partly in the publick Lodgings, & they all supped (at a Commencement night) in y^{e} publick Hall'.[34] The same account provides evidence that Covel was close to Cudworth too, and more than just intellectually. For in this text, Covel noted that before he left for Istanbul, he was personally invited to the master's lodge to watch 'a Pastoral [performed] by D^{r} Cudworth's Children & some others, contriv'd by M^{r} John Andrews [Cudworth's stepson], afterwards Fellow'.[35] In 1677, Cudworth also supported Covel's candidacy for proctor of the college, even though Covel had been absent for nearly seven years, and was still then overseas. In a letter to Covel's brother Thomas, dated 27 July, Cudworth explained that he had 'stayd all this while from propounding the Nomination of a Proctor for next year, in favour of y^{r} Brother'. He added that he was 'very well satisfied in your Brothers Deserts, and his being fitly qualified to manage that employment.'[36] Between the 1650s and the 1680s, then, Covel was part of what Marilyn Lewis has called 'the More/Cudworth friendship network', or 'the More/Cudworth interest at Christ's'.[37]

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[33] Sarah Hutton, *Anne Conway: A Woman Philosopher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. 53-115.
[34] Add. MS 22911, 228. This account has been printed in Robert Willis and John Willis Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1886), 212–15.
[35] Add. MS 22911, 228v. For Andrewes, see Lewis, '"Christ's College and the Latitude-Men" Revisited', 47.
[36] In the same letter, Cudworth warned Thomas that his brother's absence was complicating the situation, for even as master, he felt unable to delay the election of a new proctor for much longer. See Ralph Cudworth, Cambridge, to Thomas Covel, Horringer, 27 July 1677, Add. MS 22910, 147.
[37] Lewis, '"Christ's College and the Latitude-Men" Revisited', 47–48.

Consequently, many of the religious attitudes and debates that characterised and animated this circle are apparent within Covel's writings about his travels.

'*To me an Idol is nothing*': Covel's Spirit of Understanding

One of the more striking aspects of Cudworth and More's shared approach to religion, and certainly one of the more consequential for the study of religious diversity, was their tendency to avoid theological controversy. This was underpinned by their view that religious differences ought to be approached with humility, respect and a spirit of understanding. In his Commons sermon of 1647, in the midst of the rampant sectarianism of the Revolutionary period, Cudworth had stressed that 'Christ came not into the world … to kindle a fire of wrangling and contentious dispute amongst us', nor 'to warm our spirits against one another with nothing but angry & peevish debates'.[38] In the same sermon, Cudworth castigated those 'so apt to spend all their zeal upon a violent obtruding of their own Opinions and Apprehensions upon others', which he described as contrary 'to the Doctrine and Example of Christ himself', and as 'the Bellows, that will blow a perpetuall Fire of Discord and Contention, in Christian Commonwealths'.[39] In his *Explanation*, More similarly emphasised 'That the Affection and esteem we ought to have for our Religion does not consist in damning all to the pit of Hell that are not of it.' Expanding on this point, he referred to non-Christians specifically, condemning those Christians who committed themselves to 'vilifying and reproaching all other Religions, in damning the very best and most consciencious *Turks, Iews* and *Pagans* to the pit of Hell', which he said was 'of no service to the Gospel'.[40]

[38] Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons*, 13.
[39] Ibid., sig. A2v-A3r.
[40] More, *Explanation*, 490.

This conciliatory approach to religious difference, whether Christian or non-Christian, was one of many attitudes that Covel shared with Cudworth and More. In October 1670, on its way to Istanbul, Covel's boat stopped in Malaga, on the Spanish coast. Covel visited an Augustinian convent in the city, where he 'convers't wth the good Fathers that went about wth us in Latine', but was appalled when one of his company, a Greek dragoman (or translator) named '*Paulo*', broke out in fits of mocking laughter, as the 'Fathers' discussed the miracles wrought by their saints. 'The Fathers', Covel added, 'were very highly and very justly incensed at it, and we had much adoe to pacify them and excuse the folly of the fact.'[41] In the same section of his diaries, Covel criticised those who 'cannot patiently se, and quietly … observe the different ceremonyes, and odde customes and manners of other Nations'. According to Covel:

> … a Stranger should be very wary lest he affront any Nation (wherever he is,) in either their Fashions or their Religion. He that doth do it, not onely shows great Rudenesse and childish indiscretion, but infallibly exposes himself to quarrels and other eminent dangers.[42]

There are several examples of Covel taking a non-confrontational approach to the study of religious difference, which emphasised mutually informative theological dialogue over controversy, polemic or outright ridicule. Take, for instance, Covel's close relationship with the French ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, the marquis de Nointel (served 1670-79), despite Nointel being a Catholic, and the fact that he and Covel found themselves on different sides of the transubstantiation debate. For at the time, Western theologians were debating whether the Eastern churches adhered to the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, which was vehemently rejected by the Protestant tradition.

[41] Add. MS 22912, 16v-17r. Covel visited a Dominican convent 'wth more wary friends' that evening.
[42] Ibid., 17r.

Unsurprisingly, most Catholic theologians maintained that they did, while most of their Protestant counterparts argued the contrary, and both sides drew on the testimony of sympathetic travellers to the Near East. Before his departure for Istanbul, Covel himself had been asked to investigate the transubstantiation issue by two prominent Anglican divines: Peter Gunning (1614-84), the Bishop of Chichester, and William Sancroft (1617-93), dean of St Paul's and future Archbishop of Canterbury (served 1677-90). Gunning and Sancroft were looking for evidence to support their view, against that of Catholic theologians such as Antoine Arnauld (1612-94), that transubstantiation was alien to the Greek Church. In the event, Covel affirmed that the doctrine was indeed unknown to the Greeks, except where Jesuit missionaries had corrupted their worship. Nointel disagreed, however, arguing that transubstantiation was a Greek Orthodox as well as Catholic doctrine.[43]

Yet in spite of their religious differences, Covel and Nointel enjoyed a close relationship during their time together in Istanbul. When Covel reflected on his friendship with Nointel in his *Account*, he referred to the ambassador as 'a Man of Address, and great devotion', who 'was very Courteous, Affable, and Obliging to every Body'. Covel added that:

> I had far different Sentiments from him, yet I had the Honour of his Acquaintance and frequent Conversation; and I shall not blame him for shewing his Zeal for his Religion, for he would always candidly give me leave, civilly and freely to defend my own.[44]

[43] For Covel, Nointel and the transubstantiation debate, see Covel, *Some Account*, i–v; Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox*, 108–55; Lash, '"Incoherent Pageantry" or "Sincere Devotion"'. For the transubstantiation debate more broadly, see Jean-Louis Quantin, *Le Catholicisme Classique et Les Pères de l'Église. Un Retour Aux Sources (1669-1713)* (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1999), 321–56; Alastair Hamilton, *The Copts and the West, 1439-1822: The European Discovery of the Egyptian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 152–59; Frédéric Gabriel, 'Les Témoins Orientaux d'une Querelle Latine : Orthodoxie et Professions de Foi Dans *La Perpétuité de La Foi*', in *L'union à l'épreuve Du Formulaire : Professions de Foi Entre Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (XIIIe–XVIIIe Siècle)*, ed. Marie-Hélène Blanchet and Frédéric Gabriel (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 373–89.

[44] Covel, *Some Account*, 136.

In the preface to his *Account*, Covel 'solemnly' declared that whenever his discussions with Nointel turned to religious matters, neither of them made any attempt to convert or chastise the other. Covel explained that for his part, he merely sought to acquaint the French ambassador 'with the Substance and Reasons of my own Belief; as I have discoursed with many others, Turks, Jews, and the like, only for Information without disputing any thing.'[45] That Covel was close to Nointel is further suggested by the fact that in 1677, the marquis signed a series of testimonials recommending the chaplain to several French agents in Italy (where Covel intended to visit), including the Auditor of the Rota in Rome, and Louis XIV's ambassadors to Turin, Rome, Venice and Florence.[46]

Covel's view that travellers should be able to 'patiently se, and quietly … observe the different ceremonyes, and odde customes and manners of other Nations', was certainly one to which he adhered himself. In the summer of 1675, Covel travelled with Finch to Edirne in Thrace, where he visited the camp of the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87), who had relocated there with his court in order to escape the plague in Istanbul. In Edirne, Covel witnessed members of the sultan's camp, including Mehmed himself, participate in Friday Prayer, later reporting (with obvious relish) that he and his companions had been 'permitted to stand by wthout ye least disturbance … I was once wthin 5 yards of ye G. S^{r} [Grand Signior] all the time'.[47] Covel spent several months in Edirne, where he also witnessed the elaborate ceremonies and festivities surrounding the circumcision of Mehmed's two sons, the princes Mustafa and Ahmed (see fig. 7).[48] During the celebrations, Covel claimed to have:

[45] Ibid., xxii–xxiii.
[46] Add. MS 22910, 132r-39r.
[47] Add. MS 22912, 202v.
[48] For the circumcision ceremonies and festivities of 1675, see Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400-1800* (London: Continuum, 2008), 74–75. For comparison, see also Esin Atıl, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival* (Istanbul: APA Tasarım, Yayıncılık ve Baskı Hizmetleri, 1999).

> … returnd quite through the city (once or twice al alone) in the midst of ye great multitudes of Turkes, and yet I assure you I never met ye least affront in ye world, but rather extraordinary kindnesse … and amongst these vast multitudes all are as husht and orderly as we are at a sermon.[49]

Incidentally, Covel's focus here on the kindness, order and quietness of celebrating Muslims serves as an early indication of his interest in the relationship between ceremony and virtue; an interest to which we shall return in the next chapter.

As we have seen by his attitude and actions at the Augustinian convent in Malaga in 1670, Covel extended this largely dispassionate, non-controversial interest in non-Anglican religious worship and ceremony to Catholicism too, even against a backdrop of intense anti-popery in England, where fears of a Catholic takeover of the Monarchy were widespread, and anti-Catholic penal laws strictly enforced.[50] Indeed, when he was in Malaga, Covel visited not only Catholic monasteries, but also a Catholic '*D[u]omo*' or cathedral, where he witnessed a Solemn Mass. After this ceremony, he was clearly pleased to report that 'so long as we bareheaded and behaved ourselves gravely and civilly, we might walk up and down and se everything wthout the least molestation.'[51]

Covel was forced to defend his quiet, respectful engagement with Catholic worship on at least two occasions, and the arguments that he invoked in both of these instances are significant for what they reveal about his conception of what was most important to religion. The first occasion came in Malaga, when Covel and some of his companions were entering the duomo where they would witness the Solemn Mass:

> One of our company (a young man who had had the misfortune of too precise an Education) seing that we design'd to go into the *Domo*, came to me and my brethren

[49] Add MS. 22912, 196v.
[50] For anti-popery in England during the 1670s and the early 1680s, see Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 61–80. See also Chapter VI, n.11.
[51] Add. MS 22912, 16v.

> (the other two chaplaines going for Smyrna and Aleppo) and ask't us whether we were not afraid and touch't in Conscience to go into an *Idol Temple*, as he cal'd it. I told him I was of S^{t} Pauls mind, *To me an Idol is nothing* [1 Corinthians 8:4]; I could myself go freely into it, if it was an *Idol temple*; for God the searcher of hearts knowes that I do not do it to joyn in their way of worship, but onely to se it and be the better able to discourse of it as an Eye witnesse, and confute what was really unlawfull in it.[52]

When Covel criticised this 'young man' for having received 'too precise an Education', he meant that his young companion understood the importance of showing zeal for one's religion, but failed to appreciate the difference between the careful, respectful study of a rival creed, on the one hand, and an acceptance or approval of that creed, on the other. For Covel, this distinction was crucial, partly because his engagement with rival forms of worship, including Catholicism, underpinned his efforts to work out what really mattered to religion. In this case, those efforts involved entering a Catholic duomo 'as an Eye witnesse', in order to 'confute what was really unlawfull in it.' Once again, Covel made a virtue of his experience as a witness of not only diversity of religious opinion, but also actual moments and places of devotion.

Covel was required to defend his approach to Catholicism for a second time in July 1678, when he was in Rome, returning to England from Istanbul. Writing to George Davies, the English consul in Naples, Covel responded to a rumour that 'there was an English Minister now in Rome which was turn'd papist or Roman Catholick.' Covel was convinced that he was the 'English Minister' in question, thinking himself the only English minister then in Rome. In response, Covel affirmed himself to be 'immoveably a true Son of the Protestant Church in which I have been both baptized & bread, & in which by the help of God I resolve to die'. He attributed the rumour to the Jesuit community in Naples, which he accused of wilfully misinterpreting his quiet, respectful attendance at various Catholic

[52] Ibid.

services and ceremonies throughout Italy, most notably the miracle of the liquefication of the blood of St Januarius in Naples.

Covel explained that his attendance at such events was borne out of intellectual curiosity, not sympathy for what they represented, and that he 'saw no reason why a man, that is by his profession bound not onely to know but defend his own Religion, might not as well see, as read the practices of others'. Within this context, Covel informed Davies that he might also be accused of being 'A Turk, A Jew, A Greek, an Armenian or the like,' simply because he had 'conversed wth them all, over and over again, and never scrupled to be a spectator of their rites and ceremonyes'. Expanding on this point, Covel referred, yet again, to 1 Corinthians 8:4, thanking God for 'that true Christian liberty, which S^{t} Paul speakes of; *I know*, saith he, *that an Idoll is nothing*, and to him that account it as nothing … certainly it is nothing'.[53] It was convictions such as these that no doubt informed Covel's willingness not only to attend non-Anglican ceremonies, but also to participate in them, on occasion. This was the case, for instance, when Covel visited the Orthodox monasteries of Mount Athos in 1677. During his visit to one of the monasteries, Covel kissed a crucifix during their celebrations for St George's Day, commenting in his diaries that 'ye preist came up and blest us and we (as the custome is) kist the crosse.'[54]

Covel's reference to 1 Corinthians 8 was a meaningful one. In this chapter, Paul drew an important distinction between two groups of Christians. The first had enough knowledge of Christianity, and therefore confidence in their religion, that their faith could withstand exposure to the potentially corrupting influence of non-Christian ceremonies. The second group lacked that knowledge and associated confidence, however, and was therefore more vulnerable to idolatry and superstition. As he defended his engagement with non-

[53] Covel to Davies, 5 July 1678, Add. MS 22910, 164r-65v.
[54] Add. MS 22912, 349v.

Anglican worship overseas, and particularly Catholicism, Covel identified with the first of these two groups, implying that when it came to religious integrity, inner conviction mattered far more than outward zeal or enthusiasm for one's faith, which prompted the individual to damn and shun those not of their sect. In Covel's diaries, such a conclusion was certainly borne out by what became of the 'young man' with 'too precise an Education', who had doubted the wisdom of Covel's decision to enter the duomo. For although this 'young man' presented himself as an 'extreamly scrupulous' Protestant, he 'fell into great debaucheries afterwards at Smyrna, and at last turn'd Turk', or converted to Islam, suggesting a weakness of Christian spirit, in spite of his outward zeal. 'Let the greatest saint, *that thinketh he standeth*', Covel concluded, citing 1 Corinthians 10:12, '*take heed lest he fall*.'[55] With these words, Covel can be said to have made a plea for moderation and sincerity in religion, something that had frequently been lacking in England during the divisive years of the 1640s and 1650s, and something to which many post-Restoration Anglicans therefore aspired, including Cudworth and More.

'[P]lain syncerity and holinesse of Life': Covel and 'ye inner practice of religion'

Covel's Pauline-inspired attitude towards religious difference was significant, for it constituted part of a broader tendency in his work, which became increasingly apparent as time went on, to elevate inner religious qualities such as conviction, faith and sincerity above what he would later term 'meer outward *forms of Godliness*'. For Covel, the latter extended to not only outward zeal or enthusiasm for one's religion, but also to other, more concrete external matters such as ceremony. Indeed, Covel's willingness to associate, and be associated, with non-Anglican worship, without the least fear of comprising his faith (either

[55] Ibid., 16v.

in his own mind or the eyes of others), certainly suggests a level of indifference to the ceremonial side of religion, since what mattered for Covel, as we have seen, was inner conviction, not outward form, nor whether he could be linked to specific religious ceremonies.

During the summer of 1675, as Covel reflected from Edirne on what his travels around the eastern Mediterranean had taught him about religious worship, Covel began to draw some remarkable conclusions regarding the 'outward practice and profession' of religion, which tended to minimise its importance:

> In generall I shall now tell you that I have found all religions as to ye outward practice and profession the same; They have saints, and Fathers or Doctors whome ye body follow alike. They all have strange fancyes and conceits of ye stations in eternity; they all have factions and curiously persecute, censure, damne one ye other (as ye Turk, ye Persian &c); they all stricktly persist in their own way.[56]

In other words, Covel believed that most religions, including Christianity, were fundamentally the same, at least in terms of 'outward' or more visible signs of religiosity such as clerics, saints, rituals, rivalries and belief in the afterlife. Within this context, disputes over minor points of ceremony, doctrine or form were essentially irrelevant, for the substance of religion, or that which was most pleasing to God, clearly lay elsewhere.

Against this backdrop, Covel reflected, in the same section of his diaries, on the importance of what he called 'ye inner practice of religion', or the pursuit of holiness and virtue. Indeed, after noting that he had 'found all religions as to ye outward practice and profession the same', Covel focused briefly on the moral example of Christ, which he felt served to distinguish Christianity from other religions:

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[56] Ibid., 237v.

> I am so fully perswaded of ye excellency of my saviour Jesus Christ; his doctrine above whatever was yet in ye world, as I am ready to seal to it in this very place wth my dearest blood, and will undertake to demonstrate what is of good doctrine throughout ye world, came from him.[57]

Thus Covel emphasised Christ's role as not only a redeemer, but also a moral teacher and example. In so doing, he reflected the emphasis of Cudworth, More and several other theologians within the Remonstrant tradition. This included Hugo Grotius and the Anglican Henry Hammond (1605-60), both of whom exalted the unparalleled virtue of Christ, which they argued that Christians, using their reason and free will (in conjunction with divine grace), ought to emulate in order to aid the process of salvation.[58] In his diaries from the 1670s, and his commonplace book from approximately 1689 to the early eighteenth century, Covel certainly referred frequently to the biblical commentaries of Grotius, which had appeared between 1641 and 1650. He also alluded on several occasions to Hammond's *Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* (1653), which had been partly inspired by the commentaries of the Dutchman.[59] Finally, in the catalogue of Covel's library from 1716, his copy of 'Dr Hammond on the New Test.', dated 1659, is said to feature 'some MSS. notes [by] Covel', which is suggestive of that work's importance to him.[60]

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[57] Ibid.

[58] See, for example, Hugo Grotius, *True Religion Explained and Defended against Ye Archenemies Thereof in These Times*, trans. Francis Coventry (London, 1632), esp. 131-35 (the English translation of Grotius' *de Veritate Religionis Christianae*, which had first appeared in 1627); Henry Hammond, *Of the Reasonableness of Christian Religion* (London, 1650), esp. 33. See also J. W. Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism, 1643-1660: With Special Reference to Henry Hammond* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969); Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, esp. 10-13; J. P. Heering, *Hugo Grotius As Apologist for the Christian Religion: A Study of His Work de Veritate Religionis Christianae, 1640*, trans. J. C. Grayson (Leiden: Brill, 2004), esp. 53; Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, esp. 119-46; Dmitri Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science: Histories of Philosophy in England, c. 1640-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), esp. 18, 469-71.

[59] See, for example, Add. MS 22912, 165v (for Hammond), 167r (for Grotius and Hammond); Osborn b140, 10-11 (for Hammond), 14 (for Grotius and Hammond), 30 (for Grotius). For the popularity in England of Grotius' biblical commentaries, in which he elaborated on his Remonstrant view of salvation at several points, see Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 215–16.

[60] 'Catalogue of the Library of John Covel', Add. MS 70485, 43r.

In the same section of his diaries where he exalted 'ye excellency of my saviour Jesus Christ', Covel also implied that a similar moral imperative was at work within Islam, though without reference to Christ's doctrine, of course. '[A]s to ye inner practice of religion', he wrote, 'I verily must say it, take ye generality and they [Muslims] certainely will rise up in judgement against us', adding that 'The Turkes call us [Christians] … *coverers* of ye truth, … and certainely for ye greater part of those that call themselves Xtians are really soe'.[61] Covel was flirting here with a stance adopted by several major Anglican thinkers of the later seventeenth century, including Cudworth and More. This stance held that there were universal moral principles discernible via not only revelation, but also reason, as evidenced by the exemplary moral conduct of non-Christians. As we have seen, these thinkers regarded obedience to these universal laws, which entailed the pursuit of a holy and virtuous life, as the supreme good in religion, and one by which Christians ought to distinguish themselves. It appears that Covel was moving towards this view in the mid-1670s, for in his diary in 1675, he was clearly lamenting the fact that his fellow Christians were distinguishing themselves more by their *immorality* than anything else. 'It is we', he concluded in this same section, concerning 'ye inner practice of religion' between Christians and Muslims, 'that have so changed, and corrupted and abused his [Christ's] divine precepts … *when ye Son of man cometh shall he find Faith on ye earth?* [Luke 18:8]'.[62]

In the years following his return to Cambridge in 1679, Covel continued to elevate 'ye inner practice of religion' above outward form, while drawing on his experiences of religious diversity overseas. Writing in his commonplace book in around 1689, Covel referred to 'Greeks, papists, Armenians', noting that 'If all differ'd onely in outward formes of worship, w^{ch} I count onely fashions, I could communicate wth all.' Thus Covel implied

[61] Add. MS 22912, 237v.
[62] Ibid.

that most religions were outwardly similar, in terms of the customs and ceremonies that they prescribed, and that the real differences between them lay not in these 'outward formes of worship', or 'onely fashions', but rather were internal. Such a conclusion tended to downplay the intrinsic value of ceremony, and indeed, following these remarks, Covel cited Book IV of John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, specifically section thirty-two of chapter ten.[63] In this section, Calvin had warned readers not to 'thinke the worshipping of God to be the better for the multitude of Ceremonies', adding 'that one Chirch [sic] should not despise an other for the diuersitie of discipline'.[64]

After Calvin, Covel alluded to 'Aug. ep. ad Januar.', denoting St Augustine's two letters to Januarius (a notary, otherwise unknown), written around 400. Augustine (354-430) had penned these letters in response to Januarius' concerns over ceremonial variations between local churches in the observation of Easter.[65] In the first, Augustine explained that beyond the sacraments and certain universal traditions of the Church, there were ceremonies or customs that varied according to locality, 'For example, some fast on Saturday and others do not'. Augustine argued that it was best for visitors to honour these local customs, though they might differ from their own, and to refrain from criticism, 'For what is proved to be neither contrary to the faith nor contrary to good morals should be regarded as indifferent'. Augustine also quoted St Ambrose's advice to his mother, that 'When I go to Rome, I fast on Saturday; when I am here [Milan], I do not fast. So to whatever church you go, observe its custom if you do not want to be a scandal to anyone or anyone to be a scandal to you.'[66]

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[63] Osborn b140, 30.
[64] John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion*, trans. Thomas Norton (London, 1561), 67v.
[65] John E. Rotelle, ed., *Letters 1-99*, trans. Roland Teske, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century (New York: New City Press, 2001), 209–36. See also Laura Holt, 'Inquisitiones Januarii, Ad', in *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999), 452.
[66] Rotelle, *Letters*, 209–11. Ambrose's advice is the origin of the phrase 'When in Rome...' See Jennifer Speake, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 269.

In his commonplace book, Covel referred to Ambrose's advice specifically, in abbreviated Latin.[67]

With his comments about 'Greeks, papists, Armenians', and references to Calvin, Augustine and Ambrose, Covel therefore warned against excessive dependence on, or attachment to, ceremony, on the basis that inner conviction, or what Augustine had called 'faith' and 'good morals', was more important than outward form. The views of Augustine and Ambrose, who felt that travellers ought to abide by local religious customs, as well as those of Calvin, who argued 'that one Chirch [sic] should not despise an other for the diuersitie of discipline', are certainly reminiscent of what Covel wrote in his diaries during his travels, that 'a Stranger should be very wary lest he affront any Nation (wherever he is,) in either their Fashions or their Religion', and that he ought to 'patiently se, and quietly … observe the different ceremonyes, and odde customes and manners of other Nations'.[68] They also tally with the conciliatory attitudes of Cudworth and More, not to mention with Covel's earlier behaviour overseas, most notably his willingness to kiss the cross at a Greek celebration for St George's Day. With his remarks about 'Greeks, papists, Armenians', and references to Calvin, Augustine and Ambrose, Covel therefore de-emphasised sacramental and ceremonial issues, particularly as a means to distinguish one religion from (or above) another.

In an undated section of the same commonplace book, which Covel maintained between roughly 1689 and the early eighteenth century, Covel returned to the importance of moral excellence to religion, and to Christianity specifically. In this section, Covel argued that Christianity set a higher ethical standard than Islam, noting that 'Turks say Christianity [is] *super hominem*', or 'impracticable', and that 'their [Muslims'] Prophet came to relaxe

[67] Osborn b140, 30.
[68] Add. MS 22912, 17r.

ye Law especially as to mariages.'[69] Where exactly Covel had heard Christianity described as '*super hominem*' is sadly unclear, though the remark that follows, regarding Islamic polygamy, echoes long-standing Western Christian stereotypes concerning Muhammad and Islam.[70] In any case, only two pages before, in another undated entry, Covel had likened the 'practical' or moral part of Christianity to the ancient Greek philosophy of Stoicism. The Greek Stoics had equated happiness with virtue or moral excellence, attainable via the application of reason, without regard for circumstance or emotion:

> Adde but the belief of Eternal happinesse hereafter to the *Stoick Philosophy*, I cannot see how the practical part of Christianity differ from it; then nothing is *Good* but *Virtue* or Holinesse; all things else to be left to God's disposal … And a man truely Good or virtuous, is certainely as happy (nay, more happy even … if we consider the Danger of Prosperity) then he that hath all this world can afford him.[71]

Incidentally, the Stoics were widely studied, admired and critiqued among later seventeenth-century Anglicans, not least Cudworth.[72]

Perhaps the clearest sign of Covel's tendency to promote 'inner practice' over outward form was his engagement with the idea that non-Christians might also be saved, because of their virtuous conduct. In Covel's Remonstrant view, God's grant of salvation was conditional on obedience to His law, which entailed the performance of good works, combined with the cultivation of virtue. 'I cannot imagine', he wrote in the same commonplace book (again undated), 'what is meant *by Grace* (in ye strictest sense of the Church) more than ye concurse, or assistance of a Divine spirit; if that be followed, … to abstein from evil, it is w^{t} I suppose they call *saving Grace*.' On this point, Covel reflected

[69] Osborn b140, 4.
[70] Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, 98; Malcolm, *Useful Enemies*, 281–82.
[71] Osborn b140, 2; John Sellars, *Stoicism* (Chesham: Acumen, 2006), esp. 1-4.
[72] Ralph Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (London, 1678); John Sellars, 'Is God a Mindless Vegetable? Cudworth on Stoic Theology', *Intellectual History Review* 21, no. 2 (2011): 121–33; Hutton, *British Philosophy*, 59–60, 63–64.

broad swathes of Anglican opinion, as we have seen. Where he departed from the mainstream of the Church, however, was in his flirtation with the idea that 'heathens' might also have access to this '*saving Grace*'.

By 'heathens', Covel meant not only the pagans of the classical world, but also other non-Christians such as contemporary 'Turks and Infidels'. This can be seen in the following passage, which highlights how Covel's travels overseas forced him to engage with theological questions that were not necessarily so pressing for his more sedentary colleagues:

> Now can we imagine that none of the Heathens had this [saving grace]? Was it never anywhere but first amongst ye Jewes (in lesser measure) and then wth ye Xtians *in full power*? We find as noble instances of virtue, courage and constancy under the barbarous usage of Tyrants, and other temptatious Heathens … as ever we can shew in our greatest martyres. We find on the other [Christian] side as villanous practises since the Ghospel, as ever before; and if we compare now Turks and Infidels' practises in generall (for great men everywhere … are alike) wth ye generality of Xtians, they far exceed us.

By denying 'the Heathens *this Grace*', Covel argued, 'we seem to praise them more then ourselves; since they do as much or more, by *Nature* and the inbred force of *Virtue* and Goodnesse … then we doe wth our pretended *Supernatural help* and hopes of Eternity.' As a result, Covel concluded that 'Such a Divine help wthout doubt there is for every one that calls for it and use[s] it, but if we ingrosse [engross] it onely to the Church, as we call it, we are as streight faced as Rome'.[73]

In the very next (undated) entry in his commonplace book, then, Covel pondered over what this all meant for the scope of '*saving Grace*'. It was certainly possible to argue, he acknowledged, that even '*Good works* … have the nature of sin … if not springing from faith in Jesus X^{t}.' In this scenario, he added, there would be 'no difference between any of

[73] Osborn b140, 1.

the Heathen or Turks, all must perish'.[74] These 'Heathen' included the writers of the ancient Greek and Roman worlds, whose work Covel so admired. Paraphrasing Cicero's *De Finibus,* Covel wrote in his commonplace book: '…it follows that Plato, not having yet attained to the vision of (the light of the Gospel), was just as blind mentally as Phalaris.' The phrase 'the light of the Gospel' replaces the original 'sapientiam', or 'wisdom'.[75]

Covel evidently struggled with this view, however, asking (in his next undated entry): 'Can I believe that those Moralists go all to the Devil, who have taken such paines to destroy his kingdom, i.e., Vice?'[76] Although Covel's question was ostensibly concerned with the 'Moralists' of the ancient world, it might equally have been asked of other non-Christians such as present-day Muslims, particularly within the context of Covel's reasoning to that point. Indeed, in yet another (undated) section of his commonplace book, Covel went so far as to argue that 'throughout ye whole world', there was 'no quarrel about … ye moral part' of religion, and that ultimately all major systems of worship, including Islam, promoted '*syncerity, faithfulnesse, integrity*', just as Christ did in Matthew 23:23. 'Whether *free will* or *not*', Covel concluded, 'all professe the same persuit of holinesse. Whether by *grace* or *Pelagianism*, … Few articles of necessary beleif, and plain syncerity and holinesse of life certainely the true way.'[77] Here, Covel returned to the notion of universal moral laws, deducible via reason as well as revelation, which Cudworth, More and others had identified as the crux of religion.

We may speculate here whether Covel had read any of Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), which exalted the moral behaviour of the Muslims and Hindus of northern India, and compared it favourably with that of English Christians. Terry's *Voyage*

[74] Ibid., 2.
[75] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, ed. H. Rackham (London: William Heinemann, 1931), 370–71.
[76] Osborn b140, 3.
[77] Ibid., 45.

is listed in Covel's library catalogue of 1716, along with several other travelogues that emphasised similar themes, including Henry Blount's *Voyage into the Levant* (1650).[78] In any case, by the late seventeenth century, Covel was clearly fascinated by the 'inner practice' of different religions, which he tended to elevate above outward form. In one of his commonplace books from this period, this position led Covel to the point of concluding that non-Christians might also be saved, though he stopped short of expressing that view explicitly. This was unlike Sir Thomas Baines (c. 1622-80), however, a close friend of the ambassador Sir Thomas Finch, whom Baines accompanied to Istanbul.[79] Like Covel and Finch, Baines was an alumnus of Christ's College, where he had been taught by Henry More. In one of his diaries from the 1670s, Covel recorded a religious dialogue between Baines and Vani Mehmed Efendi (d. 1685), a prominent Islamic preacher and shaikh within the Ottoman Empire. Like Covel, Baines believed in a conciliatory, non-controversial approach to religious difference, and sought to highlight similarities between Christianity and Islam, including when it came to 'inner practice'. Consequently, Covel's account of this exchange is worth considering at some length, for his characterisation of it sheds light on his emerging priorities with respect to religion, and his tendency to promote 'inner practice' over outward form in particular.

Covel, Baines and Vani Mehmed

Vani Mehmed was the spiritual leader of the Islamic Kadizadeli movement, so named for its founder, Kadizade Mehmed (d. 1635). Kadizade had been a Friday preacher at Istanbul's imperial mosques, including the Hagia Sophia. In the early seventeenth century, he gained

[78] 'Catalogue of the Library of John Covel', Add. MS 70485, 37r (for Terry), 38r (for Blount).
[79] For Baines, see Hutton, 'Finch'.

widespread support, as well as notoriety, for his opposition to Sufism, which he felt was symptomatic of the broader contamination of Islam by innovation. In fiery sermons, Kadizade stressed the need for Muslims to return to the practices of the Prophet and the original Islamic community in Medina. As a result, the movement that he inspired opposed several highly common features of seventeenth-century Ottoman society, including the consumption of coffee, alcohol, opium and tobacco; music, dance and rhythmic movement, particularly in religious worship (hence the Kadizadelis' intense dislike of Sufi ceremonies); and various 'non-original' rituals, many of which were collective, such as supererogatory prayers, which the Kadizadelis distinguished from acceptable 'extra' prayers undertaken individually. Kadizade and his successors, including Vani Mehmed, also asked their followers not only to purify their own lives, but to encourage fellow sinners onto the straight path too.[80]

During the 1660s, Vani Mehmed became Sultan Mehmed IV's personal shaikh, as well as the first Friday preacher at the Valide Sultan Mosque in Istanbul, which was inaugurated in 1665 (see fig. 9). In this capacity, Vani Mehmed targeted both Sufism and the sale of coffee, alcohol and tobacco.[81] In 1675, Covel described Vani Mehmed as being 'of such authority amongst ye Turkes, as about 6 yeares since preached down all publick Tavernes and coffeehouses and ye Dervises publick meetings'.[82] During Covel's time in Istanbul, Vani Mehmed also focused on the persecution of the non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire.[83] According to Sir Paul Rycaut (1629-1700), the English consul in

[80] Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), 131–37. For tobacco in early modern Istanbul, see James Grehan, 'Smoking and "Early Modern" Sociability: The Great Tobacco Debate in the Ottoman Middle East (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries)', *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1352–77. For more on Vani Mehmed, see Ömer Faruk Köse, 'The Fatwa Collection of an Ottoman Provincial Mufti, Vani Mehmed Efendi (d. 1685)' (Unpublished MA Thesis, Istanbul, Boğaziçi University, 2015); Evgenia Kermeli, 'An Example of Polemic/Apologetic Literature', *Bilig* 82 (2017): 153–73.
[81] Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 146–49; Grehan, 'Smoking and "Early Modern" Sociability', 1363–64.
[82] Add. MS 22912, 236v.
[83] Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 148–57. See also Marc David Baer, 'The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, no. 2 (2004): 159–

Izmir (served 1667-78), Vani Mehmed convinced the Ottoman Grand Vizier, Köprülü Fazil Ahmed (served 1661-76):

> … that the terrible Fires in *Constantinople* and *Galata* in the year 1660, and the … unparalleled Pestilence, and the inconsiderable advance of the Turks on the Christians for some years, were so many parts of Divine Judgments thrown on the Musselmen, or Believers, in vengeance of their too much Licence given to the Christian Religion.[84]

Anti-Christian animus became a major feature of the Kadizadeli agenda, and during the 1660s and the 1670s, Vani Mehmed banned the sale of wine to not only Muslims, but also Christians. He also ordered the destruction of two Istanbul churches that had been damaged by fire and subsequently rebuilt, which was in line with Ottoman custom, but contrary to Islamic law.[85] In the meantime, the similarities between the Kadizadelis and the English puritans of the 1640s and the 1650s were not lost on English visitors. The ardent royalist and Anglican Rycaut, for instance, argued that Vani Mehmed 'was as inveterate and malicious to the Christian Religion, as any Enthusiast or Fanatick is to the Rites of our Church and Religion'. When he made these comments, Rycaut almost certainly had English puritans in mind, for he swiftly added that Vani Mehmed's career demonstrated 'how troublesome Hypocrisie and Puritanism are in all places where they gain a Superiority.'[86]

Although we have no evidence that Covel ever spoke to Vani Mehmed directly, the latter's name crops up repeatedly in his travel diaries, most notably in a section where Covel describes a meeting between Baines and Vani Mehmed, which Baines must have recounted to Covel.[87] According to Covel, Baines had asked Vani Mehmed a series of questions

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81; Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 105–19.

[84] Sir Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677* (London, 1680), 105.

[85] Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 151–52.

[86] Rycaut, *History ... 1623*, 105.

[87] Baines' meeting with Vani Mehmed was part of a wider culture of religious disputation between Christians and Muslims in the early modern Ottoman Empire. See Bernard Heyberger, 'Polemic Dialogues between

regarding Islam. Firstly, he wanted to know 'whether soules were equall, of men, women, children.' In response, Vani Mehmed claimed that the Prophet Muhammad had been asked the very same question, answering that 'it was not yet revealed to him.' Secondly, Baines asked 'whether women shall be in paradice?' Vani Mehmed replied that 'they shall have many there, of those which were here and lived well and virtuously according to their [Islamic] law.' He added that 'God will create them many others'. And finally, Baines asked Vani Mehmed 'what people might be suffer'd to live amongst Turkes?' The answer was 'none but Jewes & Christians; all other [peoples] are to be put to death.' Vani Mehmed explained to Baines that Muslims tolerate Christians and Jews because they have legitimate scripture, though unlike that of Islam, theirs contains errors. Consequently, Christians and Jews 'cannot be saved', though they may live morally exemplary lives. Baines, who was evidently hoping to establish some kind of common theological ground between Christianity and Islam, decided to press his interlocutor on this point:

> S^{r} Tho. told what kind of Christian he was, viz. he would rather dye then worship either crosse, pictures, Images or ye like; he adored onely one true God, and lived in his fear onely; He beleived a Musselman living up to ye height of his law may be undoubtedly saved; He thought himself obliged (though it was never so absolutely in his power to do it) not to touch a hair of a musselmans head for his difference in Religion, but rather to help, assist, releive and cherish them in every good office that he was able to doe for them.

Baines was clearly seeking here to highlight points of doctrine that brought Christianity and Islam together. Indeed, his comment that 'he would rather dye' than worship false idols such as the cross would likely have appealed to the Islamic prohibition against idolatry, while his remarks about his adoration and fear of 'onely' the 'one true God', which conveniently skated over the doctrine of the Trinity, would have appealed to the

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Christians and Muslims in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55, no. 2–3 (2012): 495–516; Kermeli, 'An Example of Polemic/Apologetic Literature'.

Islamic concept of *tawhid*, or the absolute oneness of God. Baines reported to Covel that at this point in their conversation, Vani Mehmed had become emotional, with tears in his eyes, and that the 'standers by (w^{ch} were many) cryed out É-Adám', meaning 'he [Baines] was a Good Man.' Yet Vani Mehmed ultimately stuck to his principles, emphasising to Baines 'ye perfection of his [Islamic] law and ye necessity of turning to it.'[88]

For Nabil Matar, Baines' exchange with Vani Mehmed is symptomatic of the increasingly cosmopolitan nature of the 'Anglo-Muslim' encounter in this period. Matar writes that 'the disputation had served as a means of interrelation and familiarization and of moving both the English traveller and the Turk beyond their religious politics to the humanity that joined them together.'[89] There is certainly some truth in this reading, though Covel's account of the exchange, which was presumably communicated to him by Baines, also casts a relatively negative light on Vani Mehmed, contrasting his religious dogmatism with Baines' more open-minded approach. Whereas Baines was willing to accept that 'a Musselman living up to ye height of his law may be undoubtedly saved', Vani Mehmed insisted that the 'onely perfect law is Mahomets, which all are bound to beleive and follow; if they doe not, though they live never so well they cannot be saved.'[90] Vani Mehmed also sent Baines 'word … about Hell', where 'there are 60 mountaines of fire, and millions of poysonous Dragons and serpents to torment ye damned'. He added 'that no Turk shall remain there to eternity', while 'infidells and Idolaters never get out.'[91] In this respect, Baines' encounter with Vani Mehmed can be read not 'as a means of interrelation and familiarization' between the English traveller and the Islamic preacher, but as a clash between two rival visions of salvation. Furthermore, given the intensity of contemporary

[88] Add MS. 22912, 236v-37v.
[89] Nabil Matar, 'The Anglo-Muslim Disputation in the Early Modern Period', in *Cultural Encounters between East and West, 1453-1699*, ed. Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock (Amersham: Cambridge Scholars, 2005), 38–39.
[90] Add. MS 22912, 236v-37r.
[91] Ibid., 237v.

English debates over the issue of salvation, as we have seen, a similar ideological clash might equally have taken place in England, with Baines putting the same argument not to an Islamic preacher, but to any number of orthodox English Calvinists, who stressed the importance of faith over works. Within this context, Covel's relatively negative depiction of Vani Mehmed, whom he called an 'old coxcomb' and likened to the pope in terms of his status among Ottoman Muslims, can be interpreted as a subtle criticism of religious ideologies, whether Christian or Islamic, that neglected human virtue, and appeared to prioritise outward profession over 'inner practice'.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have connected Covel to a group of like-minded Anglican theologians at Cambridge, most notably Ralph Cudworth and Henry More, who regarded the moral conduct of worshippers as more important than ceremony or outward form. As we have seen, both Cudworth and More argued that it was one's 'inward *Soul* and *Principle of Divine Life*, that spiriteth all these; that enliveneth and quickeneth, the dead carkasse, of all our outward Performances whatsoever.'[92] We have also seen how Cudworth and More's commitment to moderation and sobriety in religion, underpinned by their belief in universal moral laws, which were discernible via natural reason, and therefore accessible to Christians and non-Christians alike, contributed to Covel's irenic approach to religious difference abroad. We have explored how a major part of this approach was Covel's tendency to identify similarities between different religions and creeds, particularly when it came to what he called 'ye inner practice of religion'.[93] In so doing, we have traced Covel's growing

[92] Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons*, 73.
[93] Add. MS 22912, 237v.

engagement with the idea, which he developed with frequent recourse to his experiences of religion overseas, that this 'inner practice', which he would later characterise as 'inward affection', was immensely pleasing to God, and in accordance with 'the Moral Law … written upon the Heart of Man'.[94] In the next chapter, our focus will shift from Covel's thinking about religious theory to his understanding of religious practice, and to the relationship that Covel sought to establish between these two concepts, which was informed, as ever, by his experiences of travel.

[94] Covel, *Some Account*, 281–84.

Chapter III: '[T]he *inward Affection in all these*, is the only thing which is *acceptable with God*': Covel, '*inward Affection*' and the Value of Religious Ceremony

In this second chapter on Covel, we shall examine how he envisaged the relationship between what he called 'ye inner practice of religion', or the pursuit of holiness and virtue, on the one hand, and religious ceremony and custom, on the other. In so doing, we shall explore how Covel's conceptualisation of this relationship helped to shape, and was in turn shaped by, his travels around the Mediterranean during the 1670s, and by his exposure to the religious diversity of the Ottoman world. In other words, we shall see how Covel used his experiences of religious practice abroad to reflect on what kinds of religious ceremony, or ceremonial action, encouraged the performance of good works among worshippers, as well as the development of other, more abstract virtues such as sincerity, solemnity, patience, moderation, faith, honesty and conviction. Thus whereas Chapter II focused on the development and consolidation of Covel's religious theory, this present chapter will take us one step further, considering what that theory meant for Covel's approach to the practicalities of religious worship.

Unlike most of his Anglican colleagues, who thought about ceremonial questions using historical evidence (concerning the early Church, for instance), Covel approached such questions geographically or anthropologically, that is to say, with reference to several forms of present-day Christianity, most notably the Greek Church, and to Ottoman Islam too. As we shall see, Covel's experiences overseas gave him a particular perspective on which, or which kinds, of Anglican ceremonies to promote, and which to eliminate, or at least downplay, against a backdrop of lively liturgical debate within the later seventeenth-century Church of England. By studying Covel's travel-informed perspective on Anglican ceremony, we shall gain a better understanding of how Covel sought to reconcile inward

affection with outward form, and to thereby promote a version of Christianity that he regarded as more consistent with what he called 'the Moral Law … written upon the Heart of Man', and discernible via reason as well as revelation.[1]

Covel, Ceremony and 'ye inner practice of religion'

As we saw in the previous chapter, Covel attached little value to religious ceremonies in and of themselves, preferring to think of the worship of God in terms of inner conviction, as opposed to outward action, which could 'be all *Feign'd and Hypocritical*'.[2] As we discussed, it was on this basis that Covel felt comfortable participating in non-Anglican ceremonies abroad (such as kissing the cross at a Greek celebration for St George's Day), and it similarly explains why he felt able to write of 'Greeks, papists, Armenians', noting that 'If all differ'd onely in outward formes of worship, w^{ch} I count onely fashions, I could communicate wth all.'[3] Yet although Covel regarded ceremony as secondary, he was by no means wholly indifferent or unattached to it, and would certainly never have judged it irrelevant. On the contrary, Covel used his first-hand experience of religious practices overseas to reflect on how best to reconcile outward form with his understanding of inward affection.

In beginning to understand Covel's view of ceremony, and how it related to his emphasis on inner practice, we might return to one of St Augustine's two letters to Januarius, both of which Covel cited in one of his commonplace books, in a section dated 1689, as we have seen.[4] In the first of these two letters, Augustine had noted that receiving the Lord's Supper sincerely and solemnly was more important than receiving it frequently.[5] This was

[1] Ibid., 283–84.
[2] Ibid., 281–82.
[3] Osborn b140, 30.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Rotelle, *Letters*, 211–12.

almost certainly a view that Covel shared, for in another, undated section of the same commonplace book, he observed that 'to communicate every day, would be soon as cold a businesse, as to mumble over our prayer's, and think of something else.' As a result, Covel was wary of 'frequent communion', though 'highly commended by o[r] divines.' He justified his stance in this regard by citing the remarks of St Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) in his *Summa Theologiae*, that 'in seldom approaching sacred things, … [men] might have greater reverence for them'.[6] Covel himself added that 'daily use make a thing common; we do it as custome not devotion; men are very grave on Sundayes, because it is but once a week.'[7]

With regards to communion, then, both Augustine and Covel elevated sincerity and solemnity over frequency, since the former was indicative of a genuine desire to communicate, and thus to express outwardly one's inward affection for God. For Augustine and Covel, this was far more important than how frequently communicants presented themselves, which was evidence more of habit than conviction. In this way, Covel distinguished himself from Catholic missionaries in the Levant, who counselled frequent communion among their Eastern Christian charges, and made it an integral part of their attempts to convert local Christians to Catholicism.[8] This was particularly true of the Jesuits, who felt that frequent reception of the sacrament helped to strengthen the unity of the faithful. In the seventeenth century, however, the Catholic Jansenist movement in France cautioned against this approach, warning that frequent communion should not come at the expense of a serious moral and devotional life. Thus when Covel engaged with the frequency of communion in his commonplace book, he was inserting himself into this ongoing

[6] Osborn b140, 14; St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Volume 29: The Old Law (1a2ae. 98-105)*, trans. David Bourke and Arthur Littledale (Blackfriars: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1969), 191.
[7] Osborn b140, 14.
[8] Bernard Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens Du Proche-Orient Au Temps de La Réforme Catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècles)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994), 313–14, 367. See also Joseph Besson, *La Syrie Sainte, Où La Mission de Jésus et Des Pères de La Compagnie de Jésus En Syrie* (Paris, 1660), 122–23.

controversy in Western Europe, taking the side of the Jansenists in the process.[9] In this respect, Covel might well have been influenced by his relationship with the French ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, the marquis de Nointel, whom we encountered in the last chapter. Nointel was a committed Jansenist, who collected Eastern Christian confessions of faith for one of the leading Jansenist theologians of the day, Antoine Arnauld, author of *De la fréquente communion* (1643).[10]

What emerges from this evidence is that for Covel, religious ceremonies were only important or valuable insofar as they enabled worshippers to enhance their inner practice of religion, which was exemplified, in the case of communion at least, by sincerity and solemnity of worship. This was a clear rejection of Jesuit thinking, which held that genuine faith often began as simple habit. Yet although Covel believed that religious ceremonies had little or no intrinsic value, and were best described as 'onely Fashions', he also accepted that some of their emotional and practical consequences, such as love for God and for one's religion, or the creation of collective ties, the incitement to good works, and so on, were highly beneficial for what they contributed to one's inward affection. Thus Covel argued that certain ceremonies be retained and encouraged on that basis. We have a clear example of this logic in Covel's treatment of the sign of the cross in baptism, which he defended with reference not to the early Church, like most Anglican thinkers of the period, but to the

[9] Michael W. Maher, 'How the Jesuits Used Their Congregations to Promote Frequent Communion', in *Confraternities & Catholic Reform in Italy, France, & Spain*, ed. John Patrick Donnelly and Michael W. Maher (Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999), 75–95; Palmer, *Jansenism and England*, esp. 216-23.
[10] For Covel and Nointel, see Chapter II. Covel writes of Arnauld, within the context of debates over the Eastern churches and transubstantiation, in *Some Account*, i–v. These debates are also covered in Chapter II. For Nointel's Jansenism, see Alastair Hamilton, 'From East to West: Jansenists, Orientalists, and the Eucharistic Controversy', in *How the West Was Won: Essays on Literary Imagination, the Canon and the Christian Middle Ages for Burcht Pranger*, ed. Willemien Otten, Arjo J. Vanderjagt, and Hent De Vries (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 83–100.

present state of Christianity, and of the Greek Church specifically, within the Ottoman Empire.[11]

Covel, Greek Christians and the Sign of the Cross

Covel's defence of the sign of the cross spoke to a very specific religious and political context within later seventeenth-century England. As we explored in Chapter II, from 1662, Church of England ministers were required to swear 'unfeigned assent and consent' to the contents of the new Book of Common Prayer. Many of its rubrics were deeply offensive to even moderate puritans, however, including the Presbyterians associated with Richard Baxter, who were otherwise generally supportive of a national church structure, and willing to join themselves. These Presbyterians were opposed to rubrics requiring the wearing of the surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism and kneeling to receive the sacrament. Consequently, thousands of talented Presbyterian ministers were effectively excluded from the established Church, not because of any substantial difference in theology or ecclesiology, but simply because they opposed a series of relatively minor ceremonial requirements.[12] Against this backdrop, a growing body of more 'latitudinarian' or liberal Anglican thinkers suggested that rubrics such as the sign of the cross and kneeling to receive 'be left indifferent', in order to convince more moderate non-conformists (such as Baxter) to join (or re-join) the state Church. Within this context, several parliamentary bills for the 'comprehension' of moderate dissenters within the Church of England appeared between the 1660s and the 1680s, proposing that the sign of the cross (along with other more minor

[11] For the Anglican use of the Church Fathers to defend the sign of the cross in baptism, see Eamon Duffy, 'Primitive Christianity Revived: Religious Renewal in Augustan England', *Studies in Church History* 14 (1977): 288–89; Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, 88–90, 106, 108, 197.
[12] Spurr, 'Comprehension', esp. 928-36; Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 30–76; Smith, *A History of the Modern British Isles*, 209.

ceremonies such as kneeling to receive) be made optional, though the requirement remained in force throughout this period.[13]

During the 1670s, then, while Covel was travelling, the requirement within the Anglican Church to make the sign of the cross in baptism remained a major point of contention for more puritanical Christians, including Baxter. For although Baxter was just about willing to accept the surplice and kneeling to receive, he drew the line at the sign of the cross: '… that Man may adjoyn such a Human Sacrament as the Cross in Baptism, to God's Sacrament, I am not satisfied in: And cannot Assent or Consent to it.' For Baxter, the sign of the cross was 'a (*transient*) *Image*, used as a *means of Worship*', and 'Therefore unlawful by the Second Commandment.'[14] Covel was of a completely different mind, however, owing to his encounter with Greek Christians, once 'so famous for their learning and zeal', but now reduced by the Ottomans to 'meer beasts and the worst of slaves'.[15] Indeed, Covel made these remarks during a trip to Iznik in February 1677, having found the local Greek population (and clergy specifically) ignorant, and their churches 'despicable and neglected'. In the same section of his diaries, Covel referred to that 'know'n policy amongst ye Turkes, not to suffer any churches ruin'd either by fire or otherwise to be rebuilt, that so by degrees they failing, ye Xtian religion must needs in time fall to nothing.'[16]

In the first volume of Covel's correspondence, covering the later seventeenth century, there survives an undated draft of a letter from Covel to the English cleric Laurence Womock (d. 1686), who was known for his loyalty to the Anglican establishment, on the one hand, and his opposition to Calvinism, on the other. In this draft letter, Covel recounted the story of 'a poor Greek' whom he claimed to have watched sentenced to death and swiftly

[13] Spurr, 'Comprehension', 932–37.
[14] Richard Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ: Or, Mr. Richard Baxters Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of His Life and Times*, ed. Matthew Sylvester (London, 1696), 428.
[15] Add. MS 22914, 16v.
[16] Ibid., 14v-17v. See also Rositsa Gradeva, 'Ottoman Policy towards Christian Church Buildings', *Études Balkaniques*, no. 4 (1994): 14–36.

executed by the Ottoman authorities.[17] In his *Account of the Present State of the Greek Church* of 1722, Covel revealed that this Greek man had been tricked by local Muslims into reciting the *shahada*. He was then forcibly circumcised by them, but refused to convert to Islam, and was therefore 'at last beheaded before his own door.'[18] In his draft letter to Womock, Covel had recalled for the Anglican cleric how this unnamed Greek, over the course of his trial and before his execution:

> … when either he could not speak, through weaknesse of body or anguish of mind or else could not be heard amongst the thronging multitude, he in a manner continually made the sign of the crosse upon his breast, to signify to the world by this dumb Rhetorick his undaunted resolution of being and dying a true Christian. I confesse it made me wth great pleasure reflect upon that antient Rite used by our church in Baptisme, I mean ye sign of the Crosse.

Covel's description of the sign of the cross as 'that antient Rite used by our Church in Baptisme' was significant in and of itself, for it pre-empted the puritan criticism that it was merely a medieval Catholic invention, without precedent in the early Church. Indeed, at the base of his draft letter to Womock, Covel remarked that the act of inscribing someone or something with a cross, in order to outwardly signify one's faith in Christ, was a common practice among 'primitive [or early] Christians', and that its original, non-superstitious intent had only been corrupted by 'the superstition … of succeeding ages'.[19] Nevertheless, manifestations of what Covel considered the earlier, more innocent use of the sign of the

[17] Covel, 'A peice of my letter to D^{r} Womock about ye Crosse in baptisme', date unknown, Add. MS 22910, 115. For Womock, see John Spurr, 'Womock [Womack], Laurence (d. 1686), Bishop of St David's and Religious Controversialist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29860?rskey=Hqk1lc&result=1, accessed 16 September 2021. For Womock's opposition to Calvinism, and to Calvinist soteriology in particular, see Anthony Milton, 'A Distorting Mirror: The Hales and Balcanquahall Letters and the Synod of Dort', in *Revisiting the Synod of Dort (1618-1619)*, ed. Aza Goudriaan and Fred van Lieburg (Leiden: Brill, 2011), esp. 137-38, 140-41. According to his library catalogue of 1716, Covel owned a copy of Womock's *Suffragium Protestantium* (London, 1683). See 'Catalogue of the Library of John Covel', Add. MS 70485, 39r.

[18] Covel, *Some Account*, 391–92.

[19] Covel, 'A peice of my letter to D^{r} Womock', Add. MS 22910, 115r.

cross remained, and Covel had encountered several of these manifestations overseas. When he visited the ruins of Carthage in November 1670, for instance, Covel came across '*a Hamlet of Arabs*' or Bedouins, all of whom had multiple crosses inscribed on their foreheads (see fig. 5). In his diary, Covel explained that these were relics of when they had been Christians, though they had converted to Islam many hundreds of years before.[20] Covel also witnessed similar marks or manifestations of Christian identity elsewhere. In August 1671, during the Feast of Assumption, he watched as a Greek priest drew a cross in the sacramental bread with his nail, and as loaves 'of boyld wheat cover'd over wth crosses made of blanch't Almonds and raisins' were handed out to worshippers at the door.[21] Finally, in August 1676, on his visit to the site of the early Church Council of Chalcedon (451), on the outskirts of Istanbul, Covel came across the remains of a four-foot pedestal, which he sketched (see fig. 6), with 'long croses on all sides', built 'by Xtians (as we guesse from y^{e} crosses) for a sea mark'.[22]

In his draft letter to Womock, Covel conceded that the sign of the cross 'may seem a very uselesse and empty ceremony', whether in baptism or among adult Christians, 'to men that never lived abroad amongst unbelievers, nor considered the state of the primitive Church by which this practice prevayled'. Yet of course Covel, unlike most of his compatriots and colleagues, *had* 'lived abroad amongst unbelievers', where he had witnessed the persecution of Christians at the hands of the non-Christian Ottomans, which provided him with a different perspective on the sign of the cross.[23] For under these circumstances, Covel had found the practice very useful, for it signified 'throughout the

[20] Add. MS 22912, 28r-29r.
[21] Ibid., 147r.
[22] Ibid., 163r.
[23] Covel, 'A peice of my letter to D^{r} Womock', Add. MS 22910, 115r. For the situation of the Greek Church within the early modern Ottoman Empire, see Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Molly Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453 to 1774: The Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

whole world, where no other language is understood, that the person so signed is own'd, or owns himself to be a member of Christ's body.' By way of illustration, Covel informed Womock that in Ottoman territories, the sign was commonly used by local Christians to 'begge your charity, when all language is insignificant'. Covel also recalled using the sign himself, when he had travelled 'in Turkish habit [or dress]', in order to reassure frightened local Christians that he was of their faith, and thereby ensure that he was 'immediately admitted and kindly treated' by them. 'I have found this outward token alone in these countreys', he explained, 'to be a sufficient shibboleth to distinguish a Christian from an Infidel.'[24]

Incidentally, this sentiment regarding the sign of the cross in the Ottoman Empire was echoed by another Anglican traveller to the region, George Wheler, who accompanied Covel on a trip to Bursa in late 1675. In his account of his travels, Wheler recalled how in 1676, he and his companions (without Covel on this occasion) had come across a 'Church … called *Sotiros Metamorphosis*', where:

> … the poor *Pappa* seeing us come in our *Turkish Habit*, was so frighted, that he ran, and hid himself among the Rocks. But we, unwilling to lose our Labour of climbing up so high for nothing, sent our *Greek* to seek about for him, and to assure him we were *Christians*, and not *Turks*; and that we came only to make our *Stauroma*, or Sign of the Cross in his Church; which is a Ceremony of the *Greek* Worship, whereby they worship God when they come into their Churches, and distinguish themselves from *Turks* and *Jews*, the Enemies of Christ's Cross. Upon this first his Wife came forth, who called her Husband, and soon confirmed him, that we were Christians, both by our Words and Behaviour.[25]

Covel had therefore witnessed what it must have been like for those early generations of so-called 'primitive' Christians, surrounded by 'unbelievers' and subjected to frequent bouts of violent persecution at the hands of non-Christian state authorities.

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[24] Covel, 'A peice of my letter to D[r] Womock', Add. MS 22910, 115r.
[25] George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece, by George Wheler Esq; in Company of Dr Spon of Lyons* (London, 1682), 310–11. For Covel and Wheler, see Chapter IV.

Covel's characterisation of Greek Christians as 'slaves', which we have already encountered, and which he repeated in his draft letter to Womock, referring to 'Christian slaves and other miserable and indigent beleivers', served to underline this general point, making it clear that Covel was discussing a situation where Christians had been subjugated by non-Christians, and that within this context, the sign of the cross took on added significance. In this way, Covel employed an observational or ethnographic approach to determining the value of a specific form of Christian worship. In other words, Covel was assessing the value of the sign of the cross using events and peoples that he had experienced and encountered himself on his travels, as opposed to a historical framework adapted from the writings of the Church Fathers.

Although Anglicans no longer faced such persecution, and could hardly be described as 'slaves', Covel was of the view that the sign of the cross, even if used only in baptism, remained a powerful symbol or 'token', in light of its demonstrably long history and emotive connotations, of several highly important inner religious qualities or affections. These affections, which Covel had witnessed in action during his time abroad, included conviction, solidarity and a commitment to resist sin and temptation. The unfortunate Greek whom Covel encountered overseas was certainly a good example of such qualities in action, given that he clung resolutely to his Christian principles and faith, and refused to convert to Islam, even when faced with the prospect of certain death. In his draft letter to Womock, Covel therefore defended the sign of the cross along these lines:

> Now though perhaps in your parts of Christendome[,] a man of riper years may never have a reall occasion of making profession of his faith by this outward Character, yet I think our church doth extreamely well in retaining soe much as she doth of this antient custome, I mean in crossing the persons that are newly baptized, since the words which she useth in that office sufficiently expound the meaning of the first instituters of this ceremony, … that as they should manfully maintein the inward and spirituall fight against sin and the Devil … under the inward banner of a stedfast and lively faith in Christ, so they should not be ashamed publickly[,] even by this outward

> sign, to confesse *to ye world and* all the powers thereof *the same faith*, when and wheresoever they should have occasion for it.

Hence Covel believed that the sign of the cross remained a fundamental part of what he called the 'universal Character of a Christian, *which was wisely introduced by our forefathers and ought still to be used*', particularly in baptism.[26]

In summary, Covel regarded the sign of the cross as a valuable ceremony because it was as much about inner conviction and solidarity as it was outward form, in the sense that it communicated an affirming faith. As we have seen, this was particularly true in the circumstances that Covel had encountered in the Ottoman Empire, where Christians were ruled and persecuted by non-Christians, and where they lacked the security of an established church. Within this context, the sign of the cross also appeared to Covel to have served a moral, or at least practical purpose, insofar as it could be employed, for instance, to recognise fellow Christians, or 'to begge for charity, when all language is insignificant'. In this respect, Covel communicated a distinctive, travel-informed perspective on what was otherwise a fairly ordinary characteristic of later seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Anglican thought. This style of thought was best represented by figures such as John Wilkins, who emphasised the importance of what he termed 'practical Godliness', insisting that religion had significant temporal as well as spiritual value (that is, for salvation).[27] Incidentally, Covel's library catalogue of 1716 documents a 1678 copy of Wilkins' *Discourse Concerning the Gift of Prayer*, which had been published with his *Ecclesiastes; or, Discourse Concerning the Gift of Preaching*. In this volume, Wilkins elaborated on his view of 'practical Godliness' and 'practical Divinity' at several points.[28] Yet whereas Wilkins

[26] Covel, 'A peice of my letter to D[r] Womock', Add. MS 22910, 115r.
[27] Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, 55–59.
[28] John Wilkins, *A Discourse Concerning the Gift of Prayer ... Whereunto May Be Added, Ecclesiastes; or, A Discourse Concerning the Gift of Preaching* (London, 1678); 'Catalogue of the Library of John Covel', Add. MS 70485, 39r.

invoked examples from Scripture, or referred to the writings of other theologians both past and present, Covel explored the concept using his first-hand experience of the Greek Church, within the context of its persecution at the hands of the Ottomans.

The idea that the sign of the cross '*was wisely introduced by our forefathers*', as Covel put it, and that it communicated an affirming faith, particularly for those living among non-Christians, echoed the reasoning of the Elizabethan theologian Richard Hooker (1554-1600), who had defended the baptismal use of the sign of the cross in his landmark *Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*.[29] Yet whereas Hooker had fleshed out his argument with references to the early Church, Covel drew on the present state of the Greek Church. There was certainly an interest among English readers in the contemporary alongside the historical, which was reflected in two highly successful and influential works by the English diplomat Paul Rycaut: *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1668) and *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (1679), both of which were widely translated.[30] Within this increasingly popular literary framework, Covel believed that his direct experience of a Church persecuted by non-Christians gave him unique insight, noting, as we have seen, that the sign of the cross only appeared useless to those 'that never lived abroad amongst unbelievers'.

In using the Greek Church to defend the sign of the cross, Covel distinguished himself from not only Hooker, but also several of his Anglican contemporaries, including Nathaniel Resbury (c. 1643-1711), who championed the sign of the cross against dissenters'

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[29] Richard Hooker, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie: Eight Bookes by Richard Hooker* (London, 1611), 340-47 (Book V, Section Sixty-Five, 'Of the Crosse in Baptisme'). This edition of *Lawes* only features Books I-V. Hooker had written *Lawes* during the 1590s, though it appeared in several books and editions between 1593 and 1662. See Ethan H. Shagan, 'The Ecclesiastical Polity', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Law and Literature, 1500-1700,* ed. Lorna Hutson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 337–52.

[30] Sir Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1668); Sir Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi, 1678* (London, 1679); Sonia P. Anderson, 'Rycaut, Sir Paul (1629–1700), Diplomat and Author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24392?rskey=JqGllK&result=2, accessed 16 September 2021.

objections using the writings of Church Fathers such as Tertullian (c. 155-240) and St Cyprian (c. 200-58).[31] In so doing, Covel suggested that travel overseas, and exposure to religious diversity specifically, equipped one with a richer sense of right belief and devotion, particularly when it came to contested issues such as the sign of the cross. For in this case, Covel had used his experiences of religious diversity abroad, and of the persecution of the Greek Church specifically, to make an observational or ethnographic argument for the sign of the cross, which added an extra dimension to the more scholarly arguments that his colleagues drew from the writings of the Church Fathers. Against this backdrop, we see that religious edification was a major part of the intellectual growth that Covel's travels enabled within him.

Covel, the Huguenots of Istanbul and Kneeling to Receive

As we have seen, the new Anglican Prayer Book, as established by the Act of Uniformity of 1662, enforced a number of ceremonies, including the sign of the cross and kneeling to receive, that many English puritans found offensive, and that therefore prevented them from joining (or re-joining) the established Church. As a result, there were recurrent debates throughout the 1660s and beyond, both within the Church and without, over whether such ceremonies, which many felt were ultimately 'indifferent', were really worth enforcing, if they excluded so many otherwise sympathetic Protestants from joining (or re-joining) the Anglican communion. In 1668, for instance, proposals were drawn up, with the support of John Wilkins, for a parliamentary bill that would have essentially eliminated the

[31] Nathaniel Resbury, *The Case of the Cross in Baptism Considered. Wherein Is Shewed, That There Is Nothing in It, as It Is Used in the Church of England, That Can Be Any Just Reason of Separation from It* (London, 1684); William Marshall, 'Resbury, Nathaniel (Bap. 1643, d. 1711), Church of England Clergyman', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 21 May 2009, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23390?rskey=7wjAgG&result=1, accessed 16 September 2021.

enforcement of kneeling to receive, the surplice and the sign of the cross in baptism. The proposed bill was never brought before Parliament, however, and in April 1669, MPs renewed the Conventicle Act of 1664, which had outlawed religious assemblies of more than five people, not of the same family, outside the Church of England. By the time that Covel sailed for Istanbul in September 1670, the question of 'comprehension', as it had come to be known (for it regarded how far non-conformists might be 'comprehended' within the established Church), was still very much a live issue, which would continue to generate discussion within Anglican circles throughout the 1670s and beyond.[32] Consequently, Covel used the religious pluralism of Istanbul to engage with a major issue related to both comprehension and dissent: kneeling to receive. In this case, Covel pitted himself squarely against the enforcement of the practice, which he felt would privilege outward form at the expense of inner conviction, which he regarded as more important.

Although Covel never explicitly addressed the issue of Protestant dissent in his diaries from the 1670s, his brief tenure, from around 1669, as chaplain to the Earl of Arlington (c. 1618-85), who supported Charles' efforts to suspend penal laws against both Catholics and dissenters in 1672, might well have heightened his awareness of the issue. It appears that Covel was Arlington's chaplain between approximately 1669 and 1670, for although Covel never mentioned the appointment himself, Laurence Womock referred to it in a letter to Covel from January 1669, and Arlington subsequently countersigned Covel's passport for Istanbul in May 1670. Arlington also dispatched a letter to Covel in February 1683, assuring the chaplain, who was then in the Netherlands, of his favour.[33] More concrete evidence of Covel's interest in dissent, and comprehension specifically, can be discerned

[32] Spurr, 'Comprehension', 928–36; Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 56–80.
[33] Laurence Womock to Covel, Cambridge, 19 January 1669, Add. MS 22910, 25r-26v. See also Add. MS 22910, 35 (for Covel's passport); Henry Bennett, First Earl of Arlington, London, to Covel, 19 February 1683, Add. MS 22910, 219. For the Earl of Arlington's biography, see Alan Marshall, 'Bennet, Henry, First Earl of Arlington (Bap. 1618, d. 1685), Politician', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 3 January 2008, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2104, accessed 16 September 2021.

from his defence of the sign of the cross, as well as from the writings of one of his rather more famous contemporaries: John Locke. Covel had met Locke in Paris in the winter of 1678, during his return voyage to England. In his diary entry for 30 December of that year, Locke recalled accompanying Covel to visit 'the Library of the Abbé of St Germains', where they 'saw two very old manuscripts of the New Testament, the newest of which was, as appeard by the date of it, at least 800 years old'.[34]

In his diary entry for 1 January 1679, Locke noted very briefly that 'Amongst other things M[r] Covell told me … how the nonconformist Protestants [of Istanbul] were induced by him to take the Sacrament kneeling. v: Conformity.'[35] The 'v: Conformity' here is a cross reference to one of Locke's commonplace books, in which he developed the issue of 'Conformity', within the context of Covel's experiences overseas, at greater length. According to Locke, Covel had informed him in Paris that the English ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, Sir John Finch, had permitted 'Protestants [in Istanbul] not of the Church of England … to have a roome in his house to meet to pray in'. Most of these Protestants were Huguenots, and it was ultimately agreed 'that if they would continue that priviledg, they should come & receive the sacrament in his [Finch's] chappell, administered then by his chaplain [Covel], according to the discipline of the Church of England.' Although the Huguenots agreed to worship at Finch's chapel, they 'presented themselves to receive it [the sacrament] according to the severall fashions of their churches', with 'some siting and some standing, though the Ambassador & all the usuall congregation of the English there had received it kneeling.' Nevertheless, Covel felt unable to refuse the sacrament to 'any one that came solemnly & seriously to receive it'. He 'therefor administered the bread to them all', regardless of how they presented themselves. Covel reportedly claimed that this 'had

[34] John Locke, *Locke's Travels in France, 1675-1679: As Related in His Journals, Correspondence and Other Papers*, ed. John Lough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 252–53.
[35] BL, Add. MS 15642, 1r.

soe powerfull an effect upon them, that when he came afterwards to give them the cup, they of their own accords received it, every one kneeling.'

For Locke (and perhaps for Covel too), there was only one conclusion: 'This way, if it were a little more practised, would perhaps be found not only the most Christian, but the most effectuall way to bring men to Conformity.'[36] These remarks were almost certainly an implicit attack on the stringent terms of the Act of Uniformity, which essentially compelled Church of England ministers to enforce kneeling at the sacrament, against the objections of puritans, who were thereby further alienated from the established Church. By 1679, the requirement remained in force, in spite of repeated attempts to abolish it, and in Locke's view, it had failed to achieve via coercion what Covel had seemingly accomplished via latitude. As for Covel himself, the religious diversity of Istanbul had transformed the city into a kind of laboratory or testing ground, where he could experiment with elements of comprehension, to which he certainly seems to have been inclined.

Locke's vignette about Covel should of course be treated with caution by the historian, for the philosopher was clearly using the example of the chaplain to build his own argument for religious toleration, which gave him a motive to embellish, or even fabricate, his account of Covel's actions.[37] It certainly seems unlikely, for instance, that Covel's latitude with the Huguenots over kneeling to receive 'had soe powerfull an effect upon them, that when he came afterwards to give them the cup, they of their own accords received it, every one kneeling.' Nevertheless, there are good reasons for accepting the authenticity of the rest of Locke's report, and for believing that Covel had acted with the latitude that Locke suggested, even if the results that the philosopher claimed to have occurred cannot be independently verified. For a start, Locke wrote about Covel's actions with the Huguenots

[36] University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Locke d. 1, 5r.
[37] For Locke and toleration, see the following two works by John Marshall: *John Locke: Resistance, Religion, and Responsibility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture*.

in his commonplace book, where there was presumably less reason for him to exaggerate or lie, given that he was recording his private thoughts, rather than constructing a coherent, public argument designed to convince.

Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, Locke's account of Covel's attitude towards the Huguenots is entirely consistent with the chaplain's character, particularly when it came to religion, as we have seen. Indeed, it tallies with Covel's belief that inward affection, as exemplified by outward virtues such as sincerity and solemnity of worship, was more important than outward ceremony or form, which could 'be all *Feign'd and Hypocritical*', as Covel would later argue in his *Account*.[38] Thus when the Huguenots came to Finch's chapel in order to receive communion 'solemnly & seriously', Covel, in line with these principles, 'administered the bread to them all', though they presented themselves standing, at odds with Anglican tradition. For in Covel's view, these outward ceremonies or forms only had value insofar as they could be proven to help, rather than hinder, the inner practice of religion. Although the sign of the cross, in Covel's mind, was worth encouraging on this basis, it was clear that the same could not be said for kneeling to receive. As Covel had discerned from his experiences with the Huguenots of Istanbul, the enforcement of this practice elevated outward form over inner conviction, and therefore needlessly excluded pious Christians from the Anglican communion.[39]

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[38] Covel, *Some Account*, 281–82.

[39] As for Covel and Locke, they maintained a sporadic correspondence until November 1700. See 'John Covel (Born 1638–Died 1722), English Traveller, University Administrator', Electronic Enlightenment Biographical Dictionary, 2009, http://www.e-enlightenment.com/person/coveljohn0004729/?lives=occ&s=university%20administrator&r=32, accessed 9 September 2021. Although what exists of this correspondence contains only limited discussion of religious affairs, Covel's library catalogue of 1716 shows that he owned several theological works by Locke, including his *Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) and first *Letter to the Bishop of Worcester* (1697). See 'Catalogue of the Library of John Covel', Add. MS 70485, 37r-38r.

Covel and Islamic Communal Prayer

If we examine other religious ceremonies that Covel discussed in his diaries from the 1670s, including those of non-Christian religions such as Islam, we see that he most admired those that saw worshippers develop what he would later term 'inward affection'. This concept, though difficult to define in and of itself, was aptly demonstrated by outward virtues such as sincerity, solemnity, patience, moderation, faith, honesty and conviction. On the whole, these were ceremonies that appeared to have a beneficial impact on the religious and social temper of the individual, putting him in mind of his love for, and therefore attachment to, God. In this respect, Covel's attitude was similar to that of Cudworth, who argued that ceremony meant nothing without 'an inward *Soul* and *Principle of Divine Life*.'[40] It was a view that was shared by several other Cambridge divines of the later seventeenth century, including John Tillotson (1630-94), a fellow of Clare College and future Archbishop of Canterbury (served 1691-94).[41]

According to his library catalogue of 1716, Covel possessed a copy of 'ABP Tillotson's sermons upon several occasions. Lond. 1681', which existed in two volumes.[42] Tillotson's second volume featured a sermon in which he sought 'to recommend Religion to men from the consideration of that inward peace and pleasure which attends it.'[43] Consequently, Tillotson was characterised in his funeral sermon as having:

> … indeed judged that the great design of Christianity was the reforming Mens Natures, and governing their Actions, the restraining their Appetites, and Passions, the softening their Tempers, and sweetning their Humours, the composing their

[40] Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons*, 73.
[41] Isabel Rivers, 'Tillotson, John (1630–1694), Archbishop of Canterbury', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27449?rskey=BXG841&result=3, accessed 16 September 2021.
[42] 'Catalogue of the Library of John Covel', Add. MS 70485, 39r.
[43] John Tillotson, *Sermons Preach'd upon Several Occasions*, vol. 2 (London, 1681), 62.

> Affections, and the raising their minds above the Interests and Follies of this Present World, to the hope and pursuit of endless Blessedness.[44]

Within the context of this increasingly popular Anglican theological framework, Covel appears to have admired ceremonies in which worshippers were seen to contemplate, both quietly and patiently, the glories of the divine, as well as their collective identity as members of the same religion. As we have seen, the idea that ceremonies might function in this way provided Covel with his defence of the sign of the cross. For further evidence of such intellectual trends within Covel's work, we might also turn to his comments about Islamic communal prayer, which he felt demonstrated not only patient and quiet contemplation of God, but also admirable uniformity, discipline and hierarchy of worship, all of which served to distinguish Muslims from other believers:

> In the feilds in many places under shady trees, and by fountaines are square beds or banks of Earth cast up, and kept always green in sommer, whither they resort for pastime and mirth, and there at ye houres of prayer they spread carpets and go to their devotion; … ye Imaum, or ye gravest man kneel, and all the rest wth him constantly look ye same way; their order is very decent and comely, [and] though in ye Alchoran it is expressly said, all quarters of the heavens are alike to Gods face, yet he expressly commands them in all places to turn towards Mecha to distinguish themselves from other men.[45]

It was on occasions such as these, then, when Muslims engaged in collective worship, and particularly communal prayer, that Islam seems to have been most visible to Covel. During his time at Mehmed IV's camp in Edirne, for instance, Covel witnessed its members, including Mehmed himself, participate in Friday Prayer, later reporting, as we have seen, that he and his companions had been 'permitted to stand by wthout ye least disturbance … I was once wthin 5 yards of ye G. S^{r} [Grand Signior] all the time'. Covel

[44] Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, 81–82.
[45] Add. MS 22912, 117r.

recalled in his diary that 'there was constantly a Mezín [*muezzin*] (or cryer or steeple man) which call'd to prayers from behind the G. Sr.'s tent', explaining that 'every great man (as the Kaimachan Bostangébasha, etc. at Stambol) has his Mezín, and by consequence the G. Sr. must have his'. Once again, Covel thought it 'wonderfull to see with what reverence, uniformity, and most admirable devotion all (especially the men of note) betook themselves to their prayers in publick'. Like Edward Terry, Covel was also struck by the physicality of Islamic worship, observing that 'Sometimes they stand, some kneel; oftentimes bowing their head to the very ground and kissing it.'[46]

These comments, which concern what was almost certainly the Islamic practice of *sujud*, whereby Muslims prostrate themselves during prayer, may be more fruitfully read against the backdrop of contemporary English debates over bodily worship, to which puritans frequently objected, but which Anglican conformists such as Simon Gunton (c. 1609-76) were willing to defend, castigating (in 1661) 'fantastick humorists' who refused to bow or kneel before God.[47] For although Covel might have regarded such ceremonies as inherently indifferent, or mere 'fashions', he was equally aware, thanks in large part to his travels overseas, that they might also foster one's inner religious conviction, and focus the mind of the worshipper on the pursuit of a more holy and virtuous life, as certainly seemed to be the case with Islamic communal prayer. Indeed, as we saw in the previous chapter, Covel was deeply impressed by not only elements of Islamic ceremony, but also the performance of good works among Muslims, leading him to comment that 'as to ye inner practice of religion, I verily must say it, take ye generality and they certainely will rise up in judgement against us.'[48]

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[46] Ibid., 202v.
[47] Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 309.
[48] Add. MS 22912, 237v.

Covel's *Account of the Present Greek Church* (1722)

At the turn of the seventeenth century, Covel's interest in comparative religion remained as keen as ever. During the 1690s, for instance, Covel helped to sponsor a Greek Orthodox student at Oxford, who hailed from the Ottoman Empire, and whom we shall meet in Chapter V. Between 1692 and 1696, Covel also corresponded with the Spanish-born rabbi Isaac Abendana (d. 1699), a lecturer in Hebrew at Magdalen College, Oxford, encouraging him to continue printing his Jewish almanacs for Christian readers.[49] During the early eighteenth century, Covel was also in contact with David Nieto (1654-1728), the *haham* (or rabbi) of the Sephardic community in London.[50] At around the same time, Covel followed closely the debates over John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (*On the Ritual Laws of the Hebrews*, 1685; see Chapter VI), one of the founding texts of comparative religion, a copy of which is listed in Covel's library catalogue of 1716. In this work, Spencer (1630-93) had argued that the religious ceremonies of the Israelites were largely imitations of earlier pagan rituals, which were ultimately enshrined in Mosaic Law.[51] Finally, Locke wrote to Covel in October 1700, urging him to print his English translation of the Hindu *Bhagavata Purana* (though he never did), which Covel had received (not written) over two decades before from the late John Marshall (1642-77), formerly a student at Christ's and subsequently a factor for the EIC.[52]

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[49] Add. MS 22910, 417r, 446r-51v. For Abendana, and his relationship with Covel, see David S. Katz, 'The Abendana Brothers and the Christian Hebraists of Seventeenth-Century England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40, no. 1 (1989): 28–52.

[50] Add. MS 22911, 50; Katz, 'The Abendana Brothers', 48-49.

[51] 'Catalogue of the Library of John Covel', Add. MS 70485, 20r; Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken*, 154–57; Guy G. Stroumsa, 'John Spencer and the Roots of Idolatry', *History of Religions* 41, no. 1 (2001): 1–23; Dmitri Levitin, 'John Spencer's "De Legibus Hebraeorum" (1683–85) and "Enlightened" Sacred History: A New Interpretation', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 76 (2013): 49–92.

[52] 'John Locke to John Covel: Friday, 5 November 1700', Electronic Enlightenment Scholarly Edition of Correspondence, 2008, http://www.e-enlightenment.com/item/lockjoOU0070172a1c/?letters=corr&s=coveljohn0004729&r=19, accessed 9 September 2021; Anna Winterbottom, *Hybrid Knowledge in the Early East India Company World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 82–111.

In 1722, only months before his death, there appeared Covel's first and only published work, his *Account of the Present Greek Church*. Historians have generally regarded Covel's *Account* as an outdated pro-Anglican extension of the transubstantiation debates of the 1670s.[53] Any additional analysis of the work has tended to focus on Covel's argument that the Greek Church had been wholly corrupted by Catholic missionaries, which was certainly a notion that Covel communicated more forcefully in his *Account* than in his travel diaries from the 1670s.[54] Some historians have attributed the more overtly anti-Greek animus of *Account* to Covel's desire to undermine ongoing negotiations between Greek patriarchs and non-juring members of the Anglican Church, who had refused to swear allegiance to William III (r. 1689-1702) and his wife, Mary II (r. 1689-94), following the deposition of James II in 1688.[55] Yet scholars have failed to pick up on how Covel's *Account* also highlights the crystallisation of several other areas of his thought, most notably those relating to 'ye inner practice of religion', or 'inward affection'. This process of crystallisation is particularly apparent if we compare some of Covel's comments in his *Account* with those in his travel diaries and correspondence from the late seventeenth century. In other words, Covel's manuscripts illuminate important parts of his *Account*, which might otherwise be overlooked when studying the work independently, or without a detailed appreciation of Covel's earlier, unpublished writings.

Despite its title, Covel's *Account of the Present Greek Church* described several forms of religious worship alongside Greek Orthodoxy, all of which Covel had experienced first-hand on his travels abroad, including Catholicism, Islam, Judaism and other forms of

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[53] See esp. van der Berg, 'Religious Currents and Cross-Currents', 58–59; Leedham-Green, 'Covel'; Pollard, *The Quest for Classical Greece*, 20.

[54] Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox*, 108–55; Lash, '"Incoherent Pageantry" or "Sincere Devotion"'; Pollard, *The Quest for Classical Greece*, 181–82; Mills, *Commerce of Knowledge*, 221–23.

[55] Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox*, 109; Pollard, *The Quest for Classical Greece*, 21. For the non-jurors and Eastern Christianity, see Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox*, 156–97; Ann Shukman, 'The Non-Jurors, Peter the Great, and the Eastern Patriarchs', in *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years After the 'Greek College' in Oxford*, ed. Peter M. Doll (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 175–91.

Eastern Christianity, such as that of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Crucially, Covel continued to elaborate in his *Account*, using his experiences of different religions and creeds, on the value of what he had earlier termed 'ye inner practice of religion'. As we saw at the start of the previous chapter, it was in his *Account* that Covel argued that disputes over 'meer outward *forms of Godliness*' were ultimately irrelevant, since what really mattered was what he called '*inward Affection*', which was much harder to simulate. According to Covel, it was exemplified by 'the *unfeigned Exercise* of a holy life', which was one marked by good works and virtues such as conviction and sincerity.[56]

In Covel's mind, such a view of religion, which focused on inward affection over mere outward form, was more consistent with 'the Moral Law … written upon the Heart of Man, and there *born with him*.'[57] Although Jesus was, for Covel, the ultimate exemplar of this law, parts of it were also discernible via the 'Rules and Dictates *of Natural*, as well as *Revealed Religion*.'[58] Consequently, '*any meer Man*', Covel wrote, whether Christian or not, '*is capable* … of Judging what is *morally Good* and *what is Evil*; … and by Consequence, hath in him a Freedom and a Power to obey or disobey this Law'.[59] This was one of the main reasons that Covel had warned his fellow Christians, at the start of his *Account*, not to be '*so proud* and rash as to Damn all the World who are not absolutely of your Mind in all the outward Formalities of Religion', advising them against '*doting* and quarreling about empty, doubtfull, and unnecessary, *Questions*'.[60] As we have explored, Covel had carried this attitude with him during his travels in the 1670s.

With his comments about 'the Moral Law', which he said cut across religious and sectarian boundaries, Covel reflected the emphases of his intellectual mentors, Cudworth

[56] Covel, *Some Account*, 281–84.
[57] Ibid., 283.
[58] Ibid., lviii.
[59] Ibid., 283–84.
[60] Ibid., lvii–lviii.

and More, both of whom had stressed the importance to religion of the exercise of reason and free will, on the grounds that religious truth could be found in multiple places. This view was undoubtedly confirmed to Covel by his experiences of travel. In his *Account*, the former chaplain maintained that most religions and sects were alike, insofar as they all valued good works and virtue among their worshippers. At one stage, Covel asked his readers:

> Is there any Congregation or Society of Christians or other Worshippers of the true God who teach or allow of *Adultery*, or any other of *the Works of the Flesh*? Though here and there some Licentious, Atheistical, Prophane or Jesuitical Spirits, may endeavour to mince, or lessen, or palliate many of them, yet they all seem unanimously to Detest and publickly Abhor both the Names and the very Things.[61]

Against this backdrop, Covel urged fellow Christians to distinguish themselves from worshippers of other religions and creeds via their exemplary moral conduct. He maintained that Jesus had come to advance morality '*to its highest Perfection in the Hearts of Men* … call me *a Formalist* or meer *Moralist* or what he pleaseth, I shall matter it not.'[62] Covel added that he could 'never sufficiently admire the great Erasmus, who bid Christians first overcome the Turks by their Lives, before they attempt to Conquer them by their Arms'.[63] Thus by the time that Covel published his *Account* in 1722, his notion of inward affection, which Covel had developed with extensive reference to his earlier experiences of religion within the Mediterranean world, had come to nestle itself at the very heart of his religious thought.

In his *Account*, Covel also returned to the relationship that he imagined to exist between religious ceremony and custom, on the one hand, and the inner practice of religion, on the other. Covel argued, as usual, that religious ceremonies were only of value insofar as they enabled worshippers to develop the 'inward affection' that he regarded as so important

[61] Ibid., lviii.
[62] Ibid., lvii–lix.
[63] Ibid., lix.

to religion. In his chapter on the Greeks' '*Penance* and *Auricular Confession*', for instance, Covel insisted that 'it is only *the Heart*, and the inward Affection and change of the Mind, not opus operatum, *the outward Performance*, or *bare doing of Penance*[,] that any ways recommend us to God.'[64] It was equally on the basis of inward affection that Covel recommended the sign of the cross to his readers, just as he had done to Womock in his draft letter. Towards the end of his chapter on religious imagery, Covel reiterated his belief that the sign of the cross had been used among early Christians to communicate an affirming faith. He referred, yet again, to the Bedouins of North Africa, whose faces were inked with crosses, as well as to his experiences among the Eastern Christians of the Ottoman Empire, 'when you can by no other Language be understood', noting that '*this very Crossing your self* expresses to every one what you are; no *Turk*, or *Jew*, or *Heathen* will do it.' Finally, in the same section of his *Account*, Covel retold his story of 'a poor Greek', the sign of the cross and that Greek's execution at the hands of the Ottomans, following his refusal to convert to Islam. In a passage that he adapted, almost word for word, from his draft letter to Womock, Covel recalled that:

> … when we could not hear any thing which he said in the throng which prest about him, he almost continually *Crost himself* after the Greeks manner; publickly and stedfastly thereby professing himself to live and die a Christian. Thus according to the very words of our Church in Baptism, *he was not ashamed to confess the Faith of Christ Crucified, and manfully to fight under his Banner, as his Faithfull Soldier and Servant to his Lives end*. This shews *the Grand and Primitive use of the Sign of the Cross* …[65]

As we have seen, Covel's thoughts on all of these matters, that is to say, those relating to inward affection and its interaction with ceremony and custom, and the practicalities of religious worship, were crystallised as a result of his travels overseas, and

[64] Ibid., 263.
[65] Ibid., 391–92.

due to his exposure to the religious diversity of the Ottoman world in particular. In other words, the substance of Covel's thinking about these issues can be discerned in his travel diaries from the 1670s, which therefore help to illuminate important parts of Covel's *Account* of nearly five decades later, beyond its rather belated engagement with debates over transubstantiation. In light of these more complex elements of Covel's religious thought, which go well above and beyond the transubstantiation issue, it certainly seems unfair to suggest, as Judith Pinnington has done, that Covel's remarks about 'outward' similarities between different religious traditions constitute 'the only instance of depth which he has left us'.[66]

Conclusion

Covel's travels overseas, which took him through vast swathes of Western Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, brought him into close contact with worshippers from several different religions and creeds, including Catholicism; Eastern Christianity (particularly the Greek Church, but also other denominations such as the Armenian Apostolic Church); both Rabbinic and Karaite Judaism; and Islam. Covel visited places of worship, attended rites and ceremonies, interrogated worshippers and generally immersed himself in various religious cultures, most notably within the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, Covel's writings from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and particularly his travel diaries, which cover several hundred pages of folios alone, can be said to represent a cruder, as well as more immediate and truncated form of early modern religious compendia, which sought to catalogue the rites and beliefs of religions both past and present.[67] Interestingly, some of

[66] Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox*, 122–23.
[67] For religious compendia in seventeenth-century British scholarship, see Mills, 'Alexander Ross's *Pansebeia*'.

the religious information that Covel recorded in his diaries, and later adapted for his *Account*, regarding the Patriarch of Jerusalem in the 1670s, and the general 'character' of Greek Christians at that time, was subsequently incorporated into one of the most celebrated and influential religious compendia of the eighteenth century: Bernard Picart and Jean-Frédéric Bernard's seminal *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Religious ceremonies and customs of all the peoples of the world), which appeared in seven weighty volumes between 1723 and 1737.[68]

Over the last two chapters, we have explored Covel's perceptions of the myriad religious cultures of the Mediterranean world. I have demonstrated that he approached these cultures comparatively, in a manner that frequently undermined the notion that sharp distinctions existed between Christians and non-Christians, and between Christians and Muslims especially. I have also argued that Covel used the religious diversity of this world, and of the Ottoman Empire in particular, to evolve a view of the worship of God, and of the practice of the Church of England specifically, which centred on the 'inward affection' of worshippers, or 'the *unfeigned Exercise* of a holy Life', involving the performance of good works, combined with the pursuit of more abstract virtues such as sincerity, solemnity, patience, moderation, faith, honesty and conviction. Within this framework, we have also examined how Covel used his experiences of religion overseas in order to think more deeply about which kinds of ceremonies were both consistent with, and promoted, 'inward affection', and which were not, and to thereby reconcile 'ye inner practice of religion' with outward custom and form. In this way, we have seen how Covel worked through the problems of contemporary Anglican debates with recourse to his experiences of travel

[68] Bernard Picart and Jean-Frédéric Bernard, *Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses de Tous Les Peuples Du Monde*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1733), 62n. For the importance of Picart and Bernard's work in the development of comparative religious studies, see Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob, and W. W. Mijnhardt, *The Book That Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard's Religious Ceremonies of the World* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010).

abroad. This is something that we shall continue to explore in the next chapter, as we turn to one of Covel's friends and fellow travellers in the eastern Mediterranean, Sir George Wheler.

Chapter IV: Anglicanism, Orthodoxy and 'Primitive' Christianity: George Wheler and the Greek Church

Following the restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, defenders of the Church of England were increasingly vocal in their support of the notion that Anglicans were among the most faithful disciples of the early Christian tradition. During the 1670s and the 1680s in particular, leading Anglicans placed enormous value on knowledge of the early Church and the Church Fathers; knowledge that could be used both to defend the established Church and to inspire means for its reform.[1] One of many Anglicans in the 1680s to reflect on the relationship between early Christianity, on the one hand, and the present Anglican Church, on the other, was the English traveller Sir George Wheler (1651-1724), who had visited parts of Greece and Asia Minor between 1675 and 1676, travelling briefly with Covel from Istanbul to Bursa (see fig. 10).[2]

Following his return to England in the autumn of 1676, Wheler was knighted and ordained in 1683. Just over six years later, in 1689, Wheler published a short *Account of the Churches, or Places of Assembly, of the Primitive Christians*.[3] In his *Account*, Wheler mounted a strident defence of the government and fabric of the Church of England, both of which, he argued, were the most faithful to the 'primitive' Christian tradition. At the same

[1] See, for example, Duffy, 'Primitive Christianity Revived'; Jean-Louis Quantin, 'The Fathers in Seventeenth-Century Anglican Theology', in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 987–1008; Hugh de Quehen, 'Politics and Scholarship in the Ignatian Controversy', *The Seventeenth Century* 13, no. 1 (1998): 69–84; John Spurr, '"A Special Kindness for Dead Bishops": The Church, History, and Testimony in Seventeenth-Century Protestantism', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68, no. 1–2 (2005): 313–34; Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*.

[2] N. G. Wilson, 'Wheler, Sir George (1651–1724), Church of England Clergyman and Scholar', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 3 January 2008, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29193, accessed 16 September 2021. For Covel and Wheler, see below.

[3] Sir George Wheler, *An Account of the Churches, or Places of Assembly, of the Primitive Christians; from the Churches of Tyre, Jerusalem, and Constantinople. Described by EUSEBIUS. And Ocular Observations of Several Very Ancient Edifices of Churches yet Extant in Those Parts. With a Seasonable Application* (London, 1689).

time, Wheler referred to the interior layout and spatial division of ancient churches in order to respond to one of the Church of England's most intractable problems under James II: its relationship with Protestant dissenters, whom it sought either to convert or 'comprehend', as we saw in Chapters II and III. Like many of his Anglican colleagues, then, Wheler used his knowledge of early Christianity both to defend the established Church and to suggest means for its reform, within the increasingly fraught religious and political context of the later 1680s.

What distinguished Wheler from many of his colleagues, however, was the fact that he rooted much of his knowledge of the early Church, and of its sites and forms of worship specifically, in what he called 'Ocular', or first-hand observation. For between 1675 and 1676, Wheler had travelled around large parts of Anatolia and Greece, where he had examined the ruins of ancient churches, and visited the sites of those 'yet Extant' (see fig. 11). In the writing of his *Account of the Churches … of the Primitive Christians*, Wheler therefore drew on these 'Ocular Observations', believing that his experiences of travel had equipped him with a deeper understanding of early Christian worship. In other words, while most of Wheler's Anglican colleagues articulated the identity of the early Church, and thereby that of the Church of England, with reference to Scripture and ancient Christian texts, Wheler, like Covel, combined such biblical and historical scholarship with his own empirical research, made possible by his travels overseas. In this respect, Wheler's work, along with that of Covel, serves to remind historians that the Western study of early Christianity in this period consisted of more than simply examining the Bible, or the writings of the Church Fathers, within academic and university settings.

In his overseas quest for, and research into, the early Church, however, Wheler had been brought face-to-face with the Greek Orthodox Church, whose worshippers typically inhabited those primitive churches that were 'yet Extant'. As a result, Wheler was frequently

studying the ancient Church through the prism of seventeenth-century Greek Orthodoxy. This 'Greek lens', to coin a phrase, becomes particularly apparent when we compare Wheler's *Account* of the early churches from 1689 with his earlier, published account of his travels throughout Greece and Asia Minor, which had appeared under the title of *A Journey into Greece* in 1682.[4] To some extent, Wheler's use of this 'Greek lens' was hardly unusual. Indeed, as we shall see over the course of the next two chapters, there were many Restoration Anglicans who regarded the Greek Orthodox as witnesses to ancient tradition, including over the issue of transubstantiation, and for confirmation of the Anglican view that the blood and body of Christ were only symbolically present within the Eucharistic elements, as opposed to literally present, as Catholics maintained.[5] Yet unlike most of his fellow Anglicans, Wheler was in a position to engage with Greek Orthodoxy on the basis of lived experience. Consequently, Wheler's intellectual and practical involvement with the Greek Church was considerably more all-embracing than that of the vast majority of his Anglican colleagues, both consciously and unconsciously, and extended to his treatment of such diverse Anglican themes as church architecture and government, liturgy and theology, and practical devotion and domestic piety.

This chapter will argue that Wheler's defence of the government and fabric of the established Anglican Church, and his suggestions for its reform vis-à-vis dissenters, owed as much to his encounter with the early modern Greek Church as they did to his understanding of early Christianity. It will explore how in spite of Wheler's many criticisms of the contemporary state of Eastern Christianity, his writings from between the 1670s and the 1690s commonly blurred the distinction between the ancient and Greek Orthodox traditions, in ways, perhaps unsurprisingly, that suited his pro-Anglican polemic. This

[4] Wheler, *Journey*.
[5] See Chapter II, esp. n.43.

contention forms part of a broader argument, which will be made over the course of the next two chapters, that Wheler's first-hand engagement with Greeks and the Greek Church, which took place both in England and overseas during the later seventeenth century, prompted him to reflect on how Anglicans, and Anglican clerics in particular, might safeguard and bolster their authority and independence, at a time when both were seemingly threated by popery and dissent. Within this broader context, the following two chapters will examine how Wheler, using his first-hand experience of the Greek Church, developed a clericalist vision of Anglicanism, which emphasised the value of learning and a rich devotional culture. On this first point, we shall see how Wheler's vision of Anglicanism foregrounded the authority of its uniquely 'Learned' bishops, priests and deacons, in the first instance, and the Christian learning of its lay members, in the second. Indeed, we shall explore how Wheler connected the authority and singularity of Anglicans, and of Anglican clerics specifically, to their ability to provide religious edification for their charges, and to ensure that they conformed entirely to the doctrine and discipline of the recent Book of Common Prayer (1662).

In this first chapter, we shall begin with a brief overview of Wheler's itinerary overseas, before exploring his repudiation of the notion that transubstantiation was a Greek as well as Catholic doctrine, which would have otherwise undermined the parallels that Wheler drew between the Greek Church and early Christianity, at least in Anglican eyes. We shall proceed by examining Wheler's defence, with frequent reference to the Greek Church, of two issues, both of which were central to the authority of the Anglican clergy: episcopacy and the sanctity of the altar. We shall then consider how Wheler used his observations of church architecture in Anatolia and Greece in order to identity a pedagogical solution to the problem of dissent, which bypassed the need for persecution, and simultaneously helped to cement the 'Learned' authority of the Anglican clergy. Finally, we

shall examine how between the 1670s and the 1690s, Wheler used his first-hand experience of Greek Orthodox monasticism, which had both fascinated and greatly impressed him overseas, in order to develop a unique scheme for domestic Anglican piety, and a richer devotional culture within the established Church. We shall explore how this scheme drew on Wheler's educational conception of Anglican authority and singularity, albeit within a domestic, family context, and how Wheler regarded this endeavour as consistent with the uncorrupted monastic traditions of the early Church.

Wheler's Eastern Travels, Transubstantiation and the Greek Church

In the early 1670s, George Wheler, an alumnus of Lincoln College, Oxford, came into a large inheritance, and decided to use the money in order to travel to continental Europe in the company of his former Oxford tutor, George Hickes (1642-1715).[6] From October 1673, Hickes and Wheler travelled throughout France and Switzerland together, before Hickes returned to England in 1674, where he would later become chaplain to Charles II and dean of Worcester.[7] In the meantime, Wheler continued to Rome, where he met the Huguenot doctor and antiquary Jacob Spon (1645-87).[8] Both Wheler and Spon were keen to visit

[6] Much of what historians know about Wheler's early life comes from an autobiographical manuscript account of January 1701, in which Wheler wrote about his family background and life to October 1673, or the eve of his travels. See London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3286, 1r-32r. This autobiographical manuscript has been published in E. G. Wheler, ed., *Autobiography of Sir George Wheler* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1911), 1–30. There are also several modern biographies of Wheler, all of which draw heavily on his own account of his early life. See R. W. Ramsey, 'Sir George Wheler and His Travels in Greece, 1650-1724', *Essays by Divers Hands* 19 (1942): 1–38; C. E. Whiting, 'Sir George Wheler, Prebendary of Durham, 1650-1723', *Transactions of the Architectural & Archaeological Society of Durham & Northumberland* 10, no. 1 (1946): 83–100; C. W. J. Eliot, 'George Wheler, Christian Traveler and Philosopher', *Echos Du Monde Classique: Classical News and Views* 22, no. 1 (1978): 13–24; Caroline Knight, 'The Travels of the Rev. Sir George Wheler', *The Georgian Group Journal* 10 (2000): 21–35; Wilson, 'Wheler'.

[7] For Hickes, see Theodor Harmsen, 'Hickes, George (1642–1715), Bishop of the Nonjuring Church of England and Antiquary', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13203?rskey=yKD4f9&result=11, accessed 16 September 2021.

[8] For Spon, see Irini Apostolou, 'Jacob Spon', Christian-Muslim Relations 1500 - 1900, n.d., https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-ii/jacob-spon-

Anatolia and Greece, and in June 1675, after Wheler had spent some more time in Italy, they sailed from Venice for Istanbul, accompanying the incoming Venetian ambassador to the Ottoman Porte. They reached the Ottoman capital at the end of September, having visited Corfu, Zante and the Cyclades along the way. Wheler and Spon left Istanbul in the middle of October, when they joined a group of Levant Company employees bound for Izmir. This group included Covel, though he accompanied them for only part of the way, to Bursa. Wheler and Spon sailed from Izmir to Zante in November, where they remained until just after Christmas. They reached Athens (via Patras) in February 1676, explored the city together and visited 'Adjacent Places' in Attica and Boeotia, before Spon decided to return to France in March. Wheler continued to explore Attica and Boeotia for several more weeks at least, though he was back in Athens for Easter. He subsequently returned to England via Italy and France, recording his arrival in Canterbury on 15 November 1676.[9]

As we saw with Covel in Chapter II, Anglicans in this period frequently looked to the Greek Church for confirmation of their view that Christ was only symbolically present in the Eucharist, not physically present, as Catholics argued. As Wheler travelled throughout Greece and Asia Minor, however, he encountered a major problem in this regard: most of the Greeks whom he met appeared to accept the Real Presence argument.[10] This, of course, posed a serious challenge to Wheler's use of the Greeks in order to learn more about aspects of early Christianity. For what could Anglicans possibly learn about primitive practice from a Church that took such an idolatrous view of the sacrament, and that appeared to ally itself with the Catholic Church in one of the most important religious controversies of the day? Consequently, Wheler was compelled to circumvent this challenge, and as we shall see, he argued (like Covel) that the only Greeks who accepted the doctrine of transubstantiation

COM_28374?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.christian-muslim-relations-ii&s.q=Jacob+Spon, accessed 16 September 2021.

[9] Wheler, *Journey*.

[10] Ibid., esp. 196-98.

were those who had come under the corrupting influence of Catholic missionaries.[11] In this way, Wheler dispelled a concern that would have otherwise fatally undermined the Greek Church (and with it, his argument) in the eyes of most Anglicans. At the same time, Wheler's response highlighted his deeper understanding of the Greek Church, which flowed from his direct engagement with Orthodox worship and worshippers. Having dealt with the transubstantiation issue, Wheler was free to invoke the Greek Church in relation to early Christianity, and hence to the Anglican Church, which he did frequently in his writings from between the 1670s and the 1690s.

Wheler's *Account* (1689), Episcopacy and the Sanctity of the Altar

In his *Account*, which described the architecture, design and worship of early churches, Wheler defended one of the more contested aspects of the Restoration Church: its episcopal structure. During the restoration of the Church between 1660 and 1662, a group of leading Anglicans, many of whom were based out of the University of Oxford, had scuppered proposals for a 'reduced episcopacy' along the lines favoured (albeit reluctantly) by Presbyterians such as Richard Baxter.[12] The result was a rigidly episcopal church settlement, for as R. A. Beddard has observed, these Anglicans 'were intransigent episcopalians of the most dogmatic kind, believing episcopacy to be of the *esse*, not merely of the *bene esse*, of their church.'[13] In their defence of episcopacy, Anglicans commonly invoked the notion of 'apostolic succession', or the idea that bishops derived their authority from the Apostles via a continuous succession of ministers.[14] The notion of apostolic succession, and the defence

[11] For Catholic missionaries in the early modern Middle East, see Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens Du Proche-Orient*.
[12] Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 132–45; R. A. Beddard, 'Restoration Oxford and the Remaking of the Protestant Establishment', in *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 829–30.
[13] Beddard, 'Restoration Oxford', 830.
[14] Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 151–52.

of episcopacy more broadly, became an overriding concern among Anglicans from 1685, following the accession of the Catholic James, as the Church of England sought to distance itself from the Crown.[15]

The emergence of episcopacy as a major issue among Anglicans in this period is reflected in Wheler's *Account*, which he completed in 1688, and which features a considerable amount of pro-episcopal polemic, unlike Wheler's first publication, *Journey*, which had appeared in 1682.[16] In the first chapter of his *Account*, Wheler alluded to the notion of apostolic succession, when he referred to both Jesus, and to 'Those that he left to be his *Successors* in the Ministry of Holy things'.[17] As we can see by his mention of Jesus, Wheler also gestured here to another popular Anglican defence of episcopacy: that it was '*iure divino*', or instituted by divine law or right. Anglicans frequently employed the notion of divine right episcopacy against the Church of Rome, for it challenged the Catholic notion that bishops derived their authority from the pope, who reigned supreme among them.[18] Following the accession of James in 1685, however, it became increasingly common for Anglicans to invoke the divine right argument against another target: Erastians, or those who sought to extend the state's control over the Church. In this way, the notion of divine right episcopacy constituted another weapon in the Anglican Church's fight against James' increasingly pro-Catholic agenda.[19]

The defence of episcopacy, whatever form that defence might take, therefore ranked highly among Wheler's aims in his *Account*. On this point, Wheler wrote at times in fairly general terms, noting, for instance, that the Church had lately been 'so happily Restored to the Purity of the Primitive Doctrine and *Government*; … we have an Orthodox

[15] Jacqueline Rose, *Godly Kingship in Restoration England: The Politics of the Royal Supremacy, 1660-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 129–62.
[16] Wheler, *Account*, sig. A3r (for Wheler completing his *Account* in 1688).
[17] Ibid., 3. Italics added for emphasis.
[18] Rose, *Godly Kingship*, 150–51.
[19] Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 145–48; Rose, *Godly Kingship*, 135–36.

and Learned Clergy; consisting of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons.'[20] In order to establish the 'Primitive' credentials of episcopacy, Wheler cited St Ignatius (d. c. 107), the former Bishop of Antioch, explaining that Ignatius had compared 'the *Bishop* in the Church to *Christ*, and the *Presbyters* to the *Apostles*.'[21] Wheler's Anglican colleagues would no doubt have nodded approvingly at his use of Ignatius, whose letters, to which they referred frequently, appeared to confirm their view that the Apostolic Church had been governed by bishops, who had presided over priests or 'Presbyters'. The Anglican defence of episcopacy via Ignatius had received a decisive boost in 1645, when the Archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher (served 1625-56), published a Latin translation of the so-called 'Ignatian epistles', which appeared to put their previously disputed credibility beyond reasonable doubt.[22]

Yet because of his experiences in Anatolia and Greece, Wheler was able to do more to defend his pro-episcopal stance than simply cite Ignatius, whose letters, though undoubtedly helpful, were arguably insufficient by themselves. In his *Account*, Wheler emphasised the visible authority of bishops within the 'Primitive Churches' that he had visited on his travels in the 1670s. In his chapter on the ancient church of Tyre, in which he merged his own observations (of other early churches) with those of Eusebius (concerning Tyre itself), Wheler explained that bishops in the early church sat 'on a Seat on High in the Holy Place', or near the altar, in order 'to shew the Duty of … [their] Office', and 'to look down upon the people committed to their Charge'.[23] If we return to *Journey* for a moment, we can see that Wheler's argument here, regarding the visible authority of bishops within 'Primitive Churches', stemmed at least partly from his observations of Greek Orthodox worship within the eastern Mediterranean. During his stay in Athens in February and March

[20] Wheler, *Account*, 109–10. Italics added for emphasis.
[21] Ibid., 93–94.
[22] Quantin, 'The Fathers', 1002–3; Quehen, 'Politics and Scholarship'; Spurr, '"A Special Kindness for Dead Bishops"', 322–23; Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, 267–68.
[23] Wheler, *Account*, 30–32.

1676, for instance, Wheler had entered the '*Catholicon*, as they [the local Orthodox] call[ed] their Cathedral Church', where he witnessed 'the Arch-Bishop wash the Feet of his Priests, in imitation of our Blessed Saviour's Humility, on *Maundy-Thursday*'. On this occasion, Wheler noted that the Archbishop, 'vested in a Violet-colour'd Robe', was 'seated on his Throne'. During the service, he watched the Archbishop descend from his throne to wash the feet of twelve priests, representing the Apostles, before he changed 'the Robe he had on for another more Rich', and finally returned 'again to his Throne'.[24] Only four days later, on Easter Monday, Wheler found himself at the '*Catholicon*' again, listening to the Archbishop deliver his sermon 'from his Throne' (incidentally, the first and only Greek language sermon that Wheler ever heard, by his own admission).[25] In Wheler's telling, these services clearly exalted the authority of the Archbishop above everyone else, including other members of the clergy.

Here are therefore two instances of Orthodox worship that Wheler appears to have later 'read' for evidence of the supremacy of bishops within the *early* Church. Wheler's use of the Greek Church in this way, in order to paint a more comprehensive picture of early Christian worship, and thereby offer tacit support for elements of the present Anglican Church, is apparent in other areas of his work too. Take, for instance, his discussion in his *Account* of the synthronon, a semi-circular structure sometimes found in the apse of early churches, consisting of tiered benches, with the bishop's throne in the middle of the highest tier.[26] In his chapters on the early churches of Tyre and of the Holy Sepulchre, Wheler cited Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* to establish the ancient pedigree of the synthronon.[27] Establishing this pedigree was no doubt important to Wheler, for throughout his *Account*,

[24] Wheler, *Journey*, 350–51.
[25] Ibid., 356.
[26] Vasileios Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 28.
[27] Wheler, *Account*, 29 (for Tyre), 52 (for the Holy Sepulchre).

he characterised the synthronon as emblematic of the authority of bishops and presbyters, in that order, within the early Church. He noted, for instance, that the '*Synthronon* … was placed within the Sacred Place towards the Eastern End, against the Wall', later adding that:

> On this *Throne* and *Synthronon*, both the Bishop and his Presbyters use to sit together; and that very Anciently as S. *Ignatius* intimates in almost all his Epistles: Where he compares the *Bishop* in the Church to *Christ*, and the *Presbyters* to the *Apostles* [see fig. 12].[28]

Wheler therefore treated the synthronon as evidence that episcopacy, and clerical hierarchy more broadly, lay at the heart of early Christian worship. Crucially, Wheler claimed to have studied a synthronon in Bursa in 1675, in a 'great Church turn'd into a Mosque.'[29] Wheler had described this mosque in *Journey*, noting that it was a former '*Metropolitan* Church', or the seat of the local Orthodox bishop. Although the structure was now a mosque housing the tomb of Orhan, the second Ottoman sultan (r. c. 1324-60), Wheler found that remnants of its previous life as an Orthodox place of worship remained, including:

> … the Place of the Altar, … or the Holy Ascent; being according to their Custom, a place containing three Seats one above another, in form of a Semi-circle: On the first the Patriarch and Metropolitans use to sit, on the next the Bishops, and on the other the Presbyters, when the Sacrament was celebrated.[30]

As Vasileois Marinis has shown, synthrona continued to be used within Orthodox worship well into the fifteenth century, when this '*Metropolitan* Church' had been converted into a mosque.[31] Consequently, at least part of Wheler's description of synthrona, which, as we have seen, was a significant element of his pro-episcopal narrative in his *Account*, was therefore drawn from his encounter with a former Greek Orthodox church in Bursa. What

[28] Ibid., 29 (for the initial quote), 93-94 (for the second).
[29] Ibid., 28–33.
[30] Wheler, *Journey*, 216.
[31] Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual*, 28.

we see in these examples, then, is Wheler blurring the line, or distinction, between the early and Orthodox Christian traditions. In some ways, this was arguably inevitable, given that Eastern Christians were guardians of much of the material legacy of the primitive Church within the eastern Mediterranean. In any case, this blurring of boundaries between the early and Orthodox Churches served to heighten the role of the latter in Wheler's pro-Anglican polemic, as we shall continue to see.

In his *Account*, Wheler explored another issue that was inextricably linked to the authority of not only bishops, but also the entire clergy: the sanctity of the altar. On this issue, Wheler notably backed the erection of altar rails, which were strongly opposed by many dissenters. Altar rails were commonly thought to imbibe a more reverential view of the Eucharist and the priestly office, as communicants were expected to kneel solemnly at the rail in order to receive the sacrament from their priest. In his discussion of altar rails, Wheler reflected contemporary Anglican concerns. Following the Restoration, the return to power of leading Laudians in Church and state had led to the re-introduction of altar rails across much of England, as part of a controversial scheme of church beautification that continued to 1700 and beyond.[32] During the 1660s, this scheme had a profound impact on the fabric, fittings and furnishings of Durham Cathedral, where Wheler would become a canon in 1684. Under the Bishop of Durham, John Cosin (served 1660-72), over £4,000 was spent on the repair and decoration of the Cathedral, including the erection of rails in front of the altar, which was returned to the head of the choir at Cosin's orders.[33]

Perhaps Wheler had these decorations in mind when he was writing *Account*, for the work contains a tacit defence of altar rails, which Wheler characterised as an essential feature of early church buildings. Referring to the '*Metropolitan* Church' in Bursa, where

[32] For altar rails and church beautification in Restoration England, see Kenneth Fincham, '"According to Ancient Custom": The Return of Altars in the Restoration Church of England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 13 (2003): 29–54; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 305–52.
[33] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 314, 320–21.

the chancel was separated from the nave by several 'Small Pillars', Wheler judged that some kind of division between the altar and the rest of the church was fundamental to early Church architecture, and ought therefore to be adopted and used within the Church of England.[34] In the same section of text, Wheler concluded that early Christian altars were 'divided from the rest of the Church by Open-work of Wood; … *With Nets or Net-work made of Wood*', though these structures 'only kept off the Croud, but hindered not the sight, nor Voice from being distinctly heard', not unlike rails, of course.[35] In another, slightly later section of *Account*, Wheler stressed 'that only the Clergy should enter in unto the Altar, and there to communicate.'[36] In so doing, Wheler reminded his readers of the relationship that was assumed to exist between the sanctity of the altar, on the one hand, and the authority of the clergy, on the other.

In Wheler's view, the sanctity of the altar was threatened by not only dissenters, but also Catholics, for in Catholic churches, subsidiary altars were typically installed for the invocation of saints. This, of course, was a practice that appalled most English Protestants, having been swept away in England during the sixteenth-century Reformation.[37] In his *Account*, Wheler wrote of the importance of what he called 'The *Unity* of the *Altar*', which he said:

> … was Sacred in the Primitive Church, and is so to this day in the present Greek Church. They never had any more than one Altar in one Church … They never Crammed their Churches with Altars against every Pillar and Post and in every Corner of the Church, dedicated to every Saint and Angel in Heaven and Earth; as the Romans do now.[38]

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[34] Wheler, *Account*, 82–84. Covel, who accompanied Wheler to Bursa, commented in his journal that 'ye sacristia or chancell' was 'divided from ye body of ye church by 4 marble pillars.' See Add. MS 22912, 251r.
[35] Wheler, *Account*, 83.
[36] Ibid., 104.
[37] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 8–38.
[38] Wheler, *Account*, 89–90. The phrase 'the unity of the altar' had been used by Joseph Mede (citing Ignatius) in his *Churches, That Is, Appropriate Places for Christian Worship; Both in, and Ever since the Apostles Times* (London, 1638), 28. It had also been used more recently by Henry Dodwell (1641-1711) in his *Discourse*

What is particularly interesting here is that Wheler invoked the importance of 'the unity of the altar' in not only 'the Primitive', but also the Greek Church, in order to support the Anglican position in this regard. Contemporary Anglicans certainly looked to the Greek Church in order to clarify contentious points of doctrine between the Anglican and Catholic Churches, most notably the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, as we have seen. Yet Wheler's defence via the Greek Church of what he called 'the unity of the altar' was more unusual, reflecting his deeper engagement with the fabric of Orthodox worship. When it came to the status of the altar, Wheler felt that Orthodox Christians had preserved the uncorrupted traditions of their earliest forebears, whose churches, he wrote, exhibited 'Magnificence without Gaudiness; Splendor and Gravity mixt together; Comliness and Beauty, with Order and Reverence: And all far from Foppery and Superstition.'[39] Wheler's reference here to 'Foppery and Superstition' was almost certainly an attack on the Church of Rome, for Wheler, like many Anglicans, frequently accused Catholics of 'Roman Superstition'.[40] For both episcopacy and the sanctity of the altar, then, Wheler drew on his first-hand observations of the Greek Church in order to cement the (at times) rather flimsy scholarly basis for their historicity. In this way, Wheler, like Covel and Terry, added an ethnographic or anthropological basis for his conception of the Church of England, which supplemented scholarly and Scriptural approaches.

Concerning the One Altar and the One Priesthood, Insisted on by the Ancients in Their Disputes against Schism (London, 1683), 1.

[39] Wheler, *Account*, 101.

[40] See, for example, Wheler, *Journey*, 26–27, 355; Wheler, *Account*, 53. See also Chapter VI.

Wheler's *Account* and the Issue of Protestant Dissent

In his comments on episcopacy and the 'unity' and sanctity of the altar, Wheler echoed the views of many conservatively minded clerics, particularly in Durham. In 1683, for instance, Wheler's predecessor as canon, Denis Granville (1637-1703), had boasted to Charles II that Durham was 'without dispute the most exemplary county for good order and conformity of any in the nation', under the supervision of Cosin's successor as bishop, Nathaniel Crew (served 1674-1721).[41] Where Wheler departed from many of his Anglican colleagues, however, as we shall now see, was in his approach towards another major Anglican concern of the period: Protestant dissent. The Church's relationship with dissenters attracted a considerable amount of attention following James' accession in 1685. As the first openly Catholic monarch since Mary I (r. 1553-58), James wanted to improve the condition of English Catholics, and sought to persuade Parliament to repeal laws against his fellow members of the Church of Rome. Parliament was dominated by conservative Anglicans, however, who were deeply hostile to James' pro-Catholic agenda. Frustrated by Parliament, James sought to curry favour with dissenters instead. In March 1686, he issued a pardon to non-conformists imprisoned under the penal code, and in April 1687, he issued his first Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended penal laws against both Catholics and dissenters, awaiting their repeal in Parliament. James' Indulgence alarmed the Church, which began to seek a rapprochement with dissent, however reluctantly.[42]

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[41] Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 320–21.

[42] James Miller, 'James II and Toleration', in *By Force or by Default?: The Revolution of 1688-1689*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), 16–22; Spurr, 'Comprehension', 937–38; Nicholas Tyacke, 'The "Rise of Puritanism" and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571–1719', in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 38–39; Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 88–97; Gordon J. Schochet, 'From Persecution to "Toleration"', in *Liberty Secured? Britain Before and After 1688*, ed. J. R. Jones (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 150–52; Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration*, 187–90.

After James re-issued his Indulgence in April 1688, ordering that 'it be read at the usual time of divine service', seven bishops, among them the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, signed a petition opposing the King's order.[43] In their petition, which was printed and widely distributed, the seven bishops famously assured dissenters that their refusal to read the Declaration stemmed not 'from any want of due tenderness to dissenters, in relation to whom they are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit when that matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and Convocation'.[44] Meetings were subsequently held in London between dissenting leaders and senior Anglican clergy, including Sancroft. Not for the first time, hopes were raised for the 'comprehension' of at least moderate non-conformists within the Church of England, by widening the terms of conformity.[45]

These events provided the backdrop to Wheler's writing of *Account*, which he completed in 1688, and dedicated to fellow Anglican George Hickes on 20 December, shortly after William of Orange's arrival in England (on 5 November) and James' flight from London (on 11 December).[46] That Wheler wrote at least part of his *Account* between 1687 and 1688, covering the crucial period of negotiations between dissenters and the established Church, is suggested by not only the content of the work, with a chapter devoted specifically to dissent, but also by Wheler's later comment, in a letter of 1701, that 'when I printed y^{e} small account of y^{e} Primitive Churches, and y^{e} Convocation being then about to sit [in order to discuss comprehension], I made an Application of y^{t} account, to our then circumstances, and our vain hopes of a union'.[47] Like many of his Anglican colleagues,

[43] Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 92–96.
[44] The text of the petition can be found in Stuart E. Prall, *The Bloodless Revolution: England, 1688* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 312.
[45] Miller, 'James II and Toleration', 21–22; Spurr, 'Comprehension', 937–38; Schochet, 'From Persecution to "Toleration"', 151–52.
[46] Wheler, *Account*, sig. A1v-A3r (for Wheler's dedication to Hickes); Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 97–101 (for William's arrival and James' flight).
[47] Sir George Wheler to William Beveridge, 25 March 1701, MS 3286, 35r.

Wheler was grappling for ways to unite with dissenters in the face of an English Catholicism that now enjoyed the support of the Crown. He was also therefore preparing the Anglican Church for a future in which the persecution of non-conformists was no longer a viable, or even legal option. For although the Act of Toleration (1689), which put a formal end to the active persecution of dissenters, lay in the future, James' Indulgences meant that from 1687, the King and Church were engaged in a battle to win, rather than force, the hearts and minds of non-conformists, and within this context, persecution became largely obsolete.[48] If the Church began to move away from the idea of persecution, however, it remained generally committed to defending the narrow Act of Uniformity (1662), and particularly its stringent terms for the Church's liturgy. Indeed, this commitment was reflected in the nature of Sancroft's meeting with dissenting leaders in July 1688, in which the only specific alteration of the Act of Uniformity discussed was the removal of the so-called 'assent and consent' clause. There was otherwise little of substance to further the cause of comprehension.[49]

This commitment to the established liturgy of the Church of England was also reflected in the scheme that Wheler proposed for the incorporation of non-conformists within the Anglican Church. Wheler outlined this scheme in the final chapter of his *Account*, which he entitled 'The Application to the Church of England'. In this chapter, Wheler applied his knowledge of early Church architecture, which he had elucidated over the course of the preceding chapters, to the reform of the Church of England vis-à-vis dissenters, boasting that his proposals required the alteration of 'no Substantial part of the [Church's] *Liturgy*.'[50] For Wheler, the answer to the problem of dissent lay in how early churches organised their interiors, many of which he had studied first-hand on his travels throughout Greece and Asia Minor. In an earlier chapter of his *Account*, Wheler had described the

[48] Miller, 'James II and Toleration', 19–21.
[49] Spurr, 'Comprehension', 937–38.
[50] Wheler, *Account*, 109–30.

internal design and layout of the average ancient church. He explained that most early churches were designed in such a way that congregations could be segregated not only by gender (of which practice he approved), but also by 'the different Christian Qualities, or Ecclesiastical Degrees of the Persons'. He noted, for instance, that the Christian '*Faithful*', or fully communicant members of the Church, were separated from the '*Penitents*' and '*Katechumenoi*' (catechumens), or '*Learners*', with the penitents and catechumens kept in the narthex, the antechamber at the western end of the church, directly opposite the altar. Here, both of these groups were denied Communion with the Faithful.[51] In *Journey*, Wheler had written of 'porches' in ancient churches across Greece and Asia Minor, most notably on the islands of Corfu and Tenedos, through which penitents and catechumens were sometimes allowed to access the narthex.[52] Hence Wheler concluded in *Journey* that 'in the Ancient Churches of Greece', there was 'every where seen a Portico, or Pronaos, before the entrance into the body of the Church; where the Catechumeni, … or Penitents, … were permitted to enter [see fig. 12].'[53]

Using this principle of church segregation by 'Qualities, or Ecclesiastical Degrees', Wheler developed a novel scheme for reconciling English dissenters to the established Church. In Wheler's view, this scheme would serve as an effective alternative to comprehension, which he feared would require the amendment of the Church's liturgy, to which he was so deeply attached.[54] He began by arguing that although dissenters had 'forsaken our Communion in Prayers and Sacraments', most of them 'would be contented to hear Sermons, and the Holy Scriptures, Read with Us.' On the basis of this assumption,

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[51] Ibid., 69–72.
[52] Ibid., 33-34 (for Corfu), 69-71 (for Tenedos). Although the church in Tenedos was an unoccupied ruin, the church in Corfu was still in use among local Orthodox.
[53] Ibid., 71.
[54] See, for example, Wheler's comments on the Church's liturgy in Sir George Wheler, *The Protestant Monastery: Or, Christian Oeconomicks. Containing Directions for the Religious Conduct of a Family* (London, 1698), esp. 109-10. As we can see by the preface to this work, which is further discussed below, Wheler most likely wrote these remarks in the later 1670s, but only published them in 1698.

Wheler suggested that both dissenters and occasional conformists could be admitted to the aisles of Anglican churches, where they could listen to sermons and Scripture, but leave before the sacrament. This, of course, was similar to the penitents and learners of early Christianity, who were kept in the narthex, as we have seen. Indeed, Wheler invoked these two ancient categories specifically, likening dissenters such as Quakers to catechumens, since they lacked proper religious 'Instruction, and thô [are] Aged, yet are Children in the Knowledge and Grace of Jesus Christ.' He compared occasional conformists, meanwhile, to penitents, for they needed '(in great Compassion to their Souls) to be made sensible of their Danger.' Wheler hoped that his scheme would provide 'Edification, and in time … Effectual Conversion' of dissenters and occasional conformists. In order to make room for these groups in the aisles of Anglican churches, Wheler referred, once again, to the primitive pattern, suggesting that the clergy and 'Faithful', or fully communicant members of the Church of England, be moved to the chancel and choir, respectively. 'And then', Wheler concluded, 'there would be sufficient Place for *Dissenters* of all Sorts in the Iles, with Liberty to come and go when they think fit; or rather by the Admonition of the Minister.'[55]

We know that Wheler had attended several Orthodox ceremonies during the 1670s, including those for Maundy Thursday and Easter Monday in Athens, and there are certainly several reasons to assume that Wheler's response to dissent was shaped and inspired by his earlier observations of the Greek liturgy. In the section of his *Account* where he outlined his scheme for dissenters, Wheler suggested that 'The Sermon might be first Preached in the Body of the Church, according to *S. Chrysostom*'*s* Way', that is to say, according to the Greek liturgy of St Chrysostom (c. 347-407). Many of Wheler's ideas vis-à-vis non-

[55] Wheler, *Account*, 110–17. See also Pierre de la Ruffinière Du Prey, *Hawksmoor's London Churches: Architecture and Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 40; Peter Doll, 'The Architectural Expression of Primitive Christianity: William Beveridge and the Temple of Solomon', *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 13, no. 2 (2011): 291–92; Christopher Moody, '"The Basilica after the Primitive Christians": Liturgy, Architecture and Anglican Identity in the Building of the Fifty New Churches', *Journal of Anglican Studies* 15, no. 1 (2017): 52–53.

conformity bear the imprint of his encounter with this liturgy, most notably his suggestion that certain kinds of worshippers, namely dissenters (like catechumens) and occasional conformists (akin to penitents), might simply leave the church before the sacrament, in the middle of the service. The departure of the catechumens was an important part of the liturgy of St Chrysostom, which prescribed a litany, followed by a prayer, for the catechumens, before instructing the deacon to order the catechumens to leave the service, using the phrase, 'All who are catechumens, depart … Let no Catechumen remain.' The service then proceeded with the liturgy of the faithful, or fully communicant members of the Church, with the deacon announcing, 'Ye who are of the faithful, again and again in peace let us pray of the Lord.'[56] This part of the service featured the Anaphora, or Holy Communion, the most sacred part of the entire liturgy.[57]

Catechumens were certainly a feature of Orthodox worship that drew attention from other English travellers at the time, including Paul Rycaut. In his *Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (1679), to which Wheler gestured in *Journey*, Rycaut wrote of those 'who in riper years fall away from the Faith (as many *Greeks* do for the sake of Women, or escape of punishment)'. He added that:

> … their readmission or reception again into the Church is more difficult; for to some of them there is enjoined a Penance of six or seven years humbling themselves with extraordinary Fasts, and continual Prayer; during which time they remain in the nature of *Catechumeni*, without the use or comfort of the Eucharist, or Absolution.[58]

Similarly, Thomas Smith (1638-1710), who served as chaplain to the English ambassador to Istanbul from 1668 to 1671, just before Covel, and whom Wheler cited repeatedly in

[56] *Service of the Divine and Sacred Liturgy of Our Holy Father John Chrysostom. Translated from the Greek According to the Euchologion, and Compared with the Slavonic* (London: Joseph Masters, 1866), 21–23.
[57] Ibid., 41–50.
[58] Rycaut, *Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, 286–87. Wheler cited this work in his *Journey*, 195–96.

Journey, noted that Orthodox deacons ordered the 'Catechumeni' to leave the service shortly before the start of the Eucharist.[59]

Another indication that contemporary Orthodox worship impacted Wheler's response to non-conformity is his argument, made within the context of his scheme for dissenters, that Anglican congregations should be segregated by gender. In *Journey*, Wheler had written about Athenian 'Wives', who 'come to Church *Sundays* and *Holy-Days*; but mix not with the Men, when they are there'. He noticed that 'most of their Churches are divided into Three Isles; the Men stand in the Middle, and the Women on each hand of the Men by themselves'. Wheler also observed that 'after the Gospel, and Anthem, … they [the members of the congregation] salute one another round the Church, beginning with the *Pappa*; and so in order, *the Men by themselves, and the Women by themselves*.'[60] In his *Account*, Wheler argued that gender segregation should be applied to Anglican services, on the grounds that 'the General mixture of Men and Women in the Latin Church is notoriously Scandalous; and Little less is their Sitting together in the same Pews in our *London* Churches.'[61]

Thus Wheler's scheme for dissent, which he developed with recourse to his experiences of travel overseas, and of the Greek Church specifically, was based on pedagogy as opposed to persecution. For although Wheler made no mention of how the established Church could induce dissenters to attend its services in the first place, it seems fair to assume, given Wheler's comments in his *Account*, that persecution would *not* be involved:

> And concerning the Truth it self, Children may; but Men will not be forced to learn … since so great a Part of Mankind are, and ever will be, either Ignorant, Prejudiced, or

[59] Thomas Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church, As To Its Doctrine and Rites of Worship* (London, 1680), 132. See also Theodor Harmsen, 'Smith, Thomas (1638–1710), Scholar', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25912?rskey=t0U9gU&result=21, accessed 16 September 2021. For an example of Wheler citing Smith, see *Journey*, 195–96.
[60] Wheler, *Journey*, 356–57. Italics added for emphasis.
[61] Wheler, *Account*, 82.

> Invincibly Obstinate … Therefore, I say, it would certainly be very happy for the Christian World, That some such Rational Method were Ordered, as may with more Ease *Lead* them into Christ's Flock, rather than *Drive* them. For Mankind was ever naturally averse to Force and Violence. It is only Force of Argument, that can convince the Rational Soul.[62]

In this way, Wheler consolidated the idea that a mission to educate, without coercion, should be at the heart of the image that the Church of England presented to the world.[63] For as we have seen, Wheler wanted Anglican clerics to serve as teachers, not only to their congregations, but also to 'penitents' and 'learners', in order to solve the problem of non-conformity. In Wheler's mind, this scheme would preserve and promote the Church's 'Orthodox and Learned Clergy; consisting of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons', which presided over 'as Pious, Noble, and Well-informed, not to say as Learned a Laity, as any Age of the World can boast of, and few Equal.'[64] We shall return to this educational vision of Anglicanism in the next chapter, when we discuss Wheler's involvement, during the 1690s, in the establishment of a college in Oxford for Greek Orthodox students. For now, however, we shall turn to another area of Wheler's engagement with Greek Orthodoxy: his view of its monastic practices.

Wheler, Greek Orthodox Monasticism and *The Protestant Monastery* (1698)

In their writings about the Greek Church, both Covel and Wheler emphasised the historical and ongoing decline of that institution, highlighting the ignorance and poverty of most of its members, as well as their persecution at the hands of the Ottomans. As we have seen, Covel referred to the Greeks as 'meer beasts and the worst of slaves', while Wheler wrote of 'the

[62] Ibid., 106–7.
[63] For examples of the Church's mission to convince (as well as convict) dissenters during the 1680s, see Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 85–86.
[64] Wheler, *Account*, 109.

gross Ignorance of that poor depressed Nation', claiming that Greek worship had been corrupted by Catholic missionaries, and was constantly 'trampled upon' by the Ottomans.[65] Nevertheless, if we read somewhat against the grain of Covel and Wheler's texts, we detect important flashes of life within their respective depictions of Greek Orthodoxy, particularly when it comes to monasticism. As we have seen, Covel was the first English traveller to visit, and write a first-hand account of, the Orthodox monasteries of Mount Athos. Covel found that the churches and chapels therein, which were richly decorated with holy relics and sacred art, were 'infinitely before', or superior to, the rather meagre and run-down seat of the Patriarch of Constantinople, which Covel had described, by contrast, as 'a miserable, poor, despicable thing.'[66] Although Wheler never made it to Mount Athos, he was similarly impressed by the Greek monasteries that he encountered elsewhere. In fact, Wheler's appreciation of Orthodox monasticism can be said to have gone significantly further than Covel's. As we shall see in this section, Wheler came to regard Greek monasteries as sites of considerable learning and profound spirituality, which had largely maintained the uncorrupted traditions and worship of the early Church. In Wheler's mind, this was particularly true of the more remote monastic institutions that he visited, for their isolation had served to protect them from the nefarious influence of Catholic missionaries, who had so corrupted Greek worship elsewhere. In other words, Wheler exhibited a deep respect for Orthodox monasteries, and within this context, he sought to replicate within Anglicanism many of their principles of organisation and worship, in a manner that was consistent with his broader educational vision of the faith, and with his desire for a richer devotional culture.

Wheler's depiction of monasticism as one of the more vibrant areas of seventeenth-century Greek Orthodoxy, particularly when it came to learning, reflected broader historical

[65] Add. MS 22912, 16v; Wheler, *Journey*, 194–98.
[66] Add. MS 22912, 104; Hasluck, 'The First English Traveller's Account'.

realities. As several historians have recently shown, the early modern Greek Church was marked by adaptation and renewal as well as decline, and monasticism was certainly one part of the Church that not only survived in this period, but also frequently thrived.[67] In the fifteenth century, as the Ottomans conquered large parts of Greece and the rest of the Balkans, urban life in these areas was gradually Islamicised, and Christianity's 'centre of gravity' across the eastern Mediterranean 'shifted into the rural areas[,] where monasteries, especially in Mount Athos, prospered.'[68] By the early sixteenth century, a burst of monastic construction was underway in the rural Balkans, which indicates that there was considerable wealth within local Christian communities at the time.[69] As a result of negotiations with the Ottomans, some of which had taken place before the latter's conquest of Constantinople in 1453, monasteries in the Ottoman Empire benefitted from various privileges (most notably a favourable tax status), which 'ensured that monasteries and monastic holdings would not only be preserved, but would also expand under the Ottomans, despite a moment of crisis in the late sixteenth century.'[70] Indeed, although there was a sharp decline in monastic construction from the later sixteenth century, the onset of the seventeenth century witnessed the emergence of 'small monasteries … in out-of-the-way areas that had no previous tradition of monastic life', including parts of southern and continental Greece, where Wheler would later travel. At the same time, seventeenth-century monasteries continued to attract

[67] Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks*.
[68] Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430-1950* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 35. See also Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks*, 2–5. In this section, Greene rightly observes that although the centre of gravity of Balkan Christianity shifted over the course of this period into the countryside, urban areas across the region continued to accommodate substantial Christian populations.
[69] Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks*, 9–12. Although the construction of new churches and monasteries was technically forbidden by Islamic law, the Ottomans engineered several ways around this prohibition, without ever eliminating the prohibition itself. After all, churches and monasteries were a useful source of revenue for the Empire. See Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 58; Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks*, 20.
[70] Greene, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks*, 12–14. It should be noted, however, that urban monasteries fared considerably worse in this period than their rural counterparts. See ibid., 14–15. For the so-called 'Crisis of the Monasteries' of the later sixteenth century, see ibid., 66–68.

donations, acquire property and benefit from various tax privileges.[71] Consequently, monasteries constituted one of the wealthiest, most dynamic parts of the early modern Greek Church, and many of them boasted important holdings of books and artefacts, which fascinated Western travellers such as Covel and Wheler.[72]

The impact that Greek monasticism had on Wheler's conception of Anglicanism can be seen in his third publication following both *Voyage* (1682) and *Account* (1689), which he entitled *The Protestant Monastery: Or, Christian Oeconomicks. Containing Directions for the Religious Conduct of a Family*. This work appeared in 1698, though in its preface, Wheler claimed to have written the bulk of it 'soon after my entrance upon a Conjugal State; I suppose Seven Years before my entrance into Holy Orders', which would date the text to 1677, following his return to England in November of the previous year.[73] *The Protestant Monastery*, which provided 'Directions for the Religious Conduct of a Family', was a guidebook to Anglican domestic piety, in which Wheler elaborated a model for the daily devotional life of a family household. In its preface, Wheler claimed 'that the Practice of what is here proposed wants not a Tryal; it having been generally used in my Family near Twenty Years last past.'[74] In the main section that followed this preface, and that Wheler claimed to have written 'soon after my entrance upon a Conjugal State' (or in about 1677), there were chapters on 'Paternal Authority' and 'The Paternal Office', as well as regarding the respective duties of wives, children and servants.[75] To this main body of text, Wheler added a more recent composition, outlining 'Forms of Prayer for the Use of Private Families', as well as 'Hymns suited to the Several Hours of Prayer, and Other Occasions'.[76]

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[71] Ibid., 112, 120–21.
[72] Tom Papademetriou, *Render unto the Sultan: Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), esp. 89-101.
[73] Wheler, *Protestant Monastery*, sig. A3r. Wheler was married in September 1677 and ordained in 1683. See Wilson, 'Wheler'.
[74] Wheler, *Protestant Monastery*, sig. A7r.
[75] Ibid., 1–177.
[76] Ibid., 179–338.

The book's unusual title, meanwhile, originated from the fact that Wheler regarded certain forms of monasticism as a useful inspiration for 'The pious Conduct of Private Families', which, like monastic institutions, could be separated from the secular and frequently impious world, in this case, beyond the household.[77]

In the first three chapters of *The Protestant Monastery*, Wheler explored the nature and origins of Christian monasticism (chapters I-II), before mounting a defence of the sixteenth-century Dissolution of the Monasteries in England (chapter III). Throughout these chapters, Wheler was careful to distinguish early Christian monasteries, which he characterised as 'Nurseries of Piety and Learning', from their modern Catholic equivalents, which he criticised as hotbeds 'of Ignorance and Superstition', which the Church of England had rightly abolished during the Reformation. He also noted that similarly corrupt monasteries had appeared in 'modern Heathen Countries, and the Mahumetan Empire', adding that 'Turky is stuffed with stupid Trash of the same nature; and so are the present Heathens of Japan and China and the Indies, if we may credit the Accounts we have of those parts.'[78] When he turned to Greek Orthodox monasteries, however, Wheler was considerably more positive in his assessment, noting that:

> The *Greek* Monks only now seem to retain something of their pristine Institution. For the Tyranny they live under, and the Desolation and Persecution of that Church, makes them not only useful, but necessary to them. They indeed do usually retire to the most desart and solitary Places, that they may enjoy the Rites of their Religion with Peace and Tranquility of Mind; but not to indulge themselves in Sloath and Idleness; But industriously labour to maintain themselves by all such honest and necessary Arts, as the frailty of human Nature requires.

Thus Wheler regarded Greek monasteries as 'the only humane Supports of the afflicted and trampled on Christian Faith, in those Countries', adding that 'thô they have lost

[77] Ibid., 17–20.
[78] Ibid., 1–14.

the Learning and Subtilty of the Schools, they have instead thereof regained much of the Simplicity and Charity of those more early Times of the Gospel.'[79] Wheler therefore echoed Covel's assertion that first-hand experience of a Church persecuted by non-Christians gave one unique insight. As we saw in Chapter III, Covel maintained that the sign of the cross, though essentially unnecessary in England, took on added, practical significance within a context where Christians could be described as 'slaves', such as in the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, Wheler maintained that monasteries, which the English had rightly abolished as unchristian, had become 'the only humane Supports' of the Greek Church within Ottoman territories. Within this context, both Covel and Wheler drew parallels between the Greek Church and what Wheler called 'the Simplicity and Charity of those more early Times of the Gospel.' In this way, they could refer to the present-day practices of Greek Christians in order to endow certain Anglican ceremonies, including the sign of the cross and various monastic behaviours (for which see below), with ancient or early Church pedigree. What we see here, as elsewhere, are Anglican arguments being made using ethnographic examples, as opposed to more historical ones, which might draw on the writings of the Church Fathers, for instance. Like Covel, Wheler therefore suggested that travel overseas, and exposure to religious or Christian diversity specifically, equipped one with a better sense of right belief and devotion, particularly when it came to contested issues in England.

Although Wheler wrote of the 'pristine Institution' of Orthodox monasticism, he was equally quick to underline that this judgement only applied to 'those Places that the Bishop of Rome hath not set his Foot in; where the Remoteness of their Solitudes hath preserved them from being beguiled by the Subtilty of his Emissaries.'[80] In this way, Wheler defended himself and his work against potential accusations of popery, which might have

[79] Ibid., 10–11.
[80] Ibid., 11.

emanated from those in England who regarded monasteries as synonymous with Catholicism. He also thereby emphasised that his experiences overseas meant that he was well situated to distinguish between genuinely primitive monastic practices, on the one hand, and more recent innovations and corruptions, on the other, and that within this context, he could invoke carefully selected examples of Greek monastic worship in order to promote similar acts of devotion within the Anglican Church. Throughout his *Protestant Monastery*, Wheler therefore encouraged English families to model their daily devotional lives on those of the Orthodox monks of Greece and Turkey.

According to Wheler, such a model entailed the performance of scheduled acts of communal worship, most notably family prayer at set intervals, reflecting those Greek monks who resolved to 'meet together, at certain appointed Times, to pray to, and praise GOD, for themselves and all their Brethren'. Wheler's devotional model also required a commitment to communal learning, and to the catechising of children in particular. On this point, Wheler clearly sought for Anglicans to reflect those Greek monks whom he had found engaged in 'teaching the Youth to write and read; and such other good Principles of Piety as they think best', or employed 'in Reading, Writing, Meditating and Teaching the younger sort to do the like; frankly communicating the small Knowledge and Learning they have in the Mysteries of Religion, to all among them they find capable to learn 'em.'[81] When it came to communal learning, Wheler also called for the return of actual monasteries to England, though not for men, but for the education of single women. In the fourth chapter of *The Protestant Monastery*, Wheler maintained that 'Convents for single Women seem more convenient, if not very necessary for all times and Countries', echoing the comments of that 'ingenious Lady', Mary Astell (1666-1731), whose *Serious Proposal* (1694) had outlined a

[81] Ibid., 10-11 (for the quotes), 28-119 (for Wheler's devotional model). Wheler recommended that communal family prayers use forms composed according to the liturgy of the Church of England.

similar scheme.[82] We can therefore see how Wheler's first-hand experience of Greek Orthodox monasticism informed his broader educational conception of Anglicanism.

Wheler's *Protestant Monastery* spoke to a demand among later seventeenth-century Anglicans for devotional manuals and holy living texts, which featured catechisms, spiritual exhortation and advice on the correct attitudes and practical conduct of a Christian. This demand was reflected in the popularity of authors such as Richard Allestree (c. 1621-81), Jeremy Taylor (c. 1613-67) and Henry Hammond, all of whose works remained popular well into the eighteenth century.[83] In the same year that he published *The Protestant Monastery*, Wheler encountered this demand for a richer devotional culture first-hand, in the person of Edward Marston (fl. 1698-1710), a non-juring Anglican cleric and later minister of St Philip's, Charleston, where he championed the divine right of clergy and opposed lay interference in ecclesiastical affairs.[84] In 1698, Marston visited Wheler in Durham, and shortly after, he sent Wheler a letter seeking favour with the Bishop of that city, Nathaniel Crewe. In the same letter, Marston claimed to have lived:

> … a monastick life for about 7 years; I do use o^{r} saviours picture on y^{e} X in my closet Devotion, & do hold with y^{e} Greek Church in their notion of purgatory, & in some others of their Tenets, & do believe y^{e} Liturgies of St Basil, St Chrysostom, & St Gregory[,] which they use to be very good … S^{r} John Denham's *Cooper's Hill* [which lamented the loss of monasteries in England] I do esteem y^{e} best of o^{r} English poems, & upon my viewing of many of y^{e} Ruins of y^{e} Religious houses, & brave structures in several parts of this Island, given by o^{r} Religious & charitable Ancestors with great endowments, [pro] Deo & Ecclesiae [for God & Church], I cannot but repeat those

[82] Ibid., 14–18. See also Mary Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, for the Advancement of Their True and Greatest Interest* (London, 1694); Joan Kinnaird, 'Mary Astell and the Conservative Contribution to English Feminism', *Journal of British Studies* 19, no. 1 (1979): 53–75; Ruth Perry, *The Celebrated Mary Astell* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
[83] Spurr, *The Restoration Church*, 281–96.
[84] Edward Martson, Newcastle, to Wheler, Durham, 10 September 1698, Leeds, West Yorkshire Archive Service (henceforth WYAS), WYL170, 148; Albert Sidney Thomas and Samuel Thomas, 'The Reverend Samuel Thomas and His "Account of the Church in South Carolina, 1702-1706"', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 23, no. 3 (1954): 219–57; David Parrish, *Jacobitism and Anti-Jacobitism in the British Atlantic World, 1688-1727* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), 108–12.

> excellent lines of S[r] John Denham. Tell me (my muse) what monstrous dire offence, what crime could any X[i]an King incense, To such a rage?[85]

Marston's desire for a richer devotional culture within Anglicanism (which, like Wheler, had prompted him to turn towards the Greek Church for inspiration) is also evident in a sermon of his from 1699, which he published under the title of *Simony & Sacrilege*. In this tract, Marston lamented 'that Preaching hath well-nigh swallow'd up Prayer, as if there was nothing Holy in the Church but a Sermon.'[86] In his letter to Wheler, Marston had claimed that this desire for a richer devotional culture was shared by two of his Anglican contacts and friends, namely 'y[e] most accomplish't D[r] Crawford (of sacred memory)', with whom Marston had lived 'in his house in Braybrook[e]', Northamptonshire, and 'My Tutour D[r] Crobrow'. Although the identity of 'Crawford' is unclear, 'Crobrow' likely refers to Samuel Crowbrow, a fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge (served 1668-79) and later non-juror.[87] Marston was also connected to John Cecil, 5[th] Earl of Exeter (c. 1648-1700), and Cecil's chaplain, Robert Jenkin (c. 1656-1727), having regularly taken communion with the Cecil family at Burghley House for a while, when he lived in nearby Stamford, Lincolnshire.[88] Both Cecil and Jenkin were non-jurors, and throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Cecil family was known for its proclivity for elaborate Anglican ceremony and ritual, including morning and evening public prayers and frequent Communion.[89] All of these connections raise the possibility that Marston was part of a

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[85] Marston to Wheler, 10 September 1698, WYL170, 148. For Sir John Denham, see W. H. Kelliher, 'Denham, Sir John (1614/15–1669), Poet and Courtier', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 17 September 2005, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7481?rskey=MPL0Xb&result=2, accessed 16 September 2021. In Charleston, Marston was also known to make use of a crucifix and to justify 'the papist custom of crossing themselves', both of which led to accusations of popery. See Thomas and Thomas, 'The Reverend Samuel Thomas', 255–56.
[86] Edward Marston, *A Sermon of Simony & Sacrilege* (London, 1699), 6.
[87] J. A. Venn and John Venn, eds., *Alumni Cantabrigienses. A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900. Part I: From the Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 428.
[88] Marston to Wheler, 10 September 1698, WYL170, 148.
[89] Richard Sharp, 'The Religious and Political Character of St. Clement Danes', in *Samuel Johnson in Historical Context*, ed. Jonathan Clark and Howard Erskine-Hill (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 45–46.

coterie of Anglicans, and non-jurors in particular, who sought a richer devotional culture for the Anglican Church. Wheler's *Protestant Monastery* can therefore be seen as catering to this market, and perhaps even attempting to bridge one of the divides that existed between jurors and non-jurors, reassuring the latter that there was room for them within the Church, should they choose to return.

Yet of course Wheler's attraction to Orthodox monastic life was evident long before his encounter with Marston, and in order to appreciate its origins, we need to return to his *Journey into Greece* of 1682. For as he had travelled throughout Boeotia during the winter and spring of 1675 to 1676, braving both harsh weather and the dangers and inconveniences of seventeenth-century travel, Wheler was immensely grateful for the generous hospitality that he received at several Orthodox monasteries across the region. In January 1676, for instance, Wheler and his travelling companion, Jacob Spon, visited 'the Convent of S^{t} Luke', or Hosias Loukas, which they found nestled on the slopes of Mount Helicon.[90] Wheler regarded the monastery as 'one of the finest Convents in all *Greece*', and likened its church, which had been built in the tenth century, 'to *Santa Sophia* at *Constantinople*; notwithstanding it is old, and hath suffered very much by Earthquakes, and Time.' He added that the monastery received 'Strangers … with as great Civility, and Kindness, as the Grand Charter-house, near *Grenoble*, in the *Alps*, doth: though they want their great Revenues, and Prosperity.' As a result, both Wheler and Spon were given 'a most hearty and Christian welcome', and were served 'Rice, Chickens, good Olives, Cheese, Bread, and Wine'. When Wheler returned this way, without Spon, in April 1676, he visited a nearby hermitage, where he was similarly received with great kindness, and 'a Dinner, with far greater satisfaction, than the most Princely Banquet in Europe could afford us.' On this occasion, Wheler

[90] Wheler, *Journey*, 321. Founded in the early tenth century by the hermit St Luke (896-953), the monastery of Hosios Loukas remains a place of worship today, and has been designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site. See Mitsi, *Greece in Early English Travel Writing*, 182.

reflected on 'the Quiet and Innocency of their Life', as well as 'the natural Beauty of the Place', which 'so charmed my melancholick Fancy for a time, that I had almost made a Resolution never to part with so great a Happiness, for whatever the rest of the World could present me with.' In the end, however, 'it prov'd too hard a Task for me, so soon to wean my self from the world.'[91]

Perhaps most importantly, however, the Orthodox monasteries that Wheler visited exhibited qualities that he felt were generally absent, or lacking, from other parts of the Greek Church. It was Wheler's view, for instance, that whereas most ordinary Greeks had been 'Latinized' by Catholic missionaries, and therefore believed in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the same could not be said for many of the Greek monks whom he met.[92] Following his second visit, in April 1676, to the monastery of Hosios Loukas, Wheler asserted that 'the general Judgement of that whole Convent, and of … [the] Hermit, that liveth about a Mile from thence', was 'that Christ was in the Sacrament after a spiritual manner.' Consequently, Wheler concluded 'that this Convent, and the most inland Parts of Greece, are yet free from that Opinion of the Roman Church, and have not been tamper'd with by them.'[93]

Similarly, although Wheler commented, as we have seen, on 'the gross Ignorance' of the Greek Church, he found that its monasteries were something of an exception in this regard. On his visit to Corfu in July 1675, for instance, Wheler met Gerasimos Vlachos of Crete (c. 1605-85), the abbot of the monastery of Madonna di Paleopolis (served 1662-79), who would later become the prelate of the Greek Orthodox community in Venice. Vlachos has been described by historians as one of the most accomplished Greek scholars of his time,

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[91] Wheler, *Journey*, 321–26.
[92] For Wheler's view that Greeks had been 'Latinized' by Catholic missionaries, particularly when it came to beliefs surrounding the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, see ibid., 30, 40–41, 350. See also Chapter V of this thesis.
[93] Ibid., 198–99.

and certainly Wheler regarded him as 'a Learned Man', with 'a Study of a great many M. SS', including 'a Commentary of Origen upon the Gospel of Saint John', and St Augustine's *De Trinitate* 'Translated out of Latin into Greek'.[94] Furthermore, while in Athens in February 1676, Wheler met another 'learned' abbot by the name of 'Ezekiel Stephaki', who taught him 'to read Greek, according to the Modern Pronunciation.' Wheler 'found him to be really a good, discreet, and understanding Man', and sensed that 'he was not over-fond of some of the Greekish Superstitions'. Like Vlachos, Stephaki also owned several valuable manuscripts, 'especially [those of] St John Damasoen [St John of Damascus]; which he offer'd to exchange me for an Atlas, if I sent it to him.'[95]

Wheler's experiences overseas therefore underpinned his view that monasticism constituted one of the most vibrant components of the otherwise declining Greek Church. For Wheler, monasticism was one of the only parts of that institution to have resisted the corrupting influence of Rome, and to have preserved the non-superstitious, 'learned' traditions of the early Church. When it came to monasticism, there was little, in Wheler's view, to separate the Greek Church from the primitive, and within this context, qualified examples of Greek monastic practice could be used to inform the worship of the Anglican Church. As we have seen, some of these examples, most notably the catechising of children, were designed to reinforce Wheler's broader pedagogical vision of Anglicanism, which tied the authority of the Church, and of its clergy specifically, to its ability to educate its members.

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[94] Ibid., 31. For Gerasimos Vlachos, see Olar Ovidiu and Wolfram von Scheliha, 'Gerasimos Vlachos', Christian-Muslim Relations 1500 - 1900, n.d., https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-ii/gerasimos-vlachos-COM_30589?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.christian-muslim-relations-ii&s.q=Gerasimos+Vlachos, accessed 16 September 2021.
[95] Wheler, *Journey*, 413.

Conclusion

Among later seventeenth-century Anglicans, Wheler was far from alone in his study of the Greek Church. What distinguished him from most of his Anglican colleagues, however, was his first-hand experience of that Church, and the extent to which he used his observations of Orthodox worship to inform his understanding of early Christianity, and hence his conceptualisation of Anglicanism. Within this context, this chapter has argued that Wheler's physical encounter with the Greek Church in the 1670s was ultimately crucial to his defence of the authority and independence of the Church of England. Using his observations of Orthodox worship within Ottoman territories, Wheler sought to defend these aspects of the established Church against what were widely regarded as two of its biggest threats during the 1670s and the 1680s, namely popery and Protestant dissent.

As part of this defence, Wheler developed the notion, with recourse to Greek Orthodoxy, of a uniquely 'Learned', clericalist Restoration Church, in which Anglican clerics, in the first instance, and senior members of the laity, in the second, served as religious teachers, emphasising the value of the Anglican liturgy, as established between 1660 and 1662. In so doing, Wheler stressed the importance of the visibility of the priestly office; trumpeted the value of learning to the authority of the Church, and of its clergy specifically; and suggested a scheme for educating dissenters (back) into the Anglican communion. At the same time, Wheler supported calls for a richer devotional culture within Anglicanism, with a particular focus on catechising and communal prayer, and he sought inspiration in this regard from Orthodox monastic traditions. Within this context too, Wheler tied the authority and singularity of Anglicans to their commitment to religious edification and learning, albeit within a domestic, family context. During the 1690s and the early 1700s, Wheler's vision of the Church of England, which we have explored over the course of this

chapter, would have a profound, practical impact on several areas of his work as a cleric, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Chapter V: An Oxford College, A London Chapel and An Overseas Missionary Society: Wheler and the Greek Church in England

In this second chapter on Wheler, we shall examine the practical implications of Wheler's vision of the Church of England for his involvement in three Anglican-led schemes of the 1690s and the early 1700s, all of which he connected, either directly or indirectly, to his experiences of travel, and of the Greek Church specifically. Firstly, the establishment of a college in Oxford for the education of Greek Orthodox students; secondly, the founding of the missionary Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge during 1699; and finally, the construction of a chapel in Spitalfields, east London, for Wheler's tenants and other local Protestants, including Huguenot refugees and English dissenters. This chapter will therefore argue that Wheler's engagement with Greek Orthodoxy was more than simply an abstract intellectual exercise, and that it helped him to develop new, creative approaches within Anglicanism, which sought to elevate clerical authority, on the one hand, and edify the laity, on the other. We shall see how these approaches were not only practical, but also frequently innovative, and could therefore provoke opposition from contemporaries. In this way, we shall explore how Wheler's experiences of travel opened up new intellectual possibilities for Anglicanism, with creative and practical consequences for the Church.

Wheler and the Greek College: Anti-Catholicism and Orthodoxy

In the early 1690s, Wheler supported one of the period's most ambitious schemes for Anglican-Orthodox rapprochement: the establishment of a college in Oxford for the education of Greek Orthodox students. This scheme was part of a broader intellectual drive within the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Church of England, going back

almost a century, to find common theological ground with Greek Christians, whom many Anglicans regarded as potential allies in their struggle against not only the Church of Rome, but also the political and commercial ambitions of Catholic France and Spain. For the relatively young Church of England, the Greek Church, with all its historical pedigree, seemed a most useful partner in this regard. For a start, both the Greek and English Churches were episcopal, hierarchical and held to the notion of apostolic succession, while simultaneously rejecting the supremacy of the pope. In light of their history, culture and geography, Greek Christians were also frequently characterised in England as witnesses to ancient tradition, whose testimony might therefore help the Church of England in some of its doctrinal disputes with the Church of Rome. From the early seventeenth century, Greek students had therefore been invited to study in England, and the establishment of a Greek College in Oxford was arguably the culmination of this process.[1]

Wheler's support for the Greek College should be understood within the context of this broader anti-Catholicism, which had helped to drive nearly a century of Anglican-Orthodox rapprochement. For Wheler, the Greek College had the potential to help lift Greek Christians out of the 'gross Ignorance' that he claimed to have observed among them, and that he attributed not only to their persecution at the hands of the Ottomans, but also to the work of Catholic missionaries within the Ottoman Empire.[2] In Wheler's view, both Anglicans and Greeks belonged to ancient, Apostolic Churches, though the latter had clearly lost their way, largely due to Catholic interference.[3] It was therefore incumbent upon Anglicans, as faithful disciples of the early Christian tradition, to bring the Greeks back into

[1] Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 289–319; Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Church of England and the Greek Church in the Time of Charles I', *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978): 213–40; W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 196–219; Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox*; Doll, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy*, esp. Chapter VI, by E. D. Tappe (for which see below).
[2] Wheler, *Journey*, esp. 195-98.
[3] For Catholic missionaries and Eastern Christianity in the early modern period, see Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens Du Proche-Orient*.

line with the ancient, Apostolic Church, which entailed driving out the corrupting influence of the Church of Rome among them. Thus Wheler wanted the Greek College to show its Orthodox students how far their worship and understanding of their history had been corrupted by Catholicism. He wanted it to show them that the true traditions of their Church were closer to those of the Church of England, which had inherited the primitive model, and that the only reason that the Greek Church currently looked more Catholic was because of the influence of Roman missionaries on uneducated Orthodox worshippers.

This essentially anti-Catholic conception of the Greek College was shared by the main instigator of the scheme, Dr Benjamin Woodroffe (1638-1711), canon of Christ Church.[4] In August 1692, Woodroffe had taken over as principal of the University's Gloucester Hall, which had become empty of students, and he resolved to transform the decayed premises into a college for Greek Christians. At around the same time, Woodroffe published a pamphlet advertising his intentions, which betrays the anti-Catholic roots of the Greek College.[5] In this prospectus, which he entitled *A Draught or Model of a Colledge or Hall to be Settled in the University for the Education of some Youths of the Greek Church*, Woodroffe wrote of his desire to assist the Greeks 'in such a manner as may render them capable to continue and maintain the Faith once delivered to the Saints', which was now 'so much neglected under their present Ignorance and Barbarity.' Within this context, Woodroffe castigated not only the 'Tyranny and Oppression of the Mahometans', but also the actions of 'the Church of Rome, whose great design it hath long bin, and still is, to corrupt them'. By way of illustration, Woodroffe referred to what was done:

[4] Edward Vallance, 'Woodroffe, Benjamin (1638–1711), College Head', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 6 January 2011, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29932?rskey=rSVnTk&result=1, accessed 16 September 2021.

[5] E. D. Tappe, 'The Greek College at Oxford, 1699-1705', in *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years After the 'Greek College' in Oxford*, ed. Peter M. Doll (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 156–57.

> … in the Collegium de propaganda fide in Rome, and in other [of] their seminaries where they entertain fugitive Greeks, whom having debaucht to their erroneous Principles, they clanculary send into their own Countrey, or imploy them otherwhere abroad to insinuate their Errours and make the world believe that there is little or no difference between them and the Church of Rome.[6]

Woodroffe's references to 'the Collegium de propaganda fide in Rome, and … other [Catholic] … seminaries where they entertain fugitive Greeks', are an interesting and important detail, for they suggest that although the Greek College was an anti-Catholic project, it also drew on Catholic models from the very start.[7]

At this College, Woodroffe wanted his Greek students 'acquainted with the State of the cheifest Controversies, as between their own Church and that of Rome, so between the Protestant and the Papist.' This was to form part of a broader curriculum that aimed to restore the Greeks to their ancient, Apostolic roots, and which, to that end, centred upon the teaching of Latin, Hebrew and ancient Greek; the reading of the Church Fathers alongside 'the explaining of the Holy Bible'; and the compilation of 'an Orthodox Catechism … in the ancient and modern Greek', both 'for their present use here', and 'to be carried with them at their Return to be distributed among the poor Christians of the Eastern Church.'[8] Incidentally, this curriculum echoed those of several Catholic colleges in Rome, further indicating the extent to which Woodroffe's scheme was influenced by Catholic models.[9] Using this curriculum, the aim of Woodroffe's College was not to transform Greeks into Anglicans, but to re-educate them in some of the early, Apostolic fundamentals of their faith,

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[6] Benjamin Woodroffe, 'A Draught or Model of a Colledge or Hall to Be Settled in the University for the Education of Some Youths of the Greek Church', in *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years after the 'Greek College' in Oxford*, ed. Peter M. Doll (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 415–20.

[7] A Greek College had been founded in Rome as early as 1577, while the Propaganda Fide had been established in 1627. See Aurélien Girard and Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'The Maronite College in Early Modern Rome: Between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Letters', in *College Communities Abroad: Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 174–97.

[8] Woodroffe, 'A Draught or Model', 416–19.

[9] Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor, eds., *College Communities Abroad: Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

albeit from a pro-Anglican, anti-Catholic perspective. And this, of course, would highlight how closely the Church of England adhered to these ancient principles, and how far the Church of Rome had strayed from the same. As we shall see, Wheler's conception of the College was very much informed by this intellectual framework.

Writing to Woodroffe in November 1693, Wheler sought news of his recipient's 'progress … in y^{t} Pious Design, of Building & endowing a Collidge for y^{e} Institution of Greeks', which he described as both 'Great and Good'. Wheler also asked if he could 'contribute any thing' to Woodroffe's 'proceedings therein'.[10] Although Woodroffe's letters to Wheler appear not to have survived, the two men clearly maintained some level of correspondence about the Greek College, for in early December 1693, Wheler wrote again to Woodroffe, commenting that he was 'glad to understand y^{e} Good Progress … made in that worthy designe of founding a Greek Collidge for y^{e} Distressed Eastern Churches'.[11] Wheler's support for Woodroffe's Greek College was informed by his experiences within Greece and Asia Minor, where Wheler had been struck by the 'ignorance' of local Christians. In his *Journey into Greece*, Wheler claimed that Greek Christians 'are so very unlearned, that they hardly know the Principles of their Faith', and he also remarked, as we have seen, on 'the gross Ignorance of that poor depressed Nation'.[12] In Wheler's mind, this ignorance constituted a major failing on the part of Orthodox church authorities. This was no doubt partly because Wheler himself had been well-versed in Anglican catechisms since childhood. In a manuscript account of his early life, which he wrote in January 1701, Wheler recalled his 'Indulgent yet carefull … mother' teaching him 'short Prayers, with short catecheticall questions & Answers', followed by 'The Lords Prayer, Crede, & Ten

[10] Wheler to Dr Benjamin Woodroffe, Gloucester Hall, Oxford, c. 18 November 1693, WYAS, WYL170, 4/4.
[11] Wheler to Woodroffe, Gloucester Hall, Oxford, c. 3 December 1693, WYL170, 4/4.
[12] Wheler, *Journey*, 197.

Commandments', in addition to 'severall Psalms', one of which he was expected to recite before bed, and still did to that day.[13]

Like Covel, Wheler was particularly disappointed to find that most Greeks were entirely unaware of the illustrious history of their Church, let alone their classical heritage, and that very few of them spoke ancient Greek.[14] For Wheler, this ignorance had left the Orthodox susceptible to Catholic guile, and the pope's missionaries, he claimed in *Journey*, were simply 'imposing' their 'Opinions' on the unsuspecting Greeks.[15] Of the Archbishop of Athens, for instance, Wheler observed that 'He understands the antient *Greek* moderately well, and hath read, as they say, some of the Fathers: But I found him much Latinized.' According to Wheler, the Archbishop had signed a '*Confession of Faith*' agreed at the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672.[16] Convened by the Ecumenical Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos II (1641-1707), this Synod had sought to move the Greek Church away from the Calvinist-inspired theology of the former Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lukaris (1570-1638). Lukaris had corresponded with successive Archbishops of Canterbury, and sent Orthodox students to study in England. In challenging the legacy of Lukaris, the Synod of Jerusalem 'marked the closest approximation of Eastern Orthodoxy to Tridentine Catholicism', covering beliefs surrounding baptism, the biblical canon, transubstantiation and the role of good works.[17] This was exactly the kind of Catholic intrusion that Anglicans

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[13] MS 3286, 5r-6r.
[14] See, for example, Wheler, *Journey*, 41, 353. For Covel, see Add. MS 22912, 35v.
[15] Wheler, *Journey*, 197. The idea that the 'ignorance' of early modern Eastern Christians led to them being duped by Catholics has a long history, having persisted into modern scholarship on the Churches of the East. See Lucy Parker, 'The Ambiguities of Belief and Belonging: Catholicism and the Church of the East in the Sixteenth Century', *The English Historical Review* 133, no. 565 (2018): 1420–45.
[16] Wheler, *Journey*, 350.
[17] Peter M. Doll, 'Introduction', in *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years After the 'Greek College' in Oxford*, ed. Peter M. Doll (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 24. For the Synod of Jerusalem, see 'Jerusalem, Synod of (1672)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780192802903.001.0001/acref-9780192802903-e-3657?rskey=iGDnAv&result=1, accessed 16 September 2021. For Cyril Lukaris, see Trevor-Roper, 'The Church of England'; W. B. Patterson, 'Cyril Lukaris, George Abbott, James VI and I, and the Beginning of Orthodox-Anglican Relations', in *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years After the 'Greek College' in Oxford*, ed. Peter M. Doll (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 39–55.

such as Wheler and Woodroffe sought to drive from the seventeenth-century Greek Church. In so doing, they hoped to show that Roman claims that the Greeks were similar to them were not actually true, and that any overlap was because the Greeks had been misled.

In his letter to Woodroffe of early December 1693, Wheler made a series of practical recommendations for the Greek College, which was yet to come to complete fruition:

> I do also think it very well contrived in yo[u]^{r} hall to have one Quadrangle set apart for this designe as you write, for that will be most su[i]table to y^{e} Genious of that Church and nation; who must be indulged, wth respect to their Eating and Drinking, their own way of fasts, Lents and festivalls, otherwise there will be such scandall taken at it in their Country, that they will either permitt none to come over to study here, or will render the good they may do upon their return ineffectual. And they will sooner be led by direction in their study, then driven out of their errors.[18]

This passage highlights several important elements within Wheler's conception of how the Greek College ought to operate. As we can see, Wheler took the view that if Greeks were to study at Gloucester Hall, they should be accommodated within their own quadrangle, and permitted to follow their own habits and customs, in order to prevent a 'scandall' among their fellow worshippers back home. Wheler's comments here about mixing and space recall his earlier support, in his *Account of the Churches … of the Primitive Christians* (1689), for the segregation of Anglican services 'according to the different Christian Qualities, or Ecclesiastical Degrees of the Persons', using criteria such as gender, or (more to the point) religious ability. As we have seen, Wheler regarded moderate dissenters, for instance, as '*Katechumenoi*', or catechumens, who ought to be admitted to Anglican services, though only if they were physically separated from the '*Faithful*', or fully communicant members of the Church of England, with the former kept in the aisles, and the latter moved to the

[18] Wheler to Woodroffe, c. 3 December 1693, WYL170, 4/4.

chancel and choir, if necessary. Wheler's vision of the Greek College similarly reflected his desire to separate physically different kinds of worshippers, and as we saw in Chapter IV, this desire was at least partly underpinned by his study of both gender segregation and the treatment of catechumens within the Greek Church.[19] In other words, Wheler had seen how issues of mixing and space were handled within the Greek context, and sought to apply his observations in this regard to the organisation of the Greek College.

In outlining his vision for the Greek College, Wheler also encouraged Woodroffe to permit the celebration of Greek 'fasts, Lents and Festivalls', which raised the possibility of not only icons, but also prayers for saints and the dead at the very least.[20] Writing to Covel in November 1693, Wheler had argued that students at the College ought to 'be permitted to Live y^{re} according to y^{e} rules of their own institution', with 'their doctrine not questioned', but rather 'show[e]d [to] y^{m} how it ought to be according to y^{e} Greek fathers.' An overly 'zealous' approach, Wheler warned, would 'utterly ruin y^{e} Designe of a Greek coll[ege]'.[21] As we have seen, when Wheler wrote to Woodroffe in early December 1693, he justified his support for latitude within the administration of the Greek College on two grounds. Firstly, that the Greek Church would be more likely to support the initiative, and Greek students more likely to be trusted following their return home, with their minds full of Anglican theology and learning. Secondly, Wheler felt that Orthodox students would 'sooner be led by direction in their study, then driven out of their errors.'

Wheler's first argument reflected his hope, which was shared by Woodroffe, that returning students would help to purge the Greek Church of Catholic superstition. Given

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[19] Wheler, *Account*, esp. 69-72, 110-17.
[20] In the 1720s, the Catholic Church agreed a similar formula with part of the Orthodox Church in Syria (the so-called 'Melkites'), which permitted the Byzantine chant and liturgy, but demanded general loyalty and submission to Rome. See Aurélien Girard, 'Quand Les « grecs-Catholiques » Dénonçaient Les « grecs-Orthodoxes » : La Controverse Confessionnelle Au Proche-Orient Arabe Après Le Schisme de 1724', in *Énoncer/Dénoncer l'autre : Discours et Représentations Du Différend Confessionnel à l'époque Moderne*, ed. Chrystel Bernat and Hubert Bost (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 157–70.
[21] Wheler to Covel, c. 18 November 1693, WYL170, 4/4.

that Wheler believed that the Orthodox Church was not inherently corrupt, but rather temporarily sullied by Ottoman persecution and Catholic interference, it makes sense that he was willing to permit students to follow their own ceremonies, customs and traditions, provided that they were taught how to separate out what was authentically Greek from what was Catholic corruption. For Wheler, education combined with an allowance for customs would help to show the Greeks their own primitive heritage more clearly, and thus prove that they were more similar to Anglicans than Catholics.

Wheler's second argument, meanwhile, was more general, reflecting the established Church's move away from the use of coercion and force in its relations with non-Anglican Christians. Such a group obviously included dissenters too, whom Wheler, as we have seen, sought to '*Lead* … into Christ's Flock, rather than *Drive*'.[22] In this way, Wheler's conceptualisation of the Greek College might, once again, be connected back to his unique approach towards dissent, which was greatly influenced by his experiences of travel, and his corresponding desire to create a more 'Learned' Anglican Church. Indeed, Wheler might well have associated a more 'zealous' approach towards Greek Christians with Catholic missionaries, whom he had accused in *Journey* of exploiting, rather than combating, 'the gross Ignorance of that poor depressed [Greek] Nation, by imposing … [their] Opinions upon them, as if they had been from the Beginning the Doctrines of their Church'.[23]

Although Wheler congratulated Woodroffe, in the same letter of early December 1693, on 'y^{e} Good Progress … made in that worthy designe of founding a Greek Collidge', the first students to receive free passage from the Levant Company only arrived in Oxford in early 1699. Nevertheless, there were several Greek students in the city before this time, including one by the name (according to English sources) of 'Dionysius', who was

[22] Wheler, *Account*, 106–7.
[23] Wheler, *Journey*, 197.

associated with Gloucester Hall between at least 1693 and 1694. It appears that Dionysius was older, already a cleric, and came to Oxford independently of Woodroffe's scheme.[24] Between approximately 1692, when he seems to have arrived in England, and 1694, when he appears to vanish from the historical record, Dionysius received financial, practical and intellectual support from not only Woodroffe and Wheler, but also Covel.

As we saw in the previous chapter, Wheler had met Covel in Istanbul, from where they travelled to Bursa together in October 1675. In a letter to Covel from January 1692, Wheler recalled 'the Satisfaction I enjoyed at Constantinople in your Ingenious and Learned Conversation.' In the same letter, Wheler also mentioned Dionysius for the first time, explaining that he had left the Ottoman Empire 'by reason of the Deplorable Estate of the Xtians there', and that he had come to England 'out of a great desire he hath to study'. It seems that Dionysius had approached Wheler seeking a 'Recommendation, to some worthy Person, in one of the Universities', and that Wheler 'was willing to accompany him with these few Lines to you [Covel]; knowing both yo[u]^{r} ability and piety to assist Strangers; both with yo[u]^{r} advice and charity'. Wheler's letter to Covel features a postscript by Dr John Younger, a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and chaplain to Princess Anne (1665-1714), recommending 'the Bearer [that is, Dionysius] to ye Princesse, by whose charity he has been relieved at present.' Younger added: 'I take him to be sincere in his design, … & was willing when I heard of Sr George Wheler's recom[m]endation to gratify this poor man by adding mine.'[25]

[24] Tappe, 'The Greek College', 158–59.
[25] Wheler to Covel, Christ's College, Cambridge, 17 January 1692, Add. MS 22910, 387. For Younger, see James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 127. In some ways, the trajectory of Dionysius mirrors that of another Eastern Christian, Solomon Negri (c. 1665-1727), who was also in Oxford independent of any plans for a Greek college, albeit much later, during the 1720s. See John-Paul A. Ghobrial, 'The Life and Hard Times of Solomon Negri: An Arabic Teacher in Early Modern Europe', in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, and Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 310–31.

By September 1693, however, Dionysius was in Oxford, where he was receiving support from Woodroffe, whom he appears to have met earlier that year (though whether Covel and Wheler were involved is unclear).[26] When Wheler wrote to Woodroffe in early December, he thanked the principal of Gloucester Hall for his 'Great Kindness' to Dionysius. He also mentioned that both Covel and himself had awarded the Greek 'a small stipend', which they intended 'to continue to him some time Longer if he Industriously continues his Studies, w^{ch} he tells us you do much to assist him in'.[27] Wheler's relationship with Covel, and their combined support of Dionysius, which they agreed despite not having seen or corresponded with each other for 'really a great while', serves as an interesting example of how travel overseas might enable Anglicans to establish social and professional networks based on shared interests, in this case, related to education and the Greek Church.[28]

Writing to Fitzherbert Adams (c. 1651-1719), the rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, in January 1694, Wheler outlined his reasons for supporting Dionysius:

> … and truly the respect I have hitherto shown Dyonisius [sic] is upon acco[un]^{t} y^{t} I would have him follow such studies as may render him servicable to his own church upon his return, wher[e]as I understand he is rather too Eager upon the mathematick, w^{ch} can be of no use to him in his own Country, especially considering he is in orders. Therefore I would have put him upon Preliminary studies to Divinity, … w^{ch} would have given him such a taste of … y^{e} pure Xtian Faith as would have armed him against y^{e} Romans, and some superstitions of his own Church, w^{ch} now he hath time, and may have books and opportunities to do.

Towards the end of his letter to Adams, Wheler returned to the idea that Dionysius' studies in Oxford ought to 'render him serviceable to his own church upon his return'. He asked Adams to inform Dionysius that 'D^{r} Covell and myself do expect that he will imploy his time in such studies as are proper for his function and y^{e} benefit of his Church', in order

[26] Wheler to Covel, c. 31 August 1693, WYL170, 4/4.
[27] Wheler to Woodroffe, c. 3 December 1693, WYL170, 4/4.
[28] Wheler to Covel, 17 January 1692, Add. MS 22910, 387r.

'that he may return home wth such accomplishments as may be for y^{e} hon[ou]^{r} of y^{e} University, and y^{e} benefit of his Church and self.'[29]

Dionysius' preference for mathematics, and his corresponding lack of attention to divinity, had frustrated Wheler before. Writing to Woodroffe at the beginning of December 1693, Wheler had commented that although Dionysius clearly had a talent for mathematics, he was also in orders, and hence 'it would be well if he would be advised, now he has an opportunity, to study also Divinity, and such other preparatory studies as might enable him to make good use of it upon his return into his own country.' In the same letter, Wheler made a number of more specific suggestions to Woodroffe for Dionysius' programme of study at Gloucester Hall, which he thought should cover:

> … something of Rhetorick, Logick, and natural Phylosophy. The Last of w^{ch} they are intirely ignorant of in those Countrys. And from there[,] y^{e} Reading of y^{e} Scriptures[,] especially y^{e} new testam[en]^{t} very carefully over. And y^{n} S^{t} Clements, and S^{t} Ignatius's Epistles, Justin Martyrs Apologies. And of y^{e} Latins[,] Minutius Felix, and Tertullians Apologys, and St Austin De Civitate Dei. These would give him such an Idea of y^{e} Xtian Religion and y^{e} Primitive Church, as would show him y^{e} Excellency of y^{e} Church of England, much better I believe y^{n} any disputes can do.[30]

Wheler re-iterated much of this advice in another letter to Woodroffe at the end of December, though with more insistence. He complained that 'mathematticks will be little or no Advantage to him in his country, nor any furtherance to his Holy function, unless it be of such parts of them as, Letts him into knowledge of naturall Philosophy', such as geography, or 'so much Astronomy as may shew him y^{e} magnitude & Systeme of y^{e} World.' Wheler also emphasised the importance for Dionysius of studying Latin, rhetoric and logic, and was particularly keen for him to:

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[29] Wheler to Fitzherbert Adams, Lincoln College, Oxford, 29 January 1694, WYL170, 4/4.
[30] Wheler to Woodroffe, c. 3 December 1693, WYL170, 4/4.

> … take some pains to be more exact in the Ancient Greek, i.e. to write it more Gramattically, distinctly and accurately … it would be of mighty use to him in reading not only the Greek ffathers, but for y^{e} Institution of others in his country. Ffor w^{ch} purpose if from some one of ours, he would compose a Grammar from y^{e} vulgar greek, to the Ancient[,] it would be of great importance among them, who have no such thing as ever I could find.[31]

As we can see from his letters to Adams and Woodroffe, Wheler's support for Dionysius reflected his broader aim of using the Greek College in order to help restore the Orthodox Church to its ancient, Apostolic roots, reversing centuries of intellectual corruption and decline, lately exploited and compounded by Catholic missionaries. These letters show that Wheler viewed Greek students as potential priests back in their own countries, not just as scholars in an Oxford way. Using Greek intermediaries such as Dionysius, who would serve as preachers and teachers to their co-religionists, Wheler wanted to show Greek Christians that Anglicans, not Catholics, were the true purveyors of the early Christian tradition; that Greeks and Anglicans were bound by their shared commitment to that tradition; and that within this context, the Church of England and the Greek Church had a shared interest in learning from each other, and in countering Catholic superstition. In one of his letters to Woodroffe from December 1693, Wheler insisted that Dionysius be shown:

> … y^{e} Respect we always have had for y^{e} Greek Church, and the little difference there is between us in points of any moment & none in fundamentalls. That we Adhere close to the Scriptures, & for y^{e} Interpretation of y^{m}[,] to Primitive ffathers & first counsells.[32]

Thus in Wheler's mind, Dionysius was something of a local ambassador among Greeks for the early Christian tradition, as represented by the Anglican Church. Insofar as Wheler

[31] Wheler to Woodroffe, Gloucester Hall, Oxford, 29 December 1693, WYL170, 4/4.
[32] Ibid.

wanted Dionysius to teach his fellow Greeks about their ancient, Apostolic roots, and about their similarities in this regard with Anglicans (as opposed to superstitious Catholics), his aims coincided neatly with those of Woodroffe, who sought to 'fit' his students at the Greek College 'to be Learned and able Preachers in their own countrey.'[33]

Wheler's proposed curriculum for Dionysius, which gave particular weight to the Church Fathers, reflected the importance of patristics to contemporary Anglican scholarship, with seventeenth-century Anglican theologians using the Fathers in order to help distinguish their faith from that of the continental Reformed churches.[34] Like many of his Anglican colleagues, Wheler's commitment to patristics stemmed partly from his belief in the importance of primitive learning to religion, and to the Church of England in particular. Yet it was also likely due to the role that knowledge of the Fathers was thought to play in bolstering the authority of the clergy. For such knowledge was typically the preserve of those with a university education, which Anglican clerics were more likely to possess. In this way, the established Church was more likely to dominate the transmission of what was considered valuable religious knowledge. This, of course, would likely have appealed to Wheler's desire to create a supremely 'Learned Clergy', his view being that the laity's 'Province is rather to Learne than teach'.[35]

Three of the Church Fathers whom Wheler encouraged Dionysius to read in one of his letters to Woodroffe wrote in Latin, namely Augustine, Tertullian and Marcus Minucius Felix (fl. 200-40). Here, Wheler was looking to familiarise Dionysius with those Fathers, and therefore those theological debates, most important to the Western tradition. Crucially, all of the Fathers whom Wheler cited in his letter to Woodroffe were frequently invoked by

[33] Woodroffe, 'A Draught or Model', 417.
[34] See Chapter IV, n.1.
[35] Wheler to Thomas Seymour, undated (though probably early 1690s), WYAS, WYL170, 1/7. Seymour was involved in Wheler's project to build a chapel for his tenants and others in Spitalfields, east London, which we shall discuss below.

contemporary Anglicans in support of various aspects of their Church: St Ignatius for episcopacy and clerical hierarchy, as we have seen; St Clement against schism and therefore dissent; Tertullian for the primacy of Scripture; and so on.[36] For of course it was Wheler's desire that Dionysius learn to appreciate 'y^{e} excellency of the Church of England.' As for the method of his study, Wheler advised, in one of his other letters to Woodroffe, 'great prudence, by Letting him see rather y^{n} feel the Truth, and y^{t} by Reading the old authours rather y^{n} Argumentation.'[37] Here, we see the importance of Wheler's conviction that Orthodox students would 'sooner be led by direction in their study, then driven out of their errors'. As we have discussed, this reflected the Church's move away from the use of coercion and force in its relations with non-Anglican Christians, including dissenters. This was doubly important for Greek students such as Dionysius, however, for if they were to teach other Greeks what they themselves had been taught by Anglicans, as Wheler and Woodroffe intended, they had first to understand and accept it. Within this context, Wheler wanted Dionysius to be convinced rather than browbeaten, or, like dissenters, '*Lead* … into Christ's Flock, rather than *Drive[n]*'.

In his letter to Adams of January 1694, Wheler urged the rector of Lincoln College to ensure that a close eye was kept on Dionysius. 'I did think it very reasonable', Wheler explained, 'that Dyonisius [sic] should be warily inspected by some such Person [as Woodroffe], both wth respect to his studies, and Conduct[,] being Jealous [that is, suspicious] of the travelling Greeks ever since y^{e} ArchBp of Samos, and some others.'[38] Although

[36] Quantin, 'The Fathers', 1002-3 (for Ignatius and St Clement); Quehen, 'Politics and Scholarship' (for Ignatius); Spurr, '"A Special Kindness for Dead Bishops"', 315-16 (for Tertullian), 320 (for St Clement), 322-23 (for Ignatius); Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, 267-68 (for Ignatius), 341 (for St Clement).
[37] Wheler to Woodroffe, 29 December 1693, WYL170, 4/4.
[38] Wheler to Adams, 29 January 1694, WYL170, 4/4. For the presence of 'travelling Greeks' and Greek communities within late medieval and early modern Western Europe, see Jonathan Harris, *Greek Emigres in the West, 1400-1520* (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 1995); Jonathan Harris and Helen Porfyriou, 'The Greek Diaspora: Italian Port Cities and London, c. 1400-1700', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 65–86; Jonathan Harris, 'Silent Minority: The Greek Community of Eighteenth-Century London', in *Greek*

Wheler left these 'others' unnamed, 'y^{e} ArchBp of Samos' was Joseph Georgirenes, author of a *Description of the Present State of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos, and Mount Athos* (1678), which had been translated out of the original Greek, and to which Wheler refers in *Journey*.[39] Born on the Greek island of Melos, the one-time Archbishop of Samos had arrived in England in 1676, having travelled from Patmos to Italy and France. With the support of the Bishop of London, Henry Compton (c. 1631-1713), and the royal patronage of Charles and his brother James, Duke of York, Georgirenes sought donations in London and Oxford for the erection of a Greek church in the capital. He also secured a plot of land in Soho on which construction was begun, and by 1678, the church was largely complete.

In the same year, however, Georgirenes was accused of popish sympathies, which were investigated by the Privy Council. Although he emerged unscathed, his credibility was severely damaged, particularly in the eyes of Compton, and he lost his most enthusiastic patron, the Duke of York, whose Catholicism forced him to leave England temporarily in 1679. The project was then fatally undermined after the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Dionysius IV (d. 1696), refused to support Compton's stringent terms for Greek worship within the church, or Georgirenes' right to negotiate those terms. For Georgirenes had agreed with Compton that worshippers should renounce icons, transubstantiation and prayers for saints and the dead, and promise not 'to hold any service which would be contrary to that of the Anglican Church or would give scandal to it.' With Dionysius unwilling to support these terms, and Georgirenes lacking credibility and therefore support, the Greek church was sold to local Huguenots in 1682.[40]

Diaspora and Migration since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture, ed. Dimitris Tziovas (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 31–43; Jonathan Harris, 'Greek Visitors', Oxford Bibliographies, 29 September 2015, https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0304.xml, accessed 16 September 2021; Richard Calis, 'Reconstructing the Ottoman Greek World: Early Modern Ethnography in the Household of Martin Crusius', *Renaissance Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (2019): 148–93.

[39] Wheler, *Journey*, 65. See also Joseph Georgirenes, *A Description of the Present State of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos, and Mount Athos ... Translated by One That Knew the Author in Constantinople* (London, 1678).

[40] For Georgirenes and the Greek church in London, see John P. Barron, 'Archbishop Joseph Georgirenes and the Prehistory of the Greek College', in *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years After the 'Greek College' in*

That Georgirenes had been accused of popish sympathies, though he had agreed to Compton's pointedly anti-Catholic terms of worship, helps to explain Wheler's suspicion of 'travelling Greeks', as well as why Wheler was so keen for Dionysius to be 'warily inspected' in Oxford. Indeed, Dionysius had himself been accused of popish sympathies during his time in Cambridge. In his letter to Covel of November 1693, before he wrote to Adams about Dionysius being 'warily inspected' at the Greek College, Wheler commented that 'yo[u]^{r} master of Sidney Collidge[,] who was his [Dionysius'] Great Enimy at Cambridge[,] has by his Lett^{e}[r]^{s} raised him Enimies at Oxford, charging him wth being a Papist, and other ill things' (sadly, the circumstances of this incident are otherwise unclear from Wheler's letter). Wheler added that the master had 'prevailed wth y^{e} University of Cambridge to withdraw y[ou]^{re} stipend from him', before asking Covel for more information about 'how y^{e} matt^{e}[r] went at Cambridge, from y^{r}self.'[41] As for Georgirenes, Woodroffe clearly felt similarly to Wheler, for in his *Draught*, Woodroffe accused the former Archbishop of having been a Catholic agent, sent to undermine the Church of England (Georgirenes had spent time in Italy and France, seeking support for the Greek Church from Catholic authorities there).[42]

The Georgirenes episode explains why Wheler and Woodroffe, when it came to the Greek College, avoided Compton's strategy of simply asking visiting Greeks, most notably Dionysius, to renounce outwardly certain behaviours and beliefs. On the contrary, as we have seen, Wheler in particular was willing to permit, say, the presence of icons, or prayers for saints and the dead, but with a view to extirpating these practices via learning. What Wheler wanted was therefore more comprehensive, and based on edification as opposed to

Oxford, ed. Peter M. Doll (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 79–112; John Penrose Barron, *From Samos to Soho: The Unorthodox Life of Joseph Georgirenes, a Greek Archbishop* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2017). For Georgirenes' activities after the Greek church, see Ghobrial, 'Moving Stories'.

[41] Wheler to Covel, c. 18 November 1693, WYL170, 4/4.

[42] Woodroffe, 'A Draught or Model', 420.

outward submission to certain principles, which, as the case of Georgirenes had apparently demonstrated, might well be feigned. Within this framework, the close supervision of Greek students such as Dionysius would also ensure that encouraging them to think more deeply about history, ceremony and custom did not give them a more Catholic outlook.

Greek Orthodoxy and the Anglican Missionary Enterprise: Wheler and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

In his *Journey into Greece*, Wheler had written of his desire to see more Anglican clerics travelling to the Ottoman Empire, in order to proselytise and teach among Eastern Christians there, much like Catholic missionaries were doing:

> … in time it may please God to excite the Piety of some good Men, to go and preach the Purity, and Sincerity of the Holy Gospel to those poor Christians; who seem, at present, to be buried in Ignorance, and overwhelmed with Roman Superstition, whose Sectators encompass Sea and Land, to gain Proselytes.[43]

In another section of *Journey*, Wheler also complained about the lack of religious infrastructure in the English 'Factories', or merchant communities, that he had visited across Greece and Turkey, 'to the great dishonour of the Reformed Religion'. Within these English merchant communities, Wheler explained, there was frequently no one:

> … to administer comfort to their Souls, by preaching the Word, or administring the Sacraments to them … For they have neither Church, Chappel, nor Priest. So that they seem to the people of the place to live without Religion, and to dye without hope, as they really are buried without decency. This is a very great scandal to those without; and therefore a very great fault in those within our Church. You shall no-where see a Factory of the Roman Religion, but they will have one, or more Priests, when, perhaps, they are not well able to maintain themselves. But ours on the contrary are rich, wealthy, and able to maintain many; but will keep none.

[43] Wheler, *Journey*, 355.

Wheler's observation that English merchants appeared 'to the people of the place to live without Religion, and to dye without hope', combined with his characterisation of this state of affairs as 'a very great scandal to those without [our Church]', demonstrates a concern for the image of the Anglican Church within the eastern Mediterranean, which was obviously important for the success of any potential Anglican teaching and proselytism among 'those poor [Eastern] Christians'. Following these remarks about English merchant communities, Wheler encouraged Anglican Church authorities, 'to whom God hath committed the care of his Church, … to prevent such Scandals, and supply the defects of this nature in Foreign Countries, with whom we have any, although but small Commerce.'[44]

It was observations such as these, regarding the potential for Anglican proselytism among Eastern Christians, on the one hand, and the lack of Levant Company chaplains and places of worship, on the other, which doubtlessly informed Wheler's later support of the Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (henceforth SPCK). Founded in March 1699 by Thomas Bray (c. 1658-1730), the rector of Sheldon in Warwickshire, the SPCK would also certainly have appealed to Wheler's broader commitment to religious learning, both at home and overseas. Indeed, the initial aims of the Society were threefold: to recall Quakers 'to the true notions of Christianity'; to support and promote catechetical schools in England; and to ensure that the Church of England's ministers overseas received sufficient financial and practical assistance, enabling them to supply books, churches, libraries and schools.[45] Wheler was among the first members of the Society, to which he had

[44] Ibid., 41. For the work of Levant Company chaplains in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Games, *Web of Empire*, 219–54; Mills, 'The English Chaplains at Aleppo'; Mills, 'The Chaplains to the English Levant Company'; Smith, 'Risky Business'; Mills, *Commerce of Knowledge*.

[45] Edmund McClure, ed., *A Chapter in English Church History: Being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Years 1698-1704, Together with Abstracts of Correspondents' Letters during Part of the Same Period* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1888), 84 (for the quote regarding Quakers); Daniel O'Connor, *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1701-2000* (London: Continuum, 2000), 9–10; David Manning, 'Anglican Religious Societies,

already donated three pounds (and pledged another two) by April 1699, in order to help establish 'Parochial Libraries throughout the Plantations', and particularly in North America. Wheler pledged another four pounds in December of the same year, and in September 1701, he solicited ten guineas from one of his clerical colleagues in Durham, and sent for 'some Printed Copies of the Charter to disperse among the Northern Gentlemen.'[46]

Earlier that year, Wheler had also signed a 'Warrant' or application, with dozens of other Anglican divines, for a 'charter for propagating the Gospel in America', which was subsequently presented at Hampton Court on 8 June.[47] This document became one of the founding texts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (henceforth SPG), which received its charter from King William III on 16 June.[48] The SPG was established in order to oversee the SPCK's colonial operations, most notably the provision of clerical personnel.[49] The signatories to its 'Warrant' from 8 June, including Wheler, bemoaned a lack of support for ministers 'in many of our plantations, colonies, and factories beyond the seas', some of which, they argued, were 'wholly destitute, and unprovided of a maintenance for ministers, and the public worship of God'. According to the warrant's signatories, these overseas communities, which lacked 'the administration of God's Word and Sacrament', had been 'abandoned to atheism and infidelity'. Their inhabitants, they insisted, required urgent instruction 'in the principles of true religion' from 'learned and orthodox ministers', for in the meantime, 'divers Romish priests and Jesuits' were 'encouraged to pervert and draw [them] over … to popish superstition and idolatry'.[50]

Organizations, and Missions', in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829*, ed. Jeremy Gregory (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 436–37.

[46] McClure, *Chapter in English Church History*, 1-6 (for 1699), 350-51 (for 1701).

[47] Edward Bateson, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William III: 1 April, 1700-8 March, 1702* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937), 357–59.

[48] O'Connor, *Three Centuries of Mission*, 7.

[49] Ibid., 6–14; Manning, 'Anglican Religious Societies', 437.

[50] Bateson, *Calendar of State Papers*, 357.

There are, of course, several similarities between these comments and those of Wheler in *Journey*, for it was the experiences of Anglican travellers such as Wheler that helped to shape not only the SPG's 'Warrant', but also the Society's entire mission going forward. Indeed, on 23 June, it was agreed that Wheler and several other members of the SPCK form a committee to 'wait on his Grace the Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury, and with the Thanks of this Society to his Grace for his promoting the passing [of] the aforesaid Letters Patents, to know of him what time and place he will be pleased to appoint for the first meeting of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.'[51]

The early minutes of the SPCK, from between 1699 and 1704, reflect the extent of Wheler's commitment to the Society's aim of promoting Anglican learning throughout London and beyond. Although he lived in Durham, Wheler attended several of the Society's meetings in the capital during the first half of 1700. At a meeting on 25 January, he reported having 'begunn a Free School in Spittle Fields [where he owned property, as we shall see] for Poor Girls', and of having provided those girls, 'for their encouragement', with a house in which to live.[52] At another meeting on 8 February, Wheler announced his intention 'to lay before the Lord Bishop of London a List of all the Catechetical Schools in and about London, and to pray his Lordships directions for the frequent Catechising [of] the [local Anglican] children.' Wheler's efforts in this regard bore fruit, for at yet another meeting of the SPCK on 22 February, he reported (via correspondence) 'that the Bishop of London had promised to send a Letter to the London Clergy to encourage the Catechising of poor [Anglican] Children'.[53] With these remarks, we see the importance that Wheler attached, within the context of religious learning, to the ancient category of catechumens, which, as

[51] McClure, *Chapter in English Church History*, 138–39.
[52] Ibid., 42.
[53] Ibid., 44–52.

we explored in the previous chapter, was partly a consequence of his encounters with different categories of worshippers within the Greek Church.

Wheler's Greek-inspired vision of how the Anglican Church ought to operate and organise itself helped to shape his engagement with the SPCK in other subtle ways too. As we saw in the previous chapter, one of Wheler's major concerns within the context of Anglicanism, which he contemplated with frequent recourse to the Greek Church, was the visibility of the priesthood, and of clerical hierarchies in particular. This concern flowed out into Wheler's thinking about the SPCK, as we can see from one of his letters to the Society, dated March 1701, in which he suggested that local branches of the SPCK organise themselves:

> … according to Ecclesiastical Order; That they should be composed of Rural Deaneries in Subordination to Arch-Deaneries, Dioceses & Provinces, whereby they might more easily Associate, and more frequently meet; That out of several Rural Deaneries the Arch-Deacon might form his Society, and if the Diocesan would vouchsafe to do the same with his Dean, Prebends, & Arch-Deacons it would highly resemble that Apostolic *Presbouterion* the Scripture & S^{t} Ignatius so often mention. That nothing more could be wish'd but that the Arch-B^{ps} would put themselves at the head of these Societies.[54]

Thus Wheler encouraged the SPCK to organise itself in ways that reflected the structure of the Church of England, which featured a visible hierarchy of rural deaneries, archdeaconries, dioceses and archdioceses, with the latter presided over by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. According to Wheler, this structure was consistent with that of the early Church, for it resembled the 'Apostolic *Presbouterion*' mentioned in both Scripture and the writings of St Ignatius. Using the SPCK, Wheler sought therefore to embed the concept of religious learning within a hierarchical Church going back to the Apostles. In so doing, he also suggested that the conveying of religious knowledge could not be separated

[54] Wheler, Durham, to Mr. Chamberlayne, 28 March 1701, in ibid., 327–28.

from clerical hierarchies. Hence Wheler sought to establish a close relationship between the concept of learning, on the one hand, and the authority and visibility of the clergy, on the other. As we have seen, these were arguably Wheler's two most important religious concerns, which his experiences of the Greek Church had done a considerable amount to set up.

Gender Segregation and the Edification of the Congregation: Wheler's Chapel

Much of our discussion of Wheler has centred upon one of the most prominent elements of his Greek-inspired vision of the Church of England, specifically the value of learning as a way to right worship. In this section, we shall explore how Wheler sought to realise this aspect of his vision in a chapel that he owned in Spitalfields, east London, from the 1690s, as well as how Wheler's arrangement of this chapel was inspired by gender segregation within the Greek Church. The story of Wheler's chapel begins in 1670, when Wheler and his father, Charles, inherited houses, tenements and land in Spitalfields from Sir William Wheler (d. 1666), an unrelated namesake, following the death of Sir William's wife, 'Lady Wheler'.[55] At the time, Spitalfields lacked an Anglican place of worship, and in the early 1690s, Wheler, seeing 'the Place to be very Populous, and far distant from the Parish-Church of *Stepney*', resolved to construct 'a Publick Chapel of Ease or Church', pledging £500 to that end, if the inhabitants of the district could raise another £500 themselves. When they failed to do so, Wheler decided to erect a private chapel at his own expense, with the support of a local goldsmith and benefactor, Thomas Seymour. Seymour had established a charity

[55] The terms of Sir William's will, though they appear to have been supported by Lady Wheler, were immediately contested by several other members of his family, who took both Wheler and his father to court. The resulting legal battle lasted several years and compelled Wheler to study at the Middle Temple, though he and his father were ultimately successful. With the case resolved and his finances secure, Wheler was able to travel to France with Hickes in 1673, as we have seen. See MS 3286, 6r-10r, 18r-23v.

school in nearby Norton Folgate 'for the Teaching, Instructing, and Catechizing of 60 poor Children', and 'annexed the same to … [Wheler's] Chapel', which was opened on Christmas Day 1693.[56] The original chapel, or 'tabernacle', as Wheler frequently called it, was a small, temporary wooden structure of only £100 in value, which Wheler had 'Designed for the use of my Tenants in y^{e} first place[,] & such other[s] of the nei[g]hbours as shall Please voluntarily to joyne themselves to it'.[57]

Wheler intended for a more permanent structure to be built around the wooden tabernacle. Writing to Seymour in April 1693, Wheler had judged that the famous architect 'S^{r} Christopher Wren [1632-1723] is y^{e} most proper Person to be consulted on this matter, both because he is y^{e} most Intelligent and Learn^{d} man in England in such matters, and likewise because he hath been most concerned in contriving the most beautiful Churches in London.'[58] In June of the same year, Wheler wrote again to Seymour, seeking 'to know whether S^{r} Chris: Whren [sic] say [read saw] y^{e} model I left wth yo[u]^{r} father, and whether he approves of it'.[59] Although Wheler's interest in hiring Wren ultimately came to nothing, his efforts in this regard indicate strongly that he sought to model his place of worship on those of the early Christians. For this was exactly what Wren had sought to do himself, famously, in the churches that he had designed in order to replace those either damaged or

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[56] *A True Narrative of the Case of Sir George Wheeler, &c. Relating to His Petition Delivered Feb. 6. to the Honourable House of Commons, in Answer to a Paper, Entituled, The Case of the Inhabitants of the Hamlet of Spittle-Fields, &c.* (London, 1695). See also *The Case of the Inhabitants of the Hamlet of Spittle-Fields, with Relation to Their Late Petition for a Supply toward Building a Church or Chappel, for the Use of the Said Inhabitants, Humbly Laid before the Honourable House of Commons* (London, 1695); William Henry Manchée, 'Spitalfields: Sir George Wheler and His Chapel, St Mary's Spital Square', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 2 (1910): 454–78; 'The Estate of the Whelers of Charing and Otterden', in *Survey of London: Volume 27, Spitalfields and Mile End New Town*, ed. F. H. W. Sheppard (London, 1957), 100–107, British History Online, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol27/pp100-107#anchorn6, accessed 16 September 2021.

[57] Wheler made these remarks in a letter to Henry Compton, Bishop of London, c. 18 November 1693, WYL170, 4/4. He also re-iterated this point in a letter to 'Mr Write[,] Rector of Stepney', c. 18 November 1693, WYL170, 4/4. For the structure and value of the original chapel, see *The Case of the Inhabitants of the Hamlet of Spittle-Fields*. Wheler also mentioned the figure of £100 in a letter to Seymour, c. 26 June 1693, WYL170, 4/4.

[58] Wheler to Seymour, c. 4 April 1693, WYL170, 4/4. For Wheler's desire that a more permanent structure be built around the tabernacle, see also Wheler to Seymour, c. 15 August 1693, WYL170, 4/4.

[59] Wheler to Seymour, c. 7 June 1693, WYL170, 4/4.

destroyed by the Great Fire of London in 1666. Many of these renovations and rebuilds were inspired by the Hagia Sophia, for instance, most notably St Paul's Cathedral, and the Wren family is known to have owned a copy of Wheler's *Journey*, as well as several other works containing descriptions and illustrations of Istanbul.[60] Furthermore, in August 1693, Wheler wrote of his approval of Seymour's decision to hire a carpenter by the name of 'Thomas Denning'.[61] Although we cannot be certain, this was likely the same Thomas Denning who was later employed as a carpenter by the Commission for Building Fifty New Churches (est. 1711 for London), whose lead architect, Nicholas Hawksmoor (c. 1662-1736), was similarly inspired by early Church architecture.[62] Wheler appeared before the 'Fifty Churches' Commission himself in 1711, in order to discuss his tabernacle, though beyond this, the substance of his meeting is sadly unknown.[63] In any case, Wheler's chapel, though modest, should be understood within the context of a broader attempt among Anglicans to model their churches on those of the early Christians, and as we shall see, Wheler could draw on his own first-hand experience to that end.

Wheler's tabernacle measured thirty feet wide and fifty feet long. It contained a pulpit, reading desk and twenty-two 'formes' (or benches) of eleven foot each, and could accommodate up to 500 people.[64] Very little is known about the chapel's design either inside or out, partly because it was rebuilt in 1755 and finally demolished in 1912 (see below). Nevertheless, Wheler's correspondence provides us with several clues as to how it might have looked and operated, and many of these clues are very revealing. Writing to Seymour

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[60] Du Prey, *Hawksmoor's London Churches*; Robin Griffith-Jones, '"An Enrichment of Cherubims": Christopher Wren's Refurbishment of the Temple Church', in *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*, ed. Robin Griffith-Jones and David Park (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 135–73; Doll, 'The Architectural Expression of Primitive Christianity'; Moody, '"The Basilica after the Primitive Christians"'.
[61] Wheler to Seymour, c. 15 August 1693, WYL170, 4/4.
[62] For Denning's connection to Wheler, see 'The Estate of the Whelers'. For Hawksmoor and the 'Fifty Churches', see Du Prey, *Hawksmoor's London Churches*; Doll, 'The Architectural Expression of Primitive Christianity'; Moody, '"The Basilica after the Primitive Christians"'.
[63] 'The Estate of the Whelers'.
[64] *The Case of the Inhabitants of the Hamlet of Spittle-Fields*.

in June 1693, Wheler had asked for 'one good transom window at y^e East, another at y^e West & so at y^e North & South.' In the same letter, Wheler also raised an issue to which he returned frequently in his correspondence with Seymour: the arrangement of the chapel's seating. Just before he mentioned the transom windows, Wheler advised Seymour that 'it will not be convenient to expend more then y^e 100 [pounds] in proportion between us[,] to set up the tabernacle compleat w^thout seats[,] til[l] I see & contrive how they [that is, the seats] shall be placed'.[65] In September, Wheler informed Seymour that 'As to divisions of seats[,] we will consult abo[u]^t y^t at my coming to town, w^ch I suppose God willing will be abo[u]^t y^e beginning or middle of next week', while in November, not long before the completion of the tabernacle, he told him that 'I shall not think of any Pew Seats till all this be finished y^e carpenter was to do, particularly I will see y^e parement [paraments] finished before I proceed to any further order concerning seats.'[66]

The attention that Wheler devoted to the arrangement of his chapel's seating reflects his concern for two issues, both of which were connected to his experiences of Greek worship overseas, as we explored in the previous chapter: gender segregation and dissent. That Wheler favoured the separation of men and women within his tabernacle, and wanted its seats arranged accordingly, is suggested by the fact that he wrote to Seymour in December 1693 proposing that 'a Great many Keys [be] made to give to all that subscribe, of 2 sorts: the mi[d]dle for the men, & each Isle for the women.'[67] Wheler's support for gender segregation is confirmed, however, by his comment, in a letter of February 1694 to one of his tenants, that 'As to y^e Placing [of] yo[u]^rselves ther[e]in [that is, within the chapel], I

[65] Wheler to Seymour, c. 26 June 1693, WYL170, 4/4.
[66] Wheler to Seymour, c. 12 September 1693, WYL170, 4/4; Wheler to Seymour, 6 November 1693, WYL170, 4/4.
[67] Wheler to Seymour, c. 7 December 1693, WYL170, 4/4.

desired that y^e men might sit by themselves, and the women by y^m selves, w^th respect to y^e Pews and sides of the Chapell.'[68]

Incidentally, Wheler was not alone among Anglicans in his support for the segregation of the sexes at church services. It was a position shared by the cleric and patristic scholar William Cave (1637-1713), who encouraged the separation of men and women 'lest … unchaste and irregular appetites should be kindled by a promiscuous interfering with one another.'[69] Cave's remarks were also echoed by Wheler's former mentor, George Hickes, who condemned the mixing of the sexes as 'contrary to ancient order and decency … a scandalous hindrance to devotion'.[70] Hawksmoor and the Church historian Joseph Bingham (c. 1668-1723), meanwhile, regarded gender segregation as an integral part of early Christian services.[71] Like these figures, Wheler's support for gender segregation was informed by contemporary biblical and historical scholarship, but unlike them, it also owed a considerable amount to his own experiences of travel. Indeed, the fact that Wheler wanted his male worshippers to place themselves in the middle of his chapel, and his female worshippers to situate themselves at the sides, suggests strongly that he was thinking of gender segregation within Orthodox churches. As we have seen, Wheler had described these churches in *Journey*, noting that they were 'divided into Three Isles; the Men stand in the Middle, and the Women on each hand of the Men by themselves'.[72]

The keen interest that Wheler took in how the seats of his chapel were arranged might also have had something to do with his views on dissenters and his commitment to learning. As we saw in the previous chapter, Wheler had argued, with reference to the Greek Church, that dissenters and occasional conformists ought to be admitted to the aisles of

[68] Wheler to 'Cap. Recuse', 10 February 1694, WYL170, 4/4.
[69] Du Prey, *Hawksmoor's London Churches*, 65.
[70] Ibid., 59.
[71] Ibid., 65–66.
[72] Wheler, *Journey*, 356–57.

Anglican places of worship during their services, where they could listen to sermons and Scripture, but leave before the sacrament. This was supposedly similar to the penitents and learners of early Christianity, who were kept in the narthex. As a result, Wheler might well have wanted to make room for dissenters and occasional conformists within his chapel, given his lifelong commitment to educating potentially sympathetic members of other Christian denominations, including foreign churches such as that of the Greeks. After all, Spitalfields was home to large numbers of not only dissenters, but also Huguenot refugees (as Wheler well knew), and Wheler was very clear, as we have seen, that his tabernacle was 'Designed for the use of my Tenants in y^{e} first place[,] & such other[s] of the nei[g]hbours as shall Please voluntarily to joyne themselves to it'.[73] Wheler certainly had some regard for the local Huguenot community, for when he composed his will in 1719, he inserted a clause stipulating that if enough churches were built in Spitalfields, his chapel, which, by this stage, had been converted into a permanent structure, should be handed over to a French congregation, with services conducted in French according to the Book of Common Prayer.[74] Once again, we see the consequences of Wheler's ambition to instruct and edify members of other denominations, and of persecuted foreign churches in particular.

There exists another piece of evidence to suggest that Wheler attempted to apply his scheme for dissenters within his chapel, specifically a pamphlet arising out of a dispute between Wheler and the first minister of his tabernacle, the Reverend Luke Milbourne. Milbourne had been recommended to Wheler by the Bishop of London, Henry Compton,

[73] *A True Narrative* (for dissenters and Huguenots in Spitalfields); Wheler to Compton, c. 18 November 1693, WYL170, 4/4 (for Wheler's remarks).

[74] London, National Archives, PROB 11/597/161. By 1719, one church had been built in Spitalfields, and another was under construction. This second church was never completed, however, and Wheler's chapel remained a proprietary one. It was rebuilt in 1755 and finally demolished in 1912. Today, the street on which it sat, nestled in the heart of busy Shoreditch, is still called 'Wheler Street'. See Manchée, 'Spitalfields', 460–61, 465–78; 'The Estate of the Whelers'. Sadly, there is no substantial evidence of how Wheler engaged with his chapel beyond 1695.

and he officiated at the first service at the chapel on Christmas Day 1693.[75] In February 1694, Wheler wrote to Milbourne with strict instructions for services at the tabernacle, insisting that he 'perform … as exactly as possible according to y^{e} Rubrick, or Rule of y^{e} C. P. Book[,] and according to y^{e} Laudable Custome of y^{e} Church.' Wheler also demanded 'Catechizing imedially after [the] 2^{d} Les[so]^{n} as y^{e} Rubrick does expresly order', adding that 'I think twill be most to Edification first to hear y^{m} [the worshippers] thro^{u}[gh] y^{e} words, and y^{n} to examine and explain to y^{m} y^{e} meaning of some portion of it, wth as much brevity as you conveniently can'.[76] As well as shedding light on Wheler's commitment to conformity and Anglican learning, this letter also helps us to understand why Wheler and Milbourne ultimately fell out. For Milbourne grew to resent Wheler's constant interference in what he felt was his charge, and in 1695, Wheler, growing tired of Milbourne's objections, relieved him of his duties and locked him out of the chapel. Milbourne subsequently opened a rival chapel at a nearby throwster's shop, taking part of Wheler's congregation with him.

The dispute between Wheler and Milbourne gave rise to a series of pamphlets or petitions, of which three survive: *The Case of the Inhabitants of the Hamlet of Spittle-fields* (against Wheler), *A True Narrative of the Case of Sir George Wheeler* (in defence of Wheler) and *A Vindication of the Case of Spittle-Fields* (against Wheler).[77] In *Vindication*, it was reported by Milbourne's supporters that 'we have many *French* and *Walloons*, and many of them joyn in *Divine Worship* with us, and more would if they had *Room*'. It was also said that:

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[75] For Milbourne's selection and first service, see the letters to Seymour that Wheler drafted between 6 November and c. 30 December 1693, WYL170, 4/4, as well as *The Case of the Inhabitants of the Hamlet of Spittle-Fields*.

[76] Wheler to Luke Milbourne, c. 10 February 1694, WYL170, 4/4.

[77] *The Case of the Inhabitants of the Hamlet of Spittle-Fields*; *A True Narrative*; *A Vindication of the Case of Spittle-Fields, against an Uncharitable Paper, Privately Printed, Called a True Narrative of the Case of Sir George Wheler, &c. Humbly Offer'd to the Honourable House of Commons* (London, 1695). See also Manchée, 'Spitalfields', 461–62; 'The Estate of the Whelers'.

> Mr. *Milbourne* is really an Enemy to all *Church Phanaticism* and *Super-Conformity*, as things of the most fatal Consequence to the Church: therefore meeting with a weak and *Unlearn'd*, and therefore *Unlicens'd* Book, by a Prebendary of *Durham*, call'd *An Account of the Churches of the Primitive Christians, with a Seasonable Application*, full of *absurd and impracticable* Proposals for *Reforming our Service*, and *reducing Dissenters*, … Mr. *Milbourn* observ'd the Writer to be of an *Assuming* and *Innovating Temper*[,] wholly *Ignorant of true Antiquity*, … He therefore refus'd to comply with Sir *George*'s Whimsies, but kept to the standing Rule, and his Diocesans sense of it, as directed by that excellent Discourse *concerning the Service of the Church*, premitted to the Book of Common Prayer.[78]

This passage, and particularly the section that claims that Milbourne 'refus'd to comply with *Sir George's* Whimsies' for 'reducing *Dissenters*' (as per his recommendations in his *Account*), combined with the fact that French and Walloons seem to have been attending services at Wheler's chapel in significant numbers, indicates very strongly that Wheler was attempting to impose his scheme for non-conformists within his tabernacle. Thus what had begun as an intellectual exercise, developed with recourse to the Greek Church, had almost certainly ended as a practical religious experiment carried out on the streets of seventeenth-century London.

As we can see by the passage cited above, Milbourne and some of his congregation were opposed not only to Wheler's interference, but also to the nature of that interference, and indeed, they accused Wheler, both here and elsewhere, of attempting to impose an unorthodox, '*absurd and impracticable*' vision of the Anglican service within his chapel. In both *The Case* and *Vindication*, for instance, Milbourne's supporters objected to the emphasis that Wheler placed upon the frequent singing of psalms, including during the 'morning Prayer, … while y^{e} Congregations coming in', as well as 'before y^{e} Litany, and again between the Prayer, and com[munion] service, and as soon as Ever y^{e} Com[munion] Table is in its place.'[79] Wheler had certainly heard psalms sung within the Greek Church,

[78] *Vindication*, 2, 6.
[79] Wheler to Seymour, c. 10 February 1694, WYL170, 4/4.

most notably within the Monastery of Hosios Loukas, which he so admired.[80] Chanting was also a significant part of the Orthodox liturgy of St John Chrysostom, with which Wheler was clearly familiar, as discussed.[81] Wheler's instructions provoked the ire of Milbourne and his supporters, however, who complained that 'No Rubrick enjoins us *to begin Divine Service with Singing Psalms*, or to *Use four in one Morning Service* … Nor to *Sing a Psalm after Morning Sermon*'.[82] Wheler's insistence upon the psalms was almost certainly connected to his desire to edify the congregation. The singing of psalms had long been used within the Christian world for didactic purposes, and for helping worshippers to memorise and understand the biblical message and their religious doctrine more broadly.[83]

Many of the practices that Wheler recommended for Milbourne, and that Milbourne opposed, were fundamentally instructive in nature, including '*Praying before Sermon with* the Face *to the* People *till the concluding Lord's Prayer, and turning the Back*, and *repeating* that *towards the Altar*'; '*read*[*ing*] *the Exhortation when the People are negligent, from the Pulpit after Sermon*'; and reprimanding '*the Hearers from the Pulpit*, because they could not understand *Nonsense in the Chamber*.'[84] Wheler therefore attached considerable importance to the role of Anglican clerics not only in administering the sacraments, but also in teaching the Word, in what amounts to a nuancing of the 'High Church' position with which Wheler has sometimes been associated by historians.[85] Wheler's emphasis upon the importance of the Word alongside that of the sacrament can be seen in his scheme for

[80] Wheler, *Journey*, 323.
[81] *Service of the Divine and Sacred Liturgy of Our Holy Father John Chrysostom*.
[82] *Vindication*, 3.
[83] Psalm-singing had played a crucial role in the 'Protestantisation' of England in the sixteenth century. See Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), esp. 163-204 (Chapter V, 'Educating the Masses: Pedagogy, Propaganda and Protestantisation').
[84] *Vindication*, 3.
[85] See, for example, Whiting, 'Wheler', 92; Moody, '"The Basilica after the Primitive Christians"'; Thomas Roebuck, 'Antiquarianism in the Near East: Thomas Smith (1638-1710) and His Journey to the Seven Churches of Asia', in *Beyond Greece and Rome: Reading the Ancient Near East in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jane Grogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 157.

dissenters, which separated these two parts of the service, as we have examined, and highlighted the value of the Word in potentially reconciling dissenters to the established Church. It can also be seen in Wheler's desire that 'y^{e} Pulpit … be set … in y^{e} mid[d]le [of the chapel] at y^{e} north side, as y^{e} Auditory may hear y^{e} better, wth y^{e} less pains to y^{e} Preacher'.[86]

Thus Wheler looked to promote religious practices within his chapel that he felt would edify the congregation. As a result, Wheler sought to emphasise the Word alongside the sacraments, and in so doing, he tied the power of the clergy as much to education and learning as to the administration of the sacraments. Yet Wheler's unusual schemes were opposed by the first minister of his chapel, the Reverend Luke Milbourne, who ultimately decided to open a rival chapel nearby, taking several members of Wheler's congregation with him. Finally, throughout this section, we have seen how Wheler returned to his experiences of Greek churches in Greece and Asia Minor in order to inspire the physical layout of his chapel, most notably with regards to the admission of dissenters and the segregation of the sexes.

Conclusion

Over the course of the last two chapters, we have explored how Wheler's first-hand engagement with Greek Christians and the Greek Church, both in England and overseas, shaped his sense of what the Anglican Church should be, at a time when its authority and independence were seemingly threatened by popery and dissent. We have seen how within this context, Wheler's encounter with the Greek Church prompted him to reflect upon the visibility of the Anglican clergy, on the one hand, and the value of learning as a way to right

[86] Wheler to Seymour, 12 September 1693, WYL170, 4/4.

worship, on the other. We have also examined the relationship that Wheler sought to establish between these two concepts, by foregrounding the authority of the Church of England's uniquely 'Learned' bishops, priests and deacons, in the first instance, and the Christian learning of its lay members, in the second. Finally, we have considered how Wheler's thinking on all of these issues flowed out into his practical engagement with the Greek College, the SPCK and his chapel in Spitalfields. In this way, we have seen how Wheler's thinking about the Greek Church was not just an abstract intellectual exercise, but rather part of a living, breathing approach to everyday religion and practice.

Chapter VI: '[T]he most superstitious, credulous, fabulous creatures alive': English Travellers and the Dynamics of Superstition, Idolatry and Priestcraft

Over the course of the last five chapters, we have explored how Terry, Covel and Wheler used their experiences of travel to reflect on what it meant to worship God correctly, and to identify the building blocks of a suitably reverent English Church and society, in which the right kinds of religious worship took place. Whereas we have so far studied these figures more or less in isolation, this present chapter will draw out some major commonalities between them. By bringing their three stories together into a single analytical framework, this chapter will capture a common set of issues dealt with in this period by Church of England travellers to the Mughal and Ottoman empires, surrounding idolatry, superstition and priestcraft, even if the individual responses of travellers might sometimes vary. In so doing, this chapter will also examine the intersection between these issues and domestic debates within the English Church, and how the nature of the Church's response to these issues shifted over time.

In this chapter, we shall examine how Terry, Covel and Wheler used their experiences of travel to think more deeply about not only the correct worship of God, but also what it meant to worship God *in*correctly. We shall explore how they referred to the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires to shed light on what religious error looked like in practice, and on why people might succumb to the pitfalls of worshipping God inaccurately. In this way, we shall see how Terry, Covel and Wheler sought to draw a sharper distinction between the right and wrong ways of worshipping God, and to ensure that the Church of England embraced the former, while avoiding the latter. What will frequently emerge from these three case studies, within this context, is a renewed sense of confidence, on the part of English travellers at least, regarding the early modern English

Church, particularly when they compared it to not only Catholicism, but also to other sects and religions such as Eastern Christianity and Islam.

In their accounts of different forms of religious worship overseas, Terry, Covel and Wheler identified and analysed countless erroneous practices and beliefs, almost all of which revolved around the twin pillars of 'idolatry' and 'superstition'. They generally attributed these errors to a lack of education among worshippers, which was encouraged and exploited by priestcraft, and which resulted in the adoption of popular religious ceremonies founded on ignorance and credulity, most notably the veneration of saints and material objects. As we shall see, Terry, Covel and Wheler regarded many of these bad practices as reminiscent of Catholic worship, which is hardly surprising, given that they had been brought up to believe that Catholicism was a perversion of true religion, and the most dangerous existential threat to English Protestantism. Consequently, this chapter will demonstrate that anti-Catholicism was a defining feature of early modern English views of Mughal and Ottoman religion, and of Islam specifically. This anti-Catholicism helped to shape, and was in turn shaped by, English travellers' understandings of religious difference and error, and it also served to distinguish English perceptions of the Mughal and Ottoman empires from those of Catholic Europeans. Finally, this chapter will examine how our travellers' critiques of bad religious practices fed into their respective arguments about right religion, which we have explored over the course of the last five chapters. In other words, it will consider how Terry, Covel and Wheler's reflections on what was wrong in other religions and creeds helped to shape their views of what, when it came to the Church of England, was right.

Superstition and the Mughal and Ottoman Worlds

In their writings about their travels overseas, Terry, Covel and Wheler catalogued a great many forms of religious error, many of which they characterised as 'superstition', or 'superstitious'. In *Voyage* (1655), Terry wrote in sweeping terms of 'the superstition and blind devotion of others', most notably Hindus and Muslims, while in his *Journey into Greece* (1682), Wheler mentioned '*Greekish* Superstitions' and referred to Islam as 'the *Turkish* Superstition', and likewise to Catholicism as 'the Roman Superstition'.[1] As for Covel, he described '[t]he com[m]on people' of the Ottoman Empire as 'the most superstitious, credulous, fabulous creatures alive; I speak of all, Turkes, Greekes, &c.'[2] Common to all of these accounts, then, was a sense that superstition was endemic within the Mughal and Ottoman worlds, and spanned across different religions and creeds.

The notion of superstition was commonly invoked in contemporary Western Christian discussions of religion and theology. Although its precise meaning was contested, and varied according to context, the term was frequently used to refer broadly to the worship of God (or the divine) by unsanctioned, inaccurate, or excessive means, or to practices and beliefs that did not have the 'true' God as their primary object (or, indeed, to a combination of these two phenomena).[3] According to Euan Cameron, this included devotions that were thought to locate 'spiritual power, causality, and meaning arbitrarily and conventionally in particular things, places, peoples, times, and circumstances.'[4] For John Calvin, superstition occurred when worshippers adopted ceremonies that were man-made and lacked divine

[1] Terry, *Voyage*, 541; Wheler, *Journey*, 26 (for 'the Roman Superstition'), 356 (for '*Greekish* Superstitions'), 441 (for 'the *Turkish* Superstition').
[2] Add. MS 22912, 207r.
[3] Helen Parish and William G. Naphy, 'Introduction', in *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe*, ed. Helen Parish and William G. Naphy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 1–2.
[4] Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 4–5.

sanction, or when they practiced lawful ceremonies, but focused only on their outward form, and failed to appreciate 'the marke, and trueth of them.'[5] Broadly similar definitions of superstition were communicated by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Church of England divines. In his landmark *Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie,* Richard Hooker defined superstition as 'when things are either abhorred or obserued, with a zealous or fearefull, but erronious relation to God', adding that 'the superstitious doe sometimes serue, though the true God, yet with needlesse offices, and defraud him of duties necessarie, sometimes loade others then him with such honours as properly are his.'[6] Nearly half a century later, Henry Hammond echoed Calvin and Hooker's definitions when he characterised superstition as '[t]he placing [of] more virtue in some things then either naturally, or by the rule of Gods word, or in the aestimation of purer ages of the Church of Christ[,] may be thought to belong to them'.[7]

Although these definitions are not identical, they share a sense of superstition as referring to erroneous, excessive, or misplaced devotions to the divine, which are likely to distract worshippers from what should be the main object of their reverence, namely God. This sense of the term was certainly reflected in the work of Terry, Covel and Wheler, whose experiences of religious practice overseas enabled them to give shape to this definition. In *Voyage*, Terry noted that Muslims 'rehearse the Names of God and of their *Mahomet* certain times every day upon *Beads,* like the miss-led *Papists,* who seem to regard more the *Number,* then the *weight* of prayers.' There was 'a vast difference', he added, 'twixt *saying of prayers, and praying of prayers*; twixt the service of the *head,* and that of the *Heart*; … differing as much as *Religion,* and *Superstition*.'[8] Here, Terry captured the familiar sense of superstition as denoting practices and beliefs that did not have the true God as their primary object, for

[5] John Calvin, *A Commentary Vpon the Prophecie of Isaiah*, trans. C. C. (London, 1609), 10–11.
[6] Hooker, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, 191.
[7] Henry Hammond, *Of Superstition* (Oxford, 1645), 18.
[8] Terry, *Voyage*, 271–72.

in this instance, Terry felt that Muslims, like Catholics, seemed 'to regard more the *Number*, then the *weight* of prayers', and were thus acting more out of empty habit than a genuine love for God. In the same section of text, Terry also characterised the counting or repetition of prayers as '*Will-worship*', which was a biblical term, taken from Colossians 2:23, used to refer to acts of religious devotion that humans had invented themselves, without biblical precedent or divine sanction. Terry's use of the term '*Will-worship*' here cast the tendency among Catholics and Muslims to count or repeat prayers as an embodied example of yet another element of contemporary understandings of superstition: that it signified unauthorised, and therefore erroneous, devotions to God.

At a somewhat broader level, Terry's discussion of Islamic prayer was consistent with one of his major arguments in *Voyage*, regarding morality. As we have seen, Terry, like Richard Baxter, was anxious to find a place for ethics and morality within English Protestantism. As a result, he demonstrated a real concern for individual moral agency and effort, and for the role of Christianity in cultivating virtues such as '*Love*, *Charity*, *Long-suffering*, *Gentlenesse*, *Goodnesse*, *meeknesse*, *modesty*, *temperance*' and so on.[9] Set against this backdrop, it makes sense that Terry would criticise the counting or repetition of prayers as superstitious, for in his view, such practices were more about mindless habit than conviction, and contributed nothing to one's sense of moral duty. As Terry wrote in his conclusion to *Voyage*, 'God hath called us (saith the Apostle) to glory and vertue, *to vertue and holiness as the means*, to glory and happiness as the end.'[10]

The parallel that Terry drew here between superstitious Islamic prayers, on the one hand, and those of 'the miss-led *Papists*', on the other, indicates that he viewed Islamic superstition through the lens of anti-Catholicism. As we shall see throughout this chapter,

[9] Ibid., 484–85.
[10] Ibid., 443, recte 542. Italics added for emphasis.

anti-Catholicism was a major feature of not only Terry's, but also Covel and Wheler's explorations of religious error within the Mughal and Ottoman empires. Indeed, anti-Catholicism helped to inform, and was in turn informed by, our travellers' experiences of religious difference and error abroad, and of priestcraft, superstition and idolatry specifically. This is hardly surprising, given that the vast majority of seventeenth-century English Protestants regarded Catholicism as their greatest existential threat, and a pre-eminent example of religious corruption and error. Following the sixteenth-century Reformation, Protestant writers in England had increasingly emphasised the corruption of the Church of Rome, and the extent to which it had abandoned the primitive purity of the early Church, which Christ had bequeathed to the Apostles. It was argued that successive popes had taken over Christ's role as head of the Church, and that the spiritual essence of Christianity had been lost following the imposition of ceremonies, theologies and traditions of entirely human origins, which were designed simply to increase the power and wealth of the Roman clergy.

Various Catholic doctrines and ceremonies came under attack from English Protestants on these very grounds, including transubstantiation, auricular confession, purgatory, indulgences and prayers for the dead. By the mid-seventeenth century, hostility to Catholicism was therefore widespread in England, and deeply rooted within the national psyche.[11] According to John Miller, it had been 'embedded in the consciousness of all kinds of Protestants by generations of teaching, discussion and propaganda', and 'provided a reservoir of common ideas and prejudices to which Protestant polemicists could appeal.'[12]

[11] For anti-Catholicism in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, see John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660–1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Peter Lake, 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Longman, 1989), 90–128; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*; Jeffrey Collins, 'Restoration Anti-Catholicism: A Prejudice in Motion', in *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited*, ed. Charles W. A. Prior and Glenn Burgess (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 281–306.
[12] Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 71.

Thus for Terry, Covel and Wheler, Catholicism functioned as a standard against which other forms of religious corruption and error could be measured, specifically those of the Mughal and Ottoman empires.[13] Their use of this Catholic standard of error was particularly pronounced within their respective analyses of superstition, no doubt partly because this was a charge that Protestant writers had long levelled against Catholic worship.

The notion of superstition was a common feature of the work of both Covel and Wheler, partly because of the nature of the religious landscape that they encountered within Ottoman territories. Recent scholarship has shown that for many people in the late medieval and early modern Ottoman Empire, particularly outside of major towns and cities, religious worship was a world of heterodoxy, syncretism and interaction between different traditions. For Orthodox Christians, Jews and Muslims alike, there was a world of piety beyond 'official' ritual, doctrine and law, which James Grehan has bracketed under the aegis of 'agrarian religion', so named for its relationship with the natural world. According to Grehan, agrarian religion, which was commonly transmitted by oral cultures of spirituality, took several forms, including the veneration of saints, miracle-workers and tombs; the worship of the natural world; reverence for haunted landscapes and the dead; a commitment to amulets, talismans and magical formulas; and various forms of supererogatory prayer, supplication and sacrifice. Since many of its most important practices and beliefs, including those just listed, were shared by members of different religions and sects, most notably Eastern Christians, Muslims and Jews, agrarian religion constituted something of a common or shared religious culture, and as a result, it was not unusual for worshippers from different creeds to participate in each other's rituals and ceremonies.[14]

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[13] On a related note, several historians have commented on the tendency of Protestant reformers to exploit rival creeds, most notably Islam, to probe and criticise the Church of Rome. See, for example, Peter Harrison, *'Religion' and the Religions in the English Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 144; Malcolm, *Useful Enemies*, esp. 87-91, 306-07.

[14] James Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints: Everyday Religion in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). See also F. W. Hasluck and Margaret M. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the*

It was within this hybrid, 'agrarian' religious culture that Western European observers such as Covel and Wheler frequently located the superstitious. In so doing, they overlooked several important, long-standing movements for more religious orthodoxy among Ottoman subjects, not least within Sunni Islam, as we saw with Vani Mehmed in Chapter II.[15] In the case of Covel, this oversight is particularly striking, given that he was familiar with Vani Mehmed and his strict programme of reform. The chaplain even commented on its efficacy in his diaries from the 1670s, describing the preacher, for instance, as being 'of such authority amongst ye Turkes, as about 6 yeares since preached down all publick Tavernes and coffeehouses and ye Dervises publick meetings'.[16] Whether by accident or design, however, this omission suited not only Covel, but also Wheler, for it enabled both travellers to portray the Ottoman Empire as a site of endemic, unchecked superstition, which highlighted the rationality and learning of the Church of England. Indeed, Covel and Wheler, though they had both spent a considerable amount of time in Ottoman cities such as Edirne and Istanbul, focused in their writings on the heterodox, syncretic religious cultures of the Ottoman countryside. After all, these cultures reflected their understandings of superstition, and could therefore be used to explore bad forms of religious worship, as they saw it.

Sultans, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929); Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. 248-69; Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2005); Jonathan Berkey, 'Islam', in *The New Cambridge History of Islam, Volume 4: Islamic Cultures and Societies to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Robert Irwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), esp. 48-59; John J. Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350-1750* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Knysh, 'Sufism', esp. 93-99; Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

[15] For the concept of orthodoxy within sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman Sunnism, see Derin Terzioğlu, 'How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion', *Turcica* 44 (2013): 301–38, as well as the articles collected in Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu, eds., 'Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450-c. 1750', *Islamic History and Civilization* 177 (2020).

[16] Add. MS 22912, 236v.

One of the most popular and widespread 'superstitions' that Covel and Wheler encountered within the eastern Mediterranean was the veneration of physical objects. In his diaries, Covel noted that '[y]ou cannot imagine ye strange superstition that is generally amongst the people of this countrey; Turkes, Jewes, greekes, Armenians, all have their amulets and Telsimes [talismans] … about themselves, but especially about their children, their horses, their houses'. According to Covel, these amulets and talismans included wolves' teeth and 'ye bones of their toes', as well as 'bones or parts of frogs, mice, lizards, Hippocampus, &c.'[17] Covel and Wheler found that this consecration of physical objects was almost invariably connected to one of the most important and visible features of the Ottoman religious landscape, namely the worship of saints.[18] When Covel visited the Isa Bey Mosque near Ephesus in 1670, for instance, his attention was drawn swiftly to 'a *Turkish* bow, and a horne of an Antilope or Persian Goat belonging formerly to one of their *santons* … [illegible], whome they had in great veneration.'[19] Indeed, Covel's writings detail many instances of the Islamic worship of saints within the Near East. When he visited the tomb of one '*Mahomet Effendi*' in Istanbul, for instance, who was locally believed to have 'brought the *Alcoran* From *Mecha* to *Stambol*', Covel remarked that the deceased was 'accounted a very great saint, many coming out thither dayly to visit his Tomb'.[20] Wheler likewise commented on this Ottoman Islamic culture of saint-worship. During their time in Istanbul, Wheler and Spon visited the tomb of '*Sultan Eliub*, near the Harbour, whom they esteem a Prophet, and great Saint; and therefore, it is frequented by the zealous *Turks*, with a great deal of Devotion.'[21]

[17] Ibid., 227r.
[18] For the veneration of saints in the late medieval and early modern Near East, see n.14, though esp. Hasluck and Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1, esp. 226–36, 278–351; Meri, *The Cult of Saints*; Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints*, esp. 62-115.
[19] Add. MS 22912, 52v.
[20] Ibid., 111r.
[21] Wheler, *Journey*, 200.

According to Covel and Wheler, such devotion to saints and physical objects was equally common among the Orthodox Christians of the Near East. Covel came across countless paintings of saints within the monasteries of Mount Athos, all of which had their own patron saints, whom the monks of the area revered.[22] He saw that the cupolas of the monastic churches there were adorned with pictures of these and other saints, which were 'taken down on their respective dayes and lay'd by to be kis't upon a desk to the right hand.'[23] Wheler had several similar experiences surrounding the Orthodox veneration of saints and the associated consecration of material objects, most notably dead bodies. When he entered a Greek convent in Athens, for instance, he 'was admitted to see the Body of a Woman, they esteem a saint, upon the ground of some *Visions*, and *Apparitions*, they confidently affirm, that they have had concerning her, since her Death.'[24] In Corfu, Wheler also visited a 'Cathedral Church, dedicated to Saint Spiridion, first bishop of that place, whose body they are perswaded they have, and there with great veneration preserve it.' The body of the saint was reported to have restored the sight of a blind man some thirty-five years before, and according to Wheler, local Greeks had kept 'an Annual remembrance ever since'.[25]

As Zur Shalev has observed, early modern Western travellers frequently constructed the superstitions of the Levant to mirror European religious phenomena, and in this case, Covel and Wheler likened the veneration of saints and material objects among Eastern Christians and Muslims to that of the Catholic Church.[26] In his commonplace book, Covel asked 'what is more com[m]on amongst your papists at this very day then these …

[22] Add. MS 22912, 334r-51r; Add. MS 22914, 37v-46v; Hasluck, 'The First English Traveller's Account'.
[23] Add. MS 22912, 348v.
[24] Wheler, *Journey*, 351–52.
[25] Ibid., 31.
[26] Zur Shalev, 'Islam, Eastern Christianity, and Superstition According to Some Early Modern English Observers', in *Knowledge and Religion in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Honor of Michael Heyd*, ed. Asaph Ben-Tov, Deutsch Yaacov, and Tamar Herzig (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 139–52.

grateful memorialls … [illegible] at the shrines of their saints'?[27] This was a comment that stemmed at least partly from Covel's own experiences of Catholicism overseas. In 1670, for instance, on a visit to an Augustinian monastery in Malaga, Covel had entered their church and found '*offerings* hang'd up without number, in memory of deliverances and miracles wrought by that saint, which they there call *Virgo miraculosissima* [presumably the Virgin Mary]'. One of these offerings was 'a small boat of reeds, … in which 7 Christians (after their prayers, I suppose, to this Saint) escaped from captivity at Algiers to this port.' There were also '*effigies* of a child that was raised from the dead; and a serpent of great length, … which had been destroy'd by Christians in Africk and sent hither.' Finally, the walls of the monastery's cloisters were 'hang'd wth pictures, most of them representing miracles wrought by their saints' (for most Anglicans, miracles had ceased to occur following the early ages of the Church).[28] As for Wheler, in his *Account of the Churches ... of the Primitive Christians* (1689), he accused Catholics, as we have seen, of cramming 'their Churches with Altars against every Pillar and Post and in every Corner of the Church, dedicated to every Saint and Angel in Heaven and Earth'.[29]

The veneration of saints and material objects within the eastern Mediterranean, which was not only widespread, but also cut across confessional boundaries, enabled Covel and Wheler to reflect more deeply on the dynamics of the phenomenon. In so doing, they could explore what superstition, or at least a major form of it, looked like in practice, as well as on where it came from, why it was harmful to right worship, and how best to prevent it. Furthermore, the fact that saint-worship and the consecration of physical objects was common among Catholics, in addition to Eastern Christians and Muslims, gave Covel and Wheler's exploration of the phenomenon greater relevance. Far from being an isolated

[27] Osborn b140, 22.
[28] Add. MS 22912, 16v.
[29] Wheler, *Account*, 90.

example of Eastern superstition, the veneration of saints and physical objects was clearly part of a broader continuum of error affecting not only the East, but also the West, which inevitably brought it into closer contact with English Protestantism. Within this context, Covel and Wheler's discussion of saint- and material-worship naturally assumed added significance, for it was something that distinguished the Church of England from its closest rival.

Covel's experiences of saint-worship and the consecration of material objects reflected his understanding of superstition, which these practices almost certainly helped to inform. In his commonplace book, Covel described superstition as the 'groundlesse observing [of] ominous things', and the 'placing [of] more virtue or power in things then God in nature gave.'[30] Although Covel credited this definition to the Greek philosopher Theophrastus (c. 371-287 BC), it also echoed those provided by Hooker and Hammond, both of whom Covel cited in other sections of his work.[31] Yet although this well-established Anglican theological framework was no doubt important to Covel's understanding of the dynamics of superstition, so too were his experiences of travel.[32] As we have seen, Covel had witnessed several instances where worshippers from different creeds attributed divine or saintly qualities to physical objects that he felt had none, and beyond the examples discussed, there are countless more. In his diaries, for instance, Covel noted that Catholic saint-worship had deluded Italian sailors into accepting the 'superstition' that the lights of

[30] Osborn b140, 11.
[31] For Covel citing Hammond and Hooker, see Chapters II and III, respectively. In his *Paraphrase*, Hammond had explored the notion of superstition with reference to Theophrastus. See Henry Hammond, *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon All the Books of the New Testament* (London, 1659), 406–7.
[32] The historiographies regarding the Anglican theological frameworks established by Hooker and Hammond are vast, though see, for example, Packer, *Transformation*; Michael Brydon, *The Evolving Reputation of Richard Hooker: An Examination of Responses, 1600-1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, esp. 119-46 (for Hammond); Peter H. Sedgwick, *The Origins of Anglican Moral Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), esp. 212-35 (for Hooker), 310-14 (for Hammond). It should also be mentioned here that Hammond's work inspired two of Covel's most important academic influences, Ralph Cudworth and Henry More. See Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, esp. 35-36.

St Elmo's Fire were the 'Ghosts of some Saints who came to relieve them.'[33] He also recalled an occasion where a Janissary accompanying his party had caught and slit the throat of a bat, 'pronouncing ye name of God and some other conceits'. According to Covel, the Janissary 'saved every drop of ye blood in cotton, and kept it as a most divine thing; by this he say'd he could make freinds wth any one; love in a woman; … p[r]eserve himself and us from all evil.' Later on, when the group narrowly avoided being struck by lightning, nothing in 'all the world' would convince the Janissary 'but yt ye blood of his Bat preserved us.' Finally, on the same page in his diaries, Covel claimed that 'your Greekes count nothing more sacred then … ye bread (not ye Sacrament)', and that 'you would scarce see a little [Greek] child but it had some of this [bread] either in a little silver box about their necks, or stitched up in a bit of silk or tyed in a little Bag'.[34]

Using these last two examples, involving the Janissary's bat and the Greek sacrament, we may begin to understand why Covel, in his *Account of the Present Greek Church* (1722), wrote of the dangers of the veneration of saints and physical objects in the way that he did. In his *Account*, Covel disapproved strongly of the adoration and worship of saints, and of saints' pictures specifically, noting that 'we cannot think it fitting *to bow down to their Pictures,* or warrantable *to Worship* them', particularly via prayer, which he said should be reserved for God, and God alone. Covel maintained that such forms of worship, which were widespread among 'both Greeks and Latins', distanced and distracted worshippers from God, though Scripture affirmed clearly that God was 'all-sufficient' for their invocations, and that '*he, and he only*, … *knows the Hearts of the Children of Men*' (Covel alluded here to Jeremiah 17:10 and Psalm 146:5). Within this context, Covel thought it insulting to God to 'make my Addresses to any other Invisible thing; since the great

[33] Add. MS 22912, 29v.
[34] Ibid., 227r.

Creator himself *Invites* me, nay, *Commands me*, to do it to *him*, [and] I dare not do it to his Creature, be it either Saint or Angel.'[35]

It is not particularly hard to see how such comments might have been informed by Covel's encounter with the Janissary and his bat, or by his impression that 'your Greekes count nothing more sacred then … ye Bread', not even the sacrament itself. In both of these instances, worshippers were seen to rely for their good fortune and protection not primarily on God, but on inanimate objects to which they had mistakenly attributed divine qualities. In Covel's telling, such practices appeared to put God second to mere earthly possessions, whose divine or supernatural attributes were doubtful at best. Thus the Janissary's first instinct after narrowly avoiding harm from lightening was not to praise or thank God, but rather to comment on the ostensibly miraculous properties of the blood of his bat. The Greeks behaved similarly, for they valued the protection supposedly provided by the sacramental loaf above that provided by the sacrament itself, though the latter commemorated the only means by which humans could really be protected and saved from harm. In these circumstances, then, worshippers' trust in and love for God appeared secondary to a physical object. For Covel, this was a grave offence, for as we explored in Chapters II and III, Covel regarded unconditional love for and trust in God as a major indicator of what he called 'inward affection', which he characterised as so crucial to religious worship.

As we have seen, Covel's attachment to the notion of inward affection meant that he valued ceremonies only insofar as they contributed to the inner practice of religion. By these criteria, saint-worship and the veneration of material objects appeared to fall short. Neither behaviour seemed to contribute much to one's inward affection, for they appeared to elevate what Covel referred to contemptuously as 'meer outward *Forms of Godliness*',

[35] Covel, *Some Account*, 359–62.

such as the simple blessing or wearing of supposedly divine objects, above the religious and social temper of the individual. In other words, the veneration of saints and physical objects did not appear to require any inward affection on the part of worshippers, since good fortune and protection were seemingly provided without moral effort or good works. In this respect, Covel's disapproval of saint- and material-worship was similar to that of Terry, who had found that such practices contributed nothing to one's sense of moral duty, insofar as they incited worshippers to empty habit, not virtue.

Although Covel disapproved of the worship of saints and saints' relics, he drew a distinction in his *Account* between their worship, on the one hand, and their careful study and remembrance, on the other. Writing of pictures of saints, Covel approved of their careful study and remembrance, noting 'that by calling to our minds *the memory* of their [the saints'] Virtues and Glorious Examples, we may be excited *to Imitate them* in their Holy Lives and Practices'. This sentiment reflected Covel's emphasis on the inner practice of religion, and Covel argued that by honouring the Saints, 'we *extol* their Faith, their Hope, their Charity, their Sufferings, their Patience, and all other eminent Christian Virtues that were in them; and devoutly pray God, *to grant us Grace so to follow all the blessed Saints in all Virtuous and Godly Living*'. In order to prevent remembrance from evolving into worship, however, Covel explained that a certain level of education was necessary among worshippers:

> Pictures may be, and are usefull Memorials to those that have read and known *the Histories already*; but how can the Ignorant men, (who were forbidden now by the Greeks, as well as the Latins to read the Scriptures,) know any thing of the matter? They may stare at them as very fine Sights indeed, but be inwardly very little or nothing the better for them.[36]

[36] Ibid., 359–60.

That Covel referred to the Greeks as an example of ignorance within this context is significant, for as we shall examine in the next section, both Covel and Wheler explored the relationship between ignorance and superstition with recourse to the Greek Church, Judaism and Islam.

Ignorance, Priestcraft and the Roots of Superstition

As we saw in Chapters IV and V, Wheler was adamant about the importance of learning to right religion, and he used the religious diversity of the Ottoman world to inform his educational conception of the Church of England. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Wheler, using the example of the Greek Church, connected superstition to a lack of education among worshippers, which left them vulnerable to exploitation at the hands of unscrupulous clergy. In *Journey,* Wheler recalled a visit to an Orthodox church in Corfu, which he said was 'famous for a Picture of our Lady, to which they attribute Miracles, and whereof I had a mind to try the skill.' According to Wheler, local Greeks believed that if they threw a coin at the painting, they could learn of the fate of absent family and friends, for 'If the person they think of be alive, the piece will stick fast; but if dead, it will drop down into a Sack placed under-neath; so that, dead or alive, the Priest is sure of the money.' For Wheler, there was a far more rational explanation for this phenomenon, which was obvious enough to anyone with a basic understanding of certain natural principles. 'The Picture', he explained, 'is painted upon the Walls, and is very smooth and shining; so that I attribute the sticking to some clamminess of the Varnish; which they [that is, the clergy] take care, shall never be wanting in some places of it.'[37] Yet because of their ignorance,

[37] Wheler, *Journey,* 30.

local Greeks interpreted such a basic natural phenomenon as miraculous, and were therefore susceptible to priestcraft and superstition.

This incident was likely one of the reasons that Wheler was so keen for Dionysius to follow courses in natural philosophy at Gloucester Hall. As we have seen, when Wheler wrote to Dr Benjamin Woodroffe in December 1693, he recommended that Dionysius learn 'something of Rhetorick, Logick, and natural Phylosophy. The Last of w^{ch} they are intirely ignorant of in those Countrys.'[38] On the one hand, Wheler's recommendation of natural philosophy simply reflected the fact that the subject was an important part of an English university curriculum at the time. There was certainly a growing pre-occupation among contemporary Anglicans with the systematic study of nature and the physical world, which was itself reflected in the close relationship between leading Anglican theologians and the Royal Society.[39] On the other hand, Wheler's recommendation spoke to his first-hand experience of Greek worship overseas, and his corresponding belief that Greeks were falling into superstitious religious practices because of their ignorance of the workings of the natural world. It was such forms of susceptibility that Wheler presumably sought to combat with the teaching of natural philosophy at the Greek College.

Covel encountered a similar dynamic, involving the growth of superstition out of ignorance, within ceremonies where worshippers from different religions joined together in their adoration of, or devotion to, a particular saint.[40] When Covel was in Edirne in 1675, for instance, he witnessed a memorable example of this shared devotional culture, in this case, surrounding the Virgin Mary, and he attributed its local popularity to the ignorance and credulity of the Eastern Christians, Jews and Muslims involved. On 15 August of that

[38] Wheler to Woodroffe, c. 3 December 1693, WYL170, 4/4.
[39] John Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of the Enlightenment: Science, Religion, and Politics from the Restoration to the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), esp. 1-184; Jon Parkin, *Science, Religion and Politics in Restoration England: Richard Cumberland's De Legibus Naturae* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1999); Hutton, *Anne Conway*; Hutton, *British Philosophy*; Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom*.
[40] For which see esp. Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints*, esp. 62-115.

year, Covel attended local celebrations for the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. During the festivities, he saw 'a company of old gossips … bring water from ye river and mix it and the clay together into a perfect pudding, or stodge'. Following this, Covel watched 'infinites of people, Turkes, Jewes, and Christians resort thither and go in [the muddy clay], and tumble in ye mire which they beleive will cure any sort of infirmity'. He explained that Eastern Christians, Jews and Muslims regarded the water as sacred because of its association with the Virgin Mary. According to Covel, this association stemmed from local claims that the water only emerged from the ground on 'the night before' celebrations for the Assumption, whereupon it flowed until 'the Octave', or eight days after the Feast. Covel was entirely unconvinced by the idea that the water was sacred, however, calling it 'a notorious lye' communicated by 'old Hags'. For although Covel accepted that some of those who covered themselves in the mixture of clay and water were cured of their maladies, he explained that this was only because 'the earth' was 'a kind of fullers earth, or very abstersive, and may doe good in many cutaneous diseases, wthout ye help of Παναγία [the Virgin Mary] as they call her.' Yet Covel was reluctant to dispute the 'miracle' publicly, for the local population was 'so zealously bent to beleive the story, as I had liked to have been *imbroglied* for disputing of it.'[41]

This was not the only time on his travels that Covel encountered a shared belief in the miraculous, curative properties of natural earths, which local people attributed to the association of those soils with saints or the divine. On a visit to the Greek island of Lemnos in 1677, Covel was informed by several Greek priests and others 'that at the time of our Saviour's transfiguration, this place was sanctifyed to have this virtuous earth', which was 'never to be found soft and unctuous[,] but alwayes perfect rock[,] unlesse onely that day, which they keep holy in remembrance of ye μεταμόρφωσις (metamorphosis)'. On this day,

[41] Add. MS 22912, 220r.

the earth was regarded by local Greeks as 'an infallible cure of all agues'. It was thought 'to hasten childbirth; and to stop all fluxes … And they count it an excellent counterpoyson, and have got a story that no vessel made of it will hold poison[,] but immediately splinter in a 1000 peices.' These beliefs, which echoed ancient Lemnian superstitions described by Pliny the Elder (c. 23-79), with whose work Covel was highly familiar, were also seemingly shared by Ottoman Muslims. Indeed, Covel noted that it was 'Turkish policy for ye G. S^{r} [to] engrosse it [the earth] all to himselfe', and that he had 'seen severall fingions [that is, cups] made of it in Stambol.'[42]

In their recollections of supposedly miraculous events in Edirne and Corfu, respectively, Covel and Wheler made an implicit distinction between themselves, as rational Anglicans, capable of distinguishing between natural phenomena and divine agency, and Eastern Christians, Muslims and Jews, all of whom were largely ignorant, and therefore vulnerable to priestcraft and superstition. In so doing, they cast not only themselves, but also their faith, as more rational by contrast, at least by implication. This framing of themselves and their religion was consistent with a broader rhetoric within the later seventeenth-century Church of England. During this period, Anglicans sought to demonstrate that theirs was a religion of reason, grounded on the critical evaluation and inductive scrutiny of evidence and testimony, including that provided by Scripture, the Church Fathers and the natural world, using tools appropriate to natural philosophy and history. Such a 'rational' approach to religion was thought to distinguish Anglicanism from the blind faith and clerical

[42] Add. MS 22914, 50r. For ancient and early modern accounts of the sacred earth of Lemnos, including those of Pliny and Galen (c. 129-216), see F. W. Hasluck, 'Terra Lemnia', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 16 (1909): 220–31; Shalev, 'Islam, Eastern Christianity, and Superstition', 140–41. Covel was certainly familiar with the work of Pliny the Elder, whom he cited at several points in his writings. See esp. Osborn b140, which is littered with references to the author. Pliny described the sacred earth of Lemnos in his *Historia naturalis*, and a copy of this work is listed in Covel's library catalogue of 1716. See 'Catalogue of the Library of John Covel', Add. MS 70485, 16r.

obscurantism of other creeds, most notably Catholicism and puritanism, its two main theological enemies.[43]

Covel and Wheler's accounts of ostensibly miraculous events in Edirne and Corfu also reflected another, more specific subset of this pro-Anglican rhetoric, regarding the cessation of miracles.[44] For many Anglicans, the fact that Catholics and puritans accepted the existence of miracles in the modern era was evidence of credulity and priestcraft among them. Naturally, such accusations underpinned their broader view that Anglicanism was more reasonable than either Catholicism or puritanism. Within this context, Covel and Wheler's experiences abroad of what were locally regarded as miracles took on added significance, demonstrating that a belief that miracles still occurred was a universal sign of religious corruption, and that it was a superstition borne out of ignorance and priestcraft. Interestingly, this connection between ignorance, priestcraft and superstition was explored by not only Covel and Wheler, but also Terry. In *Voyage*, for instance, Terry connected the Islamic habit of counting and repeating prayers to the fact that Muslims had 'a set forme of prayer in the *Arabian tongue*, not understood by many of the common people, yet repeated by them as well as by the *Moolaas*'.[45]

It is worth observing, however, that Terry emphasised a different aspect of the relationship between ignorance, priestcraft and superstition to both Covel and Wheler. Indeed, whereas Terry maintained that the clergy hoodwinked the laity through the use of unfamiliar languages (see also below), Covel and Wheler focused on the clergy's exploitation of the laity's ignorance of basic natural principles. Terry's emphasis reflected

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[43] Gerard Reedy, *The Bible and Reason: Anglicans and Scripture in Late Seventeenth-Century England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); John Spurr, '"Rational Religion" in Restoration England', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49, no. 4 (1988): 563–85; Raymond D. Tumbleson, '"Reason and Religion": The Science of Anglicanism', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57, no. 1 (1996): 131–56; Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 236–41.

[44] For debates in Restoration England surrounding the cessation of miracles, see Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*, esp. 132-39, 302-10, 374-75.

[45] Terry, *Voyage*, 271.

an older discourse among Protestants, developed in response to the use of Latin within the Church of Rome. This discourse regarded the use of the vernacular in public worship as an important safeguard against clerical obfuscation, tyranny and corruption.[46] Covel and Wheler's approach, by contrast, was more typical of the later seventeenth-century Church of England, insofar as they sought to use evidence from the natural world to combat superstitions encouraged by unscrupulous clergy. In this way, Covel and Wheler reflected the fixation of many contemporary Anglicans with not only natural philosophy, but also with the critical evaluation and inductive scrutiny of evidence.

Within this picture of ignorance, priestcraft and superstition painted by Terry, Covel and Wheler, Protestantism, and the Church of England specifically, invariably stood apart, marked out by its more educated and reasoned approach to religious worship. Our travellers consistently distanced themselves from behaviours that they felt were superstitious, and founded on ignorance and credulity. In so doing, they affirmed their own faith, implying that it was above such superstition, or at least more resistant to it. Thus Terry argued in *Voyage* that Muslims, Hindus and Zoroastrians were different from English Protestants insofar as they based their practices on custom and 'phansie' as opposed to reason, '[t]hey esteeming it a very great boldnesse … to be wiser in their Religion than their forefathers were', not unlike, Terry added for good measure, 'the more ignorant sort of Papists'.[47] Indeed, whereas Muslims had 'a set forme of prayer in the *Arabian tongue*, not understood by many of the common people, yet repeated by them as well as by the *Moolas*', and Catholics similarly had 'the *Truths* of God *sealed up* in an unknown tongue [Latin], to keep, and to continue them in ignorance', English Protestants had long since moved on from the days when '[t]he book of God was sealed up from them, in an unknown tongue, which

[46] Timothy Rosendale, '"Fiery Toungues:" Language, Liturgy, and the Paradox of the English Reformation', *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2001): 1142–64.
[47] Terry, *Voyage*, 361–62.

they could neither understand nor read'. Terry commented that 'for us at this present day, our Temples are open, we may come, our Bibles are eng[li]shed, we may read, our Pulpits frequented[,] we may heare'.[48] As for Covel, he described amulets and talismans such as those revered by Muslims and Eastern Christians as 'meer old wives conceits'. He also claimed to have met 'ye most noted Turk in all these parts for such things', and to have 'manifestly proved him an imprudent impostor', though how exactly Covel accomplished this, he neglected to say, simply noting that 'it will be too tedious for to recount you all that past'.[49]

This contrast between educated and rational Anglicans, on the one hand, and ignorant and hence superstitious non-Anglicans, on the other, was particularly significant in the case of Wheler, for it served to reinforce his educational conception of the Church of England. As we saw in Chapters IV and V, Wheler tied the authority and singularity of Anglicans, and of Anglican clerics especially, to their commitment to religious edification and learning, which he promoted as one of the most effective ways to right worship. That Wheler could point to non-Anglican examples of a lack of learning resulting in superstitious error was therefore important. Within this continuum of error, Anglicanism stood apart, if only by its absence. When Wheler returned to England from his travels in November 1676, he thanked God for having delivered him 'into the Bosom of a Church, that I had often heard, but now knew, to be the most refined, pure, and Orthodox Church in the world', and which was free 'from Slavery, Errour and Superstition, and without Novelty or Confusion, established in Purity of Doctrine, Decency and Order.'[50] In an undated, unfinished memorandum written sometime after his return to England, and which he entitled, 'Off England in comparison with other Countries', Wheler maintained that:

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[48] Ibid., 117 (for Catholics), 486, recte 516 (for English Protestants).
[49] Add. MS 22912, 227r.
[50] Wheler, *Journey*, 482.

> … those that Preferre the outward pompe and vanities of the Latine and Greek Church[es], before the Glorious splendour and brightness of the Gospel shining in the Church of England, deserve again to be put into their hanging sleeves[,] rancked among children, and have only Rattles and puppet showes to please them.[51]

Thus Wheler characterised Anglicanism as more rational, grounded and cerebral than other creeds, insofar as Anglicans focused on spreading knowledge of the Gospel, while members of other religions and sects, and Catholics and Greeks specifically, pre-occupied themselves with superstitious empty ceremonies and surface glitter, such as the veneration of saints and physical objects. Such a view was, of course, partly inspired by a long tradition of anti-Catholic polemic in England, though it also reflected Wheler's desire to foreground the unparalleled rationality of the Church of England's uniquely 'Learned' bishops, priests and deacons, in the first instance, and the Christian learning of its lay members, in the second.

Superstition and Idolatry

For Terry and Wheler, one of the most damaging features of superstitious behaviours such as saint- and material-worship was that they entailed and promoted one of the most heinous sins of all: the worship of idols. It was certainly not uncommon for seventeenth-century Church of England thinkers to connect the veneration of saints and physical objects with idolatry. One of Covel's academic mentors, Henry More, was unequivocal in this regard, arguing that 'to erect Temples, Altars, Images, or to burn Incense, to Saints or Angels, to

[51] Wheler, 'Off England in comparison with other Countries', WYL170, 1/2. When Wheler wrote of the 'pompe and vanities' of the Greek Church here, he was presumably referring to those parts of that Church that he felt had been corrupted by the Church of Rome. For as we have seen, Wheler also used the Greek model, or at least those parts of it that he considered pure, as a positive example for Anglicanism.

invoke them, or make Vows to them, and the like, is plain Idolatry.'[52] During this period, the study of idolatry, and of its origins in particular, flourished in Western Europe. For as Western European contemporaries grappled with a growing knowledge of doctrinal and ceremonial diversity not only among Christians, but also non-Christians, they sought to define the nature and scope of true religion through a systematic examination of false religion, which generally centred on the notion of idolatry. Within this context, Reformed theologians produced scores of antiquarian treatises on ancient deviations from the true God, with a particular focus on the Israelites, and their idolatrous worship of the Golden Calf. Ancient gentile or pagan examples were invoked too, and the idolatry of the Israelites was connected to that of their Near Eastern neighbours, including the Egyptians.[53]

With their first-hand experience of the religious landscapes of the Mughal and Ottoman empires, Terry, Covel and Wheler explored the dynamics of idolatry with recourse to Hinduism, Islam, Eastern Christianity and the material legacy of pagan worship within the Levant. Like many travellers before them, such as the Spanish Jesuit missionary José de Acosta (c. 1540-1600), whom Terry cited in *Voyage*, and who wrote of his experiences in the Americas, Terry, Covel and Wheler found that many of their observations of religion overseas, whether Christian or not, could slip quite comfortably into scholarly discussions of ancient idolatry.[54] Thus Terry accused Hindus of 'gross Idolatry' for worshipping lavish

[52] Henry More, *An Exposition of the Seven Epistles to the Seven Churches Together with a Brief Discourse of Idolatry, with Application to the Church of Rome* (London, 1669), 10.
[53] Harrison, *'Religion' and the Religions*, esp. 73-76, 105-10; Peter N. Miller, 'Taking Paganism Seriously: Anthropology and Antiquarianism in Early Seventeenth-Century Histories of Religion', *Archiv Für Religionsgeschichte* 3, no. 1 (2001): 183–209; Stroumsa, 'John Spencer and the Roots of Idolatry'; Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Theology, Ethnography, and the Historicization of Idolatry', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 4 (2006): 571–96; Jonathan Sheehan, 'Introduction: Thinking about Idols in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 4 (2006): 561–70; Jonathan Sheehan, 'The Altars of the Idols: Religion, Sacrifice, and the Early Modern Polity', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 4 (2006): 649–74; Jonathan Sheehan, 'Sacred and Profane: Idolatry, Antiquarianism and the Polemics of Distinction in the Seventeenth Century', *Past & Present* 192, no. 1 (2006): 35–66; Guy G. Stroumsa, *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), esp. 77-100.
[54] Terry, *Voyage*, 148–49. For Acosta, see Stroumsa, *A New Science*, 16–17.

figures of their deities, adding that 'nothing is *too rich*, too pretious, or too dear for their *Idol*', before comparing them to the Israelites in this regard:

> And what cost the Superstitious *Israelites* were content to bear for their leud devotion, we may further see, *Exod*. 32. 2. they are ready to give their *Gold*, not out of their *Purses* onely, but from their *Ears* too to further their *misdevotion*; most willing they were to part with their *Jewels* to their *Molten God* [that is, the Golden Calf].[55]

Terry described similar instances of idolatry at several points in *Voyage*. Yet rather than linking these instances with ancient practices, as he did in the quote above, he connected them to present-day Catholicism instead. Like many Reformed thinkers working on idolatry during this period, Terry clearly sensed a chance to attack the Church of Rome, and to flesh out his understanding of their idolatrous traditions.[56] In his discussion of Sufism, for instance, Terry made a sly dig at Catholics, noting that the 'very strict penances' that he had witnessed among Islamic ascetics, including fasting and the mortification of the flesh, 'far exceede all those the *Romanists* boast of'. This link with Catholicism was significant, for although Terry admired the overall commitment and piety of Islamic ascetics, he also found their forms of worship reminiscent of idolatrous Catholic behaviours, and of the cult of saints specifically. He observed, for instance, that dervishes:

> ... goe many miles in Pilgrimage *barefoote* upon the hot parching ground, to visit the sepulchres of their *deluding Saints* ... O what pains will superstition put men unto! It is said of *Idolaters, that they hasten after another God*. Ps.16.4.[57]

Although Terry made no explicit mention here of the Church of Rome, the Catholic cult of saints almost certainly provided him with a framework for understanding, and thus

[55] Terry, *Voyage*, 86–87.
[56] See, for example, Stroumsa, 'John Spencer and the Roots of Idolatry'. In his *Exposition*, for instance, More drew parallels between ancient idolatry and the practices of the present-day Catholic Church. See 'An Antidote against Idolatry', in More, *Exposition*. See also n.11.
[57] Terry, *Voyage*, 283–84.

for criticising, what Islamic ascetics were doing for their '*deluding Saints*'. We can see this clearly if we compare Terry's comments above with those that Terry had made on the same topic in one of his printed sermons from the late 1640s. For in *Lawlesse Liberty* (1646), Terry had written the following about Islamic asceticism, which he clearly later adapted for a more extended discussion of Sufism in *Voyage*:

> … what tedious pilgrimages doe some Papists trudge barefoot, and how doe they afflict their bodies with whippings, watchings, fastings? And I have observed this among Heathens[,] that they impose many sharpe and voluntary penances upon themselves, far above all those: the Romanists boast of[,] as some of them will put massy fetters of iron upon their leggs, and then as fast as they are able, goe hundreds of miles barefoot, upon the ground (very hot and parching in those Climes) to visite the Sepulchers of their deluding Saints.[58]

In his discussion of Sufi saint-worship and the dangers of idolatry, Terry therefore drew on his understanding of Catholicism to measure and explore other, less familiar forms of idol-worship. Terry's use of an anti-Catholic framework here is hardly surprising, given that the charge of idolatry had long been central to the Protestant case against the Church of Rome. According to English Protestants, the papacy had undermined worship of the one true God through the promotion of a cult of saints, and of the notion that the Eucharistic elements were transformed into the blood and body of Christ, leading to what Protestants referred to contemptuously as 'bread worship'.[59] In any case, when Terry examined and attacked Sufi saint-worship and idolatry in this manner, that is to say, through the prism of anti-Catholicism, he made it more immediately recognisable to an English audience. In so doing, Terry also gave a clearer sense, albeit indirectly, of the dangers that he felt were posed by the rise of Quakerism in England. For as we saw in Chapter I, Terry used Sufi worship to understand and communicate the nature and extent of Quaker error and unorthodoxy, and

[58] Terry, *Lawlesse Liberty*, 24.
[59] See n.11.

within this context, the very fact that Sufis could be accused of such blatant, Catholic-style idolatry served to tarnish the Quakers by association. It also raised the spectre of Indian-style religious chaos, and therefore idolatry, in England. In ways such as this, Terry added urgency to his calls for a stricter, more narrowly drawn confession of faith for the English Church, which would exclude the views of Quakers and other radical Protestant groups, and bring thereby a measure of coherence and unity to a complex religious landscape in England.

Like Terry, Wheler deployed a Catholic framework to help make sense of and criticise idolatrous behaviours within the overseas territories that he visited. In *Journey*, Wheler recalled collecting a number of pagan stone carvings or reliefs across Greece and Asia Minor, including three depicting the ancient Greek deities Isis and Serapis, both of whom were shown 'sitting on a Couch.' Wheler judged these figures 'to be Memorials of the Payments of Vows, made to those Idols in times of Sickness or Distress: Such as the *Roman* Church usually now make, and pay to the Saints, and hang up in their Churches.'[60] It was as a result of similarities such as these that Wheler regarded 'the Modern *Romans*' to be:

> … as great Breakers of the *Second Commandment*, as their Ancestors were of both *First* and *Second*; this Commandment generally forbidding making all manner of Images, and Representations, as mediate Objects of Worship and Devotion, as the other forbids all other immediate Objects of Worship, besides the One, only true God: Upon which account also, no doubt, they are defective.[61]

As we have seen, Wheler would later criticise Catholics for cramming 'their Churches with Altars against every Pillar and Post and in every Corner of the Church, dedicated to every Saint and Angel in Heaven and Earth'. In Wheler's view, these subsidiary altars made a mockery of the sanctity of the true altar, and therefore undermined the authority of the

[60] Wheler, *Journey*, 406.
[61] Ibid., 284.

clergy, which he connected to the ritualism surrounding that altar, and to the fact that only the clergy could enter therein (see Chapter IV).[62] Thus we can see how Wheler, using his experiences of travel, emphasised those aspects of idolatry that might ultimately be harmful to the visible authority of the clergy, which, as we have explored, was one of his overriding concerns for the Church of England.

Terry and Wheler could therefore use their experiences of travel to contribute contemporary, first-hand examples of idolatry, which created a more detailed picture of the phenomenon, above and beyond that provided by the Israelites and ancient pagans. In a sense, Terry and Wheler were arguing for a continuity of idolatry throughout history, stretching to the present day, as well as across space, covering Catholic and Islamic territories. They used this notion both to attack their religious rivals, and to give succour to their respective visions of the Church of England. Yet Covel's travel-inspired contribution to Western debates over idolatry was arguably more profound. For Covel used his experiences of different religions overseas, which he approached more comparatively than either Terry or Wheler, to insert himself into a contemporary dispute over idolatry between two English divines: John Spencer (1630-93) and John Edwards (1637-1716).[63] Whereas Terry and Wheler used their first-hand examples of idolatry to reflect on, and attack, modern-day Catholicism, Covel used his experiences of travel to think more deeply about ancient religion and the evolution of religious worship throughout history, and about what these subjects meant for seventeenth-century Anglicans. Covel therefore inserted himself into a different conversation to Terry and Wheler, and though his methods in doing so were familiar, insofar as they drew on his experiences of travel, his subject was distinct.

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[62] Wheler, *Account*, 89–90.

[63] Osborn b140, 7-11. For Spencer and Edwards, see Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken*, esp. 155-57; Stroumsa, 'John Spencer and the Roots of Idolatry'; Daniel Stolzenberg, 'John Spencer and the Perils of Sacred Philology', *Past & Present* 214, no. 1 (2012): 129–63; Levitin, 'John Spencer's "De Legibus Hebraeorum"'.

In 1685, John Spencer, Dean of Ely and Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, had published his *magnum opus*, *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (*On the Ritual Laws of the Hebrews*), now seen as one of the founding texts of comparative religion, which Covel possessed in his library.[64] In this work, Spencer argued that the religious ceremonies of the Israelites were largely imitations of earlier pagan rituals, which God would subsequently enshrine in Mosaic Law. According to Spencer, this was done for pragmatic reasons, for God understood that the Israelites would be more likely to follow His commands if He permitted them, at least initially, to continue following some idolatrous rituals which they had long practiced.[65] Unsurprisingly, Spencer's work provoked considerable controversy. One of its critics was John Edwards, whose *Compleat History or Survey of all the Dispensations and Methods of Religion*, which first appeared in 1699, featured a section challenging 'The Opinion of Dr. *Spencer* concerning the Jewish Rites and Sacrifices'.[66] Edwards attacked Spencer for making 'the True God … tread in the steps of the false Gods and Idols', and questioned 'whether this be Doctrine becoming a *Christian* Theologer.'[67] Although *Compleat History*, unlike *De Legibus*, does not feature in the 1716 catalogue of Covel's library, several other works by Edwards do.[68] In any case, Covel was certainly familiar with *Compleat History*, as well as with *De Legibus*, for in one of his commonplace books, Covel used the framework established by the Spencer-Edwards dispute to think more deeply about the relationship between Anglican ceremony, on the one hand, and elements of Catholicism, on the other, and he backed up his argument in this regard with his first-hand observations of Islam.

[64] 'Catalogue of the Library of John Covel', Add. MS 70485, 21r.
[65] John Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus Earumque Rationibus* (Cambridge, 1685).
[66] John Edwards, *A Compleat History or Survey of All the Dispensations and Methods of Religion* (London, 1699).
[67] Ibid., 249.
[68] 'Catalogue of the Library of John Covel', Add. MS 70485, 2r, 39r.

Under the title of 'Spencer. Edwards', Covel accepted Spencer's basic premise that many 'Jewish Rites' had come from 'Heathens', and like Spencer, Covel denied that this was the result of simple 'mimicking'. Paraphrasing Spencer, Covel argued that it was a consequence of pragmatism instead, since God (and thus Moses) had understood that 'the rest of the world were then Idolaters', and that 'God's peculiar people … had been bred amongst them and seen all their ways'. Moses, with God's support, realised that 'a naked Religion, wthout all ceremony of the Gentile, … (which we now have under the Gospell)', was 'a thing impossible *then* to have brought in'. It was therefore resolved:

> … to make this thorough reformation in time and by degrees, Moses Law was but ye beginning of it, (it is called *our Schoolmaster*, Gal. 3. 24.) and that beginning was not by *Aping or Mimicking* the Devil, but by reteining those customes and rites as might be turn'd to the Glory of the True God. Primitive Christianity cast not of[f] all ye Heathen and Jewish Rites, but retein'd as many as could be kept wth innocency and wthout sin.

At this stage, Covel attempted to bolster his (and Spencer's) argument with reference to Islam, noting that Muslims, 'in their pretended Reformation' in the seventh century, had decided to retain the pre-Islamic designation of Friday as the holy day. On this basis, Covel defended elements of Anglicanism that were otherwise reminiscent of Catholicism, arguing that 'in our reformation, [when] we retein vestments … and prayers, this is not *Aping* ye papists (as fanaticks will say)', but a means of 'avoiding a scandal to them as much as may be', which demonstrates 'a rational decency' – presumably Covel felt that this might attract wavering Catholics to Anglicanism.[69] Thus Covel regarded a sincere desire to worship with Anglicans, and a united, harmonious Christian community in England, as more important than sectarian disputes over the trappings of ceremony. This was consistent with his broader conceptualisation of religion, and of Anglicanism

[69] Osborn b140, 7-8.

specifically, which elevated inward affection and virtue over outward form, particularly when these two came into conflict (see Chapters II and III). As we saw in Chapter II, it was on these grounds that Covel had administered the sacrament to Huguenots at his services in Istanbul, though they had presented themselves standing, at odds with Anglican tradition. In other words, Covel used his experiences of travel not only to bolster Spencer's argument concerning idolatry, but also to adapt that argument for his own ends, that is to say, in order to advance his latitudinarian vision of the Church of England.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored how Terry, Covel and Wheler used the religions of the Mughal and Ottoman empires, most notably Eastern Christianity and Islam, to reflect on what it meant to worship and conceive of God incorrectly. We have examined how they used their experiences of travel to identify a continuum of religious error through time and space, insofar as it stretched throughout history and cut across confessional boundaries. We have seen how our travellers used their observations overseas to think more deeply about what religious error looked like in practice, with a particular focus on the dynamics of superstition and idolatry. It was no coincidence, of course, that Terry, Covel and Wheler found many of these bad practices reminiscent of Catholicism, for most English Protestants regarded the Church of Rome as their greatest existential threat, and a foremost example of religious corruption. By analysing this anti-Catholic dynamic, we have shown that anti-Catholicism was a major, distinguishing feature of early modern English discourses about the Mughal and Ottoman empires, insofar as it helped to shape, and was itself shaped by, English perceptions of religious difference and error within those territories. We have also traced the emergence of a growing sense of confidence among travelling members of the

seventeenth-century Church of England, who regarded themselves as more rational, learned and cerebral than their religious rivals, most notably Catholics.

When it came to bad religion, Terry, Covel and Wheler were determined to know how it manifested itself, where it came from, and how best to prevent or quash it. In other words, they took the view that if they were to understand what it meant to worship God accurately, they had to appreciate what it meant to worship Him *in*accurately, so that they could avoid those kinds of behaviour. In their pursuit of this knowledge, our travellers identified several major sources of religious error, most notably a lack of education, which resulted in the adoption of behaviours stemming from ignorance and credulity, including the veneration of saints and the consecration of material objects. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, in their assessments of religious corruption, Terry, Covel and Wheler reinforced their respective visions of the Church of England, using their reflections on what was wrong to help shape and bolster their views of what was right.

‘[T]he most refined, pure, and Orthodox Church in the World’: Travel and the Church of England

In April 1676, with the support of ‘a brisk Gale’, Wheler sailed out of the Gulf of Corinth, bound ultimately for England. On his long journey home, Wheler hastened ‘to render my self to my Country, and to the long-wish’d-for Embraces of my Parents, Relations and Friends, and to give Praise to God for the *Wonderful things he had done for my Soul*.’ Wheler was especially grateful that God had delivered him ‘into the Bosom of a Church, that I had often heard, but now knew, to be the most refined, pure, and Orthodox Church in the World’. Writing of his arrival in Canterbury, ‘its Metropolitan Throne’, on 15 November, Wheler later recalled his ‘unspeakable Joy at the singular Bliss of my Country, Relations and Friends, far exceeding any Nation I had seen beyond our Brittish Seas’. Wheler claimed that on this memorable occasion, he ‘offered to God the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, resolving for ever to call upon his Great Name, who is the only mighty Preserver of Mankind.’[1]

At one level, Wheler’s expressions of thanksgiving reflect the simple fact that overseas travel in the seventeenth century was fraught with difficulty and danger. After his long meanderings throughout Western and Southern Europe and Asia Minor, Wheler was no doubt grateful for a return to familiar surroundings, and the warm embrace of family and friends. At another level, however, Wheler’s comments reflect a broader truth about the consequences of travel to the East, not only for himself, but for Terry and Covel too. Terry, Covel and Wheler’s experiences of travel to the Mughal and Ottoman empires, and of the religious diversity there specifically, helped to strengthen their commitment to the Church of England, and their determination both to defend and reform that institution. Neither Terry,

[1] Wheler, *Journey*, 482–83.

Covel, nor Wheler ever returned to the East. In the case of Terry, there is no evidence to suggest that he ever left England again, or that he even travelled beyond Middlesex, where he lived out the rest of his days as a country parson. Yet for all three men, the Mughal and Ottoman empires retained considerable intellectual and spiritual significance, enabling them to think through arguably the most important aspect of not only their careers, but also their lives: the worship of God.

Over the course of this thesis, then, we have explored how three seventeenth-century English travellers, all of whom served as clerics within the Church of England, grappled with the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires. We have seen how they used their experiences of different religious practices and beliefs, and of Islam and Eastern Christianity in particular, to reflect on the identity, structure and theology of the Church of England, and to engage with some of the most controversial ecclesiastical, and therefore frequently political, issues of the day, including debates over religious tolerance; the relationship between inward and outward forms of religion, such as morality and ceremony; the value of 'good works' over faith for salvation; the correct style of church architecture and government; and the authority and role of the clergy. Fundamentally, we have argued that Terry, Covel and Wheler used their experiences of travel to reflect on what it meant to worship and conceive of God correctly. In so doing, they sought to identify the most important elements of a suitably reverent English Church and society, in which the right kinds of religious worship took place, with a prominent role for the Church and its clergy in matters of education and learning.

Although the religious issues that animated our three travellers were widely discussed within the early modern English Church, Terry, Covel and Wheler were distinctive insofar as they approached these issues using outside examples, and insofar as these examples were connected to the Mughal and Ottoman worlds, as opposed to other British or

continental churches, or indeed to the early Church. Terry, Covel and Wheler were also somewhat distinctive insofar as their examples of good and bad religion were drawn from first-hand experience. In this way, they distinguished themselves from those who thought and wrote about the English Church from libraries, offices and studies in England, and who therefore relied more on testimony than direct experience. Indeed, this thesis has explored how Terry, Covel and Wheler's approaches to religion were partly embedded in their physical, face-to-face encounters with different kinds of worshippers overseas. In its focus on their engagement with the material and ceremonial alongside the textual, this thesis has made a case for the role of travel, and of exposure to religious diversity specifically, in shaping and shifting travellers' views of familiar issues at home, in ways that frequently separated them from their non-travelling contemporaries. We have seen how travellers drew on their experiences abroad to open up new intellectual possibilities for the Church of England, which impacted ceremony and practice as well as theory, sometimes in new and even controversial ways. As a result, we have shown how a more complete intellectual history of the early modern English Church acknowledges the contributions of Church of England travellers such as Terry, Covel and Wheler, and takes into account their more global frames of reference.

One of the strengths of this framework is that it reveals a distinctive early modern English experience of the Mughal and Ottoman empires. What made this experience distinctive was the extent to which it was immersed in the liturgical, theological and devotional commitments of the English Church. In other words, English travellers might experience a different Mughal or Ottoman world to their European counterparts, not so much because their experiences of that world were inherently different, as because they were partly shaped by, and in turn helped to shape, their understandings of the English Church. To be sure, continental frameworks, including those provided by fields such as antiquarianism,

humanism and orientalism, were important. Yet so too were more everyday practical or pastoral concerns regarding the Church of England, such as the value of specific rites and ceremonies, or the nature of the Church's relationship with non-members. Within this framework, the Ottoman Empire proved particularly useful, providing Covel and especially Wheler with a valuable example of non-Christian rule over Christians, where the Church was forced to exist, and express itself, at one remove from the state.

Obviously, the individual emphases and arguments of our travellers varied, though at a broader level, there was remarkable continuity in the ways in which they deployed their knowledge of religious worship within the Mughal and Ottoman empires. All three men were absolutely committed to church unity and opposed sectarianism, theological controversy and zealotry. To that end, they encouraged a level of flexibility within the administration of the English Church, particularly when it came to rules governing its membership, as they hoped to bring together as broad a community of believers as was reasonably possible. When they reflected on how this might be achieved, Terry, Covel and Wheler recognised the value of examples from other religions, sects and cultures, and were therefore willing to consider different sources of religious truth. Thus our travellers highlighted the value of thinking beyond narrow religious factions, and of re-thinking the Church of England within a more global context.

Yet although our travellers' answers were global, their questions, or the myriad issues that they sought to tackle, remained distinctly local, or English. In their reflections on their experiences of travel, for instance, Terry, Covel and Wheler thought more deeply about how the Church of England might relate to non-members. Indeed, the religious diversity of the Mughal and Ottoman empires prompted all three men to reflect on the growth of religious heterodoxy and pluralism in their own country, which was undoubtedly one of the major issues exercising the Church of England at the time. Consequently, Terry, Covel and

Wheler's experiences of travel are partly bound up in the history of religious tolerance and intolerance in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England. In other words, it is only by acknowledging and appreciating local contexts, concerns and conditions such as these that historians will come to a more rounded understanding of early modern English perceptions of Islamic states. Perhaps it is this intersection of the local with the global that explains why the lives of three English clerics can tell us so much about not only the early modern Church of England, but also the nature of travel and encounter, and the relationship between first-hand experience and thinking about religious theory, ceremony and practice.

Appendix of Images



Fig. 1: A portrait of Edward Terry by Robert Vaughan. Line engraving, 1655. The text at the bottom of the image reads: 'In Europe, Africk, Asia have I gonne, One journey more, then my travel's done.' Upon his death in 1660, Terry made that final journey. Reproduced by permission of the © National Portrait Gallery, London.



Fig. 2: A map of the Mughal Empire featured in Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East-India* (1655). This map is a reduced version of one produced by William Baffin in 1619. Baffin

was a master's mate on board the *Anne*, the ship in which Sir Thomas Roe returned to England.[1] Image source: author.



Fig. 3: Jahangir's imperial standard, as featured in Terry's *Voyage*, depicting 'a *Couchant Lyon* shadowing part of the body of the Sun.'[2] Image source: author.



Fig. 4: A portrait of John Covel, c. 1716. Painted by Claude Laudius Guynier (fl. 1713-16), oil on canvas. Image source: Wikimedia Commons.

[1] For Baffin's map, see William Foster, ed., *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-19, As Narrated in His Journal and Correspondence*, vol. 2 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1899), 542–46.
[2] Terry, *Voyage*, 364.



Fig. 5: Covel's sketches of Bedouin women in North Africa, whose faces were inked with crosses, though they had long since converted from Christianity to Islam. See Add. MS 22912, 27v. Image source: author.

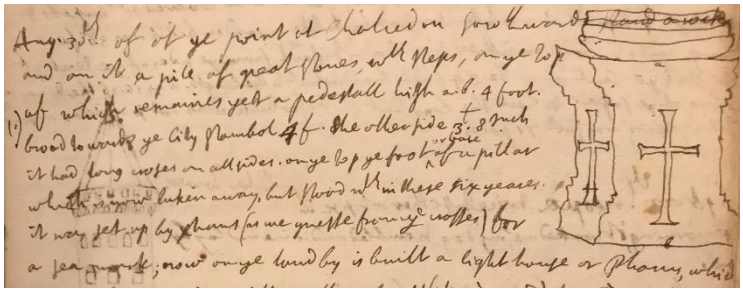


Fig. 6: Covel's sketch, with text, of a four-foot pedestal or 'sea mark' that he found at the site of the Church Council of Chalcedon (451) in Istanbul, decorated with 'long croses on all sides.' See Add. MS 22912, 163r. Image source: author.

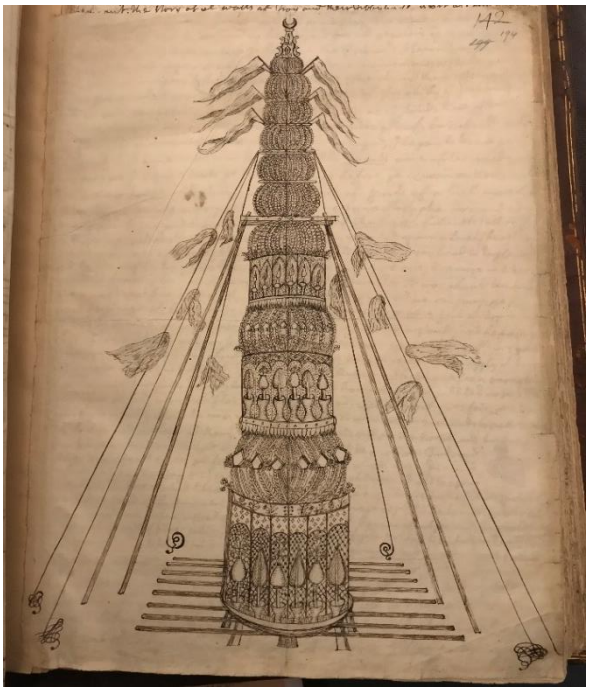


Fig. 7: Covel's illustration of a '*naḫıl*' (lit. 'date palm'), a large wooden pole decorated with wax, fruit and flowers, as well as model gardens made out of confectionary. *Naḫıls* were commonly paraded in front of wedding and circumcision processions of both Muslims and non-Muslims within the Ottoman Empire. Covel witnessed several *naḫıls* during the celebrations for the circumcision of the Ottoman sultan's two sons, the princes Mustafa and Ahmed, which took place in Edirne in 1675. See Add. MS 22912, 191v-95r.[3] Image source: author.

[3] For *naḫıls*, including Covel's description of them, see Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, '*Naḫıls* and Candy Gardens in the 1720 Ottoman Imperial Festival', *Muqarnas Online* 37, no. 1 (2020): 179–207.

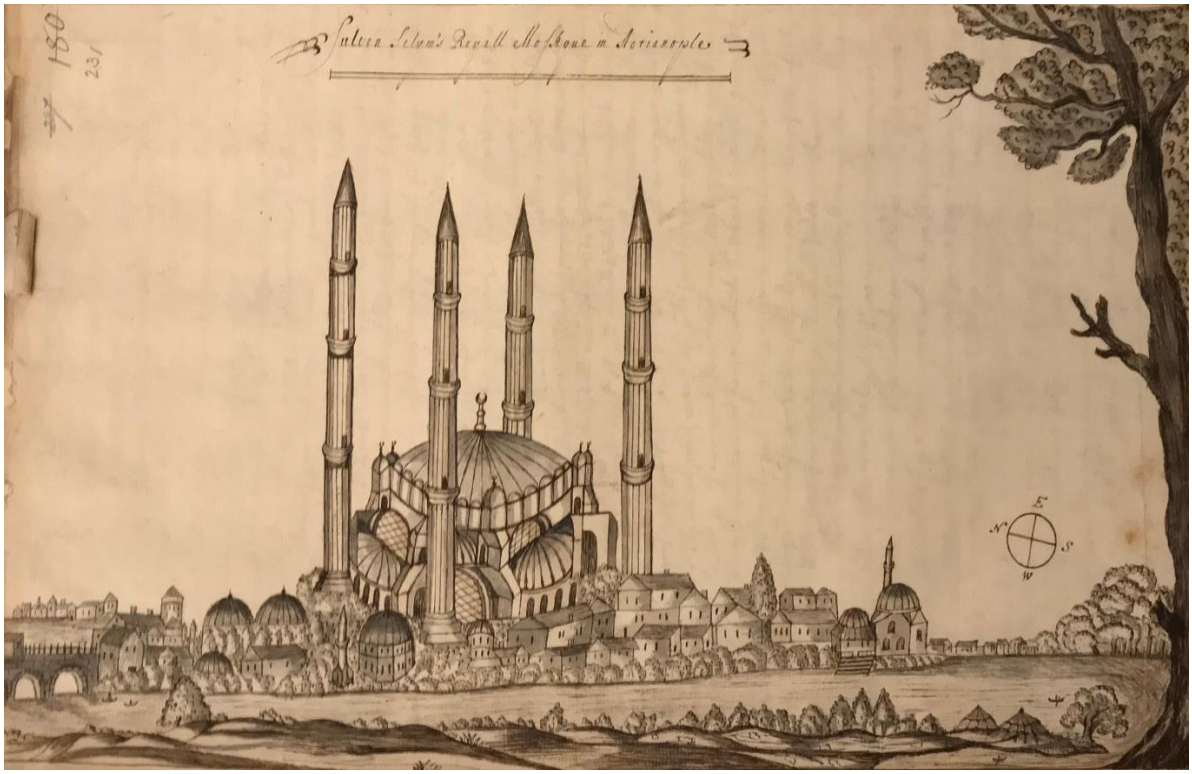


Fig. 8: 'Sultan Selym's Royall Mosque in Adrianople', or Edirne, drawn by either Covel, or the French artist Jerome Saltier, whom Covel met in Izmir. Covel claimed to have climbed one of its minarets in order to survey the city, owing to the protection afforded by 'a janizary, a discreet freind of mine'. See Add. MS 22912, 227v-32r.[4] Image source: author.

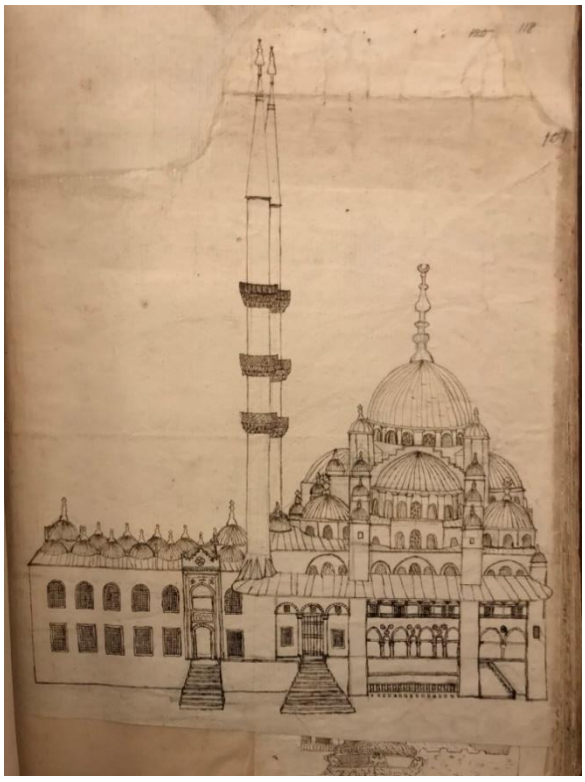


Fig. 9: Covel's sketch of the Valide Sultan Mosque in Istanbul. See Add. MS 22912, 118r. Image source: author.

[4] Saltier is identified as the author of this sketch in Grélois, *Voyages En Turquie*, 108–9.

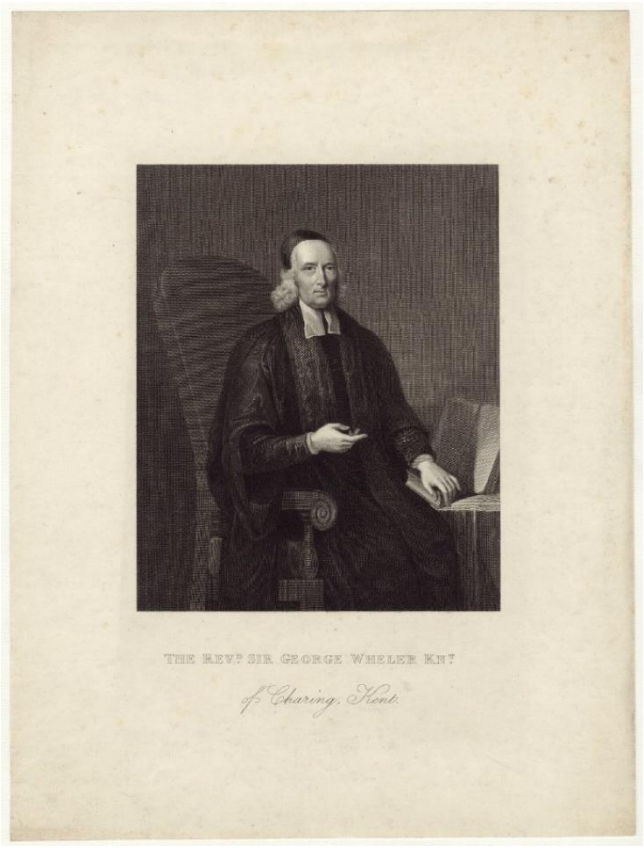


Fig. 10: A portrait of the reverend Sir George Wheler by William Bromley. Line engraving, 1816. Reproduced by permission of the © National Portrait Gallery, London.

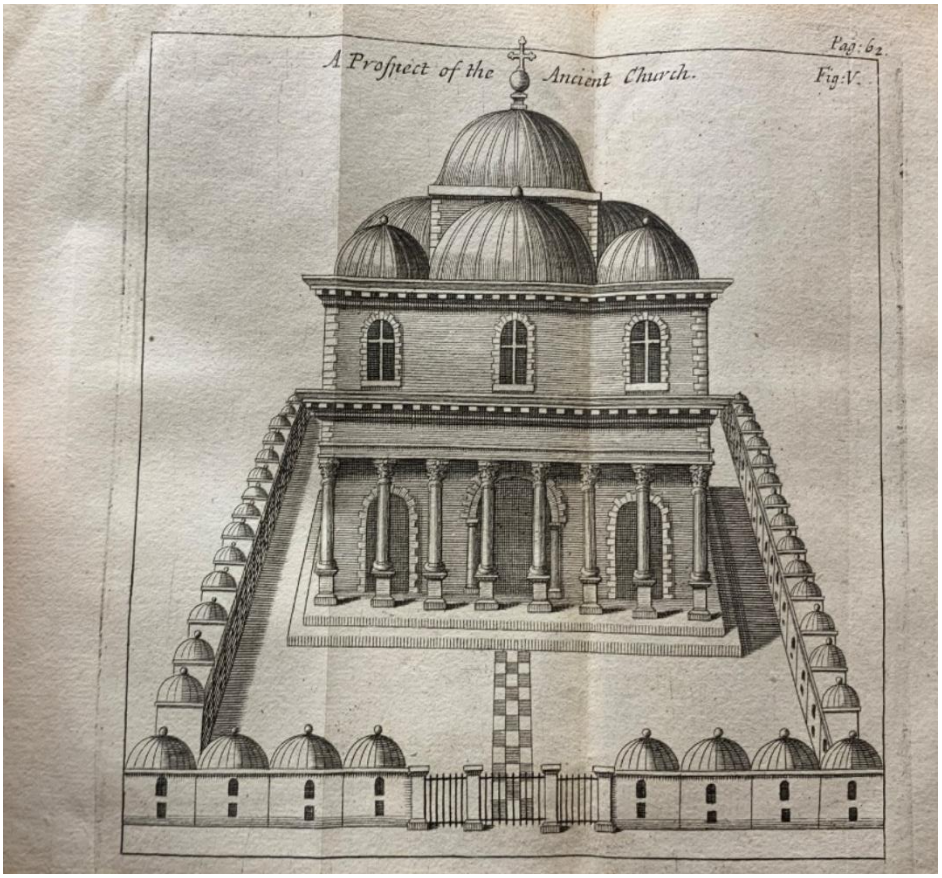


Fig. 11: Wheler's 'prospect' of an ancient church, as featured in his *Account of the Churches ... of the Primitive Christians* (1689). Image source: author.

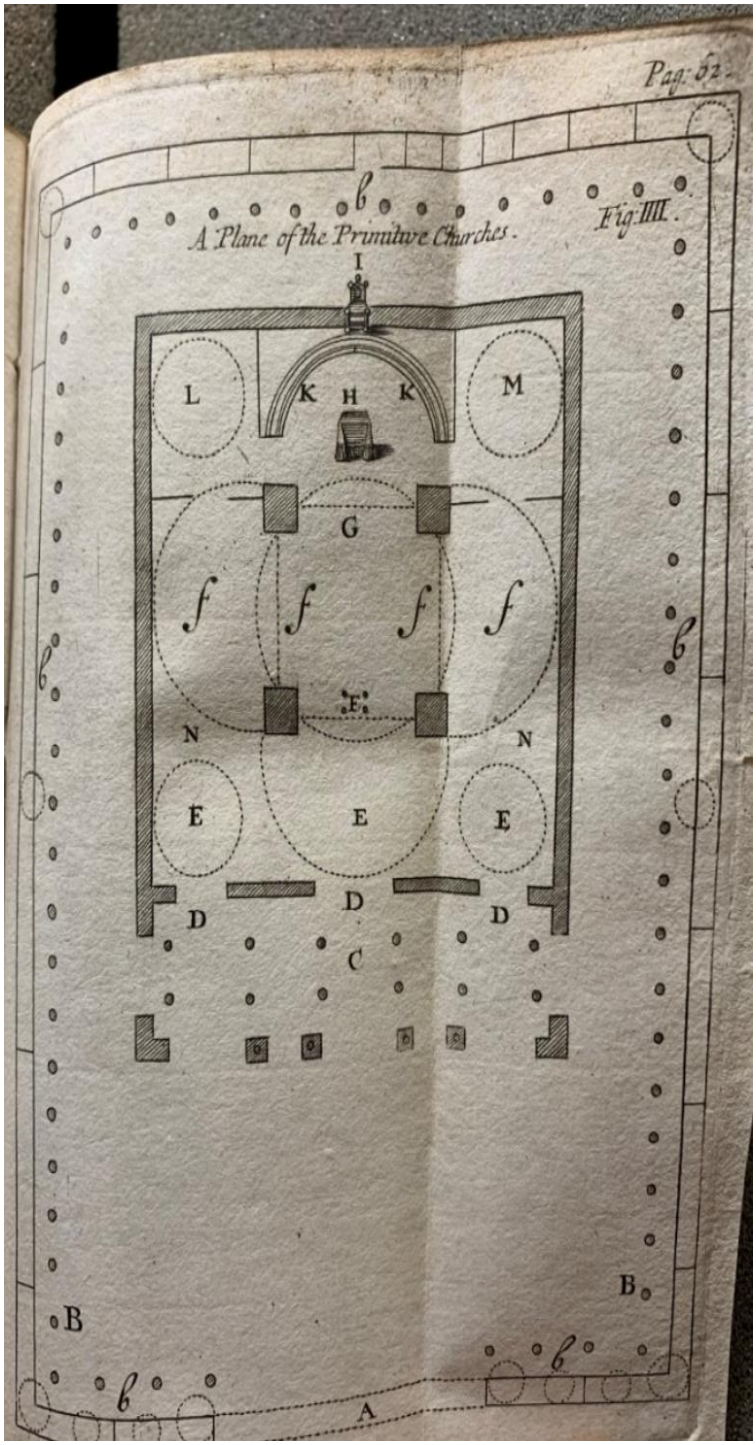


Fig. 12: An interior plan of an ancient church, as conceived by Wheler for his *Account*. Image source: author. The figures represent the following:

A: courtyard entrance.

B: cloisters.

C: the porch, portico or pronaos, where penitents and catechumens were sometimes permitted to enter into the narthex.

D: church doors.

E, F and G: the naos, or main body of the church. Penitents and catechumens were kept in the narthex, at E. Only the '*Faithful*' could pass beyond the narthex to F and G, where they were segregated 'according to the different Sex, Qualities, and Degrees of the Assembly.'

H: the altar.

I: the '*Holy Throne*', where the bishop might sit.

K: the synthronon, where the presbyters sat.

L and M: clerical apartments.[5]

[5] Wheler, *Account*, 62–102.

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WYL170, 3: papers relating to Sir George Wheler's travels, including sketches and notes in English, Greek and Latin.

WYL170, 4: correspondence and papers of Sir George Wheler; see esp. WYL170, 4/4: 'Rough Draught[s] of the Rev[d] Sir George Wheler's Letters from 1693 to January 1694'.

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