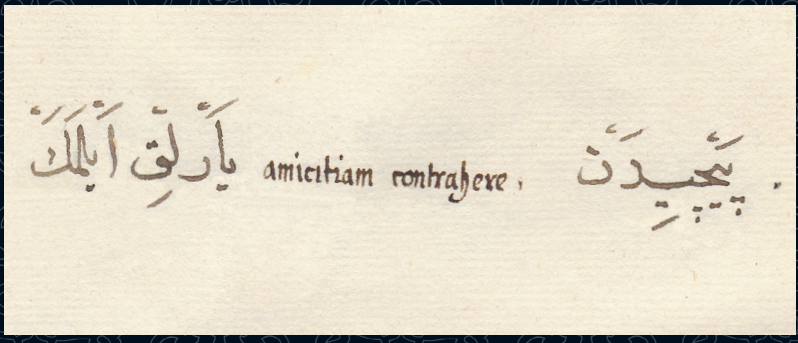
The Oriental Outpost of the Republic of Letters

Sebastian Tengnagel, the Imperial Library in Vienna, and Knowledge of the Orient in Early Modern Europe

Hülya Çelik, Paola Molino, Chiara Petrolini and Thomas Wallnig

With a final note by Claudia Römer



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Abbreviations

AAV	Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Città del Vaticano
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Roma
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
FHKA	Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (part of ÖStA), Wien
HHStA	Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (part of ÖStA), Wien
NÖHA	Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsakten (part of FHKA), Wien
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien
ÖStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien

Introduction

Hülya Çelik, Paola Molino, Chiara Petrolini, Claudia Römer and Thomas Wallnig

Fame and oblivion follow unpredictable paths. Yet, certain acts of forgetting carry significant weight. This book examines some of the reasons behind such oblivion, negligence, or even deliberate erasure. Why was Sebastian Tengnagel, the emperor's librarian in Vienna – celebrated in his time as a leading scholar of 'Orientalia' – so quickly forgotten? More specifically, why has he been remembered primarily as a librarian rather than as a scholar and collector of Arabic, Persian, Hebrew and Turkish texts? It is notable that in Vienna, the *Porta Orientis*, a figure of Tengnagel's stature has received such relatively limited attention.

To address these questions, we examined a broad historiography and studied Tengnagel's papers, primarily held at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. This multilingual archive spans a wide range of disciplines, subjects and styles. Addressing Tengnagel's legacy required a collaborative effort, hence the five authors of this book, each bringing methods, perspectives and specialisations of different fields – Ottoman philology, religious history, the history of libraries and the history of the Habsburg Empire.

Because of his biography and career, Tengnagel was both an insider at the imperial court and halls of power, and an outsider – a secluded scholar. His life and career highlight crucial issues: the bond between violence and knowledge; the emergence of European scholarship on the Orient; propaganda and truth; conflict and friendship; danger and dissimulation. Tengnagel (1573–1636) lived and worked in Vienna during the conflict and pacification between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empire, namely after the siege of 1529 and before the one of 1683. Although historians have studied and worked extensively to differentiate these two moments, in popular perception these dates are still symbols of an exclusively conflictual conception of relations between European Christians and Muslims. They have been invoked in various contexts, even finding echoes in contemporary events such as Christchurch Mosque attack in 2019, where the attacker had written the dates and places of these historical events on his weapons.[1] Tengnagel's story, marked by contradictions and

1 On the political use of the siege of 1683, see, among others: D. Farrell-Banks, *Affect and Belonging in Political Uses of the Past* (London, 2023), pp. 114–143; R. Wodak and B. Forchtner, 'Embattled Vienna 1683/2010: Right-wing populism, collective memory and the fictionalisation

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encounters, offers a perspective that complicates this conflict-focused view, while still acknowledging elements of violence and oppression. For this reason, we believe that reintroducing Tengnagel into the historiographical debate may offer a contribution to the ongoing reassessment of early European orientalists. The following pages provide preliminary information about Tengnagel, his historiographical treatment, the structure of this book, and some of the key aspects we have attempted to address in the volume.

Encountering Tengnagel: a Perfect Librarian?

In January of 1630 Lucas Holstenius, the future librarian of the Vatican Library, was dispatched by cardinal Francesco Barberini to Poland. His mission was to negotiate with king Sigismund and deliver the cardinal's hat to Antonio Santacroce, the papal representative in Warsaw. During a stopover in Vienna Holstenius conversed with emperor Ferdinand and visited the imperial library, where he met Sebastian Tengnagel, who had been its custodian since 1608. Tengnagel, then 57, later became the subject of conversation between Holstenius and Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, as Holstenius encouraged Peiresc to contact Tengnagel for information regarding the Samaritan bibles.[2] According to Holstenius, Tengnagel was the epitome of an ideal librarian: humble and eager to share both books and knowledge. Furthermore, Holstenius, who had previously encountered Thomas Erpenius in Leiden, regarded Tengnagel as the preeminent expert on Oriental languages across Europe. Holstenius lamented Tengnagel's lack of published works, which he attributed to persistent health issues, notably severe headaches and migraines. Nonetheless, Holstenius highlighted Tengnagel's extensive efforts in gathering and working on his Oriental *codices* over the years, boasting a collection that included rare texts on the histories of Persia and the Ottoman Empire. Once in Rome, Holstenius received a letter from Tengnagel inquiring about the fate of the libraries of Orientalists working in Rome, such as Giovan Battista Raimondi, George Strachan and Leonardo Abel (bishop of Sidon), seeking his help in obtaining two anti-Islamic texts published in the city and demanding further details of Oriental studies in Rome. Apologising for his many questions,

of politics', *Visual Communication*, 13/2 (2014), pp. 231–255; Å. Seierstad, *One of Us: The Story of Anders Breivik and the Massacre in Norway* (Oslo, 2015); M. S. Berger, *A Brief History of Islam in Europe: Thirteen Centuries of Creed, Conflict and Coexistence* (Leiden, 2014), pp. 129–134.

2 Lucas Holstenius, *Epistolae ad diversos*, ed. by J. F. Boissonade (Paris, 1817), pp. 187–188.

he attributed these requests to his '*insatiabilis cupiditas*' regarding the history and texts of Arabic-, Turkish- and Persian-speaking countries.[3]

Despite his poor health and the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, Tengnagel continued throughout his life to describe himself as a 'book glutton' as 'voracious', as someone consumed by a hunger to find and read books from or about the Orient. The codices were his 'dishes', the specimens sent by his friends were mere 'appetisers', and the capacity of his stomach was 'bottomless'.[4] Despite being stereotypical, this self-representation captures his insatiable intellectual curiosity, which drove him to build up a remarkable collection of books in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Hebrew, Syriac and Armenian.

Sebastian Tengnagel was not born in Vienna. He came from Geldern, on the Dutch border, at the heart of the areas fought over by the Habsburgs and the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. He probably studied in Leiden (or Cologne or Heidelberg). He arrived in Vienna at the end of the sixteenth century as an *amanuensis* to Hugo Blotius, who introduced him as a Roman Catholic. When Blotius died, Tengnagel inherited his position as librarian and married his wife, Ursula Ungelter.[5] In October 1609 he became *doctor utriusque juris*, acquiring a doctorate in both civil and church law at the university of Bologna.[6] Tengnagel was a supremely cultured man, capable of engaging in philological textual criticism in both Latin and Greek, and he was well-versed in patristic literature, classical poetry and medieval history.[7] He worked tirelessly in order to bring to light and protect the library's manuscripts, shielding them from 'the inauspicious fate that often condemned the most precious codices to oblivion, into the hands of greedy men, or to being used as fish paper'.[8]

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3 BAV, Barb. lat. 2181, fols. 101r–102v.

4 Expressions of this kind recur in countless letters. Tengnagel was of course aware of the long tradition with which food and books were associated: in a letter to emperor Matthias he calls himself '*helluo librorum*' (books' glutton) repeating the words used by Cicero to describe Cato; see STQ0029.

5 On Blotius and Tengnagel, see P. Molino, *L'impero di carta: storia di una biblioteca e di un bibliotecario* (*Vienna, 1575–1608*) (Roma, 2017), p. 79, p. 159.

6 *Diploma originale, quo facultas iuristarum universitatis Bononiensis Sebastianum Tengnagel doctorem iuris utriusque creata. 1609* (ÖNB, Cod. 5897).

7 C. Gastgeber, 'Der Bestand des Sebastian Tengnagel', in *Miscellanea Codicum Graecorum Vindobonensium II: Die griechischen Handschriften der Bibliotheca Corviniana in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Provenienz und Rezeption im Wiener Griechischhumanismus des frühen 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2014), pp. 73–76. See also L. Zurli, 'La tradizione ms. delle *anthologiae Salmasiana e Vossiana* (e il loro stemma)', *AL. Rivista di studi di Anthologia Latina*, 1 (2010), pp. 205–292 and C. Vecce, 'Iacopo Sannazaro', in M. Motolose, P. Procaccioli, E. Russo, eds., *Autografi dei letterati italiani. Il Cinquecento*, vol. 2 (Rome, 2014), pp. 305–316.

8 STR0137.

Legacy and Praise

Holstenius was not alone in his judgement and praise. When Tengnagel was appointed court librarian in 1608, the Lutheran Syriac scholar Christophorus Crinesius praised his genius for languages in several printed verses, calling him the '*Viennae ocellus*'.[9] Tengnagel's fame grew over the years and he was considered by his contemporaries a leading light in Oriental studies. Even in the early modern Habsburg territories, where multilingualism was the norm, Tengnagel's mastery of languages was rather exceptional. According to his epitaph in the Stephansdom he was said to know 15 languages, including Arabic, Turkish, Syriac, Persian, Hebrew and Ethiopic. He was thus part of what Noel Malcolm has called 'a cluster of pioneers'.[10] As this book demonstrates, Tengnagel and other Orientalists experienced a solitude that was, in fact, quite populated by occasional helpers, friends, and colleagues. By exploring these connections, this work seeks to overturn the image of the solitary explorer that Tengnagel himself used to describe his own experiences. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that, despite constant exchanges between the West and the East, in the early seventeenth century the Oriental languages and Tengnagel's systematic study of them were almost unknown territory in Europe. A strictly defined, monolithic Orientalism had never existed, and certainly not in this period. Alexander Bevilacqua has argued that knowledge of the Islamicate world and the creation of special collections in European libraries eventually became an integral part of state-building.[11] Yet, at the end of the sixteenth century, the acquisition of knowledge of the Orient seemed random, driven by the intellectual curiosity of scholars who tried to apply the methods of Latin and Greek philology to the corpus of Arabic texts. There were many individual Orientalists, each with their own ideological background, religious affiliations, motivations, and approaches, who greatly increased both the quality and quantity of knowledge in this domain. These scholars soon came to regard Sebastian Tengnagel as a central figure in their field.

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9 Christophorus Crinesius, *Sebastiano Tengnagelio, bibliothecae Viennae Austriacae curatori* (Wittenberg, Johannes Gorman, 1608). Crinesius (1584–1629) taught Oriental languages at the University of Wittenberg and Altdorf. On his contribution to the Syriac studies, see R. J. Wilkinson, 'Constructing Syriac in Latin: Establishing the Identity of Syriac in the West over a Century and a Half (c. 1550–c. 1700)', *Babelao*, 5 (2016), pp. 169–283, at 245–49.

10 N. Malcolm, 'The Study of Islam in Early Modern Europe: Obstacles and Missed Opportunities', in P. N. Miller and F. Louis, eds., *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China, 1500–1800* (Ann Arbor, 2012), pp. 265–288, at 268.

11 A. Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters. Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA-London, 2018), p. 30.

This book is about a man of letters who, as Holstenius recalls, published nothing, a courtier who lived outside the court, a controversialist who thrived on religious controversy, a librarian who almost lost his sight in compiling catalogues, a scholar who wielded his knowledge of Oriental languages to survive first at the Habsburg court and later in a religiously divided Europe. His efforts are recognised by his rich legacy, now largely preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. This legacy consists mainly of his correspondence with members of the European Republic of Letters and many other lesser-known personalities who made Oriental studies possible in his time. It includes the library catalogues he drew up with the help of the library's amanuenses; his notebooks, dictionaries and grammars; and his own Oriental manuscripts.

Lambeck's Recognition

The first to recognise the richness of this legacy was Peter Lambeck, Tengnagel's second successor from Hamburg and court librarian from 1663, whose aim was to establish the court library as an intellectual hub within the European Republic of Letters.[12] With this intention, manifested in his (printed, but unfinished) library catalogue,[13] Lambeck used the lives of his predecessors to trace a learned genealogy back to the late humanist *res publica literaria* of the sixteenth century.

Lambeck's *vita* of Tengnagel[14] is one of the most detailed to date. It paints a picture of a patient, altruistic and erudite librarian with a broad intellectual horizon and learned contacts among the great scholars of his time: '*vir candidus et humanus, laboris, ultra quam credibile est, patiens, amantissimus boni publici solidissimeque doctus et variarum linguarum cognitione ac rerum tam divinarum quam humanarum notitia instructissimus*'.[15] These lines and Lambeck's impression have set the standard: the eight-line entry in Witte's

12 On Lambeck, see: V. Feola, 'Paris, Rome, Venice, and Vienna in Peter Lambeck's Network', *Nuncius*, 31/1 (2016), pp. 107–128; C. Gastgeber, 'Forschungsbericht: Briefnachlass Petrus Lambeck', *Biblos*, 59 (2010), pp. 145–6.

13 P. Lambeck, *Commentarii de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, 8 vols. (Vienna, 1665–1679). The eight volumes of the catalogue were reprinted in the eighteenth century with notes by František Kollár.

14 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, 1, pp. 57–67; with comments in Lambeck and Kollár, *Commentarii*, 1, pp. 121–39.

15 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, 1, pp. 57–67, at 58.

Diarium (1688)[16] seems to draw its basic information (which does not include Oriental studies) from the epitaph (as reproduced by Lambeck) – Witte is one of the two authors mentioned in references in *Zedler's Universallexikon* (1744).[17] Tengnagel is not recorded in Meelführer's survey of German Orientalists[18] and later bibliographical surveys – such as Vogel-Gruber-Wendt's *Specimen* – mention him simply as contributing to historical source editions.[19] The same is true of other works of historical-critical scholarship dealing with material whose handling by Tengnagel is documented in editions by other scholars particularly Jacob Gretser.[20] Gretser's verses in honour of Tengnagel's munificence (Fig. 7.1, from *Vetera Monumenta*) consolidated the picture of a scholar known to the wider erudite public only through the works of others. The fact that these included prominent propagators of a proactively Catholic scholarship, such as Seyfried and Gretser, lessened the inclination for such praise to be reused in the broader context of the Republic of Letters.

At the same time the image of the patient librarian assisting in the editorial efforts of others prevailed among edition- and manuscript-oriented scholars far into the twentieth century, such as that shown in Hans Foerster's evocation of Gretser's verses in his discussion of the *Codex Carolinus* (1963).[21] Alphons Lhotsky, expert on the history of early modern Austrian historiography, took a significant step forward when he published the first in-depth paper on Tengnagel in 1948.[22] Making extensive use of Tengnagel's correspondence, Lhotsky managed to contextualise the librarian's achievements and scholarly efforts in his broader institutional and intellectual environment. However, his analysis did not fully address the wider European context beyond the Habsburg sphere or

16 H. Witte, *Diarium biographicum*, 1 (Danzig, 1688), ad 1636 4 Apr.

17 Zedler, J. H., *Zedlers großes und vollständiges Universal-Lexikon*, 42 (Leipzig, Halle, 1744) col. 862. However, the second reference mentioned by Zedler, Adam's 1705 edition of the *Vitae clarorum Germanorum*, does not have an entry for Tengnagel.

18 Rudolph Martin Meelführer, *Prodromus Germaniae Orientalis sive Germanorum in literaturam Orientalem merita breviter delineata* (Altdorf, 1698).

19 J. N. Vogel, L. Gruber and J. Wendt, *Specimen bibliothecae Austriacae* (Vienna, 1779). Regarding Austrian history, see part 2, p. 189 (Seyfried's *Arbor Aniciana*), p. 831 (Johannes Bimmel's 1619 edition of the *Vita Altmanni*.)

20 An example is G. Cestari, *Dimostrazione della falsità de'titoli vantati dalla S. Sede* (Napoli, 1789), p. 206, with reference to the *Codex Carolinus*.

21 H. Foerster, 'Codex epistolaris Carolinus', *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, 59 (1963), pp. 159–165, at 161. See also J. Bick, 'Wanderungen griechischer Handschriften', *Wiener Studien*, 34 (1912), pp. 141–154.

22 A. Lhotsky, 'Die Wiener Palatina und die Geschichtsforschung unter Sebastian Tengnagel', in J. Stummvoll, ed., *Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Festschrift für Josef Bick* (Vienna, 1948), pp. 450–62.

the specifics of Oriental studies. Tengnagel's correspondence also proved to be a central source for the first modern biographical sketch of him, published in 1968 as part of the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek library Festschrift*. Franz Unterkircher portrayed Tengnagel not only through Lambeck's account and occasional references in the literature, but also in the light of a reading (albeit selective) of his papers and correspondence.[23] His account has remained the most reliable source of biographical reference to date.

A Significant Amnesia: the Forgotten Legacy of Tengnagel in Oriental Studies

Considering what has been observed so far it is understandable why Tengnagel was not easily associated with Oriental studies from the outset. Perhaps the first time this connection was made explicit (apart from the rather ornamental language list on his epitaph) was in the 1820s and 1830s, when Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall referred occasionally to Tengnagel's manuscript notes,[24] and there was the brief allusion to him in the Ersch-Gruber encyclopaedia article on 'Orientalische Studien' (1834).[25] It is no coincidence that the article was written by the Orientalist Gustav Flügel, who later catalogued the Oriental collections of the *Hofbibliothek*. In his three-volume catalogue, he indicated the provenance of each manuscript, enabling us to compile a list of Tengnagel manuscripts that were extant in the nineteenth century and still are. In his overview of the history of the *Hofbibliothek* in the third volume, he devotes a page to Sebastian Tengnagel himself.[26]

In 1921 in their introduction to *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, a very short-lived journal,[27] the two Ottomanists Wittek and Kraelitz also provided an overview of the manuscript holdings of the *Wiener Nationalbibliothek*, as the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek was called in the interwar period. They

23 F. Unterkircher, 'Sebastian Tengnagel', in J. Stummvoll, ed., *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 1 (Vienna, 1968), pp. 129–45.

24 For example, J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 4 (Pest, 1829), p. 616. Hammer-Purgstall also wrote an extensive biography of Melchior Khlesl, indicating his thorough understanding of the historical context in which Tengnagel lived.

25 J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber, 'Orientalische Studien', in *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, 3/5 (Leipzig, 1834), pp. 194–245, at 199.

26 G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, 3 (Vienna, 1867), p. IX.

27 P. Wittek and F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, 'Einleitung,' in *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, 1 (1921), pp. 2–4.

emphasised Tengnagel's importance in developing the manuscript collection, which, along with the smaller collection of the (former) *Konsularakademie*,[28] demonstrates Vienna's longstanding interest in Oriental studies, particularly Ottoman history, which began early on and has persisted ever since. In the medium term this parallel appraisal by Orientalist librarians would help to integrate Tengnagel the Orientalist with Tengnagel the scholar and librarian. Nevertheless the latter picture prevailed until just a few decades ago.[29]

This historiographical preference to describe Sebastian Tengnagel as an imperial librarian and scholar, a member of the Viennese court, was of course no mere coincidence. Not only had he been *praefectus* of the library for almost thirty years, until 1636, but, upon his death, he donated his own rich collection to the emperor, transforming the imperial library into one of the richest treasuries of Oriental manuscripts in Europe. Politically, this was not a neutral act: in the 1530s Vienna was considered the last outpost of Christianity and in 1558 Ferdinand I chose it as the seat of the imperial court and capital of the Habsburg hereditary lands, despite its reputation as a recalcitrant, multi-confessional and dangerous military fortress. By 1583 emperor Rudolf II reconsidered this decision and moved the court to Prague, precisely in order to protect it from confessional strife and the war against the Ottomans. From 1593 the Long Turkish War saw the Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman Empire once again fighting for influence in the now tripartite Kingdom of Hungary; the Ottoman Empire itself had expanded widely both in the Mediterranean and on its eastern borders; and while France had found a means of resolving the deadly antagonism between its main Christian denominations with the edict of Nantes, the Holy Roman Empire was heading towards a period of religious radicalisation that would erupt some two decades later in the Thirty Years' War. After the famous Battle of the White Mountain, emperor Ferdinand II decided to move the court back to Vienna, which gradually became the political, Catholic, centre of an agglomeration of Central European states that were largely, but not entirely, part of the Holy Roman Empire. This book analyses Tengnagel's legacy within the political and confessional context from the final years of emperor Rudolf II's reign to the height of the Thirty Years' War. It aims

28 The manuscripts of the *Konsularakademie* were catalogued by Albrecht Krafft (*Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der K.K. Orientalischen Akademie zu Wien*, Vienna, 1842). They are now housed in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna (HHStA).

29 H. Petschar (ed.), *Niederländer, Europäer, Österreicher: Hugo Blotius, Sebastian Tengnagel, Gérard Freiherr van Swieten, Gottfried Freiherr van Swieten; vier Präfekten der kaiserlichen Hofbibliothek in Wien; Ausstellung im Foyer zum Hauptlesesaal der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 26. April–15. Mai 1993* (Vienna, 1993).

to reevaluate the significance of Vienna and the redefined global position of the Holy Roman Empire. In particular, it examines how this new position shaped the knowledge of the Orient that reached Europe, as filtered through the imperial library.

Structure and Contents of This Book

In the first chapter of the book Thomas Wallnig revises the biographical information about Tengnagel that has been handed down so far. Tengnagel's Catholic activism isolated him from parts of the Republic of Letters, his Dutch origins made him hardly suitable for the intellectual genealogy of the Habsburg monarchy, and his Oriental studies appeared as a peculiar variant of their flourishing counterparts in north-western Europe.

The second chapter, also written by Thomas Wallnig, discusses Tengnagel's correspondence and the material aspects of its preservation, including its organisation and format, the languages used and the presence of annotations, assuming that large parts of his correspondence must have been lost. This can be inferred from the content of the surviving letters and their irregular frequency. Wallnig describes the rich corpus of letters within the broader context of the European Republic of Letters. He notes overlaps with other collections and changes in scholarly interactions due to confessional tensions and political upheavals, particularly during the Thirty Years' War. The correspondence is presented as a mirror of the multifaceted nature of Tengnagel's networks and their changes over time.

Tengnagel's correspondence covers a considerable period, from the early 1600s to the mid-1630s, and includes fragments, undated notes, and letters between third parties. The letters are arranged chronologically within the volumes, providing an insight into Tengnagel's scholarly and administrative activities over the years. Annotations and summaries, possibly added by Tengnagel himself, provide additional context and suggest a deliberate process of selection, probably undertaken in the early 1620s. The 700 or so letters are preserved in four codices in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 9737qrst, and are now fully digitised. The analysis of the content of these letters was one of the core activities of the research project behind this book and was carried out by Chiara Petrolini with the support of the rest of the team from 2018 to 2022. For each letter, and for a collection of Tengnagel's Oriental manuscripts on which Hülya Çelik has worked, TEI XML files with authority data have been created allowing for a cross-referenced analysis of the senders, receivers, dates, places, people and manuscripts cited. Every

chapter in this book is based on the information contained in these two datasets which are openly accessible and reusable. The letters are cited in the references according to their digital identifier, and not according to the library call numbers: in this way, the five authors acknowledge the importance of this methodological change and the validity of the data for future use and sharing.

The peculiar character of Tengnagel's correspondence is also at the heart of Chiara Petrolini's chapter, which aims to illustrate how his work and life were shaped by, and reflective of, the broader crises and transformations of his time. By analysing Tengnagel's letters, marginalia, and scholarly, personal and political interactions, this chapter uncovers his rich and diverse network that included rabbis, Lutheran scholars, Jesuits and Muslim prisoners, thus highlighting his intellectual voracity and eclectic affiliations. Rather than applying simple labels and confining Tengnagel's religious position to a single category, the chapter emphasises his deep engagement with the foundational texts of Judaism, Islam and Christianity. It also explores Tengnagel's navigation through the confessional conflicts of his era, revealing his strategic reticence and careful elusiveness. This investigation into Tengnagel's networks and intellectual pursuits offers an insight into the emergence of a new kind of knowledge born from the collisions of diverse religious and cultural worlds.

Hülya Çelik's chapter focuses on a detailed examination of Tengnagel's contributions to Oriental studies. Çelik discusses Tengnagel's proficiency in Arabic, Turkish and Persian and the relevance of his collection of manuscripts in these languages. The collection includes manuscripts he commissioned and annotated, reflecting his deep engagement with Ottoman culture and languages. Tengnagel's scholarly practices are particularly evident in his work with the captive scribe İbrāhīm Dervīş. His numerous notebooks provide further insight into his methods and interests, containing transcriptions, translations, glossaries and references to other works. Despite his intentions Tengnagel did not publish his projects during his lifetime. However, his meticulous work laid the foundation for future Oriental scholarship, particularly in lexicography and historiography.

In the next chapter, Chiara Petrolini highlights the contributions of often-overlooked figures crucial to Tengnagel's work as an Orientalist: dragomans, brokers, missionaries, soldiers, scribes, slaves and scholars from Muslim, Oriental Christian and Jewish backgrounds. Drawing on Ann Blair's concept of 'new knowledge makers and co-elaborates', the chapter examines Tengnagel's archives, revealing an interconnected scholarly world. The chapter goes beyond pure intellectual history, connecting Tengnagel's work to broader social and political contexts, including slavery, looted libraries and the experiences of prisoners of war, with an emphasis on the blend of friendship and

violence, curiosity and conflict that defined the scholarly landscape of early modern Europe.

An example of this is the interaction between Tengnagel and the prisoner of war İbrāhīm Dervīş, who became the librarian's scribe and teacher during and after the Long Turkish War. This partnership – or perhaps more accurately, exploitation – between a late humanist Roman Catholic and an acculturated Ottoman Muslim warrior (and former painter and poet) was brought to light twenty years ago by Claudia Römer, who discovered a letter from İbrāhīm to Tengnagel written in Ottoman Turkish, and by Robert Jones, who highlighted other aspects of this episode.[30] İbrāhīm appears frequently in our book both to present newly acquired information – such as his precise and significant contributions as an amanuensis and the traces he left on Tengnagel's notebooks, where he annotated two poetic compositions – and to re-examine previously known material.

What makes Tengnagel exceptionally fascinating is his dual role as a scholar of linguistics and history and as an advisor and librarian to the emperor. How did these roles intersect, complement or conflict with each other? The chapter by Paola Molino aims to reassess Tengnagel's contribution as imperial librarian by examining not only the catalogues and letters preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek but also the notes and marginalia that accompany these texts and the documents preserved in the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. Molino's chapter explores the originality of Tengnagel's

30 C. Römer, 'An Ottoman Copyist Working for Sebastian Tengnagel, Librarian at the Vienna Hofbibliothek, 1608–1636', *Archív orientální*, Supplementa 8 (1998), pp. 330–349. Jones' unpublished 1988 PhD dissertation from SOAS, London, titled *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe*, was unknown to Römer when she was preparing her article. Consequently, both scholars worked independently on the same sources, without having the opportunity to engage with each other's findings. It appears that Jones also missed Römer's article when he published his excellent book, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe* (*1505–1624*), based on his thesis and produced by Brill in 2020 as volume 6 of the series 'The History of Oriental Studies'. However, some information had surfaced before: details of a letter from İbrāhīm Dervīş to Tengnagel had already been mentioned by Lambeck ('Additamentum IV, Continens Catalogum manuscriptorum Codicum Orientalium Augustae Bibliothecae, a Cl. Viro Francisco a Mesgnien Meninski scriptum (A)', in Lambeck, Peter and Kollár, Adam František, *Commentarii de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi … editio altera* (Vienna, 1766), pp. 374–426, at 375), who described a *tafsīr* of the Qur'an, and İbrāhīm Dervīş appears in Nessel's catalogue under the heading of Ms. no. 4, and in Meninski's catalogue, which was re-edited by Lambeck in an *Additamentum* to his own catalogue. The first mention of İbrāhīm Dervīş in the twentieth century was made by Wittek and Kraelitz in their introduction to *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*. They had planned to publish this letter, but no article by either scholar on it seems to have appeared.

cataloguing principles and his interactions with scholars and officials, shedding light on the challenges of library management before and during the Thirty Years' War. In contrast to previous chapters that focus on Tengnagel's Orientalist aspirations, this examines the material and political conditions of the institution he led and the professional profile of a librarian in a courtly context. For example, the correspondence between Tengnagel and the Frankfurt *Buchkommissar* Johann Ludwig von Hagen helps to highlight the importance of the imperial librarian in a matter as delicate as the shipment of privileged books to the imperial court, first in Prague and then in Vienna. The chapter also examines the continuity between the imperial library and Tengnagel's private library, revealing their blurred boundaries and the impact of private collections, their organisation and their uses in the creation of larger institutional libraries. By linking Tengnagel's administrative duties with his Orientalist interests the chapter uncovers unexpected connections and attempts to offer a new perspective on his legacy, one that goes beyond the image painted by Peter Lambeck shortly after his death.

In the Final Note, "Twenty-Five/Thirty Years with Sebastian Tengnagel", Claudia Römer reflects on the evolution of perspectives from her first article in 1998 to the present volume. Initially, the focus was on İbrāhīm the scribe and Tengnagel's quest for manuscripts as documented through his correspondence. Over time this perspective broadened from a purely Ottomanist approach to a more comprehensive view. A fuller picture of Tengnagel emerged, depicting him as a member of the Republic of Letters, a figure navigating confessional divides during the age of confessionalisation, a salaried subject of the emperor, and a dedicated librarian.

Historiographical Context and Key Themes of Tengnagel's Studies

All six chapters and the Final Note engage with significant historiographical debates, grounded in the authors' shared foundational assumptions. We are acutely aware of the dynamic discourse surrounding the legacy and applicability (or rejection) of Edward Said's paradigm to the early modern period, and more broadly, the profound transformations in understanding and narrating the acquisition of knowledge concerning the non-European world, especially the Ottoman Empire, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.[31] We

31 The bibliography is extensive, but we highlight here a few crucial texts: A. Hamilton, M. H. van den Boogert, and B. Westerweel, eds., *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (Leiden, 2005); G. Kármán, *A Seventeenth-Century Odyssey in East Central Europe: The Life of Jakab Harsányi Nagy* (Leiden, 2015); B. Schnepel, G. Brands, and H. Schönig (eds.),

believe and hope that Tengnagel's case can contribute to this broader rethinking of early modern intellectual, political and religious history, providing relevant, and in some ways surprising, insights into the interactions between Christian, Muslim and Jewish cultures.

While post-colonial studies, social anthropology and cultural studies have greatly influenced our work, we chose to focus on an actor-based perspective because of the limited and fragmented nature of the available sources. Also following the recent reflections proposed by Martin Mulsow, we invested more effort in reconstructing the contemporary understanding of the period rather than applying modern conceptual frameworks.[32] While each chapter addresses the relevant literature in detail, we wish to highlight four key points central to the study of Tengnagel: the concept of the Republic of Letters, the distinction between Catholic and Protestant Orientalism, and the portrayal of Tengnagel as a Counter-Reformation prototype, as well as the study of the frontier between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburgs.

Firstly, the rethinking of the Republic of Letters as a multifaceted community that engaged not only with the 'Orient' but also with other periods and cultures, local or global is crucial in the book. This echoes recent scholarship that has shifted the attention away from the self-fashioning of the heroes of learning to the margins and exclusion practices of this imagined community. Several recent works are even directly related to Tengnagel's case, such as those on the debates about John Chrysostom[33] or on the role of amanuenses and materiality in the scholarly process.[34] Other works cover similar periods and

Orient – Orientalistik – Orientalismus. Geschichte und Aktualität einer Debatte (Bielefeld, 2015); J.-P. Ghobrial, 'Archives of Orientalism and its Keepers: Re-imagining the Histories of Arabic Manuscripts in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present*, Supplement 11 (2016), pp. 90–111; J. Loop, A. Hamilton, and C. Burnett, eds., *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2017); S. Bremerich, D. Burdorf, and A. Eldimagh, eds., *Orientalismus heute. Perspektiven arabisch-deutscher Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft* (Berlin-Boston, 2018); N. Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity through Arab Eyes, 1517–1798* (Leiden, 2020); A. Ben-Tov, *Johann Ernst Gerhard (1621–1668): The Life and Work of a Seventeenth-Century Orientalist* (Leiden, 2021); E. N. Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance. Diplomatic Interpreters and the Routes of Orientalism* (Ithaca/NY, 2021); A. Hamilton, *Arabs and Arabists: Selected Articles* (Leiden, 2021); J. Loop and J. Kraye, eds., *Scholarship between Europe and the Levant: Essays in Honour of Alastair Hamilton* (Leiden, 2021); B. Heyberger, ed., *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605–1664)* (Turnhout, 2010).

32 M. Mulsow, *Überreichweiten. Perspektiven einer globalen Ideengeschichte* (Berlin, 2022).

33 J. L. Quantin, 'Historical Criticism, Confessional Controversy, and Self-Censorship: Henry Savile and the Lives of John Chrysostom', *Erudition and the Republic of Letters*, 6/1–2 (2021), pp. 138–223.

34 Cf. Ann Blair's project on *Hidden helpers*; A. Grafton, *Inky Fingers. The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA-London, 2020).

areas but often focus on different people and issues, or represent a Republic of Letters whose intersection with Tengnagel would merit a separate study.[35] If librarians have long been considered brokers and 'secretaries' of the Republic of Letters,[36] Tengnagel 'the librarian' finds himself in a very different scholarly environment today than he did three decades ago. Since the work of Christian Jacob, first on the comparative history of libraries and then on the power of *lieux de savoir* in societies of all periods,[37] the publication of Helmut Zedelmaier's *Bibliotheca Universalis und Bibliotheca Selecta*,[38] Ulrich Johannes Schneider's work on the Wolfenbüttel Library,[39] and Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair's work on scholarly practices,[40] it has become clear that the ordering and processing of information in early modern libraries is a viable key to understanding societies from a specific perspective, in many ways relevant to the information society in which we live today. As Markus Friedrich has shown in relation to archives, catalogues and indexes are not faithful mirrors of a reading room, as our modern imagination would suggest. Rather, they are the only survivors of a daily negotiation between intellectual projects, political and physical space and the needs and desires of a diverse arena of users.[41] Similarly, Scholarly letters can be read in the context of the history of the library as loan receipts, lists of book purchases, and testimony to the return of a volume or its absence from the library until a certain date. Such archival documents not only help

35 For example, S. Sutherland, 'War, Mobility and Letters at the Start of the Thirty Years' War (1621–1623)', in P. Findlen and S. Sutherland, eds., *The Renaissance of Letters. Knowledge and Community in Italy, 1300–1650* (London, 2019), pp. 272–92; P. Findlen (ed.), *Empires of Knowledge. Scientific Networks in the Early Modern World* (Abingdon, 2019).

36 M. Rosa, 'Un « médiateur » dans la République des Lettres: le bibliothécaire', in H. Bots and F. Waquet, *Commercium litterarium: la communication dans la République des Lettres 1600–1750* (Amsterdam, 1994), pp. 81–99.

37 C. Jacob, 'Vers une historie comparée des bibliothèques', *Quaderni di storia*, 48 (1998), pp. 87–122 and C. Jacob, 'Lieux de savoir', in C. Jacob, ed., *Espaces et communautés* (Paris, 2007), pp. 17–37.

38 H. Zedelmaier, *Bibliotheca universalis und bibliotheca selecta. Das Problem der Ordnung des gelehrten Wissens in der frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne-Vienna, 1992) and more recently H. Zedelmaier, *Werkstätten des Wissens zwischen Renaissance und Aufklärung* (Tübingen, 2015).

39 U. J. Schneider, 'Der Ort der Bücher in der Bibliothek und im Katalog am Beispiel von Herzog Augusts Wolfenbütteler Büchersammlung', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 59 (2005), pp. 93–106 and 'Die Geburt des Lesesaals', in R. Felfe and K. Wagner, eds., *Museum, Bibliothek, Stadtraum. Räumliche Wissensordnungen 1600–1900* (Berlin, 2010), pp. 153–171.

40 A. Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload, ca. 1550–1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64/1 (2003), pp. 11–28 and A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, 'Johann Buxtorf makes a notebook', in A. Grafton and G. Most, eds., *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices: A Global Comparative Approach* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 275–298.

41 M. Friedrich, *Die Geburt des Archivs. Eine Wissensgeschichte* (Munich, 2013).

to situate the library within the agenda of power, but also allow us to measure a librarian's ability to translate ambitious intellectual projects into an agenda that could be sold at court. Finally, they enable us to measure the power that scholars had or have in the society in which they live and act.

Secondly, Tengnagel's role as a scholar of the Counter-Reformation north of the Alps must be seen primarily in the context of Catholic learning in the Holy Roman Empire. Often neglected in broader studies of the Republic of Letters, scholars such as Matthäus Rader and Kaspar Schoppe have recently received the scholarly attention they deserve. Their blend of antiquarianism and a Catholic agenda reflects the intellectual environment that informed most of Tengnagel's non-Oriental scholarly activity.[42] There is a continuity from Lhotsky to Stefan Benz's works on early modern Catholic historiography, which helps to contextualise appropriately Tengnagel within his closer 'German Catholic' surroundings.[43] However, there remains significant work to be done on contemporary Catholic interest in Oriental studies, such as that shown by the prince-bishop of Würzburg Julius Echter,[44] and on Catholic libraries connected to Tengnagel, like those of Ferdinand II or Péter Pázmány.[45] Consequently, histories of entanglement similar to those previously mentioned should also be explored in the context of Catholic Germany.

Thirdly, Tengnagel fits into a historiography of early modern Habsburg Europe that has long focused on Habsburg-Ottoman relations,[46] but which has only recently turned to paradigms of knowledge transfer and institutional go-betweens, as shown in the work of scholars such as Zsuzsanna Cziráki and Elisabeth Lobenwein.[47] While the Dutch connection with Vienna has not yet received adequate scholarly attention (with the important exception of

42 See the extensive editions within the series 'Bayerische Gelehrtenkorrespondenz'.

43 S. Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik. Katholische Geschichtsschreibung im barocken Heiligen Römischen Reich* (Husum, 2003). See Chapter 1 of this book.

44 D. Dombrowski, M. Maier and F. Müller, eds., *Julius Echter: Patron der Künste. Konturen eines Fürsten und Bischofs der Renaissance* (Berlin, 2017); S. Bürger and I. Palzer, eds., *Echters Werte. Zur Bedeutung der nachgotischen Baukultur um 1600 unter Fürstbischof Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn* (Berlin, Munich, 2019).

45 W. Steinmetz, *Stift Rein, Katalog der Bibliotheca Ferdinandea* (Rein, 1998). The library of the Pazmaneum can now be consulted in Vienna. On Pázmány's interest in the Qur'an see P. Shore, 'Two Hungarian Jesuits and the Qur'an: Understanding, Misunderstanding, and Polemic' *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 20,3 (2018), pp. 81–93.

46 There is an extensive bibliography on the matter some of which is discussed in Chapter 1 of this book.

47 See Chapter 1.2 as well as the research by Elisabeth Lobenwein (www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/fdkn-127410).

Nicolette Mout's research),[48] the Mediterranean dimension of Habsburg rule has recently been re-evaluated.[49] Academic publications related to Habsburg administrative history[50] often perpetuate a dynasty-, Länder- or Vienna-based narrative. While these studies provide a valuable context, they offer a limited conceptual range for figures like Tengnagel.[51] Moreover, many influential political figures lack comprehensive biographical sketches:[52] an intellectual biography of emperor Matthias, or at least Melchior Khlesl, would be an important prerequisite for properly situating Tengnagel at and around the court.

Fourthly, the field of Turkish and Ottoman studies has significantly expanded both in the domains of philology/linguistics and of history over recent decades. Today, scholars are much better equipped to read, transcribe and translate Ottoman texts accurately reflecting the linguistic and stylistic contexts of their respective periods of composition.

Recent scholarship has also explored vernacular Turkish texts of minorities within the Ottoman Empire, shedding light on transcriptional texts in various alphabets and the crucial roles of intermediaries, such as dragomans and envoys, in bridging cultural gaps.[53] Furthermore, interdisciplinary approaches

48 The best source is still N. Mout, 'Political and Religious Ideas of Netherlanders at the Court in Prague', in *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae*, 9 (1976), pp. 1–29. See also her dissertation *Bohemen en de Nederlanden in de zestiende eeuw* (Leiden, 1975).

49 S. Hanß and D. McEwan, eds., *The Habsburg Mediterranean 1500–1800* (Vienna, 2021).

50 Cf. the monumental M. Hochedlinger, P. Mat'a and T. Winkelbauer, eds., *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit, 1: Hof und Dynastie, Kaiser und Reich, Zentralverwaltungen, Kriegswesen und landesfürstliches Finanzwesen* (Vienna, 2019); Tengnagel duly appears in his office as librarian.

51 For example, K. Keller and M. Scheutz, eds., *Die Habsburgermonarchie und der Dreißigjährige Krieg* (Vienna, 2020).

52 C. Pecho, *Fürstbischof – Putschist – Landesherr. Erzherzog Leopolds Herrschaftsentwürfe im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Berlin, 2017); H. Bachhofer, 'Kaiser Matthias, Kardinal Klesl und die Kremser Protestanten', in H. Karner, E. Loinig and M. Scheutz, eds., *Die Jesuiten in Krems. Die Ankunft eines neuen Ordens in einer protestantischen Stadt im Jahr 1616* (St. Pölten, 2018), pp. 27–52.

53 See, for example, B. Tezcan, 'Ethnicity, Race, Religion and Social Class. Ottoman Markers of Difference', in C. Woodhead, ed., *The Ottoman World* (Abingdon, New York, 2011), pp. 159–70; É. Á. Csató, A. Menz and F. Turan, eds., *Spoken Ottoman in Mediator Texts* (Wiesbaden, 2016); E. S. Gürkan, *Spies for the Sultan: Ottoman Intelligence in the Great Rivalry with Spain* (Washington DC, 2024); Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance*; R. Radway, *Vernacular Diplomacy in Central Europe: Statesmen and Soldiers between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1543–1593*, PhD thesis (Princeton University, 2017); C. Balbous, *Das Sprachknaben-Institut der Habsburgermonarchie in Konstantinopel* (Berlin, 2015); A. Girard, 'Teaching and Learning Arabic in Early Modern Rome. Shaping a Missionary Language', in J. Loop, A. Hamilton and C. Burnett, eds., *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, Boston, 2017), pp. 189–212; C. Windler,

have highlighted the Ottoman Empire's central role in shaping the European landscape, emphasising its multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multilingual nature. Reevaluating the relationship between empires and the production of sources also involves questioning how archives are organised. Guy Burak, Natalie Rothman, and Heather Ferguson have suggested rethinking early modern archives by focusing on the conditions of their production rather than when and where they were systematised.[54] While archives today appear as repositories of distinct cultural identities, the records they preserve are material manifestations of complex interactions from the past. A non-European perspective on archives further highlights the need for caution when asserting that records were systematically collected in 'central' locations within the Euro-Asian empires of the early modern period. These locations, including libraries, do not necessarily indicate political centralisation or administrative strategies libraries.[55] This book on Tengnagel confirms the need for this caution. It shows how documents and manuscripts from the Ottoman Empire and Persia were often collected sporadically for personal and incidental reasons. The presence of 'Oriental' books in Vienna reveals more about the practices of acquisition, transcription, translation, and the movement of texts and people across imperial boundaries than it does about the stability of the Habsburg political system or the central role of libraries in information gathering.

In this context, a comment by the Neapolitan Jesuit Scipione Sgambati – a mathematician and Hebrew scholar who taught theology and Scripture in Vienna – is noteworthy. In 1629 Sgambati wrote to Pietro Della Valle lamenting

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Missionare in Persien. Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus (*17.–18. Jahrhundert*) (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 2018); M. A. Ebben and L. Sicking, eds., *Beyond Ambassadors. Consuls, Missionaries, and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy* (Leiden, Boston, 2021); N. Malcolm, *Agents of Empire. Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-century Mediterranean* (London, 2015); Z. Barbarics-Hermanik and H. Heppner, *Türkenangst und Festungsbau. Realität und Mythos* (Frankfurt, 2009); S. Hanß and D. McEwan (eds.), *The Habsburg Mediterranean 1500–1800* (Vienna, 2021).

54 G. Burak and E. N. Rothman, 'Toward Early Modern Archivality: The Perils of History in the Age of Neo-Eurocentrism', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 64/3 (2022), pp. 541–575.

55 Naturally, the situation varies by context, and any generalisation has significant limitations. For example, the preservation of original Mamluk (or other Arabic) documents is quite different from that of early modern Ottoman archives. See, for instance, J. Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymāns des Prächtigen* (Wiesbaden, 1974), and A. Akgündüz, 'Osmanlı Hukuk Sisteminin Şer'iliği Meselesi ve Kanunnamelerin Şer'i Tahlili', in Mahir Aydın, ed., *XV ve XVI. Asırları Türk Asrı Yapan Değerler* (Istanbul, 1999), pp. 153–175. For further reading on the preservation of Mamluk documents, see K. Hirschler, 'From Archive to Archival Practices: Rethinking the Preservation of Mamluk Administrative Documents', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 136/1 (2016), pp. 1–28.

the ignorance at the Viennese court not only about Persia but also about the Ottoman Empire, despite their proximity and constant diplomatic exchanges.[56] This book can be read as a long response to Sgambati's short, severe critique.

Criteria for Transcription and Transliteration

The original spelling and punctuation of the quoted texts in Latin, Italian, French, and German have generally been retained. For the sake of clarity, we have occasionally adjusted punctuation, diacritical marks, abbreviations, and capital letters to avoid ambiguity or compromised readability. Mistakes and grammatical irregularities have generally been maintained, as they are considered significant and indicative of the author's idiolect.

For Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman-Turkish, the IJMES transliteration system has been used, for the latter with the exceptions of *ġ* (for Arabic *ġayn*) and *ḫ* (for Arabic *ḫā'*).

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56 AAV, Della Valle-Del Bufalo, 37, fols. 120r–v.

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CHAPTER 1

Sebastian Tengnagel: a Late-Humanist Scholar with a Counter-Reformation Biography

Thomas Wallnig

On the outer choir façade of Vienna's Cathedral Church, the Stephansdom, among other epitaphs of early modern burghers and aristocrats close to the symbolic centre of the Austrian lands, there is a marble relief invoking the memory of Sebastian Tengnagel and his wife Ursula (Fig. 1.1). They are depicted kneeling in front of the cross, against the background silhouette of Vienna. The inscription presents Tengnagel as a jurist, a counsellor to three emperors (Rudolf II, Matthias, and Ferdinand II), a librarian, and a president of the town council of Vienna. The epitaph then states that Tengnagel mastered 15 languages and lists them. His death on 4 April 1636 is bemoaned by Apollo and the Muses; his wife had died eight years earlier. These few lines encapsulate the key milestones of a complex and, in some ways, surprisingly nebulous biography, the reconstruction of which is the goal of this chapter.

The broad lines are those of a man educated in a period of flourishing late-humanist culture, and witnessing, during his lifetime, a growing political and confessional radicalisation to which he adapted well. In the Vienna of the 1620s, he was part of the intellectual elite, pushing ahead with the agenda of the Counter-Reformation.[1] However, on closer inspection these broad lines seem to fall apart, and it will become clear that such broad concepts are neither clearly defined nor mutually exclusive.

1.1 Before Vienna

According to the epitaph, Tengnagel was 'natione Belga; patria Gelder; domo Buranus'. Calculating that he died in his 63rd year, his year of birth was probably 1573;[2] no existing sources document his birth or baptism.

1 S. Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik. Katholische Geschichtsschreibung im barocken Heiligen Römischen Reich* (Husum, 2003), p. 466.

2 This calculation conforms with F. Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius und seine ersten Nachfolger (1575–1663)', in Geschichte der *Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, ed. J. Stummvoll (Vienna, 1968), specifically on Tengnagel pp. 129–145, here at p. 129. The epitaph is the only

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FIGURE 1.1 Epitaph of Sebastian and Ursula Tengnagel, Stephansdom, Vienna
THOMAS WALLNIG

'Belgium' meant the Netherlands. The medieval Duchy of Guelders came to be part of the dominions possessed by the Habsburgs in the Low Countries in 1543, and thus a scene of the Dutch quest for independence from Spain.[3]

Buren, a sovereign lordship situated close to the westernmost part of the duchy (Fig. 1.2),[4] was conquered and re-conquered several times during the first years of the war and eventually, in the early 1580s, sided with the Dutch revolt. Around the time of his birth, if we want to assume 1573, Tengnagel's home was on the front line of the conflict.

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contemporary source allowing to reconstruct Tengnagel's age; there are no arguments for 1563 as a birth date, which can sometimes be found in the literature and in online resources.

3 J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 69f. (see also the following illustration).

4 J. I. Pontanus, *Historiae Gelricae libri* XIV (Harderwijk, 1639), p. 923.

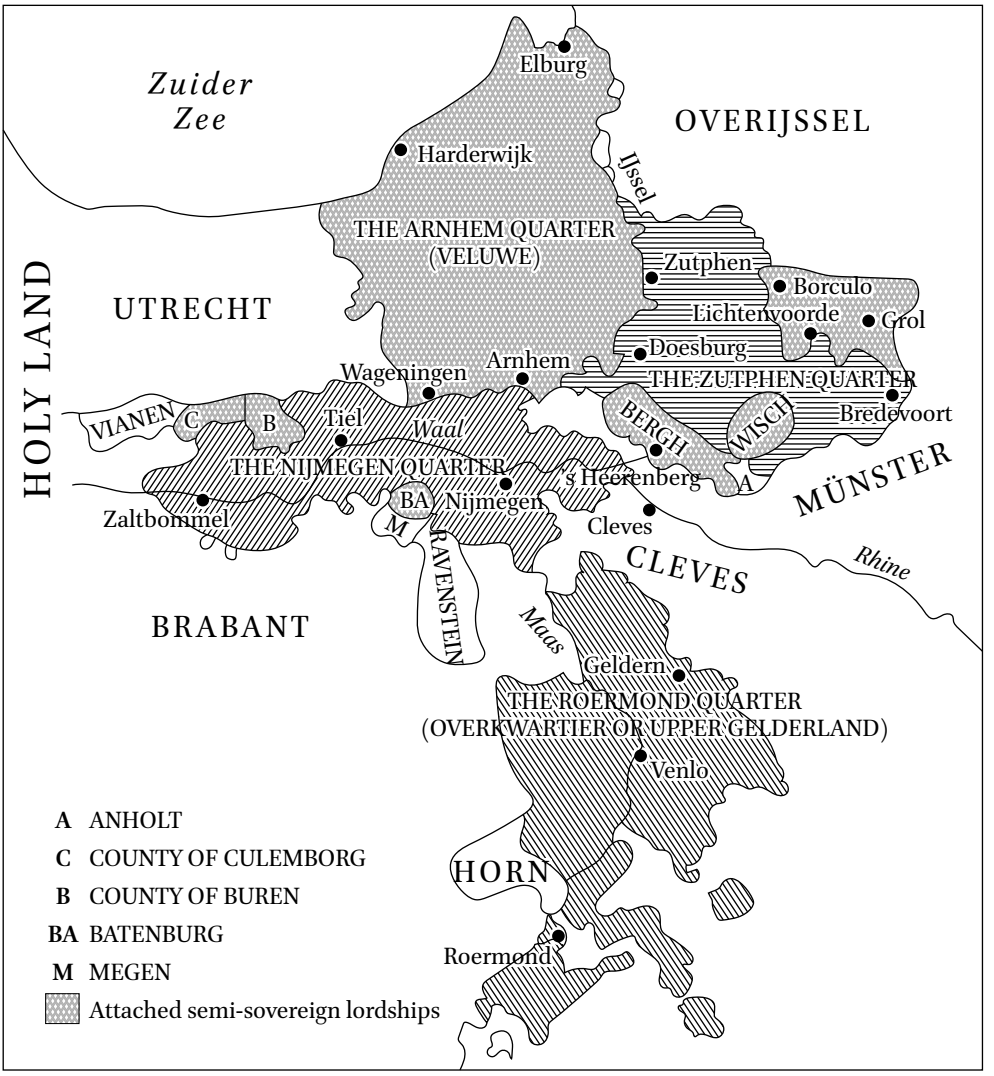

FIGURE 1.2 Map of Gelderland
FROM ISRAEL, *THE DUTCH REPUBLIC*, 70, COURTESY OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

It remains unclear if there was a connection between Sebastian Tengnagel and the homonymous family of renowned legal scholars and high-ranking functionaries.[5] In a draft letter written in 1611, prompted by Count Friedrich

5 The article H. H. Görtz, 'Art. Tengnagel, Gregor', in *Thesaurus Personarum*, https://www.thesaurus-personarum.de/?page_id=6, states that Sebastian was the brother of Gregor/Georg, professor of law in Louvain and assessor of the *Reichskammergericht*, as well as of Philipp

von Fürstenberg, Sebastian Tengnagel reflects on his family relationship with Frans Gansneb Tengnagel, the son-in-law of Tycho Brahe in the service of the Austrian Habsburgs.[6] The question of a possible relationship between the two had been the subject of conversation between several people, including Sebastian Tengnagel's compatriots Louffius and Giphanius (van Giffen). It transpired that Frans Gansneb Tengnagel was the son of Reinerius Tengnagel,[7] whom Sebastian's uncle Willem had known well. Willem had also known Franz's grandfather Lubbert, who lived in Culemborg:[8] Lubbert and Willem were brothers; the formerly illustrious and now decayed family, so Sebastian Tengnagel informs us, would henceforth see new glories.[9] Willem can possibly be identified as a member of the Reformed community of Buren,[10] which, in the 1610s, was 'staunchly Remonstrant'.[11]

Throughout his life, Sebastian Tengnagel remained in contact with his home region, and vignettes of family and business relations appear in individual letters and in the correspondence. A letter written by Frans in 1597, and

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Tengnagel, who held the same position. However, the one quotation that could prove that Sebastian and Gregor were brothers, in fact refers to Gregor and Philipp, because it deals with the question whether brothers can be in the same office: R. Rulant, *Quaestiones iuxta modum in camera inter referendum usitatum* (Hamburg, 1608), p. 15. An argument for a closer family relationship is given by the fact that a document concerning a travel reimbursement for Georg is placed at the beginning of Sebastian's *Familienakten* dossier: ÖStA, FHKA, Sammlungen und Selekte (SUS), Familienakten DT-50, ad 1596-04-17; a further argument is provided by the presence of both Gregor and Philipp at the university of Cologne, where Sebastian also studied. However, if there really was a family connection, it must have been in the interest of Sebastian and everyone else not to make it prominent and visible. – On Gregor Tengnagel, see also O. Gschließer, *Der Reichshofrat. Bedeutung und Verfassung, Schicksal und Besetzung einer obersten Reichsbehörde von 1559 bis 1806* (Vienna, 1942), pp. 166, 171f.

6 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', p. 129; STQ0019 – In this chapter, as in the rest of the book, the reference to individual letters is made by way of the respective correspondence volume (Q, R, S or T) and the running number of the letter, sometimes, when the context makes it seem appropriate, along with its date or the correspondence partners. See also chapter 2 on Tengnagel's correspondence.

7 It is unlikely that he was identical with Regnerus/Renerus Tengnagel, the father of the abovementioned brothers Gregor and Philipp, as documented in Görtz, 'Art. Tengnagel'.

8 See https://www.archieven.nl/nl/zoeken?mivast=0&mizig=100&miadt=39&milang=nl&mizk_alle=lubbert%20tengnagel&miview=tbl (1578).

9 Many are the mentions of people named Tengnagel in the archival holdings of the region. One also features in Pontanus, *Historiae Gelricae libri*, p. 600.

10 See https://www.archieven.nl/nl/zoeken?mivast=0&mizig=210&miadt=102&micode=0760&milang=nl&mizk_alle=tengnagel%20buren&miview=inv2.

11 Israel, *Dutch Republic*, p. 438.

probably addressed to the Danish irenicist Heinrich von Rantzau,[12] bemoans his father's reluctance concerning his studies, which had caused him to leave the country. Only recently had he visited 'friends and family, living here and there in Guelders and the diocese [meaning the *Hochstift*] of Münster.' In 1610, Sebastian Tengnagel had received news from his hometown that Johann van Giffen had visited Buren and seen his uncle.[13] In this letter, as in other correspondence with the Netherlands, business affairs such as financial loans were also discussed. The letters written by the Amsterdam merchants Jan (the Elder) and Jan (the Younger) van Wyningen especially show Tengnagel as (passively) involved in large-scale linen trade and the resulting financial business. In particular, the van Wyningen brothers needed Tengnagel to collect the debt of approximately 49,000 florins, owed to them by two Dutch merchants residing in Vienna, Peter Bloem and Arnold Willems, following the sale of Dutch linen to the imperial court.[14] The extensive correspondence also covers the book trade and politics and shows Tengnagel's Dutch correspondents as 'staunchly' Catholic observers of the events surrounding, among other things, the Synod of Dordrecht,[15] the imprisonment of Hugo Grotius, and the start of the war. If Tengnagel is called a 'second father'[16] by van Wyningen and is asked to show 'fatherly affection' to his 'adopted son', this, of course, does not necessarily establish any family relationship, but testifies both to the patronly role he assumed especially in his later years, and to the ties he maintained with his home country. The recommendation of a young man leaving the Netherlands, issued by Cyprianus Vermilius, vicar of the bishopric of Haarlem, in 1628, also attests the ongoing contacts.[17] Furthermore, in 1629, Tengnagel received detailed accounts of war developments in the Low Countries.[18]

For whatever reasons, and whenever Sebastian Tengnagel may have left his home country, we may assume that, probably in or before 1599, he attended the university of Leiden 'studiorum causa', as we see from a letter draft.[19] His self-declared presence there is not documented, but the university was certainly

12 STR002. The addressee is deduced from his residence, Segeberg.

13 STR0121.

14 On the obligation cf. STS0079. Much of the van Wyningen correspondence, which also involves Jan's widow Margareta, deals with the difficulty in getting the debtors to pay their debt.

15 STS0123; a clear Catholic stance also in STS0182.

16 STS0140.

17 STT0115.

18 STT0135.

19 STR0130. Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', p. 129, erroneously renders the original Leiden as Heidelberg.

one of the major centres of higher learning at the time, and if the context of his remark is of any significance (Tengnagel was pointing out his enthusiasm for Oriental studies to the Leiden librarian Daniel Heinsius), the attraction of scholarly excellence may certainly have played a role. Nonetheless, Tengnagel pursued an educational path more typical of Dutch Catholic refugees, in that he continued his studies in Cologne.[20] Much later, in October 1609, Tengnagel completed his studies earning the degree of a doctor of both laws in Bologna, documented by an elaborate diploma.[21] He undertook this long planned[22] journey to Italy after he had been appointed librarian in Vienna.[23] It is not clear if – and it cannot categorically excluded – at any time Tengnagel changed his confessional affiliation. When he arrived in Vienna, he was 'of the Roman' faith, as pointed out by the court librarian, Hugo Blotius.[24]

1.2 Vienna

Around 1600, Vienna was one of the larger cities of the Holy Roman Empire, with approximately 30,000 inhabitants, many of whom were Protestants.[25] While the administrative infrastructure for the (Lower-)Austrian Provinces[26] had remained in place since the late Middle Ages, the transfer of the imperial

20 U. Nyassi, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln, 4: 1559–1675* (Düsseldorf, 1981), p. 171 [Nr. 34, 1594-10-29]: „art., i. et s.". – Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik* 95 (Cologne Tricoronatum) to be corrected in that sense.

21 ÖNB, Cod. 5897, fol. 1r–6v, includes the names of the co-promotors and the university's office holders. See also the follow-up correspondence with Bolognetti, STR0119. See Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, p. 304.

22 See the correspondence with Pistorius in ÖNB, Cod. 9737r (here STR) as well as a Hofkammer entry in 1606 (ÖStA, FHKA, 586 Expeditprotokoll Wien 1606, 143r: plan to go to Rome) and a respective request to Matthias (undated, ÖNB, Autogr. 13/53: Bologna or Padua).

23 Return 1610: STS0134. – Unterkircher, 'Tengnagel', pp. 131–2.

24 P. Molino, *L'impero di carta. Storia di una biblioteca e di un bibliotecario* (*Vienna, 1575–1608*) (Rome, 2017), p. 225.

25 M. Scheutz and F. Opll, *Der Schlierbach-Plan des Job Hartmann von Enenkel. Ein Plan der Stadt Wien aus dem frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2014), see also the following illustration; K. Vocelka, 'Die Stadt und die Herrscher', in *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt. 2: Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz* (*16. bis 18. Jahrhundert*) ed. P. Csendes and F. Opll (Vienna, 2003), pp. 13–46; A. Weigl, 'Die "Hauptstadt" Wien und der Dreißigjährige Krieg', in *Wien im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Bevölkerung, Gesellschaft, Kultur, Konfession*, ed. A. Weigl (Vienna, 2001), pp. 15–30; Id., 'Residenz, Bastion und Konsumptionsstadt: Stadtwachstum und demographische Entwicklung einer werdenden Metropole', in ibid., pp. 31–105.

26 At the time, after the division of lands after the death of Maximilian II, this comprised the two Austrian duchies.

court to Prague under Rudolf II had shifted power and attention away from the Danubian capital. Matthias, who had been governor of the Netherlands in the crucial years around 1580, never really took up residence in Prague, and began to re-establish a court in Vienna from his election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1612. However, the decisive step was taken in the early 1620s by his successor, Ferdinand II, who was influenced by recent developments in Bohemia.[27]

These decades can be placed among the most turbulent in Central European history. While, during the late sixteenth century, Western Europe was devastated by religious strife and civil war, in the Holy Roman Empire the threat of Ottoman aggression and the unresolved issue of confessional liberty had forced the Austrian Habsburgs to come to terms with the strong and well-organised aristocracy of the individual provinces. On this level, the gradual radicalisation of confessional parties – from the *Majestätsbrief* of 1609 to the Defenestration of Prague in 1618 – continued to bear traits of legally argued power politics.[28]

However, a conflict concerning the relations between estates and rulers also characterised the development of the Holy Roman Empire itself. As an elective monarchy in principle, which was shaken by demarcation struggles between ecclesiastical and secular authority, the empire underwent a major crisis during the war, in the course of which absolutist (and catholicising) aspirations of the emperors were successfully confronted. The war further articulated the tension between the lands in which the Habsburgs possessed full authority, even where the denominational choice was concerned, and the empire, in which the choice of confession was left to the individual princes. In Vienna, as an 'imperial' capital, both dimensions at times became blurred, and this had a considerable effect on the work of Tengnagel as a librarian and as a scholar.

The same political situation also entailed complex relations with neighbouring powers, before and during the war. Habsburg-ruled Spain was an ally for the Catholic parts of the empire, also with regard to the Dutch quest for independence. Conversely, Protestant powers such as Sweden or England joined forces in order to confront the advance of political Catholicism, which had been strengthened by the Council of Trent. France, with its civil war coming to an end in the years after the Edict of Nantes (1598), had to choose between Catholic solidarity and anti-Habsburg interests and eventually chose the latter,

27 On the pressure on the Habsburg courts in the late 1610s and the different coping strategies of Vienna and Graz respectively, as well as of the resulting development of Ferdinand II's political stance, see: T. Brockmann, *Dynastie, Kaiseramt und Konfession. Politik und Ordnungsvorstellungen Ferdinands II. im Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Paderborn, 2009).

28 Accounts of the events in: T. Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Vienna, 2003), 1, pp. 58–63.

while still affirming its loyalty herself to a Catholicism for which Spain should not be able to claim a monopoly. The electoral monarchy of Poland-Lithuania became one of the emerging polities in Eastern Europe, while medium-sized states such as the Duchy of Savoy and the Republic of Venice held an important role in the struggles of the great European powers. All greater polities also observed with interest, in the light of their own geopolitical agenda, the conflicts between the Sunni Ottoman Empire and its eastern neighbour, the Shiite Persian Safavid Empire, which only came to an end with a peace treaty concluded in 1639 at Ḳaṣr-i Şīrīn.

A particular role was played by Rome. On the one hand, the claim of authority in ecclesiastical matters by the individual sovereigns – largely Protestants – had brought about a significant loss of political influence, which the Church of Rome tended to restore and justify by means of the historical evidence of earlier centuries. On the other hand, the envisaged global reform and dissemination of a newly refurbished (if not invented) Catholic religion called for an up-to-date intellectual and personal infrastructure. This situation explains the need for agile 'imperial' tools such as religious orders, while it also points to the role of Rome as one of the major centres of knowledge – including Oriental – in the decades around 1600.

Another state cultivating a particular relationship with the Habsburg emperors was the Ottoman Empire.[29] A fairly recent stakeholder among the big Islamic powers, it had started to expand in Central Europe after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and had unsuccessfully besieged Vienna in 1529. The Ottoman Empire never fought against the Habsburg emperor alone, but on its Western front it also confronted Spain, losing its fleet at Lepanto in 1571. Furthermore, in later decades, diverging interests also brought the Porte into conflict with its north(-western) neighbours, Poland-Lithuania and later Russia, as well as with neighbouring powers on its eastern border. The conflict with the emperor was mainly concerned with the Kingdom of Hungary, which in the sixteenth century was divided into three parts: Royal Hungary, ruled by the Habsburgs, Ottoman Hungary, and the Principality of Transylvania, ruled by predominantly Protestant princes under the protection of the Porte. The years around 1600 saw the so-called 'Long Turkish War', resulting in the first equal-rank peace treaty between the sultan and the emperor (Zsitvatorok, 1606). Many examples of the violent 'acquisition' of books and men, reflected

29 J. P. Niederkorn, *Die europäischen Mächte und der „Lange Türkenkrieg" Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1593–1606)* (Vienna, 1993); M. Kurz, M. Scheutz and K. Vocelka (eds.), *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna, 2005); see also several articles and books by Arno Strohmeyer and his research group.

in Tengnagel's correspondence, are placed in the setting of these very same Hungarian wars.

Consequently, early seventeenth-century Vienna should also be regarded as a diverse hotspot of entangled cultural trajectories. Old trade routes such as those along the Danube,[30] connecting Upper Germany with Hungary, intersected with emerging local, regional and imperial power structures. These routes were used by communities such as Greeks, Armenians and Jews, with extended transregional networks, but also by trade companies like the Fuggers, who were trying to establish a mining foothold in Hungary.[31] These circumstances also turned Vienna into a centre of commerce. The rise of diplomatic communication led to an increase in espionage activities,[32] and at the same time the Catholic Church renewed the infrastructure of its information in the region. Furthermore, demographic numbers were on the rise, and in a similar way to Hamburg, Danzig and Cologne, but unlike, for example, Augsburg or Heidelberg, Vienna would be among the cities in the empire not to be severely hit by the Thirty Years' War. This is the multifaceted setting in which Tengnagel would work.

Tengnagel came to Vienna as an assistant to the court librarian Hugo Blotius, who housed his helpers in his various lodgings.[33] In 1603, he was assigned a room at the *Hofspital* and was required to pay rent to its superior.[34] After mar-

30 See https://www.univie.ac.at/donauhandel/, with an extensive documentation of the substantial work on the matter by Peter Rauscher and Andrea Serles.

31 A. Ransmayr, *Untertanen des Sultans oder des Kaisers: Struktur und Organisationsformen der beiden Wiener griechischen Gemeinden von den Anfängen im 18. Jahrhundert bis 1918* (Göttingen, 2018); R. Kießling et al., *Räume und Wege. Jüdische Geschichte im Alten Reich 1300–1800* (Berlin, 2011).

32 R. Buchberger, 'Zwischen Kreuz und Halbmond. Jüdische Spione im Zeitalter der Türkenkriege', in *Nicht in einem Bett. Juden und Christen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit*, ed. S. Hödl (St. Pölten, 2005), pp. 66–71; Z. Cziráki, 'Language Students and Interpreters at the Mid-seventeenth-century Habsburg Embassy in Constantinople', *Theatrum Historiae – Historical Journal of the University of Pardubice* 19 (2016), pp. 27–44; P. Král, 'Political Communication between Prague, Heidelberg and London at the Time of the Bohemian Revolt. Correspondence and Communication Networks', *Opera Historica* 20/2 (2019), pp. 163–188; M. Lesure, 'Michel Černović "explorator secretus" a Constantinople (1556–1563)', *Turcica* 15 (1983), pp. 127–154.

33 Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, pp. 79, 159, and passim on the collaboration between the two men until 1608. See also chapter 7.

34 Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, p. 225; Scheutz and Opll, *Schlierbach-Plan*, p. 76. Contemporary descriptions of Vienna include: M. Zeiller, *Itinerarium Germaniae nov-antiquae* (Strassburg, 1632); M. Merian, *Topographia Provinciarum Austriacarum* (Frankfurt, 1656).

rying Blotius' widow Ursula in 1610, Tengnagel moved into his predecessor's house,[35] and later sources document his residence as 'Am Hof 12'.[36]

Ursula, who was the daughter of the influential imperial officer (*Reichstaxator*) Christoph Ungelter, and who showed Protestant leanings,[37] maintained at least indirect contacts with family members in south-western Germany.[38]

After Blotius's death, Tengnagel was appointed as a librarian in February 1608[39] and took up his post after his return from his studies in Italy, and his marriage in 1610. On that occasion, Matthias, who was already king of Hungary and in conflict with his brother Rudolf over the government of the Austrian provinces, visited the couple at home. It was probably the same broader context in which Tengnagel refused to take up the office of historiographer; in 1612, when he endeavoured to obtain an appointment at the *Klosterrat*, he tried to revise this decision.[40] It seems from an undated draft letter, addressed to a high-ranking person ('excellency'), that during these years Tengnagel tried to change the direction of his career, hoping to become a Secretary instead of directing the imperial library.[41] Before replacing Blotius, Tengnagel had also received other employment offers, for example by *Reichshofrat* Rudolf Coraduz,[42] and in 1608 he obtained a financial acknowledgement from the Munich court.[43]

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35 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', p. 131. On Ursula and the marriage: Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, pp. 159f.

36 See https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Sebastian_Tengnagel; Scheutz and Opll, *Schlierbach-Plan*, p. 43.

37 Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, pp. 150, 225.

38 This becomes apparent in the letters written by Munich *Hofregistrator* Johann Lieb (not Stieb, as Unterkircher has). – On the Ungelter family genealogy, see G. Bucelin, *Germania topo-chrono-stemmato-graphica sacra et profana* (Ulm, 1678), 1, p. 205.

39 ÖNB, Akten, Karton 1: appointment 27 February 1608; salary of 200 'rheinische Gulden' 19 January 1608. Tengnagel's constant struggle for a raise in salary is well documented in the *Familienakten* dossier (ÖStA, FHKA, SUS, Familienakten DT-50), as well as in the protocols of the Hofkammer (for example 652 Expedit 1614, 659; 690 Registratur 1619, 96; 702 Registratur 1622, 285; 715 Registratur 1625, 94, 371; 752 Registratur 1634, 245). Entries there also document Tengnagel asking for money to copy books in Hebrew (640 Expedit Wien 1612, 848), as well as for book 'passbriefe' (662 Expedit 1615, 270, 790, 936) or for the binding of books (682 Registratur 1617, 317).

40 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', p. 131. – In an undated letter to Matthias, Tengnagel complained about the working conditions in the library, and tried to obtain a post at the *Klosterrat*: STQ029.

41 STT0188.

42 STT0208.

43 Maximilian I to Sebastian Tengnagel, 6 April 1608: ÖNB, Autogr. 16/70.

Tengnagel's reasons for these moves were mainly financial, given that his economic situation was difficult. At the same time, his line of argument regarding the *Klosterrat* – the envisaged recuperation of ill-kept monastic library holdings – already pointed to the field of intersection between scholarly expertise and an emerging bureaucracy striving to obtain control over different kinds of resources. The *Klosterrat* had been established as a board of five members by Maximilian II in order to oversee, on his behalf, the financial performance of the derelict monasteries in the Austrian duchies.

During the following years, Tengnagel embarked on a series of scholarly projects that consolidated his role as librarian, providing sources and scholarly credentials for a historiography supporting the Habsburg as well as the Catholic position in the empire. In the critical situation preceding the political escalation of 1618, he also acted as a legal expert, and in the following years was involved in the handling of captured enemy correspondence, as will be shown below. Likewise, the correspondence with the van Wyningen family already documents the court librarian active as a business agent around 1615. Tengnagel was thus a renowned, networking and loyal member of the imperial court, who was able to make additional career steps in the 1620s.

The court and the entirety of the administration returned to Vienna, and in this situation, in 1622, Tengnagel obtained the office of a *Stadtanwalt*, which made him the emperor's representative within the town council. He kept the well-paid office, prominently mentioned in his epitaph, until his death in 1636.[44] In this atmosphere of the intentional invention of a Counter-Reformation capital and court city, Tengnagel featured prominently: the newly established *Wappenbuch* places him in the first civic position with a rich coat of arms (Fig. 1.3).[45] In 1620, he had already been among the sponsors of the Brotherhood of St. Sebastian, along with other members of the court and the bureaucracy.[46] The motto of the day was 'cedere aut catholice credere'.[47]

In 1623, the long-planned transfer of the library away from the Convent of the Friars Minor took place. In 1618/9, and again around 1625, Tengnagel suffered

44 P. Lambeck and F. Kollár, *Commentarii de Augustissima Bibliotheca Casesarea Vindobonensi*, 8 vols. (Vienna, 1766–1782), 1, pp. 131f. Among the surviving records, there are some summonings to the town council appointments, like STS0193. See also Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, 3.1.2.A1.24/1625; 3.1.3.A1.603.

45 See Tengnagel's coat of arms (described in M. Sollmann, *Das Wappenbuch der Stadt Wien* (PhD dissertation, University of Vienna, 2011), pp. 141f.): https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Datei:Sebastian_Tengnagel.jpg.

46 https://schotten.hypotheses.org/1451#more-1451.

47 R. Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien* (Vienna, 1854) 1, p. 373.



FIGURE 1.3 Sebastian Tengnagel's Coat of Arms from the *Wappenbuch* of the City of Vienna, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Handschriften, A 290, fol. 7r
WIENER STADT- UND LANDESARCHIV

from severe health problems,[48] and in 1628 his wife died. In 1630/31, the library was moved yet again, from the *Kammerbuchhalterei* to the *Harrachsches Haus*.[49] Tengnagel's will dates from 1633[50] and stipulates the transfer of his private library to the court library in exchange for the sum of 1,500 florins. The money was to go to the Carmelite Monastery, situated in the house where he lived,[51] and to be used to pay for weekly masses held for him and his wife.[52] During the later years of his life Tengnagel seems to have lived with a 'jungfraw' who can perhaps be identified with an 'Anna Juditha' mentioned in a letter by the Carmelite Marcus Antonius Panthera.[53] The imperial interpreter of Turkish, Michel D'Asquier, addressed Tengnagel as 'compadre',[54] which also suggests a closer relationship.

Since the 1610s Tengnagel had also become a contact point for different people who asked for help and protection in Vienna. This presumably included financial services, help in legal matters of book privileges,[55] and a significant number of efforts to obtain (or improve an existing) rank in the nobility.[56] The traveller Albert von Schilling involved Tengnagel in the deposition of his baggage in Vienna while he himself was abroad.[57]

No details have survived concerning Tengnagel's death on 4 April 1636,[58] and we have no funeral sermon or contemporary eulogy. Information about his successor in the library, Wilhelm Rechberger, is scarce, and there appears to have been no wider repercussion of his death in the Republic of Letters. It may be that the years following the Edict of Restitution (1629) and the Peace of Prague (1635), which also saw Ferdinand II at the peak of his power in the empire, did not stimulate enough interest in Protestant scholars to praise a

48 Illness 1625: STT0012 ('acqua cephalica'); see also Cod. 7188.

49 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 133f.

50 ÖStA, HHStA, Hausarchiv, Hofakten des Ministeriums des Inneren 11–5 (partial copy from 1638). – The record names Jacob Gerhard Ansemius as nephew and heir of Tengnagel.

51 Vorlaufstraße / Marc-Aurel-Straße: https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Karmeliten.

52 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', p. 142.

53 Eg. STT0111.

54 STS0181.

55 Correspondence with Theobald Schönwetter.

56 Correspondence with Hans Ludwig von Ulm.

57 Schilling: STT0139.

58 The *Totenbeschauprotokolle* of the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv only start with 1648. The will only survives in an excerpt from 1638 and decrees the gift of Tengnagel's books to the imperial library in exchange for a 1500 fl. endowment to be paid by the emperor for masses at the Carmelites' Monastery. It seems that the record originated from the attempt of one of Tengnagel's (co-)heirs, his nephew Johann Gerhard Ansem(ius), to obtain a lodging fee exemption (*Quartierbefreiung*): ÖStA, HHStA, Hausarchiv, Hofakten des Ministerium des Inneren, 11–5.

man who, while still in touch with them, worked for the political enemy. On the other hand, the Catholic Republic of Letters did not possess the communicational means – journals, bio-bibliographies, dictionaries – required to publicly celebrate the memory of its members; nor was there, at that moment, any institutional record of Habsburg learning.

1.3 Scholarly Profiles

Blotius had directed the library with the object of collecting and putting at the disposal of the emperors he served literature on the most urgent matters of the day: Austrian history, Turkish affairs and controversial theology. For Tengnagel, no direct bibliographical interaction of this kind is documented, although he nurtured a scholarly interest in Oriental cultures and languages that gave his correspondence a decidedly erudite tone. Blotius had also seen the increasing influence of the Jesuits change the intellectual climate, while the court's departure for Prague had additionally contributed to the break with the Viennese Renaissance culture of the mid-sixteenth century.[59]

In the decades of Tengnagel's activity, the court library acquired a role that went far beyond the collection and cataloguing of books. It touched upon political and historiographical requirements, matters of censorship and the regulation of the book trade, as well as the authoritative accumulation of books and libraries. There was an overlap between Tengnagel's interests and his required skills in the field of Oriental studies, besides his role as a knowledge broker for influential political stakeholders. But, at least with regard to his own library, he managed his official duties and his personal interests separately, though with some overlap.

The court library was not the only centre of knowledge in Vienna.[60] The university, an institutional entity in its own right, struggled in vain against the growing influence of the Jesuits, who, in 1623, officially acquired control of the faculties of philosophy and theology.[61] Also the reinvigorated monasteries, whose authorities did not wish to cede too much ground to the Society of

59 Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, pp. 304, 310.

60 For an overview, see P. Molino, 'The Library, the City, the Empire: De-provincialising Vienna in the Early Seventeenth Century', in *Knowledge and the Early Modern City. A History of Entanglements*, ed. B. Munck and A. Romano A. (Abingdon-New York, 2020), pp. 223–49.

61 Kink, *Geschichte* 1, pp. 339–63. Tengnagel does not appear in the university's matriculation book.

Jesus, strove to equip themselves with the necessary bibliographical infrastructure for a competitive intellectual performance.

The court library itself was situated in a complex institutional framework reflected in the archival documentation.[62] The librarian belonged to the court personnel and fell under the respective jurisdiction. He was remunerated by the court chamber responsible for the 'Lower-Austrian' provinces. Payments were recorded in the respective accounting ledgers,[63] whereas the surviving registers of supplications made to the court chamber provide evidence of additional financial requests.[64] In rare cases, these summaries of supplications and their administrative handling, supplemented by the original records, also show the involvement of other funding bodies, such as the university. Moreover, the library itself, as a subordinate institution within the court, kept its own archive.[65] For the early years, its holdings are scarce, and as a similar phenomenon can be observed for Tengnagel's correspondence, it may be assumed that the frequent transfers of the library also resulted in a combing out of papers. However, most of the material documenting Tengnagel's actual work has been preserved among the manuscript holdings of the library and this will be discussed along with his correspondence.

Tengnagel's activities are also documented in two additional archival contexts: that of the city of Vienna, regarding his role as *Stadtanwalt*,[66] and in that of the Holy Roman Empire, in which he acted as an administrative interlocutor of the Frankfurt *Bücherkommissar*.

When Sebastian Tengnagel went to Vienna, he was one of three, later two, possible candidates for becoming Blotius's assistant. Due to a conflict with a previous *amanuensis*, Blotius and Reichard Streun von Schwarzenau, his administrative principal, had begun to look for staff. Tengnagel appeared to be the most appropriate man for the job because of his language skills and ability to handle library matters.[67] His appointment was staged by Streun and Blotius together: even the request bears the hands of both men.

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62 Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, pp. 22–4; Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', p. 143; S. Benz, 'Die Wiener Hofbibliothek', in *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. J. Pauser, M. Scheutz, and T. Winkelbauer (Vienna, 2004), pp. 45–58.

63 M. Žačková Rossi, *The Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II: The Musical Entourage of Rudolf II (1576–1612) Reconstructed from the Imperial Accounting Ledgers* (Prague, 2017), pp. i–xxxix.

64 ÖStA, FHKA, Hoffinanz Protokolle 520 (1599) – 755 (1636).

65 https://www.onb.ac.at/forschung/forschungsblog/artikel/quellen-zur-geschichte-der-oesterreichischen-nationalbibliothek.

66 See footnote 44.

67 A detailed description in Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, pp. 223f.

One of the crucial points at stake was their joint work on the library catalogues. Blotius had instructed Tengnagel in this activity, and his resulting abilities were not just a reason for his engagement, but also stood at the centre of his job description. Ursula Ungelter, wife of both successive librarians, and a strenuous worker in the library, was certainly part of the process of the transfer of knowledge.[68]

While still under Blotius, Tengnagel worked hard as a cataloguer.[69] In 1605, he finished a five-volume catalogue initiated by his predecessor, while up until 1609/10 he separated prints from manuscripts: for the former, he created a topographic index, for the latter – namely, for Latin and Greek manuscripts – he made catalogues according to the categories of the discipline.

However, the work of the librarian extended far beyond cataloguing books, and also included the difficult business of loaning books. Some of it fell under a regime of institutional documentation, while much of the exchange of books and manuscripts remained in the grey zone of mutual erudite favours among members of the Republic of Letters. This phenomenon was already present under Blotius, and it increased with Tengnagel,[70] who, when talking about books, also clearly knew how to distinguish between the court library, his own and other collections.[71]

Another related field of activity was that of augmenting the library through the acquisition of other collections, or parts of them. The search and incorporation of books previously owned by renowned humanists such as Dernschwam had already been practised by Blotius, and Tengnagel continued this tradition, for instance with the library of the Hungarian historian Sambucus,[72] or that of Heinrich von Rantzau.[73] Tengnagel also showed a vivid interest in the library of the Leiden professor Thomas Erpenius, whose library catalogue Tengnagel compared with his own holdings.[74] Often, the legacy of a scholar also included unpublished materials, so that Tengnagel (and other Librarians) were thought

68 Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, p. 225.

69 Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, p. 180; Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 130, 132ff. ÖNB, Cod. 9479 (Greek), 9531 (Latin).

70 Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, p. 241.

71 Enenkel: STS0175.

72 N. Viskolc, 'The Fate of Sambucus' Library', *Hungarian Studies* 30/2 (2016), 155–66.

73 Rantzau: STT0104.

74 Tengnagel's copy (http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10417066) shows (on page 84) how he compared the catalogue with his holdings. – Other libraries sparking Tengnagel's interest were those of Streun, Coraduz, as well as the manuscripts of Kepler and Brahe (Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 139–41).

of as custodians of a deceased scholar's papers.[75] The trade in *adversaria* could also include the prospect of finishing various projects.

However, Tengnagel's activities went beyond the sphere of humanistic legacy and corpus-building, in four significant respects. First, he also collected books for his own library, which, as has been mentioned, he bequeathed to the court library. Several catalogues document the collection,[76] which also had its own ex libris.

Second, he had justified his attempts at becoming a member of the *Klosterrat* also with the need to inspect the libraries of monasteries, then often in decay. Tengnagel seems to have acted as a contact point in that regard,[77] while similar initiatives were reported from other regions such as Bavaria.[78] Interactions with monasteries show the librarian in a position of scrutinising potentially useful resources, including shelf space,[79] and geared towards the mutual exchange of books.[80]

Third, a similar role of inspection and scrutiny appeared with regard to holdings that could be expected to be the booty of military action. Tengnagel was directed to collections in Buda,[81] and especially those of the Bohemian 'rebels'.[82]

The case of the Rožmberk Library shows that earlier scholarly collaboration[83] did not prevent, and perhaps could even facilitate, a hostile takeover and confiscation, because authorities were aware of the holdings. Also matters of book censorship on behalf of the emperor – in terms of historiography and Jewish treatises – found their way onto Tengnagel's desk.[84]

Fourth, Tengnagel strove to enforce the court library's role in collecting deposit copies of books printed with an imperial privilege from all parts of

75 Scheilder wanted to access Cuspinian's materials (STS0136).

76 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 142ff; Lambeck – Kollár, *Commentarii* 1, pp. 134–6.

77 Enenkel: STS0175.

78 Gretser: STS0148 (cataloguing of monastic libraries Bavaria).

79 Attempts were made, in 1613, to move the library away from the building complex of the Friars Minor, to the Scots' Abbey: Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 133f. However, this was successfully prevented by the abbot.

80 T. Wallnig, 'Sebastian Tengnagel und Johann Seyfried. Österreichische Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Späthumanismus und Gegenreformation', in *Les bibliothèques et l'économie des connaissances / Bibliotheken und die Ökonomie des Wissens 1450–1850*, ed. F. Barbier F., I. Monok and A. Seidler (Budapest, 2020), pp. 161–72.

81 D'Asquier: STS206.

82 Wallnig, 'Tengnagel und Seyfried'; STS0200 ('rebels'). See also HHStA, Länderabteilungen, Österreichische Akten Böhmen, Kart. 23. – N. Mout, 'Political and Religious Ideas of Netherlanders at the Court in Prague', *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* 9 (1976), pp. 1–29, at 27.

83 Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, 201f.

84 Ulm and the censorship of Bonfini: STS100; Crusenius: STT0138; Jewish books: STT0133.

the empire.[85] The regulation under Blotius had already foreseen the delivery of copies, but which had not been one of Blotius' priorities.[86] The situation changed when, in 1624, the order was extended to all printed books.[87] While this met with the resistance of printers (Catholics more than Protestants), it also sparked the business creativity of others. Through the deliberate pursuit of privileging policies, printers could hope to turn their close contact with the imperial court into a business model for the sake of a 'Catholic library'.[88]

Much of Tengnagel's correspondence relates to one or more of these aspects, as do other materials in his papers, such as book lists.[89] However, his portfolio did not end with these extended tasks of a librarian but went further into various fields cultivated by him and his patrons. Exploring the fluid margins between these fields will be the task of the following sections and chapters.

The sources are vast and manifold: Tengnagel himself had a clear and very characteristic handwriting that he used extensively on manuscripts,[90] but he also systematically used the assistance of helpers and scribes. Collaboration with these helpers is sometimes very well documented, for example in the case İbrāhīm Dervīş, a copyist 'slave' whom Tengnagel had borrowed from Baron Breuner,[91] or in that of the Jewish scribe Abraham of Bonn.[92]

Tengnagel's scholarly activities point in three (overlapping) directions. They only led to two printed publications directly associated with him, the *Vetera Monumenta* and the *Gemina Defensio* (both of 1612), but he contributed to far

85 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 140f.; Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, p. 310. W. Brückner, 'Der kaiserliche Bücherkommissar Valentin Leucht', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 3 (1961), cll. 97–180.

86 Tengnagel was ordered to take care of a thirty-year backlog of books in 1603: Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, p. 232.

87 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 139–41.

88 'Bibliotheca construenda Catholica': STS0090 (Hierat), STS0107; see also the correspondences with Hagen (list of privileged printers: STS0107), Stralendorf, and printers like Moretus. For the context: H. Koppitz, *Die kaiserlichen Druckprivilegien im Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien* (Wiesbaden, 2008).

89 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 141f. Notes about books from other collections can also be found in the address book ÖNB, Cod. 9690.

90 There are many examples of Tengnagel's work with manuscripts, documented in the respective database and in chapter 4 of this book.

91 Seifried Christoph von Breuner (Breiner, Preiner) zu Stubing, *Reichshofrat* and *Mundschenk* to Maximilian II and Rudolf II. – C. Römer, 'An Ottoman Copyist Working for Sebastian Tengnagel, Librarian at the Vienna Hofbibliothek, 1608–1636', in *Archív orientální, Supplementa* VIII (1998), pp. 330–349; Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 344. – Also other helpers appear in the records: Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', p. 143: formation of Metzler (STT0149).

92 STT0191.

more scholarly endeavours. Early modern scholarship always resulted from the collaboration of different complementary actors: scholars as authors (frequently assisted by scribes), censors and authors of paratexts, but also providers of manuscript and printed resources. Tengnagel can be found in all these roles, but – given his reservations about official historiography[93] – he clearly tended towards the more auxiliary, but still authoritative roles.[94]

The topic involving Tengnagel in the most visible way was the Catholic interpretation of Church history.[95] Since the Reformation, controversy between the Christian denominations had always had a historical component, and around 1600, with the *Magdeburg Centuries* and Baronio's *Annals* placed as markers, the debates entered a phase of more detailed, critical scrutiny of sources. Tengnagel's activities in this field followed the holdings of the court library and were centred around two distinct areas: late (Byzantine) antiquity, in particular the history of Nikephoros Kallistos, and the Middle Ages. More concretely, Tengnagel's interest was concerned with the legal order of the Holy Roman Empire with regard to religion and the papacy. Sources ranging from the Carolingian charter books to documents connected with the Investiture Controversy fulfilled a significant role in supporting the claims of the conflicting parties. For Tengnagel and the Jesuit antiquarian and polemicist Jacob Gretser, whom he decidedly supported in his harsh dispute with the Calvinist historian Melchior Goldast, this meant underscoring the role of the pope as part of the constitutional order of the empire, and downplaying, on the other hand, the role of Henry IV and his partisans in the Investiture Controversy.[96] The constitution of the empire was a debated topic, and the highest aristocrats such as Gundaker von Liechtenstein asked Tengnagel for literature on the medieval interregna.[97]

A second topic resulted from this need to historically legitimise politics. The return of the court to Vienna and the attempt at creating a Central European power base also called for a respective historical narrative. This narrative can be subsumed under the heading of 'Austrian history', although it comprised

93 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', p. 132.

94 It would go beyond the scope of this book to track all mentions of Tengnagel's contributions in source-oriented works on specific authors and manuscripts. One is given by way of example: E. Krotz, *Auf den Spuren des althochdeutschen Isidor. Studien zur Pariser Handschrift, den Monseer Fragmenten und zum Codex Junius 25, mit einer Neuedition des Glossars Jc* (Heidelberg, 2002).

95 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 128–31, 137f.; Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, pp. 76, 95–7.

96 Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, pp. 95–8, 496f.

97 STS0194.

several distinct foci, which were subsequently merged together: the genealogy of the Habsburgs, the history of Austria as a small political entity (Danunbian duchies), and the history of Hungary and the 'Hungarians'.[98] Methodologically, the spectrum of approaches ranged from dubious genealogical conjectures[99] through daring interpretations of ancient Greek literature[100] to the systematic historical-critical scrutiny of medieval sources.[101] The objects of inquiry could be different polities and levels: apart from the empire, individual principalities or kingdoms, historical research could also relate to monasteries and other ecclesiastical institutions,[102] or even aristocratic families.[103]

Finally, perhaps Tengnagel's most genuine interest was Oriental languages and cultures. While he never actually published anything in these fields, his correspondence shows him pondering, sometimes even planning, authored editions. These initiatives largely concerned lexicographical material and gravitated around works that scholars had failed to bring to a conclusion, for example Georg Weigenmaier's dictionary.[104] But Tengnagel also considered editing texts himself. While he seems to have nurtured some interest in philology and poetry, his involvement with science remained a bibliographical and editorial one.[105]

Given the generally close connection between history, religion and politics, each of the mentioned fields had a potentially practical dimension which was dictated by the requirements of the day. Tengnagel's professional life took place in the run up to, and during one of the major conflicts of, European

98 This applied, for example, to the correspondences with Thomas Segeth (STS0065, STS0074), and Johann Seyfried, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Zwettl. – On Tengnagel's role in the publication of Istvánffy's History, see Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, p. 306.

99 J. Seyfried, *Arbor Aniciana*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1613). – There was a pre-history of this issue, going back to Streun von Schwarzenau and his *Anti-Anicianum* (Lambeck – Kollár, *Commentarii* 1 col 106–111). See T588.

100 Wallnig, 'Tengnagel und Seyfried'.

101 For the context: G. Almási, *The Uses of Humanism. Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), and the Republic of Letters in East Central Europe* (Leiden-Boston, 2009); M. Schennach, *Austria Inventa? Zu den Anfängen der österreichischen Staatsrechtslehre* (Frankfurt, 2020).

102 E.g. STS0027; STS0057; STS0175 (founding histories and libraries of monasteries).

103 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', p. 144; on the collaboration between Liechtenstein and Megiser see H. Haupt, *Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein 1611–1684. Erbe und Bewahrer in schwerer Zeit* (München, 2007).

104 See STR207; STT0206.

105 Correspondence about the printing of the *Tabulae Rudolphinae*, and the Kepler and Brahe papers and instruments at the end of T. See also M. List, *Der handschriftliche Nachlaß der Astronomen Johannes Kepler und Tycho Brahe* (München, 1961).

history, so his involvement in the political action of his masters and patrons is not surprising. However, it took on different forms, and different degrees of polemical force.

The Gretser – Goldast controversy, in which Tengnagel intervened, was one of the fiercest medial controversies of the day.[106] His knowledge of the legal tradition of the Austrian duchies provided Tengnagel with the means to write an expert legal treatise against the claims of the Upper Austrian estates in 1618[107] – and made him explicitly side against the initial intentions of Reichard Streun's collection of sources. Tengnagel and his peers, in some instances, explicitly connected their scholarly interest in Hebrew, Greek and Oriental languages with a political agenda geared towards opposing or converting those groups.[108]

Finally, some papers bound together in a specific manuscript[109] show how Tengnagel trespassed upon the boundaries of polemical erudition. The volume contains materials concerning the beginning and early years of the Thirty Years' War, specifically copies of enemy correspondence in Tengnagel's hand (e.g. between the Count Palatine and the Porte), an annotated black list of 'rebels' still active in the empire around 1626, and a 'Designatio captivorum rebellium' in Prague, along with the place of their incarceration. It seems that in the early 1620s Tengnagel also gained insight into materials from the captured Anhaltian chancery.[110]

Tengnagel's activities during the first phase of the war must have been so successful that in 1621 they led the president and members of the Lower Austrian Council to support a substantial financial acknowledgement (1,200 florins), which had been recommended by members of the secret council. Tengnagel, being used as a historian (*zu einem historico gebraucht*) had done 'important things' and was useful as a librarian and a historian alike:[111] Once

106 I. MacLean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion. The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, MA, 2012); See also G. Caspary, Späthumanismus und Reichspatriotismus: Melchior Goldast und seine Editionen zur Reichsverfassungsgeschichte (Göttingen, 2006); Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, pp. 496f.

107 H. Sturmberger, *Georg Erasmus Tschernembl. Religion, Libertät und Widerstand. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation und des Landes ob der Enns* (Linz-Graz, 1953), p. 284; S362.

108 The hostile stance towards Jews and Greeks (STS0053) is also discussed in Chiara Petrolini's chapter 3 of the current volume.

109 ÖNB, Cod. 7990; See also Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, p. 332.

110 STS0170; on the capturing: Sturmberger, *Tschernembl*, p. 337. – The events around the Anhaltian chancery could be the context of Cod. 7990.

111 ÖStA, FHKA, SUS, Familienakten, D-50 (Petition Lower Austrian Chamber 1621-04-28; petition Tengnagel 1621-05-13; see also 608 Registratur Wien 1621), 135.

again in his life, his almost invisible scholarly actions remained in the ambivalent shadow of those two functions. A plan, which would have combined them with his own interests remained unfulfilled: that of writing a history of the Ottoman Empire.[112]

If, in conclusion, one takes later standards of scholarly careers as a yardstick, no clear picture of Tengnagel emerges. His interest in Oriental cultures and languages was certainly original and genuine: it fits in with his Dutch origins as well as with his collecting practices. He was certainly a bibliophile, putting substantial amounts of money into his own collections. However, the social and political circumstances in which he found himself immersed also transformed his skills and resources into live arms. During his lifetime, the notions of 'curiosity' and 'utility' thus acquired new meanings, while the Republic of Letters and institutionalised knowledge at the service of emerging states gradually became detached.

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112 See chapter 3 'Dum clavum rectum teneam' by Chiara Petrolini.

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CHAPTER 2

Sebastian Tengnagel's Correspondence

Thomas Wallnig

2.1 Material Aspects

Sebastian Tengnagel's passive correspondence is preserved in four manuscript volumes kept at the Austrian National Library's Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books. Their shelfmark Cod. 9737 (together with a different letter for each volume) identifies them as part of a series of other learned correspondence related mostly to Vienna and the imperial library. The volumes bear the shelfmarks Cod. 9737q (Q), Cod. 9737r (R), Cod. 9737s (S) and Cod. 9737t (T) and are generally organised in chronological order.[1]

While Q contains relatively few letters (mainly drafts) from the period 1608–1617, the chronological partition sets in with R: beginnings (*c.*1600) to 1614; S: 1615 to 1624, and T: 1625 to *c.*1635. The total sum of letters amounts to *c.*700, although it is difficult to make exact assertions, because the volumes also contain fragments, notes without dates, letters between third parties, and other material related to the content of the correspondence. The correspondence can be regarded as being of medium scope for the period.[2]

Judging from their bindings, the four volumes of correspondence were bound in the early nineteenth century, and – as in the case of other neighbouring correspondence, including that of Blotius – a previous subdivision

1 General descriptions of the correspondence can be found in *Tabulae Codicum*, 6: Cod. 9001–11500 (Vienna, 1873), pp. 17f.; S. Benz, 'Die Wiener Hofbibliothek', in *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie* (*16.–18. Jahrhundert*), ed. J. Pauser, M. Scheutz and T. Winkelbauer (Vienna, 2004), pp. 45–58, at 45–47; F. Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', in *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* 1, ed. J. Stummvoll (Vienna, 1968), pp. 129–45, at 129f., 132f., 137, 140f., 143. The 'Literatur zu Handschriften' database refers to a series of additional articles engaging with individual correspondents or letters: https://www.onb.ac.at/bibliothek/sammlungen/handschriften-und-alte-drucke/bestaende/bestandsrecherche/literatur-zu-handschriften – See the respective digital objects for ÖNB, Cod. 9737q: http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/7460022; 9737r: http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/7445499; 9737s: http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/7401657; 9737t: http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/3864270. All *Codices* (Cod.) quoted in the text are preserved in the Austrian National Library (ÖNB) if not otherwise indicated.

2 A comparison of the size of contemporary letter catalogues in EMLO shows as minimum number 325 (Amandus Polanus) and as maximum number 8034 (Hugo Grotius); most catalogues have 500–1000 letters. (Numbers as of February 2021. We thank Howard Hotson for this insight.)

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in several 'Caps. Koll.' suggests an attempt at ordering (in 'capsulae') by the eighteenth-century court librarian Adam František Kollár. The pencil hand adding foliation and short notes on the place and date of issue also seems to be from the early nineteenth century, while the occasional traces of previous pagination and numeration systems are too fragmentary to provide a clear sense of their meaning.

All the letters are written in ink on paper of different formats, but usually in quarto, and folded in the way typical of sealed early modern letters. Only a few letters bear traces of mail franking (e.g. STS0003), and in one of the few surviving examples from 1618, Octavio de Tassis, the head of the imperial postal services in the empire, complains about issues regarding the transmission of letters through Bohemia owing to the start of the Thirty Years' War (STS0105). One single letter is accompanied by a printed leaflet illustrating an ominous apparition in the sky over Nuremberg (STS0141). Book lists and catalogues as well as books themselves are ubiquitously mentioned in the correspondence, but some letters also mention the transmission of objects such as clocks (STS0181) or coins (STR0153).

Letters are written in (or contain elements of) Latin, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, French, Hebrew, Greek, Ottoman Turkish and Arabic.

However, large parts of Tengnagel's correspondence must have been lost, as can be deduced from the content of the surviving letters, as well as their irregular frequency (Fig. 2.2). The (partly retrospective) application of summaries on the back of the letters in Tengnagel's hand points to a revision/ordering between *c.*1621 and 1625. In the years around 1622/3, the library was transferred for the first time, and perhaps that was the moment at which Tengnagel went through his materials and selected the letters he wanted to keep.

Evidence for an ordering of earlier letters around 1625 is provided, for example, by the reverse note on STR0004. The letter is from 1615 and is inserted in the correct chronological place in the manuscript, but with a note saying 'Mart. Bonacinae litterae 22 Mart. Reddit. 1625'. This error becomes plausible if '1625' is the prevailing date rather than a past one. Other evidence for skipping exactly one decade ('1610' ordered as '1620', STS0134) could further strengthen the assumption of an ordering phase in the 1620s.

There is also earlier evidence for Tengnagel retrospectively documenting his epistolary exchange on the reverse of the letters, among other places, for the years 1608 (STR0064), 1611 (STR0145) and 1613/4 (STR0186). Some of these notes (e.g. STR0145) are already recording the loan of books sent by Tengnagel to his correspondents. It seems that in the early 1620s Tengnagel reviewed those loans by way of his correspondence, as in the case of a letter with a list of required items sent by Gretser in 1616: Tengnagel sent him two Greek manuscripts that were returned, as the note says, albeit in a different ink, in

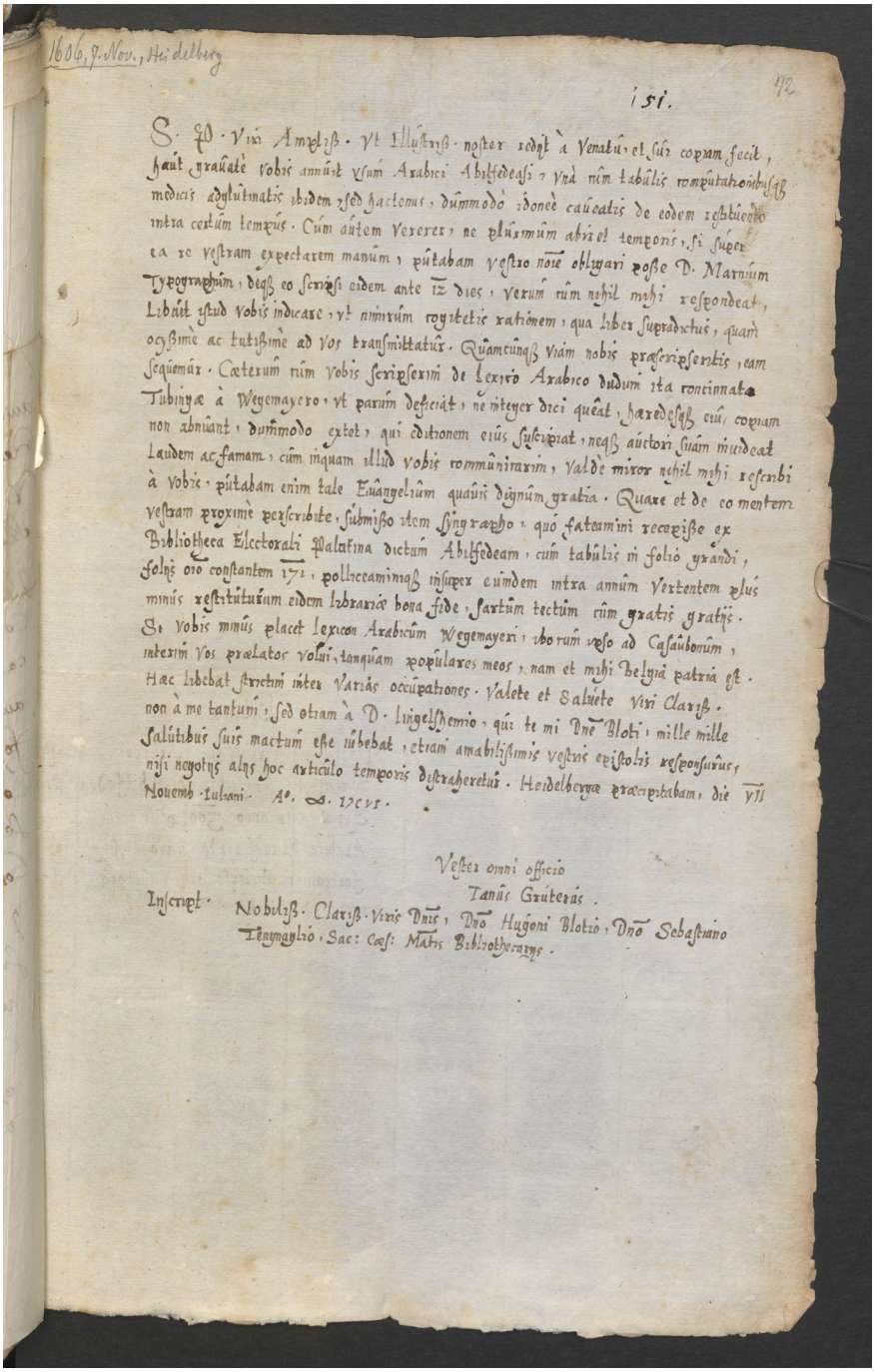

FIGURE 2.1 Example of Tengnagel's handwriting (ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fol. 42r = STR0031)

November 1621 (STS0030; see also STS0050). Return ('Redd.') notes are also present on other letters dealing with book loans, for example in connection with the Abbey of Zwettl (STS0185, STS0186), and sometimes also without date (STS0173).

Tengnagel worked with pen in hand and left a huge number of manuscript traces in his distinctive, legible and well-formed handwriting (Fig. 2.1). He frequently made use of explicit or implicit temporal references; for example, the copy of a charter issued in 1614 by Emperor Matthias has a 'piae memoriae' in its title and therefore must have been written after 1619 (STR0188). Péter Pázmány, the sender of a letter in 1613 (STR185), had, by the time of the summary, become Archbishop of Esztergom (1616).

In the latter cases, the notes and summaries on the reverse of the letter seem to have no function other than to highlight the prominence of the interlocutor – a common practice in humanist epistolary culture, especially with a view to a potential print manifestation. In other cases, however, the notes show Tengnagel the librarian keeping track of books and manuscripts sent to other places. Some notes show that Tengnagel kept pieces for their exemplary formulaic character ('exemplar literarum' of book privileges, STS0068), which may also be the case for letters containing general recommendations but no additional information (STR0216).

The insight that every surviving letter can be viewed as the outcome of a deliberate selection process thus demands cautious interpretation: it is plausible that the extensive correspondence with Jan van Wyningen about financial affairs in Vienna was kept for legal reasons; something similar can be assumed for the correspondence with Johann Ludwig von Hagen about a potential raise of status, and the preservation of the decrees summoning the assembly of the Lower Austrian government.

Although a few preserved draft letters from a relatively short period in late 1610 also show Tengnagel as a talented letter writer by the standards of his time (and who was also interested in Classics like Plautus: STR0042), there is no reason to assume that stylistic reasons or the vision of a collection of printed letters were criteria for selection. The thematic and pragmatic range is very broad and cannot easily be captured by labels.[3] However, what emerges quite clearly is that it is only in part a 'typical' learned correspondence.

Not all letters kept in the four volumes belong to Tengnagel's period. A case in point is a letter by the Archbishop of Vienna Johannes Faber, written in 1529, on which Tengnagel added comments not entirely in line with the content, while he eventually used the reverse of the paper to draft a letter

3 For a broader discussion, see: M. I. Matthews-Schlinzig, J. Schuster, J. Strobel and G. Steinbrink (eds.), *Handbuch Brief. Von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin-Boston, 2020).

to Hieronymus Megiser (STR0059). Conversely, given Tengnagel's ongoing and parallel work with several of his materials, it is not surprising to find letters preserved outside the four manuscripts mentioned. Examples for this are the draft requests for book acquisitions in Constantinople directed to the dragoman Paulus Albanus[4] or the book lists in Cod. 9690, which have to be considered parts of the epistolary or administrative correspondence and are sometimes also marked with reception dates.[5]

While these examples place the correspondence in recognisable contexts of Tengnagel's activities as a scholar and librarian, the genesis of other lines of archiving is much less evident. This is the case with a letter from 1634 addressed by Claude Saumaise to the Danish ambassador Friedrich Gunther, copied by Tengnagel in 1635 (with an apparently trembling hand) – and bound into a manuscript immediately after a report dealing with the punishment of soldiers held responsible for the fall of Esztergom in 1605.[6] The separation from the correspondence of a letter addressed to Tengnagel by the Bavarian Duke Maximilian I in 1608,[7] and its presence in the National Library's collection of autographs, fits very well with the establishment of that collection in the early nineteenth century, when individual pieces written by prominent personalities were collected from a variety of learned correspondence present at the library.

A few letters from the Tengnagel core corpus have already been subject to recent scholarly scrutiny; some of them are part of Tengnagel's real epistolary exchange (with Wilhelm Schickard[8] and Johannes Kepler[9]); others pertain to Cod. 9737t, but show no direct relationship to Sebastian (albeit to Frans Gansneb Tengnagel, and to the handling of Tycho Brahe's papers).[10]

This outline of the material appearance of the core Tengnagel correspondence raises additional questions to be discussed next: the place of the correspondence in the broader context of Tengnagel's manuscript papers, and in that of other contemporary collections of correspondence and their editions.

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4 ÖNB, Cod. 8997, fols. 52r–53v. On Albanus and his importance for Tengnagel, see also chapters 4 and 5.

5 E.g. ÖNB, Cod. 9690, fol. 9r.

6 ÖNB, Cod. 9737x.

7 ÖNB, Autogr. 16/70-4.

8 F. Seck, *Wilhelm Schickard: Briefwechsel*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 2002). The records are accessible through EMLO.

9 M. Caspar et al., *Johannes Kepler. Gesammelte Werke, 17: Briefe 1612–1620* (München, 1955), pp. 426–8 (letter 873), pp. 435–6 (letter 879). The records are accessible through EMLO.

10 M. List, *Johannes Kepler, Gesammelte Werke, 19: Dokumente zu Leben und Werk* (München, 1975), p. 363, Nr. 98.

2.2 Papers and Additional Correspondence

The quantity and diversity of materials documenting Tengnagel's activities is extraordinary. Opening up different scholarly perspectives, from learned interaction to library management, they form the material basis of the following chapters, while at the same time representing a broad variety of institutional settings, writing practices and social interactions.[11]

Chapters 4, 5 and 6, covering Tengnagel's scholarly practices and his engagement with Oriental texts, are based on sources which often, as in the case of correspondence, document the acquisition of manuscripts, but also, by way of marginalia and ownership notes, their actual handling. In addition, approximately a dozen notebooks show Tengnagel and his scribe establishing word lists or copying passages from the texts they worked with, while these notebooks also contain one of the central means of library work of the day: lists of books. Chapter 6, on the other hand, relies on library catalogues illustrating Tengnagel's work as an organiser of library holdings; and all the chapters draw on the correspondence, thus exhibiting its multifunctional nature as an exchange and library management tool, a refracted mirror of various types of social interaction, and an implicit means of career documentation by selection.

Tengnagel left written traces not just in his corpora of letters, manuscripts and notebooks, but also externally: on historical sources he had collected, such as on a letter about ecclesiastical matters written by the famous sixteenth-century Benedictine humanist Johannes Trithemius;[12] or on printed book catalogues that he annotated.[13] In his role as source collector and provider for a future history of 'Austria' (and Hungary: Cod. 8674), he also produced copies, such as that of the 'Annales Austriae'.[14] However, the extensive collections of book lists among his papers could be related more to the exchange with the Frankfurt *Bücherkommissar* about the imperial book market (such as Cod. 9690, originally an address list of Hugo Blotius), while also tending more towards Tengnagel's interests in Oriental books and manuscripts

11 For the state of discussion, see M. Friedrich and J. Schilling (eds.), *Praktiken frühneuzeitlicher Historiographie* (Berlin, 2019); S. Rau and B. Studt (eds.), *Geschichte schreiben. Ein Quellen- und Studienhandbuch zur Historiografie (ca. 1350–1750)* (Berlin, 2010). – For the institutional sources documenting Tengnagel's life and activities (like the National Library's archive, the *Hofkammer* records and *Familienakten* of the Austrian State archives), see chapter 1.2. – Chapter 4 places Tengnagel's papers in the context of his oriental scholarship.

12 A copy by Tengnagel of a letter from Johannes Trithemius to the abbot of Amorbach: ÖStA, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Familienarchiv Harrach, Fam. in spec 846.20.

13 See chapter 3.

14 ÖNB, Cod. 8219.

(such as Codd. 8997, 9531). In some cases, Tengnagel's materials appear in unexpected but meaningful contexts, while the exact relationship with them remains unclear.[15] Tengnagel also used a distinctive 'ex libris' note.

As stated earlier, some of Tengnagel letters are also preserved in holdings other than the Austrian National Library or State Archives, such as that of the Frankfurt *Bücherkommission*.[16] However, the margin here becomes fluid as soon as a broader range of media of scholarly communication is considered.

Peter Lambeck, in his *Commentarii*, not only provides a first and impactful biographical sketch of Tengnagel's life,[17] but he also prints extracts from his letters. Another Tengnagel letter – more a sort of institutional censorship expertise – appears among the paratexts of Johann Seyfried's *Arbor Aniciana*,[18] while another letter (dedicatory) to Melchior Khlesl opens his *Vetera Monumenta contra Schismaticos*.[19] Other contemporary letter collections contain Tengnagel letters.[20]

15 A case in point is ÖNB, Cod. 7990, 'Varia scripta ad Bohemicos motus pertinentia'. It contains intercepted correspondence of the years 1619/20 (by the Savoyan envoy to England, as well as the exchange between the Sultan and Frederick king of Bohemia), partly in Tengnagel's hand; a descriptive list of 30 persons suspected of insurgency in the empire (1626), and finally a 'Designatio captivorum rebellium' from Prague with the place of incarceration, again written by Tengnagel. – Other cases in point, discussed in chapter 3, are the materials about the trial of Hugo Grotius and a copy of the letter by Sebastian Franck to Johannes Campanus, all in ÖNB, Cod. 10364.

16 Early twentieth-century copies of three Tengnagel letters, originally addressed to Frankfurt and probably lost in the Second World War: Leipzig, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Deutsches Buch- und Schriftmuseum, Archivalien der Bibliothek des dt. Börsenvereins, Kaiserliche Bücherkommission Frankfurt a. M., Kasten 073. We are grateful to Mona Garloff for sharing this information. – See also the respective correspondence in the Austrian State Archives which have not been considered for this volume, as well as the material preserved in the Austrian National Library's collection of autographs; see note 1.

17 See epilogue; the pieces mentioned: P. Lambeck, *Commentarii de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, 1 (Vienna, 1665) are at 59–61 (Casaubon to Tengnagel, STR0037; Tengnagel to Casaubon, STR0043 and STR0122), 62 (Tengnagel to Gretser, STR0115), 63 (Sturn and an unknown correspondent) and 65f. (1636, to the emperor and the bishop of Vienna); 3 (Vienna, 1670) 383–85 (Savile to Tengnagel, STR0098, STR0103, STR0160, STR0174). (Tengnagel to Hoeschel, STR0077).

18 T. Wallnig, 'Sebastian Tengnagel und Johann Seyfried. Österreichische Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Späthumanismus und Gegenreformation', in *Les bibliothèques et l'économie des connaissances / Bibliotheken und die Ökonomie des Wissens 1450–1850*, ed. F. Barbier, I. Monok and A. Seidler (Budapest, 2020), pp. 161–72.

19 S. Tengnagel, *Vetera monumenta contra schismaticos* (Ingolstadt, 1612).

20 Tengnagel to Holstenius, 1630–05–07: J. F. Boissonade (ed.), *Lucae Holstenii epistolae ad diversos* (Paris, 1817), pp. 181f., but also Graevius' 1656 edition of Casaubon's correspondence (*Casauboni epistolae*).

Tengnagel's contributions are mentioned in printed works by Jacob Gretser,[21] Petrus Kirstenius[22] and Wilhelm Schickard;[23] and, in a sort of non-printed equivalent, Tengnagel is present in the *Alba Amicorum* of Lucas Holstenius (ÖNB, Cod. 9660) and Ernst Brinck, to name just a few.[24]

Looking at the learned environments in which Tengnagel operated, the question arises as to the degree to which his correspondence overlaps with – or, conversely, complements other corpora of the same period, materially as well as thematically.

The first thing to note is that, up to 1608, there was an institutional overlap between the correspondence of Tengnagel and that of Hugo Blotius.[25] Tengnagel took up correspondence originally initiated with his principal, such as that with Jan Gruter (at times even with both librarians as addressees), Johannes Pistorius and Bonaventura Vulcanius, but apart from these there are no documented parallel exchanges.[26] Some of Blotius's correspondence (e.g. with Karl von Liechtenstein, Jordanus Louffius, Konrad von Rittershausen) seems to have been 'inherited' by Tengnagel after his death.

While the Kepler and Schickard correspondence also contains Tengnagel letters, his name comes up in other contemporary collections[27] but is missing from others.[28] In some cases, this points to a sort of confessional partition in the Republic of Letters in the early decades of the seventeenth century:

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21 Gretser, *Gemina defensio, Ad lectorem*; re-published in the Opera omnia edition of 1735.

22 P. Kirstenius, *Grammatica Arabica* (Breslau, 1608), 1, p. 15.

23 W. Schickard, *Tarich* (Tübingen, 1628), pp. 50, 186, 190, 201.

24 Holstenius: Cod. 9660; Brinck: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag [133M 86]; the album is extensively discussed in chapter 3. The RAA [20221221] records three more entries by Sebastian Tengnagel in the alba of Thomas Cuming, Menold Hillebrand von Harsens and Wenzel Prunner. – For a comprehensive appraisal of Alba Amicorum in the context of Ottoman-Habsburg relations, see: R. Radway, *Portraits of Empires. Habsburg Albums from the German House in Ottoman Constantinople* (Bloomington, IN, 2023).

25 One Blotius letter was even partially written by Tengnagel: Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, p. 224.

26 For a rough outline of the correspondence distribution, see also Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, p. 241. The following assertions about the Blotius correspondence are based on the respective catalogue, ÖNB, Cod. 9737z/14–18, Reg. (*Registrum ad commercium litterarum Hugonis Blotii*).

27 Just once in the Casaubon correspondence from England, as Tengnagel may have copied a letter from Casaubon to Scheilder (1611-02-25): P. Botley and M. Vince (eds.), *The Correspondence of Isaac Casaubon in England, 1: October 1610 to October 1611* (Genève, 2018), pp. 231–3.

28 E.g. the *Correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger, Kaspar Schoppe: Autobiographische Texte und Briefe*, the *Correspondence of Father Christopher Clavius* or that of Marx Welser as documented in M. U. Ferber, *'Scio multos te amicos habere'. Wissensvermittlung und Wissenssicherung im Späthumanismus am Beispiel des Epistolariums Marx Welsers d.J. (1558–1614)* (Augsburg, 2008).

Georg Michael Lingelsheim from Strasbourg corresponded with Blotius, but not with Tengnagel,[29] who in general does not seem to have had any correspondence with that town or with other nearby centres of Protestant learning such as Basel or Zurich. The ongoing contacts with the Netherlands should therefore be viewed rather as part of the larger phenomenon of a Dutch diaspora, whether Leiden alumni or merchants active in the major capital cities of Europe.[30]

There was a disruption in the interdenominational correspondence, but it did not happen suddenly or – judging from the surviving letters – thoroughly: some correspondence (with Erpenius, Gruter) went on well beyond 1618/20; that with Schickard even started later.[31] At the same time, an older generation of scholars (such as Casaubon, Christmann, Freher, Rittershausen, de Thou) died in the 1610s and was not replaced, especially since many Protestant universities in the following decades were confronted with strife and warfare. However, it is also true that for some Protestant correspondents who lived on, the gradual run up to the war meant that, at least in the light of the surviving correspondence, the contact with Tengnagel ended (e.g. Crinesius, Remus, Dornau).

The end of the 'Indian Summer of the Renaissance'[32] did not occur all of a sudden, but rather originated from the increasing confessional tensions of the 1600s, and its peak was not so much the Bohemian Revolt but the phase in the late 1620s and early 1630s: the *Restitutionsedikt* made Lutherans understand that no equilibrium with the emperor would not hold, and the Swedish intervention in 1630, the sack of Würzburg and Tübingen respectively and the war activities in the *Pfaffengasse* confirmed the inevitability of the ongoing polarisation. This also led, in the mid-term, to diverging developments of the Republic of Letters on the different sides of the confessional borders.

This perspective, however, is to some degree determined by the polarisation at the end of the war.[33] This polarisation was never thorough: scholars like Martin Opitz, translator into German not only of Grotius but also of Becanus, made their peace with the emperor. Becanus, Confessor to Ferdinand II, is often

29 A. Walter, *Späthumanismus und Konfessionspolitik. Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik um 1600 im Spiegel der Korrespondenzen Georg Michael Lingelsheims* (Tübingen, 2014), pp. 358f.

30 For Prague: N. Mout, 'Political and Religious Ideas of Netherlanders at the Court in Prague', *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* 9 (1976), 1–29.

31 The insights of this paragraph are based on observations by Howard Hotson. The topic is treated in more detail in chapter 3.

32 H. Trevor-Roper, *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century. Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change* (Indianapolis, 1967), 64.

33 The insights of this paragraph are based on observations by Stefan Benz. The topic is treated in more detail in chapter 3.

mentioned in the Tengnagel letters and was again part of a group of Dutch / Rhenanian intellectuals active outside their war-afflicted country. Profiles could range from people with Lipsian leanings in Prague[34] through Dutch Catholic scholars active in the empire to men like Hermann von Questenberg, member of the Aulic Council and alumnus of the same Cologne educational environment as Tengnagel.

Becanus and Questenberg also point to another issue in the contextualisation of Tengnagel's correspondence: influential figures at the Viennese court with whom contact can be assumed are not prominent in the correspondence. Examples are Scipione Sgambati or Wilhelm Lamormaini – intellectuals who, from the 1620s onwards, started to (re-)formulate Catholicism.[35]

This points to a rather multifaceted Catholic Germany[36] as much as to its similarly non-monolithic Protestant counterpart. The aforementioned decline of Viennese correspondence with the Upper Rhine Valley, as well as the weak links to Leipzig or Danzig, can be read as signs of an ongoing fragmentation, which was even perceived and reflected by contemporary scholars such as Cyriakus Spangenberg. If Tengnagel's correspondence reflects the prevailing Republic of Letters, then it also reflects an interesting and quite heterogeneous share in it.

To conclude, the outlined variety of perspectives offered by different sources (and their different possible contextualisations) is echoed in the different conceptual approaches that underlie the individual chapters of this book.[37] What emerges is the image of a scholar who, due to his confessional and political standing, as well as his lack of actual publications, was not in a favourable position for becoming a member of the media and memory circuits of the Republic of Letters. Besides, the scarcity of explicit assertions from his pen makes it necessary to reconstruct his intellectual profile from numerous fragments of evidence. Tengnagel becomes tangible only through the entirety of his material, and often even through what seems to be missing from it.

The depicted variety and dispersion of sources, however, makes it almost impossible to perform systematic cataloguing beyond well-circumscribed holdings. The following section describes the strategies of data creation resulting from this insight, and some exploratory views on the correspondence.

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34 Mout, 'Netherlanders'.

35 The tone and the milieu is documented for example in *Jacobi Hunteri Epistolae* (1631). The Dominicans too played an important role.

36 Even here, some prominent names are missing, like Marx Fugger (for Blotius) or Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn.

37 These approaches, in turn, are contextualized more broadly with view to present-day scholarship in the Introduction.

2.3 The Tengnagel Correspondence (and Manuscripts) as Data

The present book is based on two datasets, published in parallel, which at the same time support and complement the scholarly interpretations provided in the written text. One dataset contains the letters from the four above-mentioned manuscripts of Tengnagel's correspondence, while the other includes those Oriental manuscripts from the holdings of the Austrian National Library with which Tengnagel demonstrably interacted.

This research design not only emulates early modern practices of *apparatus documentarii*, but also builds on the experience collected with regard to the relationship between digital resources and scholarly research on the Republic of Letters,[38] in particular into two insights: first, only reusable (and, possibly, interoperable) data will allow, in the mid-term, for systematic comprehensive analyses of the type outlined earlier;[39] and second, while the pool of reusable data available on the internet changes almost on a daily basis, it is justifiable not only to limit cataloguing efforts to circumscribed holdings, but also to provide assessments of scholarly interpretation which – as ever in the past, but now more obviously – may have to be revised in the light of a changed source base.

For this reason (as well as for the time constraints of the related research project), the datasets were limited in scope according to the above-mentioned institutional definitions. This also means that, for the letters, no correspondence outside Cod. 9737q-t has been considered,[40] and for the manuscripts no Tengnagel-related items outside the Austrian National Library have been included. While this certainly raises issues with regard to analyses based on quantification (see below), it fits in with a paradigm of provenience, representing the inherent logic of holdings.

TEI XML models were created for both manuscripts and letters, respectively.[41] For the letters, a reduced set of elements was chosen, since, under the circumstances, no full-text edition could be envisioned. Aside from capturing the core metadata (<header> and <correspDesc>), the model allows for the recording of people, places and works mentioned in a letter; especially in the latter case,

38 H. Hotson and T. Wallnig (eds.), *Reassembling the Republic of Letters in the Digital Age. Standards, Systems, Scholarship* (Göttingen, 2019).

39 For now, in lack of sufficient amounts of reusable data, the comparisons between the correspondences in section 2.2 were done manually, often by way of indices.

40 This also means that items in ÖNB, Cod. 9737q-t that do not identify as letters (like copies or book lists) are missing from the catalogue.

41 See TEI guidelines at https://tei-c.org/guidelines/. Schema specifications are stored in the repository along with the files.

the identification of works (sometimes just alluded to) posed serious problems so that the record may be incomplete. The index entries for persons and places were enriched with authority file identifiers (depending on availability, GND, Cerl Thesaurus, Wikidata, Geonames). In this way, users can look up the biographies of people without the footnotes being burdened with such information. The database entries of the individual letters also contain links to the respective scans of the originals.

The TEI model used to describe the oriental manuscripts related to Tengnagel is also based on the respective TEI element (<msDesc>). It records the information provided by the official library catalogue, while also considering the experiences of leading projects in the field.[42]

Each letter, just like each manuscript, has a unique identifier serving as a reference in the footnotes.

The letter data is permanently stored and made accessible by the University of Vienna's Phaidra repository.[43] A graphic user interface allows for interaction. The manuscript TEIs are stored in a github repository. Researchers can use these resources as databases, but they can also download data for analysing purposes. Some possible approaches, based on the actual letter data, are documented in the following illustrations, which show basic paradigms of exploratory data analysis as well as the application of basic network metrics (Fig. 2.2–2.10).[44]

These basic overviews, chronologically structured by the three correspondence volumes R, S and T, confirm the earlier observations about a gradual, but steady shift in topics and spheres of interest – with some remarkable irregularities in the overall number of preserved letters, especially after 1618.

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42 https://github.com/huelyacelik01/Tengnagel.

43 https://tengnagel.univie.ac.at/. At a later point, the records will also be made accessible through EMLO and CorrespSearch.

44 The networks in figures 2.7–2.10 are based on an adjacency matrix of sender or recipient other than Sebastian Tengnagel, associated with all person / author names mentioned in a specific letter; they therefore represent the relationship of person names across the corpus (and, notably, across historical periods), not any type of social reality. Nodes are ranked by degree (size of node) and betweenness centrality (size of label font); filtered by degree = 3 or more. – On the use of network analysis for the thematic study of letter corpora, see, among others: Yann C. Ryan and Sebastian E. Ahnert, 'The Measure of the Archive: The Robustness of Network Analysis in Early Modern Correspondence.' *Journal of Cultural Analytics* (July 2021), 25943. https://doi.org/10.22148/001c.25943; for a general explanation of the key terms of the method, see: Ruth Ahnert, Sebastian E. Ahnert, Catherine Nicole Coleman and Scott B. Weingart, *The Network Turn. Changing Perspectives in the Humanities* (Cambridge, 2020).

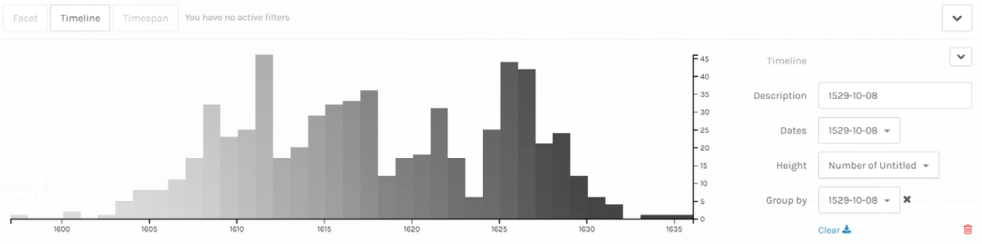

FIGURE 2.2 Tengnagel correspondence, chronology

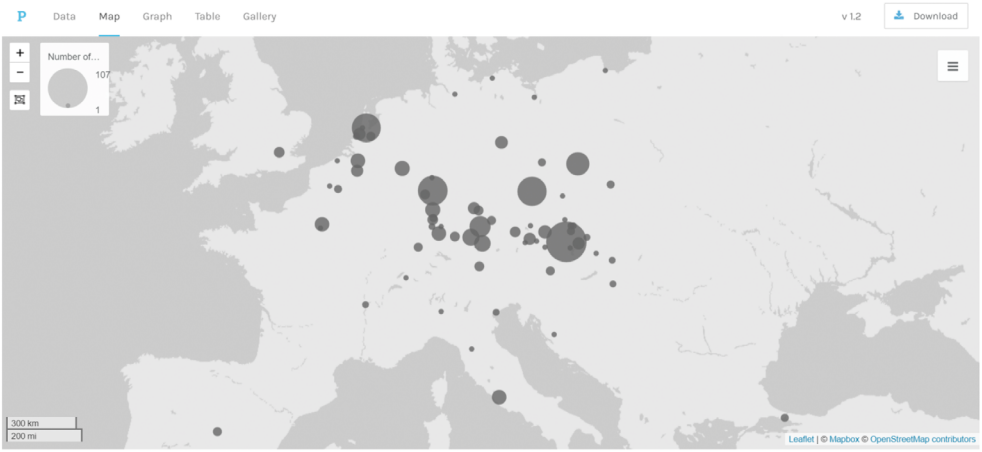

FIGURE 2.3 Tengnagel correspondence, places of issue (total: 1597–1636)

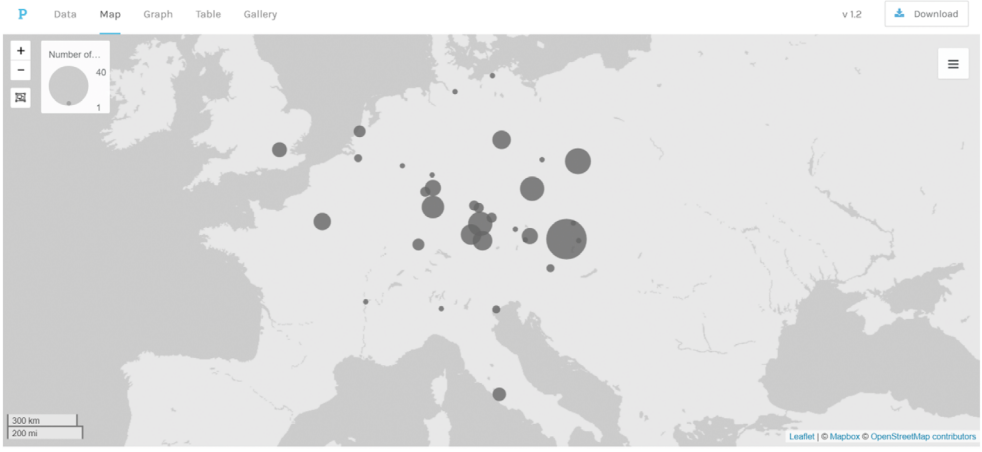

FIGURE 2.4 Tengnagel correspondence, places of issue (R: 1597–1614)

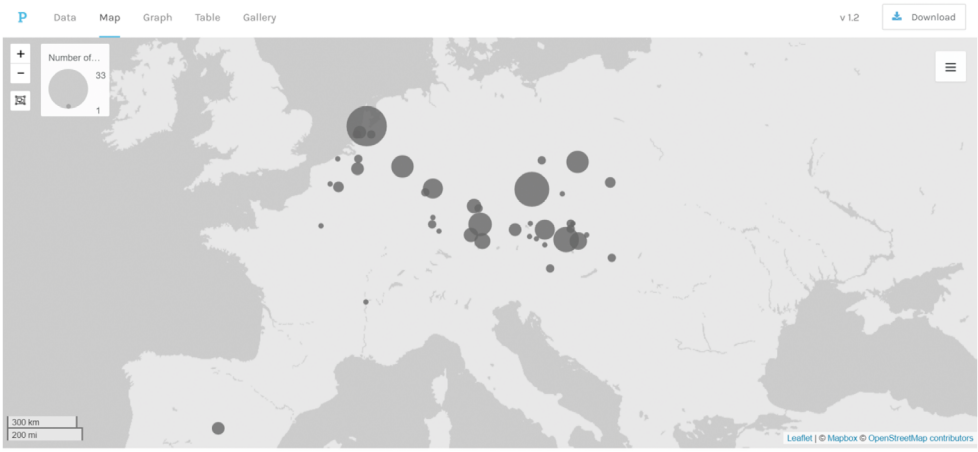

FIGURE 2.5 Tengnagel correspondence, places of issue (S: 1615–1624)



FIGURE 2.6 Tengnagel correspondence, places of issue (T: 1625–1636)

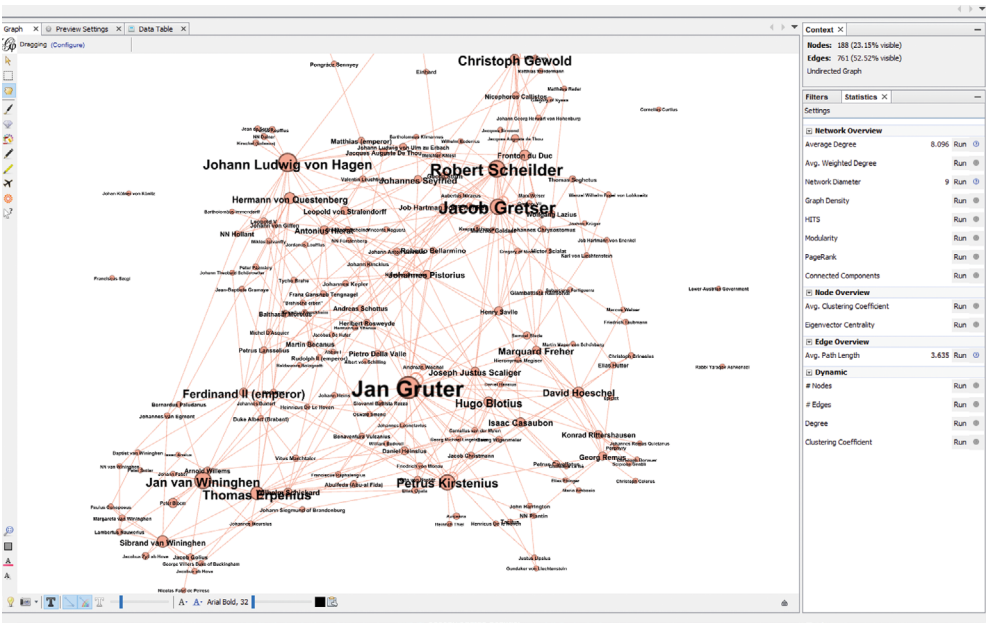

FIGURE 2.7 Tengnagel Correspondence – network of people mentioned (total: 1597–1636)

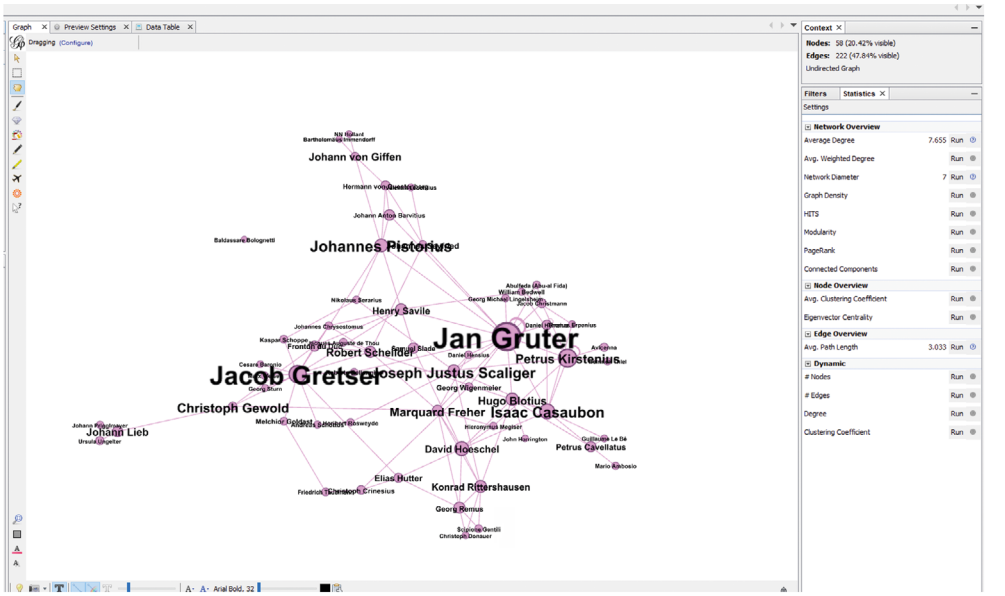

FIGURE 2.8 Tengnagel correspondence, network of people mentioned (R: 1597–1614)

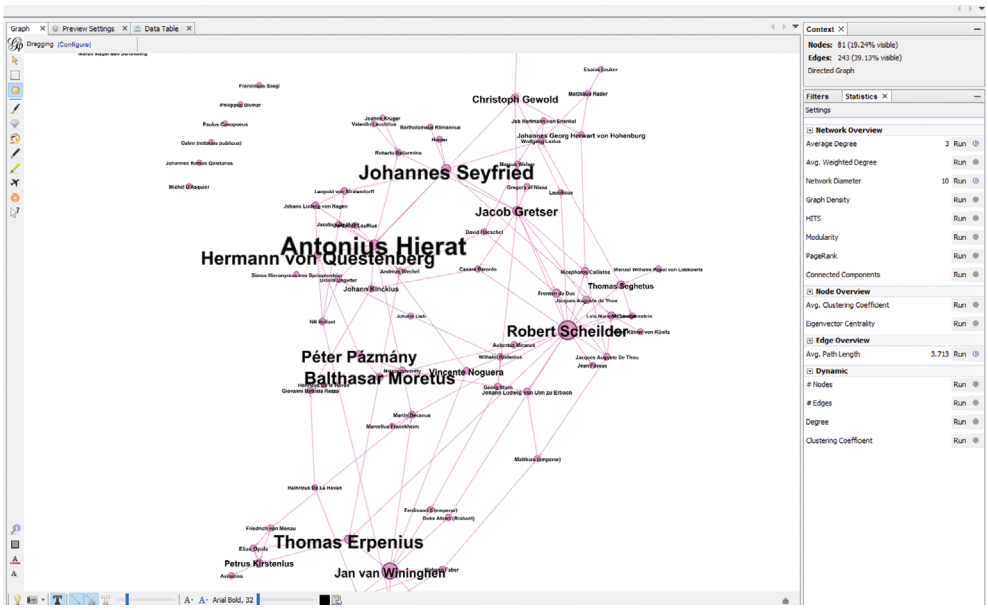

FIGURE 2.9 Tengnagel correspondence, network of people mentioned (S: 1615–1624)

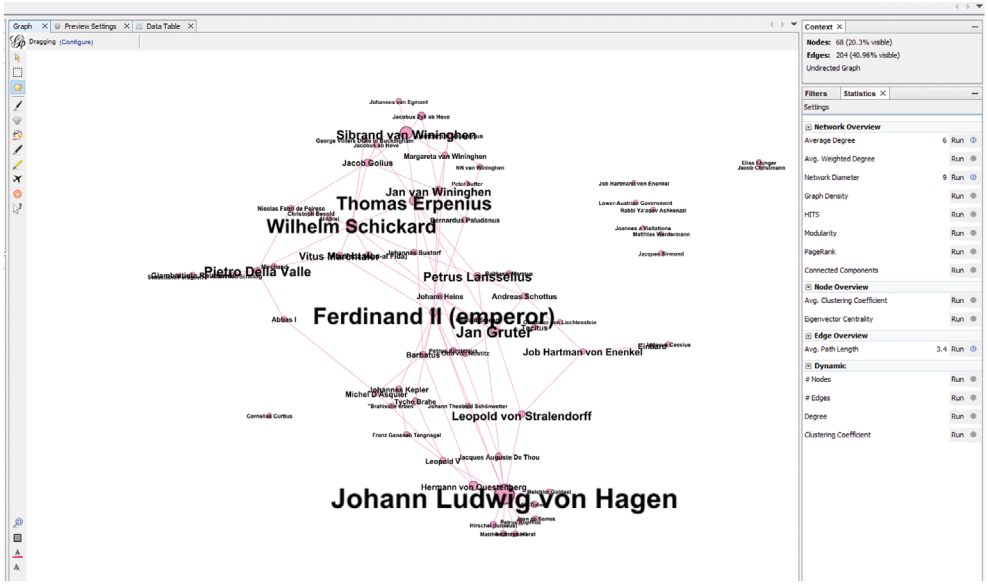

FIGURE 2.10 Tengnagel correspondence, network of people mentioned (T: 1625–1636)

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Cod. 9737r.

Cod. 9737s.

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CHAPTER 3

'Dum Clavum Rectum Teneam': an Orientalist in the Confessional Storm

Chiara Petrolini

Sebastian Tengnagel was many things to many people. To Judah Leib Ma'or Katan (Leo Lucerna), a rabbi and physician in Vienna, he was a 'friend of Israel'. For the Lutheran Wilhelm Schickard, he was a teacher and a gateway to the Turkish language. The Jesuit Jakob Gretser, a staunch advocate of the unyielding line of German Counter-Reformation Catholicism, found in him a trusted collaborator. The Anglican Samuel Slade cherished memories of evenings spent with him in the tavern. The Muslim İbrāhīm Dervīş, a prisoner during the Turkish Wars, wrote to Tengnagel, pleading for relief from his 'perpetual pain'. An Orthodox Wallachian prince sought access to his library for mystical texts, while an Armenian priest shared with him details of his country's geography. Péter Pázmány, the Hungarian cardinal, dispatched Muslim prayer books gathered from battlefields for his collection. Even Kepler turned to Tengnagel's expertise, asking for help in deciphering a manuscript, and recommending the assistance of a Copt who was proficient in Arabic.

Such a diverse array of connections (which could be further expanded)[1] undermines the label of Tengnagel as a 'counter-reformist librarian' – a title used in previous studies – and calls for reconsideration and redefinition. Crafting a precise profile of Tengnagel's religious identity is no less complex; defining the essence of his Catholicism amidst these colliding worlds of faith, politics, and scholarship is particularly difficult. Yet these collisions, these dialogues, merit closer scrutiny, as they illuminate how and why a new kind of knowledge – centred on the study of the Orient – emerged and took shape. Tengnagel's research, producing scant published works, never solidified into a conclusive oeuvre, but it is within this nebulous state that we find signs of a

1 For example, the Catholic Lucas Holstenius regarded Tengnagel as the ideal librarian and scholar; the philologist Jan Gruter solicited Tengnagel's legal assistance to uphold his status as a Protestant private citizen following the Catholics' siege of Heidelberg; Pietro Della Valle complained to him about the censorship of Islamic studies in Rome; a Spanish scholar briefed him on books concerning the Morisco communities; and Jakob Monau, the son of a Protestant patron in Wrocław supplied him with a copy of the *Geographia Nubiensis*.

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broader process. His consuming passion for the Near East – marked by a mix of fascination, repulsion, attempts at rationalisation, mystical and wise interpretations, appropriation, and fear – intersects with various domains, some of which remain hinted at and unclear: confessional struggles, philology, politics, linguistics, and the libertine reinterpretation of history. Most importantly, it involves the study of religious phenomena over human history, reflecting a form of comparativism and a historical approach to religions. It is a field rich with themes and questions that, in Martin Mulsow's words, carry considerable 'inferential explosiveness,' even if Tengnagel himself never seems to have fully realised its potential.[2]

The aim of this chapter is not to confine Tengnagel to a square on the confessional chessboard of the era, but to portray him in motion, describing the variety of his contacts, his involvement in publishing ventures with strong and conflicting religious affiliations, and his acquisitions of Oriental books and news. Through these interactions and activities, this section seeks to show how an interest in the religious phenomenon *per se* gradually took shape. Tengnagel's curiosity extended beyond Christianity and Islam: he collected information on Jewish rituals, Brahmin customs, and pagan funeral ceremonies, and he even made tentative comparisons between these divergent belief systems. In his essay on the birth of Orientalism in the eighteenth century, Urs App described it as 'a gradual detachment' from the ideology and cultural tradition in which the scholars were rooted.[3] A similar process of gradually broadening perspectives could be observed in Tengnagel. Yet the opposite is also true: the study of the Orient tied him with some of the crucial issues of his time and his cultural tradition. In the case of Tengnagel and other Orientalists of his generation, a distinct connection existed between the study of the Arabic-speaking East and the broader crisis of Christianity in Western Europe. The collapse of a shared truth, along with the violence and chaos sweeping across the continent, profoundly influenced the exploration of Eastern Christian and Muslim texts and traditions. These scholars believed that bringing texts and narratives from the East to light, and sharing these fresh insights with their community, could help disseminate beneficial knowledge – new or long-forgotten – to address the pressing needs of their time. This was not an exercise in intellectual exoticism, but rather a purposeful effort to respond to contemporary crises.

Tengnagel, a follower of the Scaliger school, was influenced by three faith-based conflicts that had a significant impact on European scholarship:

2 M. Mulsow, *Knowledge Lost: A New View of Early Modern Intellectual History* (Princeton, 2022), pp. 3, 20–22.

3 U. App, *The Birth of Orientalism* (Philadelphia, 2010), p. XIII.

the Dutch Revolt in his native country, the Long Turkish War when he arrived in Vienna in his thirties, and the Thirty Years' War when he was in charge of the imperial library. He also experienced a dramatic shift in the religious landscape, and with it, a transformation in the organisation of knowledge in Vienna and the disappearance of scholarly landmarks such as the Palatine Library in Heidelberg. All this, combined with the precariousness of his own social situation – he had no family network in Vienna – deepened his reticence and his inclination to avoid public exposure and assertive statements. The aim here is not to cast a suspicious reading on Tengnagel's texts but rather to explore the root causes of his reticence. To do so, it is necessary to look beyond his rich corpus of letters to other sources where his tight control seems momentarily suspended: marginalia, notes, dedications. This reservoir of scattered fragments, when brought together, not only offers a nuanced and comprehensive portrait of the librarian and Orientalist, albeit an elusive and incomplete one, but also unveils the intricate terrain from which the study of Oriental languages took shape. Tengnagel's life and career were entangled in the crucial issues of his time and cultural tradition: military conflicts and irenic tensions, truth and propaganda, clashes between power and faith, confessional polarisation and philological methods, Christianity in crisis and new global perspectives. These cross-currents rippled through his life, shaping his intellectual journey. It was within this tumultuous landscape, in the midst of these collisions and reconciliations, that a new phase in European scholarship on the Orient emerged.

3.1 Aristotle's Prayer and Tengnagel's Eloquent Reticence

Tengnagel spent the turn of 1614 in Vienna with Ernst Brinck, a Dutchman returning from a journey to Constantinople. Brinck was a veritable 'polytropus' – a many-sided man of infinite curiosity, as Tengnagel aptly called him. He was a collector of birds, shells and ancient inscriptions, a philologist and a former pupil of Isaac Casaubon, a graphomaniac, a hyperpolyglot (claiming to know about 200 dialects, including the language spoken in Utopia), a diplomat and a politician.[4] Before becoming mayor of Harderwijk, Brinck went to Constantinople in 1612 as the secretary of Cornelis Haga, the first ambassador of the States-General of the Netherlands to the Ottoman Empire. The mission aimed to establish trade agreements and to build a military alliance with the

4 On Brinck see C. Swan, 'Memory's Garden and other Wondrous Excerpts: Ernst Brinck (1582–1649), Collector', *Kritische Berichte. Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften* 40 (2012), 5–19.

Ottomans against Spain. On his return, Brinck travelled to Greece, Italy and Germany and eventually stopped in Vienna, where he met and befriended Tengnagel.[5]

A trace of this meeting can be found in Brinck's *Album Amicorum*.[6] As Joanna Weinberg has shown, *Alba Amicorum* entries can reveal unexpected insights, and this applies to Tengnagel as well.[7] In his case, the entry in the *Album* of Brinck is just a hint, yet it is intriguing on two levels: the content of Tengnagel's dedication and the other signatures present in the album. Tengnagel composed his dedication in Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew. He selected an Arabic quote from Luqmān the Wise: 'Knowledge and education are more valuable than any jewellery or gold'.[8] Additionally, he included a Hebrew prayer, referred to as Aristotle's prayer, which reads: 'The Prayer of Aristotle Each Morning: I am that I am; the Eternal that will not perish, and the Originator of everything, Save me from Your great fire'.[9]

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5 A. De Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic. A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations 1610–1630* (Leiden-Istanbul: 1978), pp. 106–70. In Haga's negotiations, Morisco refugees in Constantinople played a crucial role; see T. Krstić, 'The Elusive Intermediaries: Moriscos in Ottoman and Western European Diplomatic Sources from Constantinople, 1560s–1630s', *Journal of early modern history* 19/2–3 (2015), 129–151, at 142. Wiegers suggests that Alonso Luna may have acted as a spokesman for the Moriscos in negotiations with Haga. Luna was involved in the production of the Lead Books and writing of the Gospel of Barnabas (an Italian copy of this latter is held at the ÖNB), cf. G. A. Wiegers, 'The Persistence of Mudejar Islam? Alonso de Luna, the Lead Books, and the Gospel of Barnabas', *Medieval Encounters* 12/3 (2006), 498–518.

6 The entry in the *Album Amicorum* of E. Brinck, dated January 31st, 1614, can be found in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag [133M 86], fol. 32r. A letter from Johannes Cellarius to Tengnagel (STS0003) reveals that Brinck left Vienna at the start of the new year, and that Cellarius travelled with him from Vienna to Prague. The letter praises Brinck's intelligent and cheerful company.

7 J. Weinberg, 'A Humanist in the Kloyz: New Perspectives on the Maharal of Prague and Jacques Bongars', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 77/4 (2016), 521–537.

8 'العلم والأدب أفضل من الجواهر والذهب' (*al-'ilm wa-l-adab afḍal min al-jawāhir wa-dh-dhahabi*) I am grateful to Hülya Çelik and Claudia Römer for the transcription, transliteration and translation of this and all the quotations from Turkish and Arabic mentioned in this section. Apparently this saying is not included either in the collection of J. J. Scaliger and T. Erpenius, *Kitābu 'l-amtāli Seu Proverbiorum Arabicorum Centuriae duae* (Leiden, 1614) (the ÖNB held Tengnagel's copy: [4] Bl., 126 S, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09843213), or in the collection of Thomas Erpenius, *Locmani Sapientis Fabulae et Selecta Quaedam Arabum Adagia cum interpretatione latina* (Leiden, 1615). In ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 507, fol. 60r, Tengnagel notes on the margin: 'Lockman vita Nubianus fuit, educatus in Scam, Ramae sepultus'. And in ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 403, fol. 94v: 'Luckman Sententiae morales quem nonnulli Balaam esse putant'.

9 English translation by Y. T. Langermann, in 'A Collection of Jewish Philosophical Prayers', in *Regional Identities and Cultures of Medieval Jews*, ed. J. Castano, T. Fishman and E. Kanarfogel

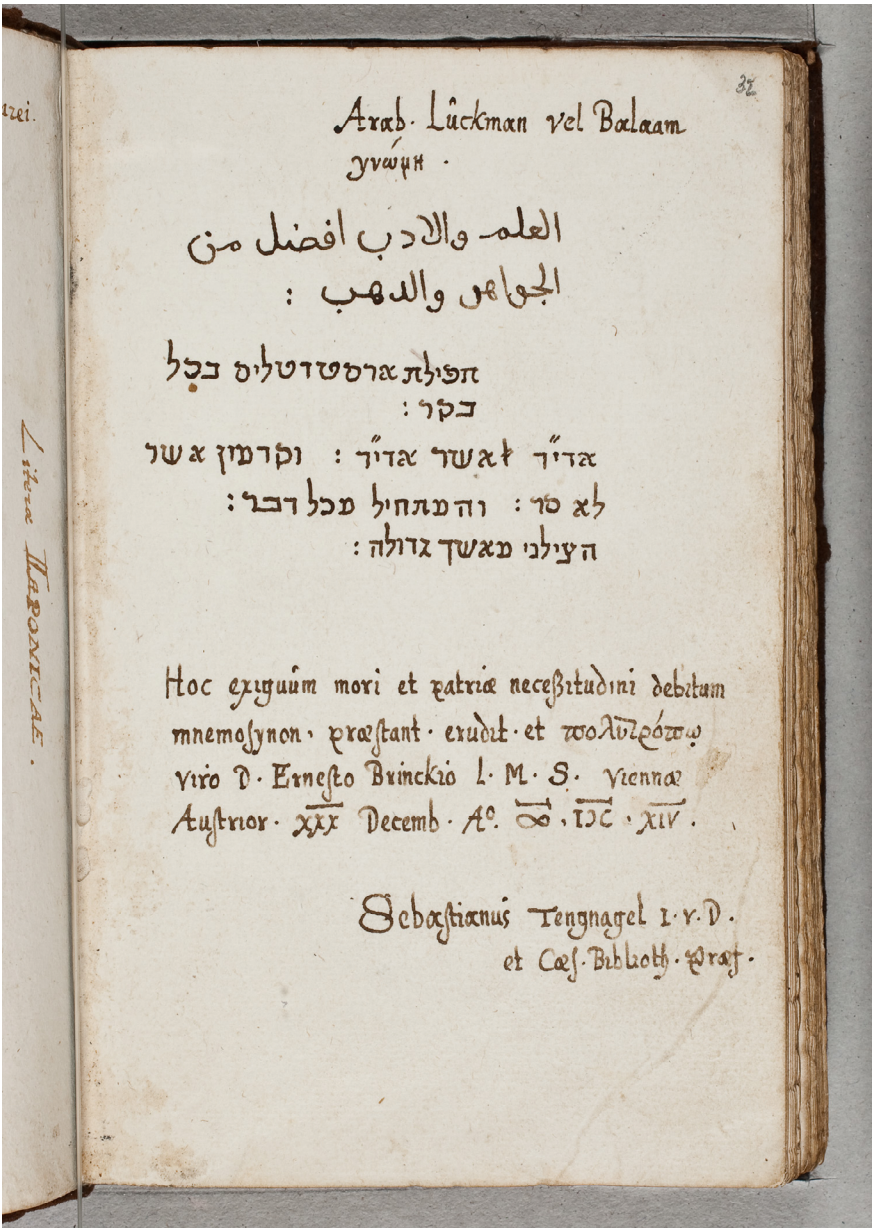

FIGURE 3.1 *Album amicorum* of Brinck, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag [133M 86], fol. 32r

The mere naming of 'Luckman vel Balaam γνώμη' signals a significant shift in thought, bridging cultural and historical divides. Tengnagel identifies Luqmān – celebrated in sura 31 and interpreted variably as a wise Oriental or an enslaved African – with the biblical prophet Balaam. He argues that 'Luqman' is the Arabic translation of the Hebrew 'Balaam,' both names deriving from a common root meaning 'to swallow'.

The prayer ascribed to Aristotle originates from *Musarei ha-filosofim*, a philosophical collection translated into Hebrew by Judah al-Ḥarīzī (*c*.1166–1225) from an Arabic work written by the philosopher, physician and translator of Greek texts, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, in ninth-century Baghdad.[10] This prayer invokes a deity devoid of specific attributes or predicates, described as the Cause of Causes. It is not exactly the quotation one would expect from a man like Tengnagel, so solidly tied to the Society of Jesus in Vienna and Ingolstadt, and later counsellor of Emperor Ferdinand II.

What can we learn about Tengnagel's personality and self-representation from his dedication to Brinck? It suggests a veneration of knowledge, the proud recognition of his Dutch roots (shared with Brinck), a sophisticated wisdom, and a philosophical and abstract, rather than confessional, idea of divinity. These traits might have been more fitting for the cultural climate of Rome during the pontificate of Leo X and the influence of Egidio da Viterbo, rather than for Vienna on the eve of the Thirty Years' War. At the time, the Catholic Church's quest for hegemony in the empire's multi-religious society was closely linked to the Habsburgs' efforts to consolidate their monarchy.

It would be futile to seek a systematic development of these clues in Tengnagel's writings. There are other faint sparks, and they will be examined, but the hallmarks of his style are reticence and elusiveness. This attitude is eloquent in itself and deserves careful examination. It reflects not only the individual's personality but also the historical context in which he lived, as well as

(London, 2018), pp. 263–83, at 269–70. This prayer originates from the Hebrew translation of the Arabic philosophical collection *Musarei hafilosofim*, but it also enjoyed a distinct circulation, as exemplified by Codex 1753 (formerly De Rossi 997, fol. 124v) held at the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, the subject of Langermann's analysis.

10 al-Ḥarīzī's translation of *Musarei hafilosofim* was published in Riva del Garda in 1561/1562 by Joseph Ottolenghi under the title: *Goren nakhon: Tiḳun midot ha-nefesh; ʻim Sefer Musre ha-filosofim ye-Sefer ha-Tapuah le-Aristotelis* (the prayer can be found in part II, chapt. 3). A copy of this book is held at the ÖNB (20.K.59) and at least one manuscript in Tengnagel's collection contains texts from al-Ḥarīzī: ÖNB, Cod. Hebr. 27 (featuring 'Aristotel. Epistola Ethica versa ex Graecis Arabice per Aly Medic. et Hebr. per R. Iehudam B. Schlomoh B. Harizi'), purchased in 1608 and extensively annotated by Tengnagel. These annotations include cross-references to other works he owned in Hebrew, Arabic, and Spanish.

his antiquarian working method: meticulously collecting data while avoiding synthesis, systematisation, or definitive statements.

Unlike many of his friends and correspondents, Tengnagel wrote little and published almost nothing. When he did – in letters, in his few notebooks, and in the margins of his books and manuscripts – he appears immersed in the effort of learning and deciphering his Oriental manuscripts. Connecting his work to the social, political, and religious conflict of his time is not straightforward. And yet he was undeniably part of that context, and his Arabic studies reflect an awareness of the structural crisis dividing European Christianity and the resulting instability.

3.2 Navigating the Storm: Tengnagel amid Counter-Reformation Militancy and Protestant Scholarly Circles

In the absence of an explicit statement, analysing friendships can offer insights into an individual's religious beliefs, even if these remain inherently elusive. However, Tengnagel's entry in Brinck's *Album Amicorum* is surrounded by the signatures and dedications of individuals with widely diverse backgrounds and beliefs, including Martin Becanus, Paolo Sarpi, Fulgenzio Micanzio, Galileo Galilei, Roberto Bellarmino, Anna Maria van Schurman, Thomas Erpenius, Giovan Battista Della Porta, Isaac Casaubon, Franciscus Raphelengius, Ferrante Imperato, Jean Diodati, Samuel Pallache and many others. Almost the same heterogeneity and eclecticism can be found in Tengnagel's correspondents. We can certainly identify patterns, movements, and aims in this network of friends and acquaintances – indeed, this has been done in the previous chapter. By connecting some of these points, we can outline coherent shapes and structures. However, it is difficult to draw a clear profile of Tengnagel, especially concerning his religious convictions. While there is no doubt that he was Catholic, what it meant to be Catholic was not straightforward in the early seventeenth century, when Catholicism resembled a scattered archipelago more than a unified fortress.

There are many threads we could pick up. We could trace a profile of Tengnagel as a pure Erasmian, as a militant of the most intransigent Counter-Reformation, or as a sympathiser of French politiques or of the English Church under James I. We could describe him as a sceptic, a stoic, a pious man, an opportunist, a nicodemite, an irenist. Or we could even portray him as a radical religious individualist or spiritualist, considering he kept in his notebook the only known copy of the Latin translation of Sebastian Franck's renowned letter to the Anabaptist Johannes Campanus – albeit 'protected' by a description

in which the word 'impious' abounds ('Epistola impia impii Sebastiani Franck ad impium Ioannem Campanum, ex autographo quod apud me Tengnagelium MS extat descripta').[11] In a section of *Leviathan* called 'Inconstant Names', Thomas Hobbes observes how the names of things and concepts – wisdom, fear, cruelty, justice, gravity, stupidity – have variable meanings and therefore 'can never be true grounds of any ratiocination'. This insight resonates with Tengnagel's letters, where even terms like Lutheran, Calvinist, Catholic, and Anglican were 'inconstant names'. Indeed, his correspondence provides a lens through which to follow the instability of religious identity and the numerous conversions within his network. Unstable and shifting does not mean irrelevant; in fact, perhaps never in European history has confessional affiliation been so loaded with consequences, both existential and intellectual. Tengnagel was involved in sharp religious and scholarly controversies; he was partisan and did not shy away from disputes, as his collaboration with the Jesuits of Ingolstadt, which will be examined further on, shows. But to interpret his erudition as being in exclusive service of confessional conflict does not fully explain his life and activity. The tranquilising vision of a pacific, cosmopolitan Republic of Letters is long outdated, and we know that tensions and disagreements reigned in that virtual community, beyond polished self-representation. Yet the range of Tengnagel's relationships, friendships and exchanges, its multi-confessionalism and multilingualism, must not be dismissed or underestimated. Instead, it is important to consider this heterogeneous crowd, to acknowledge its inherent contradictions, remembering the religious conflicts and the struggle for the 'conquest' of souls occurring at the time.

Tengnagel did not deny the conflict. He recognised the division and did not appear to foster dreams of reunification: the Catholic–Protestant splits, he writes, are like a Chiron wound, a permanent source of pain and distress. Notably, he employs the same metaphor to describe the wars between Habsburgs and the Ottomans in Hungary – Christians and Muslims. When asked to write the story of that war, he declined, explaining to a friend that he knew only trouble would come of it because he would speak the truth on a matter about which everyone had been lying. He noted that slanderers were

11 ÖNB, Cod. 10364, fols. 49r–52v. Further details can be found in B. Becker's 'Fragment van Francks Latijnse Brief aan Campanus', *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History* 46 (1964), 197–205. An English translation from the Dutch of this letter is in G. H. Williams, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* (Philadelphia, 1957), pp. 147–60. Williams and other scholars, unaware of the document in Tengnagel's papers, believed that the Latin version of the letter had been lost, with only two Dutch copies thought to have survived.

already spreading malicious rumours about him, a theme recurring in his most intimate letters, hinting at tensions absent from his other correspondence. In short, it was wiser to keep away from such a wound.[12]

To see how Tengnagel navigated these conflicts (with surprising ease), it is necessary to look more closely at one of his rare public appearances as an author, when in 1612 he published two books. Co-authored with the implacable Bavarian Jesuit Jacob Gretser, they were against Melchior Goldast and other 'schismatics' and in defence of Baronio, the Primacy of Rome, and the right of the pope to excommunicate and depose kings and emperors.[13] Tengnagel was thus involved in an episode used by Martin Mulsow as a perfect example of the politicisation of the past by an 'unanständige Gelehrtenrepublik' marked more by antagonism than by concord.[14] Gretser was the leading Jesuit in Ingolstadt, an outpost of the Catholic reconquest of Germany. He was firmly against any attempt at conciliation and dialogue between Protestants and Catholics. Tengnagel was the editor of the documentary section and wrote the dedicatory letter to Cardinal Melchior Khlesl.[15] In it he follows and masters the genre of the religious controversies of the time: he draws similarities between the adversaries and beasts, in particular the hunting dogs that dig up buried documents (misinterpreting them) against the Primacy of Rome – a principle recognised even by the 'Indians, the Arabs, the Persians and the Tatars'. Tengnagel compares these 'ignoble titans' to diseases, contagions and prostitution. For a man of such supreme culture, drawing on the genre of classical and contemporary invective came naturally. However, this aggressive, even violent style contrasts with his usual prose, whose trademarks are composure, sobriety and sometimes even cloying kindness. His humble attitude

12 STS0027 (1615); STR0117 (1610). For a more detailed discussion on his decision to decline the offer to write the history of the Long Turkish War, see section 5.

13 Jacob Gretser and Sebastian Tengnagel, *Gemina adversus Melchiorum Guldinastum Calvinianum replicatorem defensio prior pro S.R. Orthodoxi et Catholici Imperii avita Maiestate, auctore Iacobo Gretsero; posterior, complura monumenta hactenus inedita, pro Gregorio VII aliisque Pontificibus Romanis lectori exhibet, editore Sebastiano Tengnagel* (Ingolstadt, Angermarius: 1612); Jacob Gretser, *Vetera Monumenta contra Schismaticos, jam olim pro Gregorio VII aliisque nonnullis Pontificibus romanis conscripta. Studio Sebastiani Tengnagel* (Ingolstadt, 1612). Both were published in Jacob Gretser, *Opera Omnia* (Regensburg, 1735), pp. 300–601.

14 M. Mulsow, *Die unanständige Gelehrtenrepublik: Wissen, Libertinage und Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 2007), pp. 143–90; see also S. Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik: Katholische Geschichtsschreibung im barocken Heiligen Römischen Reich* (Berlin, 2003).

15 The manuscript version of the letter is in STR0148. Gretser talks with Tengnagel about their publishing and about Goldast, in STR0146, STR0145, STR0152.

reappears only when he presents his publication as a small ear of grain that has remained unpicked after Baronio's great harvest. Beyond the images and style, Tengnagel here declares that he is following in Baronio's footsteps. But it did not stop him helping Goldast (after his conversion to Catholicism), the same person against whom Gretser had written, who in his ill temper quarrelled with everyone. Most importantly, it did not prevent him from recognising Casaubon – Baronio's great opponent and debunker – as 'the pillar of the Republic of Letters' and 'the mystagogue of the arcana of the East', the one who first 'broke the slippery and impervious ice' of Arabic studies.[16]

3.2.1 *David Hoeschel*

Nor did Tengnagel's deference to Baronio prevent him from paying homage to the genius of the Lutheran Greek scholar David Hoeschel. In 1601, Hoeschel and the Jesuit André Schott (himself a friend of Tengnagel), collaborated to publish the monumental *editio princeps* of Photius, the learned Byzantine patriarch deposed in 867. The project was founded by the Catholic Marcus Welser, sponsor of the famous printing house *Ad Insigne Pinus*, and was undertaken in the tolerant city of Augsburg. Photius was condemned again in post-Tridentine Rome for accusing the Church of Rome of doctrinal error; the burning of Photius's books was depicted in a fresco in the Salone Sistino, the reading room of the Vatican Library, where Tengnagel dreamed of going.[17] Only a few years after the editio that caused such a stir, Tengnagel wrote Hoeschel a letter of affectionate friendship and intimacy, telling him he had turned the library upside-down looking for the manuscripts of Appian and Epictetus which Hoeschel had asked for, but had been unable to find them.[18] Eventually, Tengnagel lent him a Greek manuscript with the Psalms of Solomon, brought to Vienna from Constantinople by Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, and which Hoeschel intended to publish. Hoeschel promised to thank him warmly in the preface, but he died before finishing the book. Hoeschel himself or André Schott made a copy of the manuscript, and subsequently Schott sent this copy to the Jesuit Juan de la Cerda, who published the Psalms in 1626.[19]

16 STR0042.

17 L. Canfora, *La Biblioteca del Patriarca. Fozio censurato nella Francia di Mazzarino* (Salerno, 1998), pp. 231–2; id., *Il Fozio ritrovato. Juan de Mariana e André Schott* (Bari, 2001); G. Carlucci, *I Prolegomena di André Schott alla Biblioteca di Fozio* (Bari, 2012).

18 STQ0016.

19 STS0054. J. L. de la Cerda, *Adversaria Sacra* (Lyon, 1626). On the journey of the manuscript from Vienna to Lyon, see O. von Gebhardt (ed.), *Psalmoi Solomontos. Die Psalmen Salomo's zum ersten male mit benutzung der Athoshandschriften und des Codex casanatensis* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 5–8.

Hoeschel returned Tengnagel's affection, providing information, printed books, gossip, contacts and a manuscript from his personal collection written 'in Arabic or Turkish' (he was unable to distinguish them).[20] These exchanges took place in the same years that Gretser, soon after publishing with Tengnagel against Goldast, contributed 'everything that Hoeschel wrote' to the 1612 index of forbidden books in Madrid. In 1604, with Antonio Possevino, Gretser promoted an anti-Photian edition by the Jesuit Matthäus Rader, whom he put in touch with Tengnagel to support his search for sources.[21] Gretser abhorred Photius and the other anti-Roman 'schismatics' published by Hoeschel, such as Anna Comnena and Gennadius, but he equally abhorred the friendship between Schott, Welser and Hoeschel. Hoeschel's publication – perhaps the finest example of cooperation between Catholic and Protestant scholars – was an example of what should not be done, according to the Jesuit in Ingolstadt.

3.2.2 *Jan Gruter*

Tengnagel was close to another eminent scholar involved in the edition of Photius: Jan Gruter, the Latinist philologist and librarian of the Palatine Library in Heidelberg, the core of Calvinist culture. Gruter first contacted Tengnagel for a project which, in intention, seemed similar to the Photius edition but ended up embedded in the theological–political agenda of king James I. This was the publication of John Chrysostom's works undertaken by Henry Savile.[22]

Having connected with Tengnagel, Gruter was committed to advancing their shared scholarly pursuits. With affection, he called Tengnagel 'Orientalium vindex' (Defender of the Orient) and 'Amicus inter multos' (A true friend among many acquaintances) and their common Dutch roots further

20 STR0080.

21 M. Rader, *Acta sacrosancti et oecumenici concilii octavi, Constantinopolitani quarti* (Ingolstadt, 1604). The book, dedicated to Baronio, included extracts from the 8th Council of Constantinople, culminating with the condemnation of Photius, as well as the *Vita Ignatii*, which attacked Photius' moral probity.

22 On this publishing endeavour, see J.-L. Quantin, 'Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec. Une histoire européenne (1588–1613)', in *Chrysostomosbilder in 1600 Jahren. Facetten der Wirkungsgeschichte eines Kirchenvaters*, ed. M. Wallraff and R. Brändle (Berlin-New York, 2008), pp. 267–346; id., 'Historical Criticism, Confessional Controversy, and Self-Censorship: Henry Savile and the Lives of John Chrysostom', *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 6 (2021), 138–223; S. Kennerley, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe Translating and Reading a Greek Church Father from 1417 to 1624* (Berlin-Boston, 2023). Savile in his preface thanks Tengnagel (together with de Thou, Hoeschel, Gruter, Casaubon). The letters between Savile and Tengnagel had been published in P. Lambeck, *Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi* (Vienna, 1670), vol. 3, pp. 383–6.

strengthened their bond. Gruter assisted Tengnagel in securing a loan of the *Taqwīm al-Buldān* by Abū l-Fidā, a text that would become a cornerstone of Tengnagel's Oriental collection. Additionally, he suggested that Tengnagel take on the Arabic lexicon project that the Tübingen Hebraist, Georg Weigenmaier (1555–1599), had left unfinished due to his death in either Padua or Florence while en route to the Orient.[23] He provided Tengnagel with manuscripts of John Damascene in Arabic and the catalogue of manuscripts previously owned by Postel. Furthermore, Gruter introduced him to Daniel Heinsius and interceded to facilitate the loan of Scaliger's Arabic–Turkish lexicons from Leiden.[24]

Both men detested war, whose ravages deepened their bond and added intimacy to their correspondence. The Bohemian Revolts began alongside Tengnagel's debilitating illness, frequently discussed with Gruter. In September 1622, during the siege of Heidelberg, Gruter helplessly witnessed the dissolution of the Palatine Library, where he had worked until then. His own personal collection hardly fared any better, plundered by the stradioti, the Albanian mercenaries. Oswald Smend, his son-in-law, could not shield the residence and soldiers ransacked it, flinging books out of the windows as Gruter sought refuge in Bretten, later moving to Tübingen. Tengnagel expressed empathy and concern. By 1626, according to Tengnagel, they were like 'two battered old nags', and their once endless discussions about books were now overshadowed by somber reflections on failing health, advancing age, and pressing real-world concerns. Gruter, valuing Tengnagel's legal expertise and his position as an advisor to emperor Ferdinand II, sought his counsel on securing his rights to continue to live his Protestant faith as a private

23 On the journey in 'Africa and Arabia' that Weigenmaier tried to organise with Valentin Cless in 1583 (unsuccessfully), cf. H. Ehmer, 'Die Reise des Tübinger Magisters Valentin Cless nach Nordafrika 1583 – Plan oder Wirklichkeit?', *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 107 (2007), 139–168. Gruter informs Tengnagel of the Weigenmaier's death in Florence and of the heirs' desire to find someone able to complete and publish the almost finished Arabic dictionary he left in Tübingen: Gruter intends to entrust the manuscript to Tengnagel (STR0028). Later, Gruter complains about Tengnagel's silence regarding his offer and tells him that, in the absence of an answer, he would turn to Casaubon (STR0030). Apparently Tengnagel accepted the offer (STR0036); but Gruter says that he has no further news of Weigenmaier's heirs (STR0052) and the matter is not mentioned again.

24 Concerning Damascene's manuscript sent to Vienna, see STR0165; STR0168; STR0081; in ÖNB, Cod. 15165, fol. 69v, Tengnagel writes: 'Ioan. Damasceni De Orthodoxa fide libror. titulis, ex MS Palatino Heidelbergensi a me descriptus'. Concerning Postel's books, see STR0035. On Gruter see W. Kühlmann, V. Hartmann, *Die deutschen Humanisten. Dokumente zur Überlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 531–625. The first letters with Tengnagel coincide with the discovery of the *Anthologia Palatina* by Gruter himself.

citizen. Even posthumously, Gruter's legacy persisted as Smend continued to turn to Tengnagel for legal counsel, protection, financial aid, and mediation with the Emperor.[25]

3.2.3 *The Journey of Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos's Ecclesiastical History*

In 1630, a luxurious two-volume in-folio edition of Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos' *Historia Ecclesiastica* was published in Paris. The text, presented for the first time in both Greek and Latin, had been prepared by the Jesuit Fronton du Duc, who passed away on September 25, 1624, before it appeared.[26] Like that of Chrysostom, this scholarly venture exemplifies another instance of engaged philology, where a Byzantine text and its publication became an ideological and confessional tool. Tengnagel was once again directly involved.

The eight books of Nikephoros' *Historia Ecclesiastica* aimed to encapsulate the universal history ('*kosmikē historia*') of Christianity, from the birth of Christ to his own time. Nikephoros, a monk and teacher of rhetoric at the Patriarchal School of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, who died around 1328, drew on the works of Sozomen, Socrates, Philostorgius, Theodoret, Eusebius and Evagrius for his texts.[27] The *codex unicus* of Nikephoros, kept in Vienna, remained in obscurity until the mid-sixteenth century, when it sparked an unexpected revival, a renaissance closely linked to the confessional conflicts of the period. First printed in Latin in Basel in 1553 by Johann Lange, the book was reprinted several times and translated into French in 1567. As it moved through the religious and intellectual landscape of the period, it became both a tool and a testament of Catholic scholarship and propaganda, as evidenced by Cesare Baronio's use of Nikephoros in his *Annales Ecclesiastici* (particularly

25 See STT0065 (22.04.1626); STT0070 (2.06.1626). The letters to/from Smend are STT127, STT129, STT130.

26 *Nicephori Callisti Filii Xanthopuli Ecclesiasticae Historiae Libri XVIII a R. P. Frontone Ducaeo Societatis Iesu Theologo cum Graecis collata & recognita* (Paris, 1630). The Parisian edition was reproduced by Jacques Paul Migne in volume 100 of the *Patrologia Graeca* (Paris, 1863).

27 On Nikephoros, see: G. Gentz, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus und ihre Quellen: Nachgelassene Untersuchungen*. rev. and expanded Friedhelm Winkelmann (Berlin, 1966); S. Panteghini, 'Die "Kirchengeschichte" des Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos', *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 58 (2009), 248–266; C. Gastgeber and S. Panteghini, *Ecclesiastical History and Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos: Proceedings of the International Symposium, Vienna, 15th–19th Dec., 2011* (Vienna, 2015). On the use of Nikephoros by Protestant authors, see A. Grafton, 'Western Humanists and Byzantine Historians', in *The Invention of Byzantium in Early Modern Europe*, ed. N. Aschenbrenner and J. Ransohoff (Washington, D.C., 2021), pp. 71–105: 84.

in the account of the Council of Chalcedon). Simultaneously, it found its way into Protestant circles, featuring in the *Magdeburg Centuries* and in Matthias Flacius Illyricus's *Catalogus testium veritatis*. Even the French edition seems to have been born out of confessional issues. A letter from du Duc to Tengnagel reveals a strategic basis for the critically accurate Paris edition of the text. Its motivation, it seems, was to preempt any potential Protestant initiative, a threat that materialised when Philippe Duplessis Mornay suggested the possibility of a new edition following its earlier use by Melanchthon and Flacius Illyricus. Thus, the journey of Nikephoros' *Historia Ecclesiastica* underscores the complex interplay of religious, scholarly, and political forces at work in this period.

Its geographic trajectory – from Buda to Constantinople, from Vienna to Paris – is a perfect example of the migration and trans-imperial movement of manuscripts in early modern Eurasia. The unfolding events involved several prominent figures: de Thou, du Duc, Sirmond, Richelieu, Ferdinand II, and, of course, Tengnagel. The correspondence surrounding this significant manuscript loan, along with Tengnagel's concerns, was later published by his successor, Lambeck.[28] But the manuscript's adventures stretched much further back in time, with a past marked by various transfers and changing ownership. The journey of the codex was vividly remembered by the Cramoisy brothers, Sébastien and Gabriel, in the dedication of the 1630 edition to Richelieu, where they echoed Virgil's words ('Heu quibus ille jactatus fatis').[29] Initially, the codex was part of the legendary library of king Matthias Corvinus in Buda, perhaps arriving via Italy. It was then stolen by a 'private

28 *Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi* (Vienna, 1665), vol. 1, pp. 62–63, 108–9, 132–165 (Addimentum IV: 'De pretiosissimo Codice membranaceo MS Historiae Ecclesiasticae Nicephori Callisti, a Sebastiano Tengnagelio ad Jacobum Augustum Thuanum impressionis causa misso Lutetiam'). Additional letters concerning this affair are kept in Paris. Specifically, there is a letter from Tengnagel to du Duc dated April 16, 1625 (BnF, Ms NAL 1554, fol. 182r), and a letter from Tengnagel to de Thou dated September 8, 1614 (*Recueil de lettres latines adressées au président J.-A. De Thou par plusieurs érudits flamands, anglais, allemands et polonais*: BnF, Ms Dupuy 836, fols. 168r–v).

29 'Heu quibus ille jactatus fatis [Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, 13–14]. Apud Mathiam Corvinum quondam in pretio habitus, in potestatem venit postea barbarorum: et Turcis Pannoniam invadentibus, vix unius militis fuit praeda. Servatus est autem, non historiae, nec rerum quas continebat merito, sed quadam elegantia characteris, cuius etiam beneficio Constantinopoli mvenit inter delicatorum supellectilem, quasi cultius aliquod mancipium. Emptorem autem invenit eum qui publicis invidens commodis, suum fecisse videbatur, ne esset aliorum. Sed tandem ab iniusto domino in Familiam Imperatoris transiit, ac postliminio restitutus eo est unde fuerat ablatus' (*Nicephori Callisti Filii Xanthopuli Ecclesiasticæ Historiae Libri XVIII* (Paris, Cramoisy, 1630), a III). Johann Lange, who translated the work into Latin in 1573, also mentions east-west movements in the codex

individual' (probably a scholar), and later seized by Ottoman soldiers during their conquest of Hungary after the Battle of Mohács in 1526. The manuscript was then transported to Constantinople as a spoil of war, where it fortuitously fell into the hands of some Christians, possibly Sbardellatus Dudith, uncle of the well-known Andreas, who found it in a flea market. The codex eventually made its way back west to Wrocław and subsequently to Vienna, where it was presented to Emperor Ferdinand I. It was this emperor who commissioned Johann Lange's Latin translation, published in Basel in 1533. In 1614, the manuscript was once again on the move. After some hesitation, Tengnagel managed to secure the emperor's permission to lend the manuscript to France, with the famous historian and President of the French Parliament, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, offering his guarantee. In a letter to de Thou, Tengnagel confessed that he had initially considered handling the publication of Nikephoros himself. However, due to his extensive commitments and more urgent interests, he was happy to pass the manuscript on 'for the benefit of the Christian republic'. At the time, he was engaged in the composition of a history, namely a 'Saracenic or Muhammedic history, from the founding of the treacherous sect of Muḥammad to the present times' ('historiam videlicet Saracenicam vel Muhammedicam a condita Mahummetanae perfidiae secta usque ad haec tempora'), based on three annals – in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian – that he intended to translate into Latin. Ever the opportunist, Tengnagel used the occasion of the loan of the valuable Byzantine manuscript to ask de Thou, in exchange, to inform him of any Arabic texts, help him procure a copy of Luis del Mármol Carvajal's *Descripción general de África*, and also to secure a copy of de Thou's own *Historiae sui temporis* (which was listed in the Index of Forbidden Books), as he was dissatisfied with the German edition.[30] De Thou,

(Ecclesiasticae *historiae libri x et viii ... opera vero ac studio doctiss. viri Joannis Langi ... e Graeco in Latinum sermonem translati* (Basel, 1553), 6.).

30 BnF, Ms Dupuy 836, fols. 168r–v: 'Nicephorum videlicet Xanthopolum, quem pro eximia tua in hospites huius notae benignitate, et comiter excipies, lateque tractatum atque veste nova donatum non absque lautis domum remittes. Utere itaque et fruere, vir Ampliss., hoc beneficio ac eius auctorem, ubi in litterariam prodibit scenam, breve aliquo elogio orna. Laudari enim a laudato illo Heroe una cum Hectore illo Naeviano praeclarum, nec ambitiosum existimo, quippe qui animum atque affectum ab hisce ineptis et inanis rerum humanarum procul habeam. Constitueram et ego illustrem hunc scriptorem publico committere, sed quia vestri typi elegantia sua antecellant Germanicis, et ego plerunque aliis studiis et occupationibus distringar, ideoque minus editioni superesse aut praeesse possim, lubens merito Illustri huic Editori palmam porrigo lampademque trado, qua Reipub. Christianae bono, qua assiduis tuis et R.P. Ducaei postulationibus impulsus, quibus hanc beneficentiam obnuere neque potui, neque debui [...] Molior enim opus quoddam, in quo mihi auctor hic non mediocri adiumento esset, historiam videlicet

a *politique* and a friend of several influential figures, seemed to share a particularly warm relationship with Tengnagel. In their exchange about the transfer of the Nikephoros manuscript, de Thou revealed a sentiment that also shed light on Tengnagel's character. They found themselves discussing a book that Tengnagel apparently greatly admired, the *History of the War in Lower Germany*, a virulently anti-Spanish text published in Venice by Pinelli in 1614 and written by the Genoese Girolamo de Franchi Conestagio. De Thou added that he had met the author and had been rather impressed by him, despite the rumours that circulated about his persona. He concluded that anyone, like Conestagio and himself, who desired to work for the 'public good', had to be prepared to endure hatred and envy. The only resources they could rely on were 'God and their own conscience'.[31]

Returning to Nikephoros, the aim was to produce an edition of the Greek text with a more accurate translation than Lange's. On 6 September, Tengnagel handed the codex to Robert de Scheilder, an assistant to the Spanish ambassador, for transport to Paris, where it arrived on April 29, 1615. Both de Thou and Fronton du Duc, who had assumed scientific responsibility for the edition, wrote to Tengnagel, assuring him that the book would be returned within 15–16 months. But this was not the case: the book was not returned to Vienna until 12 years later, on February 1, 1627. In Paris, things became complicated:

Saracenicam vel Muhammedicam a condita Mahummetanae perfidiae secta usque ad haec tempora productam, ex ipsorum Annalibus Turcicis, Arabicis, et Persicis depromptam. Indeptus enim sum Chronicon quoddam lingua Turcica conscript. rarae notae ac quantuli preti, quod omnium Regum ac Principum, qui post natum Mahummetismum floruere, ac sui imperi fines in vastas illas ac nobis incognitas Scythicarum gentium diversarum regiones protulere, successionem ac res gestas accurate ac minutatim edisserit. Habeo et historiam quand. Arabicam Chalifarum illorum Bagdadensium ac Aegyptiorum usque ad Chingischan et Halao Tataerorum irruptionem, et Temurlench histor. Pers. et Turcica lingua ut et Chingischan, et successorum seriem, quos omnes, si Deus mihi vitam prorogaverit, latine vertam, et communi Reip. litterariae bono in medium producam. Utinam illud Seid Patrick, cuius primo lib. Tyrius mentionem facit, et in Arab. meis saepe citatur, alicunde opus nancisci liceret. Sed manum de tabula, Amplissime Domine, ne publicis occupationibus tuis nimium obturbem, unum hoc tantum addo, ut si quid in linguis hisce Hebraic., Syr., Arab., Turcic. vel Persic. venale apud vos extiterit, me de iis edocere dignetur'. On Tengnagel's opinion regarding the censorship of de Thou, see chapter 5 by Paola Molino.

31 STR0197: 'J'en ai veu l'aucteur a Genes. Il a les qualites par vous remarquecs, et pour les quelles l'on exagite aujourdhui ceus, qui entreprennent tels oeuvres: mais quiconque travaille pour le public, il faut, s'il veut bien s'acquiter de ces qu'il a entrepris, qu'il oublie son particulier, et prefere le jugement de la posterité a la haine et l'envie du present. Ie scai a quoi m'en tenir: mais Dieu et le temps m'en feront la raison. Cependant je suis resolu a la patienze, sans me beaucoup empescher ni soucier de tout ce, que l'on dict et escrit contre mois; mais recours a Dieu et a ma conscience'.

disagreements arose between the Greek scholar and printer Henri III Estienne (grandson of Robert) and Fronton du Duc. Estienne, a friend of Casaubon and protégé of de Thou, retained the codex for five years, during which time he made a copy that is now preserved in Paris. In a detailed letter dated January 13, 1621, Fronton du Duc explained to Tengnagel that he had managed to retrieve the manuscript from Estienne and asked for more time to work on the edition. On September 25, 1624, du Duc died, and the papers and manuscript were passed to the Jesuit Jacques Sirmond, who wrote to Tengnagel on September 3, 1626, announcing that the manuscript could finally be returned and that the Cramoisy brothers had secured the Greek characters necessary for printing. The manuscript was returned to Tengnagel on February 1, 1627, delivered by Count von Fürstenberg. As for the edition, only the personal intervention of Cardinal Richelieu ensured the Paris publication. Upon its release, Tengnagel received praise from Holstenius and others in Rome for making this Catholic endeavour possible. However, Vienna's circles were greatly offended. One of the conditions of the loan was that the edition should be dedicated to Emperor Matthias, but instead, the in-folio was published with a dedication to Cardinal Richelieu.[32]

3.2.4 *Samuel Slade*

Sometimes in a single letter we find an almost bewildering linguistic, political and religious variety. Such is the case with a lively and cheerful letter from Venice, written in a lovely and very incorrect Italian by Samuel Slade, a young Englishman who had an adventurous, learned and short life.[33] In 1606, Slade, a Fellow of Merton College Oxford with strongly anti-Catholic sentiments, was

32 On Nikephoros' manuscript in Vienna (ÖNB, Cod. Hist. gr. 8), see C. Gastgeber, 'Die Kirchengeschichte des Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. Ihre Entdeckung und Verwendung in der Zeit der Reformation', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 58 (2009), 237–247; id., 'Nikephoros Xanthopoulos und der Codex Unicus seiner Historia Ecclesiastica: (ÖNB, Cod. Historicus Graecus 8)', in *Ecclesiastical History and Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos: Proceedings of the International Symposium, Vienna, 15th–19th Dec., 2011*, ed. C. Gastgeber and S. Panteghini (Vienna, 2015), pp. 141–74; F. Mormando, 'Nicephorus and the Battle of the Books Between Catholics and Protestants', in *Piety and Plague: From Byzantium to the Baroque*, ed. F. Mormando and T. Worcester (Kirksville, 2007), pp. 265–71; C. Astruc, 'Autour de l'édition princeps de l'histoire ecclésiastique de Nicéphore Calliste Xanthopoulos', *Scriptorium*, 6, 2 (1952), 252–9.

33 STR0066 (1.08.1608). On Slade, see J.-L. Quantin, *Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec. Une histoire européenne* (*1588–1613*), pp. 319–22; Greenslade S. L., 'The Printer's Copy for the Eton Chrysostom, 1610–13', *Studia Patristica* 8 (1966), 60–4; the first mention of Slade is in a letter from Pistorius to Gretser, where Pistorius called him 'doctum et modestum quanquam hereticum' (STR0032).

sent across Europe and then to Greece and Constantinople by the Greek philologist Henry Savile to collect the manuscripts of John Chrysostom. During his four-year tour, Slade travelled to Augsburg and Munich, and then to Vienna and its library, where he met Tengnagel – introduced by letters from Hoeschel and Pistorius – and spent at least six weeks in his company.

Their common interests were manifold, and Slade promised Tengnagel that, once in Constantinople, he would search for the Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts that the librarian so eagerly sought. While in Venice, Slade stayed at the English embassy and requested permission from the Senate to consult the manuscripts held in the city's libraries.[34] His letter is dated August 1608, shortly after the rebellion of the Interdetto led by Paolo Sarpi, a time when the Serenissima was on the brink of a definitive break with the pope. While the immediate threat had subsided, the remnants of the crisis still stirred beneath Venice's surface, leaving the city in a state of unrest. The epicentre of anti-papal sentiment was the English embassy, where the fervent Venetian dissidents operated and where Slade composed his letters to Tengnagel. Among Tengnagel's papers were undelivered letters of recommendation from John Harrington, intended for ambassador Henry Wotton and his chaplain William Bedell. These suggest that Tengnagel had planned a stop at the embassy during his Italian journey, a visit that ultimately never took place.[35] Yet, Gretser, alongside Bellarmino, was one of the most relentless opponents of the Venetians and of king James I of England, who had supported the Venetian cause. In fact, the publications of Gretser and Tengnagel were a German spin-off of the controversy that Charles Howard McIlwain described as the greatest reflection on the State–Church relationship since the mediaeval disputes, and as a foundation for the sovereignty theory of modern nation-states.

As with most of Tengnagel's correspondence, this letter is about books. Slade pokes affectionate fun at his friend's passion for them, apologises for failing to

34 On 30 April 1608 Henry Wotton asked the Doge Donà for authorisation to inspect the Chrysostom manuscripts preserved at the Marciana Library (L. P. Smith, *The Life and Letters of Wotton* (Oxford, 1907) vol. 1, p. 428). Sarpi was involved – Savile asked an opinion about his edition – and wrote to Christoph von Dohna about this matter, speaking ironically about the ignorance in Italy of Protestants: 'Sanno ben qui che i principi d'Alemagna siano protestanti, ma nessuno sa le lor differenze e dispute. Ultimamente, l'ambasciador d'Inghilterra s'informò se in questa biblioteca non fosse qualche opera di Crisostomo non ancora stampata, perché aveva seco un uomo dotto che cercava tali libri per farli stampare. Allora si meravigliaron molti, che anche i protestanti leggevano Crisostomo, tenendo del resto que' della religione per uomini strani', in P. Sarpi, *Lettere ai protestanti* (Bari, 1931), vol. 2, p. 125.

35 STR0092 and STR0093.

find everything his friend has asked for, announces what he has bought instead (including two Arabic grammars) and updates him on the latest Arabic publications of Giovanni Battista Raimondi's Medici printing house in Rome. In Vienna, Slade must have heard about (or even met) Tengnagel's copyist, the captive İbrāhīm Dervīş, whom we will discuss further in later sections. The Englishman tells him to greet 'il Sig. Turco-Persiano', but only on condition – he jokes – that İbrāhīm Dervīş finishes copying the Arabic text he is working on ('se egli habbia del tutto descritto voglio dire insun al fine, il vostro esemplare Arabico'). Immediately afterwards, he refers playfully to a common friend who loved wine, 'Simone il Saltzaburghese, quello garbato bevitore di vino, e felice scavezzatore di bicchieri, e savio guastore d'ogni buona cosa: ch'Iddio gli perdoni con tutte sue virtù, delle quali ha pochissime'. Finally, under his signature, Slade tells Tengnagel that he is taking Hebrew lessons in Venice from the famous rabbi Leon Modena and sends him Modena's *Midbar Yehudah* as a personal gift.[36] In his reply, Tengnagel makes a lengthy request for books in Arabic and Hebrew, printed and manuscript and wonders if Modena knows any Jewish doctors who can give him lessons in Arabic and work as his amanuensis.[37] Slade left for Constantinople, as he had desired, then visited the libraries of the Halki Monastery and those on Mount Athos. He died in Zakynthos in the summer of 1610 while returning to Europe. Tengnagel learned of his death from Savile and shared the news with several friends.[38]

This survey of Tengnagel's Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican, Catholic and atheist friends could easily be continued. However, it would be inaccurate to present him as a split personality pulled between different affiliations, duties and interests – on the one hand the open-minded and tolerant scholar, and on the other the librarian on the payroll of an emperor with a precise military, cultural and religious agenda. Can these apparent incongruities be reconciled without imposing order onto what were lived experiences, not just ideas and

36 L. Modena, *Midbar Yehudah* (Venice, 1601/1602). The book is a collection of 21 sermons; see J. Weinberg, 'Preaching in the Venetian Ghetto: The Sermons of Leon Modena', in *Preachers of the Italian Ghetto*, ed. D. B. Ruderman (Berkeley, 2020), pp. 105–28. The copy at the ÖNB (20.G.58) shows on the title page Tengnagel's *ex libris* (http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10454324).

37 STQ0018.

38 STR0160 (18.12.1611): 'Sladius olim meus meo maximo cum dolore, ante annum & paulo amplius in reditu ex Oriente mortus est Zacynthi, et Jacobus Darimplius jampridem, me deserto, in Scotiam rediit. Quid facias homini ab omni librariorum subsidio jam destituto?'. He then adds that he found a few 'cards' in the young man's saddlebag, but that there was nothing interesting for him.

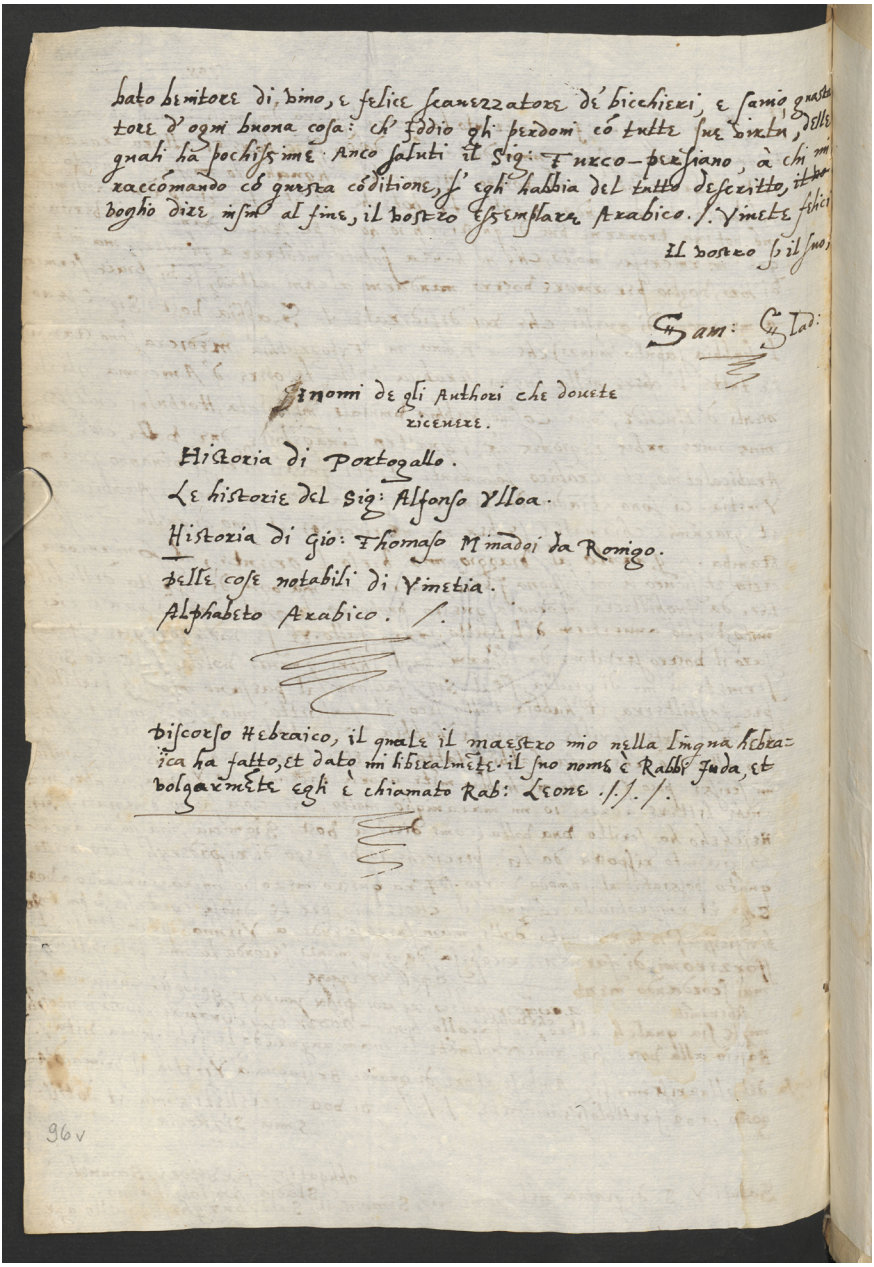

FIGURE 3.2 Letter from Samuel Slade, ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fol. 96v

doctrines? Perhaps it is, by plunging into the noisy multitude of voices and using as a guiding thread Tengnagel's study of the three languages spoken in the Islamicate world.

Tengnagel's three main identities – imperial librarian, Orientalist and imperial counsellor – often alternate and frequently overlap. So too, as we have seen, do his friendships and affiliations with people from mutually hostile factions. Yet one identity, one interest, prevails: the Orientalist in search of news and rare books reappears again and again in the guise of the zealous librarian and diligent counsellor. In almost all surviving letters, a kind of opportunism can be observed. Even when the discourse dealt with other topics, Tengnagel asked his interlocutor to check for Arabic, Hebrew or Turkish codices wherever the other person lived, offering in return to search the imperial library and make all kinds of documents available; or he would ask to be introduced to people who could help him to advance his studies. When it came to finding books, religious affiliation did not matter – how much this mattered in itself is hard to discern. Tengnagel asked the dragoman Albanus, for example (to whom we will return in the next chapter), to seek out his desired texts from all the scholars of Constantinople, whether Muslim, Christian or Jewish – just as he did in his daily exchanges.

In Vienna there were no Orientalist peers to engage with, nor chairs of Arabic; the translators in the service of the war council were trained elsewhere. Everything came through the letters, the medium and the place of knowledge itself, and through occasional encounters with a heterogeneous crowd consisting of visiting scholars, imperial interpreters, prisoners of war, soldiers, missionaries and travellers returning up the Danube from the eastern border of the Ottoman Empire. Even when writing about different and important matters, Tengnagel took information from texts and news about the East. Having told Jacques-Auguste de Thou and the Jesuit Fronton du Duc that he had sent the precious Greek manuscript by Nikephoros to Paris, he asked them for a copy of Luis del Mármol Carvajal's *Africa* and other books that he needed to write a history (never realised) of the Muslim kingdoms based on the translation of Persian and Turkish annals, and to check whether books of any sort in Turkish, Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac were on sale in Paris. After sending Jakob Gretser antique texts that the Jesuit would have weaponised in his anti-Protestant polemics, he asked him for the catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts in Munich and in the Vatican Library and for someone who could provide him with Pedro de Alcalá's Spanish–Arabic dictionary and other Arabic texts.

For Tengnagel, Oriental studies represented a form of spiritual refinement – a solitary and exhausting path; this is a leitmotiv of his letters. At the same time, they were a collective journey that relied on 'mutual support groups',

as Mordechai Feingold called them[39] – groups that were often diverse in their social, religious and geographical composition, as the next section will show, but which also self-perceived themselves as being bound together by 'an unbreakable love for hidden knowledge'.[40] How do Tengnagel's interests in the history and languages of Islam help us to better understand the religious beliefs of a Catholic man in the first half of the seventeenth century?

3.3 Truth and Time: Tengnagel's Oriental Studies

On 14 September 1628, Tengnagel received a letter from Canon Johannes Hemelarius in Antwerp, a student of Justus Lipsius, friend of Hugo Grotius, and neo-Latin poet. In the letter, Hemelarius wrote about his nephews, the Golius brothers (Van Gool), both Orientalists: the Protestant Jacob and the Catholic Pieter. Jacob, a renowned mathematician and correspondent of Descartes, succeeded Erpenius as the new prince of Arabic studies in Holland, where he taught Arabic in Leiden from 1625. Pieter, the younger brother, joined the Discalced Carmelites under the name Celestinus de Sancta Liduina. In 1643, he established the Mission of Mount Lebanon and was appointed Professor of Arabic at the Seminary of S. Pancrazio in Rome in 1642. He translated Thomas a Kempis's *Liber de Imitatione Christi* into Arabic and worked on translating the Bible into Arabic and the Qur'an into Latin. Pieter died in Surat in 1676 while attempting to join his fellow friar, Matteo di San Giuseppe, in Malabar.[41]

Aware of Tengnagel's affection for both brothers, Hemelarius made a rather peculiar request in the letter. At the time, Jacob was in Constantinople as a guest of Cornelis Haga, having spent two years in Aleppo – a journey considered 'dangerous for the body and the soul'. Hemelarius suggested that on

39 M. Feingold, 'Learning Arabic in Early Modern England', in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic*, p. 50.

40 'Nos omnes, quos rerum abditarum amor sibi adamantinus quasi vinculis astrinxit', Tengnagel to Pietro Della Valle, 9.09.1629, in AAV, Della Valle-Del Bufalo, 52, fol. 173r (the draft is in STT0136).

41 Cf. P. Ambrosius a S. Teresia, *Nomenclator Missionariorum ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum* (Rome, 1944), pp. 98–9. The archive of the Discalced Carmelites in Rome holds several documents pertaining to Petrus Golius, including letters where he confirms having translated into Arabic the life of St. Teresa, as well as the Qur'an into Latin. I am currently trying to locate these volumes. I would like to thank Father Angelo Lanfranchi, director of the archive, and the archivist, Marcos Argüelles García, for their kind assistance. On Matteo di San Giuseppe and Golius, see C. Petrolini, 'Piante e bambini: i disegni di Matteo di San Giuseppe', in *Sacre Metamorfosi. Racconti di conversione tra Roma e il mondo in età moderna*, eds. C. Petrolini, V. Lavenia and S. Pavone (Rome, 2022), pp. 248–73.

his return to Leiden, where he had been appointed professor of mathematics, Jacob might travel overland via Vienna, giving Tengnagel an opportunity to offer him 'good advice' and possibly propitiate his conversion – a prospect keenly desired by both his brother and uncle.[42] Whether Tengnagel and Jacob Golius ever met remains a mystery. Nevertheless, the tale of these two brothers, with their differing motivations for studying Arabic – one driven by academic pursuits and the other by practical missionary endeavours – illustrates the multifaceted nature of Arabic studies in seventeenth-century Europe. Tengnagel held a profound respect for both brothers and, in a sense, for their contrasting perspectives, which he could observe from his unique vantage point in Vienna. The city's location, near the Ottoman Empire and simultaneously Catholic and in close proximity to the capitals of Protestant Northern Europe, highlights the fluidity and nuance in Tengnagel's views, and shows that the division between Protestant and Catholic Orientalism is not always so clear-cut.

When and how Sebastian Tengnagel decided to learn Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish remains unknown. The only trace comes from a note in one of his notebooks, where he mentions having an 'African Jew' as his teacher of Arabic in 1601.[43] Even less is known about what motivated him to undertake these studies, which he – echoing the rhetoric of many other Orientalists – described as exceedingly arduous, so difficult that they ruined his health and consumed all his intellectual strength, until the very end of his life. In a later letter, despite the war, his physical ailments, old age, and several professional disappointments, Tengnagel asked Pietro Della Valle for information on India and Tibet, continuing to push the boundaries of his curiosity and his enduring passion for 'the difficult and hidden things' of the East.[44]

Although the origins remain obscure, it is possible to trace, almost step by step, the advancements and setbacks in Tengnagel's studies, the shifts in his interests, the abandonment of many projects, and the strategies he employed to acquire news and manuscripts. His letters span approximately thirty years of his life. Throughout that period, Tengnagel knew only one *locus amoenus* to which he returned whenever possible: Oriental studies. All his other duties were hideous, thorny brambles, as he wrote to Hoeschel.[45] Elsewhere he compared his desire for manuscripts and knowledge of the East to an 'insatiable hunger', an unquenchable thirst, a consuming fire. Only the 'terrible upheavals

42 STT0121.

43 ÖNB, Cod. 15161, fol. 32v: 'Arabica et Hebraea quaedam a Iudaeo Africano accepta, qui me anno 1601 in Arabicis instruebat'.

44 STT0136.

45 STQ0016.

and the fury of war' could make him 'nauseated' by his beloved studies. But the hunger soon returned, and his studies remained the only 'quiet harbour' where he could rest from the shipwreck of the state that 'overwhelmed him with fright, and from which he survived only by a miracle'.[46]

In this context, marked by heavy rhetoric, we find a religious notion of friendship – a feature not uncommon in early modern epistles. In this particular case, the binding element was a shared attraction to the Eastern languages, religions and histories. Tengnagel himself describes this interest in terms of a passion, not merely as a scholarly pursuit or dry intellectual curiosity. This sentiment, this 'lust for knowledge', served as a bond for what Martin Mulsow has described as 'intellectual-emotional communities'.[47] Tengnagel felt united by an unbreakable 'bond of steel' with those who shared his love of 'rare, difficult and hidden things'; people, he further wrote, 'meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan' ('moulded from a better clay by the Titan'), quoting Juvenal's *Satires* (14, 35). This phrase enjoyed a certain fortune among the *esprits forts* and the libertines. It was used to designate those who could bear unadorned truth and who

46 'Thesaurus ille Arabismi Mediolanensis, an liber aliquis hac inscriptione notatus sit, scire cupio et Mediolani inquiri curabo, alioquin Lexicon Armenum ibid. excussum prostat, comparassem mihi illud iamdiu, sed ob bellicas hasce furias et rutubas paene ad omnia studia iuxta tecum nauseo' (STT0149); 'Austria [Tengnagel modifies a hexameter of Ennius quoted by Cicero, substituting the original 'Africa' with 'Austria'] terribili emit horrida terra tumultu indeque mens mea ceu peremtali fulmine perculsa obstupuit hactenus, et nauseabunda atque ab omnibus Musarum sacris ineundis aversas plane elanguit. – τοιᾶι γὰρ φρένες ἐσίν ἐπιχθονίων ανθρώπων / οἷον ἐπ ἦμαρ ἄγῃσι πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν [cf. Od. 18.135–136]. Nunc vero, rebus felicius et ex voto fluentibus, paulatim a continenti hoc decumanorum fluctuum aestu, respiramus emergimus, atque in quietum fidamque studiorum nostrorum portum nos post liminio is recipimus, maerorem tot Reipub. naufragis malis contractum abstergemus, uda vestimenta excutimus, et laeti lubentesque tabulam per naufragii indicem vobis alisque ostentamus, ut ex suavissimo litteratorum hominum colloquio, si qua etiamnum nubecula pectori animo adhaeserint nostro, penitissime evellatur' ('In Austria the earth trembled terribly with frightful tumult. And thus my mind, as if struck by a fatal thunderbolt, has been stunned up to now, and nauseated and completely averse to all the sacred duties of the Muses, it languished – 'For such is the mind of earth-dwelling humans, as is the day which the father of men and gods sends upon them' [Od. 18.135–136]. But now, with things flowing more happily and according to our wishes, gradually from this tempestuous sea of waves, we breathe, we emerge, and we return to the peaceful and faithful port of our studies, we wipe away the sorrow we have suffered in so many dreadful shipwrecks of the state, we shake off our wet clothes, and joyfully and willingly we show the shipwreck's tablet [according to the custom of the ex voto] as a record to you and others, so that from the sweetest conversation of learned men, if any small cloud still clings to our heart and mind, it may be completely removed'), STS0152, Tengnagel to Vincente Noguera.

47 Mulsow, *Knowledge Lost*, pp. 325–9.

were brave enough to venture into unexplored territories.[48] However, while the quotation and the context provide an intriguing insight, they do not allow us to speculate on Tengnagel's potential endorsement of the Averroistic doctrine of the double truth, as transmitted through the Paduan teachings. This doctrine suggests (in simple terms) that the communication of truth must be modulated according to the interlocutor's capacity to comprehend it.

Since Tengnagel was neither a clergyman, printer, nor professor, and had never completed any of his translations or other works, he was not compelled, like many of his colleagues, to justify his Arabic studies. However, he was well-acquainted with the typical arguments and could adapt them to suit his interlocutors. Hence, there are letters in which he mentions the benefit that Catholics could have gained from a better knowledge of Arabic texts and of the history of Muslim countries in inter-confessional disputes; others in which he takes part in the search, through the study of Arabic versions of the Bible, for the version closest to the original.

The impulse to study the languages of the Near East arose in the wake of the disputes and wars of religion in Europe. The main artery that fed these researches was the pressing need, with the emergence of the Reformation, to read the Holy Scriptures as accurately as possible. Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Samaritan, Ethiopic and Armenian gave access to older and more venerable versions of the Holy Scriptures, or to testimonies of the early Church that could become valuable weapons in the theological battle with which to charge an adversary of having deviated from the pristine Christian way. The same was true for Arabic: translations into Arabic of earlier and subsequently lost versions may have survived and could ensure greater exegetical precision and closer proximity to the sources of Christianity. Tengnagel discussed with Kirstenius and Casaubon about the discrepancies between passages in Arabic and Greek in the edition of the Gospels, while Gretser criticised him for his friendly dealings with the Maronite Victor Scialac (Naṣrallāh Šalaq al-ʿĀqūrī), claiming that Scialac himself had, according to the Jesuit, intentionally corrupted the liturgies of the Church Fathers in his edition, to the detriment of Catholics.[49] Incidentally, it was to Scialac that Tengnagel wrote, expressing his

48 'Elegans perpolitum atque curiosum Syntagma Vestrum De Magni illius Persarum Regis Abassi Vita erudite contextum cupidissime legi, et ut multorum Magnatum manibus "Quis meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan" praestantis operis debita commendatione, tereretur effeci [...] Nos omnes, quos rerum abditarum amor sibi adamantinus quasi vinculis astrinxit' Tengnagel to Pietro Della Valle, 9.09.1629, in AAV, Della Valle-Del Bufalo, 52, fol. 173r (the draft is in STT0136).

49 In STR0065 Gretser (who call Scialac a 'Pseudoscaliger') refers to *Liturgiae s. Basili Magni, s. Gregorii Theologi, s. Cyrilli Alexandrini. Ex arabico conversae a Victorio Scialach*

delight that Arabic studies would assist in uncovering works of the Church Fathers lying in eastern libraries, and would bring clarity to European disputes, for the benefit of Catholics and, he adds, for the destruction of 'religionis muhamedicae'.[50] However, when he spoke to his Protestant friends and colleagues, he presented Arabic studies as benefiting the Republic of Letters, as knowledge for the sake of knowledge, and as the wise scholar's duty to 'wrest knowledge from the darkness', to 'break the ice' of ignorance. There is no indication of any attempt to delegitimise one of the parties through the mechanism of 'shame-praising' or by identifying the confessional adversaries as 'similar to Muslims'.[51] Despite admiring the renowned Arabic type printer Guillaume Le Bé, Tengnagel disagreed with his alleged refusal to print works in Arabic prepared by Protestants. He was also in contact with a man like Hieronymus Megiser, who advocated for the study of Ottoman Turkish as one of the languages spoken in the Holy Roman Empire. In contrast to Spain, where Arabic was rejected, suppressed, and banned, Megiser's efforts reflect a tentative attempt within the Holy Roman Empire to incorporate Turkish as one of the languages of its already multilingual empire.[52]

There are also faint traces of a subtle and mystical reasoning that was crucial to the launch of sixteenth-century Oriental studies: the belief that knowing Arabic and accessing Arabic texts could lead to a wisdom hidden in the cracks of time, to the attainment of the *prisca theologia* that precedes divisions of faith, language, and tradition; and that learning Hebrew and Arabic was a way to achieve the primordial unity of the world. Closely related to this was the universalism of thinkers like Guillaume Postel and Tommaso Campanella: the

(Augsburg, 1604). On Scialac, see A. Diotallevi, *L'abate Vittorio Scialac e il Collegio maronita di Ravenna* (Bologna, 1991); A. Girard, 'Entre croisade et politique culturelle au Levant: Rome et l'union des chrétiens syriens', in *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna*, ed. M. A. Visceglia (Rome, 2013), pp. 419–37, at 419–20; P. La Spisa, 'Naúr Allâh Šalaq al-Âqûrí (Vittorio Scialac Accurense) e il suo ruolo politico e culturale tra Roma, Firenze e Ravenna', *Orientalia Christiana* 87 (2021), 389–412. Kirstenius discusses some passages of the Gospels in Arabic in STR0076.

50 STQ0031 (08 Jan. 1613).

51 For a comprehensive analysis of these dynamics in early modern Europe, see N. Malcolm, *Useful Enemies. Islam and The Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450–1750* (Oxford, 2019).

52 *Megiser Institutionum Linguae Turcicae Libri Quatuor* (Leipzig, 1612). The book is in Turkish, Arabic, Latin, Italian, German, French. Megiser had used Kirstenius' typography, cf. STR0078. On the studies of Turkish in early modern German and Western Europe as an effect of interactions – peaceful or not – with the Ottoman Empire, see N. Ö. Palabıyık, *Silent Teachers. Turkish Books and Oriental Learning in Early Modern Europe, 1544–1669* (Abbington, 2023); P. Babinski, *World Literature in Practice: The Orientalist's Manuscript between the Ottoman Empire and Germany* (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2020).

idea that studying the East could achieve religious unity, heal the schismatic wounds in both Europe and the Orient, and shape Catholicism as a universal religion; or even find common ground between the Qur'an, the Talmud, and the Bible, thereby bridging the divisions between Christians, Jews, and Muslims.

Lastly, though he never employed it in this way, Tengnagel was fully aware of the justification for studying Arabic and Hebrew as a conversion device,[53] a means to bring into the Catholic Church those who did not belong to it. The immense pontifical apparatus, having lost its absolute hegemony in Europe, turned its focus to non-European lands, embarking on a vast programme of global conversion, supported by a neo-Platonic universalism and a complex rhetoric of miracles and martyrdom. The missionaries sent to Arabic-speaking countries needed to know the language to convert the infidels, while in Rome the texts of Catholic doctrine were translated and printed in those languages to be distributed during the missions.

However, among his letters, there is a striking example of the use of Arabic not to promote the conversion of a Muslim to Christianity or vice versa, but potentially to convert a Catholic to Protestantism. This intriguing possibility emerges from a letter written by Jakob Christmann, from Heidelberg, on 29 April 1611. Christmann, who, according to some biographers, was raised in a Jewish family, taught Hebrew at the University of Heidelberg and was among the Reformed professors dismissed in 1579 for refusing to sign the Formula of Concord (a Lutheran oath of obedience to several doctrinal statements). After spending a few years at the Casimiranium in Neustadt, he returned to Heidelberg in 1609, where he was appointed to a chair of Arabic; in the meantime, he had alienated much of the Republic of Letters by daring to criticise Julius Justus Scaliger's *Opus Novum de Emendatione Temporum*.[54]

53 As for Hebrew, see K. R. Stow, 'Conversion, Christian Hebraism, and Hebrew Prayer in the Sixteenth Century', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 47 (1976), 217–36.

54 On Christmann (and his links to Thomas Erastus), cf. F. W. E. Roth, 'Jakob Christmann, ein Heidelberger Professor (1554–1613)', *Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der rheinischen Pfalz* 4 (1901), 180–8. On his polemic with Scaliger, cf. C. P. E. Nothaft, 'A Sixteenth-Century Debate on the Jewish Calendar: Jacob Christmann and Joseph Justus Scaliger', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 103/1 (2013), 47–73; A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1983–93), vol. 2, pp. 378–85. Tengnagel owned a copy of the Latin translation of al-Farghānī published by Christmann as a reply to Scaliger: *Muhamedis Alfragani Arabis chronologica et astronomica elementa, e Palatinae bibliothecae veteris libris versa, expleta, & scholiis exposita* (Frankfurt, 1590): ÖNB, 72.M.103 (price: 110 cr.), http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09647490. Christmann sent Tengnagel a letter in Turkish as well; on this, see Hülya Çelik's chapter 4.

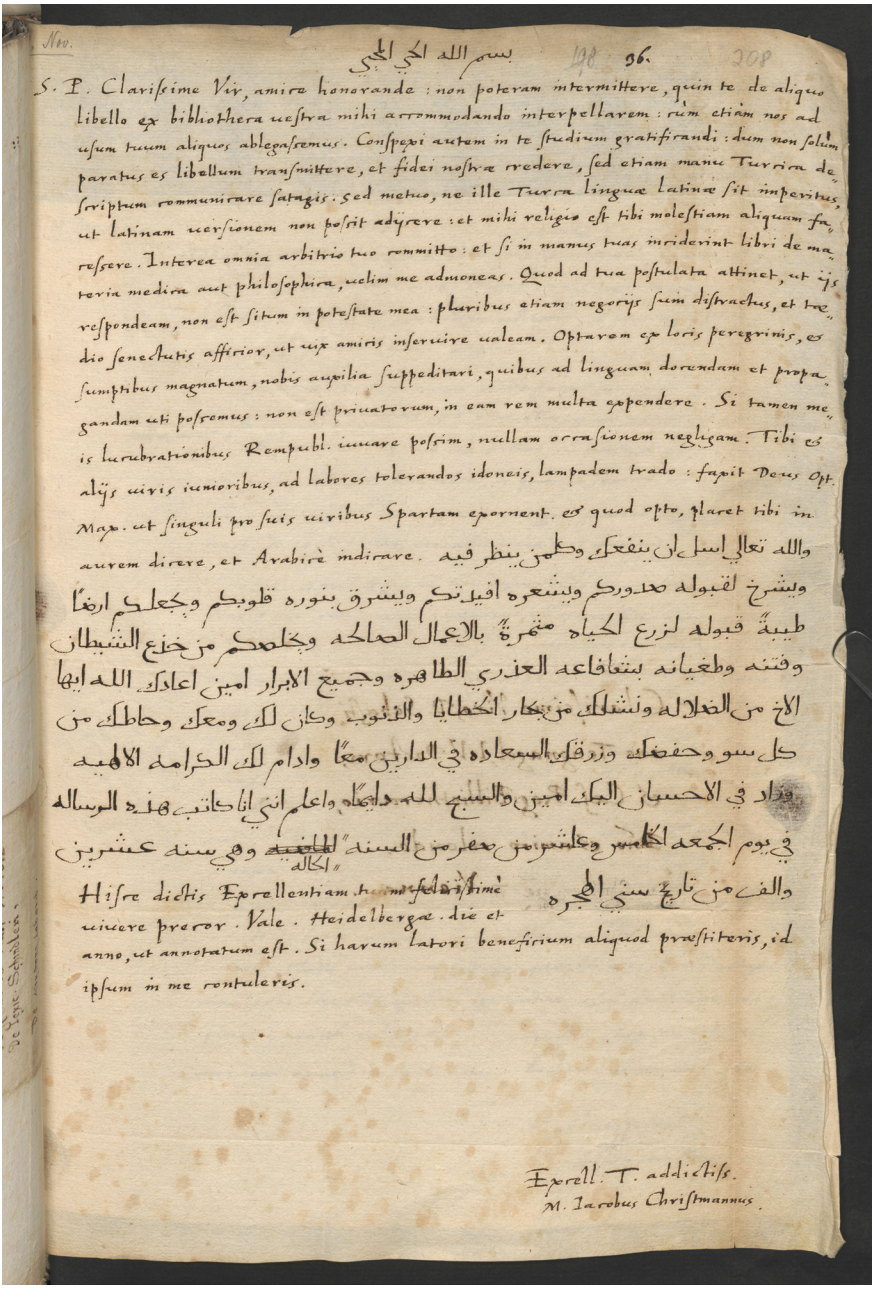

FIGURE 3.3 Letter from Jakob Christmann, ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fol. 208r

In the first part of his letter to Tengnagel, written in Latin, Christmann refers to a Turkish manuscript in Vienna that he wished to have translated, expressing concern that Tengnagel's copyist, İbrāhīm Dervīş, 'ille Turca,' might not possess sufficient Latin skills for the task. Following are statements about his fatigue and a desire to leave his studies to younger successors. In the second and concluding segment of the letter, remarkably, Christmann switches to Arabic, marking a significant shift in both tone and content. He warns Tengnagel to refrain from the path of error and sin, instead encouraging him to open his heart to the illumination of God's truth. Although other readings of this passage might be considered – especially given the unexpected mention of the intercession of the Virgin Mary and the saints, which seems to contradict Christmann's Protestant identity – a notable interpretation could suggest that Christmann, a Protestant, sought to sway Tengnagel, a Catholic, towards Protestantism using Arabic as a means of discreet communication. This interpretation, though speculative and lacking definitive proof, highlights the use of Arabic as almost a 'ciphered' language between the two non-natives.[55]

55 STR0159: "والله تعالي أسأل أن ينفعك وكل من ينظر فيه ويشرح لقبوله صدوركم ويشعره افيدتكم ويشرق بنوره قلوبكم ويجعلكم أرضًا طيبةً قبوله لزرع" الحياة مثمرةً بالأعمال الصالحة ويخلصكم من خذع الشيطان وفتنه وطغيانه بشفاعة العذراء الطاهرة وجميع الأبرار. آمين. يعيدك الله أيها الأخ من الضلالة وينشلك من بحار الخطايا والذنوب ويكون لك ومعك وحاظك من كل سو وحفظك وزرقك السعادة في الدارين معًا ويدوم لك الكرامة الإلهية. وزاد في الحسان إليك. آمين. والسبح لله دائمًا. واعلم أنني أنا كاتب هذه الرسالة في يوم الجمعة الجمس وعاشر من صفر من السنة الحالة وهي سنة عشرين". [*Wallāhi taʿālā asʾalu an yanfaʿaka wa kulla man yanẓuru fīhi wa-yashraḥa li-qubūlihī ṣudūrakum wa-yushʿirahū afīdatukum wa-yushriqa bi-nūrihī qulūbakum wa-yajʿalakum arḍan ṭayyibatan qubūluhū li-zarʿal-ḥayātu muthmiratun bil-aʿmāli ṣ-ṣāliḥati wa-yukhliṣakum min khudhʿi sh-shayṭāni wa-fitnatihī wa-tughyānihī bi-shafāʿati l-ʿadhāʾi ṭ-ṭāhirati wa-jamīʿ l-abrāri. Āmīn. Yaʿīdaka llāhu ayyuhā l-akh mina ḍ-ḍalālati wa-yanshulaka min biḥāri l-khaṭāyā wa-dh-dhunūb wa-yakūna laka wa-maʿaka wa-ḥāẓaka min kulli sūʾin wa-ḥafiẓaka wa-zaraqaka* [instead of *razaqaka*] *s-saʿādata fī d-dārayn maʿan wa-yadūma laka l-karāmatu l-ilāhiyyatu. Wa-zāda fī l-ḥasān ilayka. Āmīn. Wa-sbaḥ li-llāh dāʾiman. Wa-ʿlim annanī anā kātibu hādhihī r-risālati fī yawmi l-jumʿati l-jams* [!] *wa-ʿāshir min ṣafar mina s-sannati l-ḥālati wa hiya sanatu ʿishrīna*]. 'I beseech Allah to grant you and all who contemplate His glory strength and wisdom, opening your hearts to His presence, allowing your souls to feel His divine light. May your hearts become fertile soil, nurturing the seeds of righteous deeds, and may you be delivered from the snares of the devil, shielded by the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin [pure virgin] and the blessings of all the saints [pious men]. Amen. My dear brother, may God guide you back from the path of error, rescuing you from the treacherous waters of error and sin. May He be your constant companion, protecting you

As we shall see, the editorial efforts made by Tengnagel (though never completed) were all focused on historical or geographical books concerning the Muslim kingdoms, or on linguistic works, dictionaries, lexicons, and grammars. This is an important fact, aligning Tengnagel with figures like Erpenius, Golius, and Schickard. Nevertheless, this choice does not imply a lack of interest in religion and philosophy: his knowledge of great classical Arabic and Hebrew philosophy was excellent, as was his proficiency in Muslim and Hebrew religious writings. His *marginalia* in the preface of Ibn Tufayl's famous philosophical-mystical novel *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, in an anonymous Hebrew translation, show his interest in what Ibn Tufayl calls 'Philosophia orientalis' (referring to a work by Ibn Sina). The meaning of this formula is still debated by scholars. In simple terms, it represents a state of almost permanent mystical and rational union with God, offering a path to truth beyond the confines of revealed religion and prescribed doctrine. To illustrate what 'Oriental philosophy' entails, Ibn Tufayl recounts his philosophical tale of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. This story of a man isolated from human society and formal religions, who yet discovers fundamental truths independently, presents a compelling vision of autonomous intellectual and spiritual discovery.[56]

Less conjectural is the hypothesis that Tengnagel was interested in a non-theological comparison between different religious rituals and ceremonies,

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from all harm and showering you with happiness in this world and the hereafter. May His divine grace shine upon you perpetually, bestowing ever greater blessings. Amen. Praise be to God for all eternity. Please know that I write this message on a Friday, the 15th of Safar in the current year, which corresponds to the year 1020 after the Hijra.'

56 ÖNB, Cod. Hebr. 70 (Ibn Tufayl, *Hai ben Joktan*), anonymous translation with commentary by Moses Narbonne (manuscript from Italy, 15th century). On fol. 1r, beyond his usual ex libris, Tengnagel writes: 'Liber philosohic. Ebu Becher B. Taphil cum comment. Rarae notae et inventum difficill.'; 'Empt. VIII coronat'. This is how he describes the manuscript in his catalogue: 'Ebubecher fili Taphil Arabis Tractatus philosophicus de vita Anachoreta vel Solitari, difficilis et reconditae erudition. cum commentario cuiusd. Hebraei Philosophi. Adducunt in hoc auctore multi peregrini scriptores. MS in 4° antiq. Char. 8 coronae. Averroes laudat hunc auctorem' (ÖNB, Cod. 9539, fol. 36r). Concerning the idea of 'philosophia orientalis' in Tufayl, see T. Kukkonen, 'Ibn Ṭufayl and the Wisdom of the East: On Apprehending the Divine', in *Late Antique Epistemology. Other Ways to Truth*, ed. P. Vassilopoulou and S. R. L. Clark (London, 2009), pp. 87–102; D. Gutas, 'Ibn Tufayl on Ibn Sînâ's Eastern Philosophy', *Oriens* 34 (1994), 222–41; C. A. Nallino, 'Filosofia «Orientale» od «Illuminativa» d'Avicenna?', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 10 (1923–25), 433–67. E. Pocock's 1671 editio princeps carries the title *Philosophus autodidactus, sive epistola Abi Jaafar, Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdhan*; pp. 133–64; see H. Daiber, 'The Reception of Islamic Philosophy at Oxford in the 17th Century: The Pococks' (Father and Son) Contribution to the Understanding of Islamic Philosophy in Europe', in *The Introduction of Arabic Philosophy into Europe*, ed. C. Butterworth and B. A. Kessel (Leiden, 1994), pp. 65–82.

particularly highlighting the overlaps and syncretisms between Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. The early Orientalists, recognising and intrigued by the 'family resemblance' among the three Abrahamic religions, laid the foundations for what would become religious studies. Guy G. Stroumsa notes that it was later Orientalists, particularly in the eighteenth century, who began to question this kinship, previously considered almost self-evident, a shift largely influenced by the emerging studies on Vedic India.[57] Once again, it is not so much the letters that are revealing, but rather Tengnagel's notebooks and marginalia. For instance, ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 472 (written in 1575, probably in Rumelia) is labelled as a generic *Gebetbuch*, a kind of book of hours in Turkish and Arabic. On the title page, Tengnagel emphasises the peculiarity of the 'rarum et mirandum opusculum', which included references to Christ and Mary among the Islamic festivities (events highlighted inside the booklet with notes).[58] This description in Latin on the frontispiece is preceded by a quotation from Quintilian (later picked up by Erasmus in his *Adagia*, III, I, 28), which for a while became Tengnagel's motto: 'Dum clavum rectum teneam', 'As long as I keep a straight course'. Employed by Tengnagel as an *ex libris* and in the dedications on *alba amicorum*, it sounds almost like a reassurance to himself of the integrity of his intellectual endeavours.[59]

57 Cf. G. G. Stroumsa, 'Ex Oriente Numen: From Orientalism to Oriental Religions', in *Les religions orientales dans le monde grec et romain : cent ans après Cumont (1906–2006). Bilan historique et historiographique. Colloque de Rome, 16–18 novembre 2006*, C. Bonnet, V. Pirenne-Delforge and D. Praet (Rome, 2009), pp. 89–101; id., *The Idea of Semitic Monotheism: The Rise and Fall of a Scholarly Myth* (Oxford, 2021). On religious comparison in early modern time, see P. Borgeaud, *Aux origines de l'histoire des religions* (Paris, 2004); P. Borgeaud, D. Barbu and P. Matthey (eds.), *Exercices d'histoire des religions: comparaison, rites, mythes et émotions* (Leiden, 2016); R. Gagné, S. Goldhill and G. Lloyd (eds.), *Regimes of Comparatism: Frameworks of Comparison in History, Religion and Anthropology* (Leiden, 2019).

58 'Dum clavum rectum teneam navimque gubernem. Continetur in hoc libro Calendarium, rarum et mirandum opusculum, quod complectitur non solum festa Muhammedanorum sed et Christi et B. Virginis Mariae, partim Turcice partim Arabice. Sebastian Tengnagel. Nr. 82, 4 flor. Sebast. Tengnagel N° 82. 4 flo.'. Various words translated into Latin by Tengnagel (fols. 26–53). Among the marginalia, on fol. 52v: 'Natav. B. Mar. Virginis 8 Sept.'; on fol. 53r: 'XIV huius fest. S. Crucis Exaltatio'. On fol. 26r there is the signature of a previous possessor.

59 The whole quotation from Quintilian is: 'Dum clavum rectum teneam navimque gubernem, Uni committam cetera cuncta Deo' (if you can just keep steering straight, you can entrust the rest to God alone). Tengnagel also writes the motto 'Dum Clavum' in his entry (13 June 1605) on Menold Hillebrand von Harsens's *Album amicorum* (Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. hist.fol. 889-44m, fol. 33r).

In his notebooks, which are sources of great interest,[60] Tengnagel documents funeral rituals and fasting rules observed by Jews, Ethiopians and Muslims; he gathers information on the practices of the Brahmins and their vegetarianism; he takes note of Muslim sects that believe in the salvation of all good men, and describes Christian sects in Egypt that follow unusual rituals in baptism; and he records some apotropaic formulas and magic rituals performed by Jews, Muslims and pagans.[61] Only by reading the *marginalia* in his Oriental manuscripts do we have access to a range of interests and curiosities that were intentionally or unintentionally omitted from his letters. These include millenarianism among Eastern Christians and Muslims, the diversity of Christian and Muslim 'sects', the language spoken by ancient ancestors, and the parallels between the Bible, Qur'an, and Talmud.[62] Even with all due caution, Tengnagel's writings – including scattered notes, *marginalia*, letters, and catalogues of manuscripts and printed books – reveal his engagement with Muslim and Jewish religious texts, practices, and rites, alongside his interest in comparing the three Abrahamic faiths. He was well aware of the sensitive nature of this endeavour within the Roman Catholic Church, which had an undercurrent of tension and divergent attitudes towards Oriental studies. These issues will be further addressed in the following section.

60 To appreciate the relevance of this type of source, see A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, 'Johann Buxtorf makes a Notebook,' in *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices: A Global Approach*, ed. A. Grafton and G. M. Most (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 275–98; M. Mulsow, 'Microscripts of the Orient Navigating Scholarly Knowledge from Notebooks to Books', in id., *Knowledge Lost*, pp. 381–416. Further details on Tengnagel's notebooks are in the next section and in H. Çelik, 'Traces of the Captive Copyist Dervīş İbrāhīm in Sebastian Tengnagel's (d. 1636) Notebooks', in *"Buyurdum ki. ..." – The Whole World of Ottomanica and Beyond. Studies in Honor of Claudia Römer*, ed. H. Çelik, Y. Köse and G. Procházka-Eisl (Leiden, Boston, 2023), pp. 270–93.

61 See, for instance: ÖNB, Cod. 15160 (fol. 113r: 'Chapescidae, secta Christianorum in Alexandria Nubidae, hi Chapescidae in baptismo serant in tres lineolas in utrasque maxilla, non distant longe a monte Sina'); ÖNB, Cod. 8997 (fol. 20r, 24r, notes on the 'Brachmanes Indorum' and on the Eunuchs; fol. 30r: 'Magiae perficiendae ossa sepulchralia de mortuor. conquisit. de quib. crebra mentio apud Rabbin. in Thalmud'), ÖNB, Cod. 15165.

62 See, among many examples, ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 403, a Coptic text containing the apocalypse and the visions of Daniel on which Tengnagel copies the judgement of Liutprando di Cremona; or ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 149, a text by a judge of Süleyman the Magnificent – Ḥusein ibn Ḥasan – which Tengnagel describes as follows: 'Historia miscella continens mundi creationem, Chalipharum et Sultanorum Aegypti seriem, aliaque qua historica, qua moralia'. Among the numerous marginal notes, on fol. 27v Tengnagel crosses information regarding the Mu'tazilites with that from al-Ghazali and Yehuda ha-Levi: 'De Mutazili opinionib. et secta, vide Algazelem meum MS. et כוזרי בכוזרי [Kuzari] lib. 3. cap. 18. et lib. 1. cap. 70'; see also ÖNB, Cod A. F. 507.

Let us then see how Tengnagel regarded the role of Vienna – becoming increasingly the capital of the re-Catholicisation of the multi-confessional Holy Roman Empire – and Rome – the normative centre of Catholicism – in shaping the new discipline of Oriental philology.

3.4 Vienna and Rome: Dreams, Projects and Failures

In his opening lecture (printed in 1554) as Regius Professor at the University of Vienna, Guillaume Postel celebrated Vienna as the new capital of Oriental studies in Europe and praised king Ferdinand as the patron of a knowledge which, as he wrote, was the only path to universal reconciliation, to *concordia mundi*.[63] Postel was referring to an extraordinary project carried out with the German Albrecht Widmanstetter, the Fleming Andreas Masius and the Jacobite Moses of Mardin, which culminated in the *editio princeps* of the *New Testament in Syriac* in 1555 (the same year as the Peace of Augsburg and two years after the burning of the Talmud in Rome). The work was printed in Vienna by Michael Zimmermann with engraved matrices by Kaspar Kraft.[64]

Postel's wish, echoed and amplified in Widmanstetter's 'Dedicatio' of the Gospels, albeit in a slightly different manner, was destined to be ephemeral. Postel went to Venice even before the *editio princeps* was printed, Moses of Mardin left the city shortly afterwards, and Widmanstetter – weary of his position as Superintendent of the University of Vienna – retired to private life and died in 1557, leaving scarcely a trace of his once-glorious presence. Very few

63 *Guilielmi Postelli Regii in Academia Viennensi Linguarum Peregrinarum et Mathematum Professoris de Linguae Phoenicis sive Hebraicae excellentia & de necessario illius & Arabicae penes Latinos vsu, Praefatio, aut potius loquutionis humanaeve perfectionis Panegyris* (Vienna, 1554). The printer Michael Zimmermann inserts a few sentences in Arabic on the first and last page. This is the first book printed in Germany with Arabic script.

64 *Ketābâ d-'ewangeliôn qaddîšâ d-māran w-'alāhan Yešû Mešîhâ … Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii … characteribus et lingua Syra* (Vienna, Zimmermann, 1555). On the history and relevance of this *editio princeps*, cf. R. J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: the first printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden-Boston, 2008). Regarding the partnership between Zimmermann and Kraft and the fate of the Syriac (and possibly also Arabic) typefaces, in addition to Wilkinson, see G. Fritz, *Geschichte der Wiener Schriftgiessereien* (Vienna, 1924), pp. 20–24; O. Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht v und Johann Jakob Fugger* (Munich, 1917), pp. 9–19; J. F. Coakley, *The Typography of Syriac: a Historical Catalogue of Printing Types, 1537–1958* (London, 2006). On Widmanstetter's life, see M. Müller, *Johann Albrecht v. Widmanstetter 1506–1557 Sein Leben und Wirken* (Bamberg, 1907).

of his books remained there, and Ferdinand I was not even able to secure the types, the matrices, or the punches.

Material aspects of printing were of major relevance and played a crucial role in the failure of Tengnagel's plans, seventy years later, to establish an Oriental printing house in Vienna. But the symbolic significance of that legacy endured, and Tengnagel used it as an example to refer to, recalling the Arabic studies of Postel and Widmanstetter, 'a most learned man and expert in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldean and Arabic', as he noted on a manuscript belonging to Widmanstetter that he purchased in 1609 for 8 florins.[65] Tengnagel knew that Widmanstetter's manuscripts had ended up in Munich, and in 1605 he copied a Syriac–Arabic lexicon by Moses of Mardin from a codex in Munich, adding the translations of the words into Latin (and sometimes Italian, German, Hebrew and Greek).[66] He also possessed a partial copy of the 'Epitome Totius Alchorani,' an extract from Robert of Ketton's Latin translation of the Qur'an, which was printed by Widmanstetter. It appears that Tengnagel's copy originated from a miscellaneous manuscript belonging to Johannes Faber, the Bishop of Vienna.[67]

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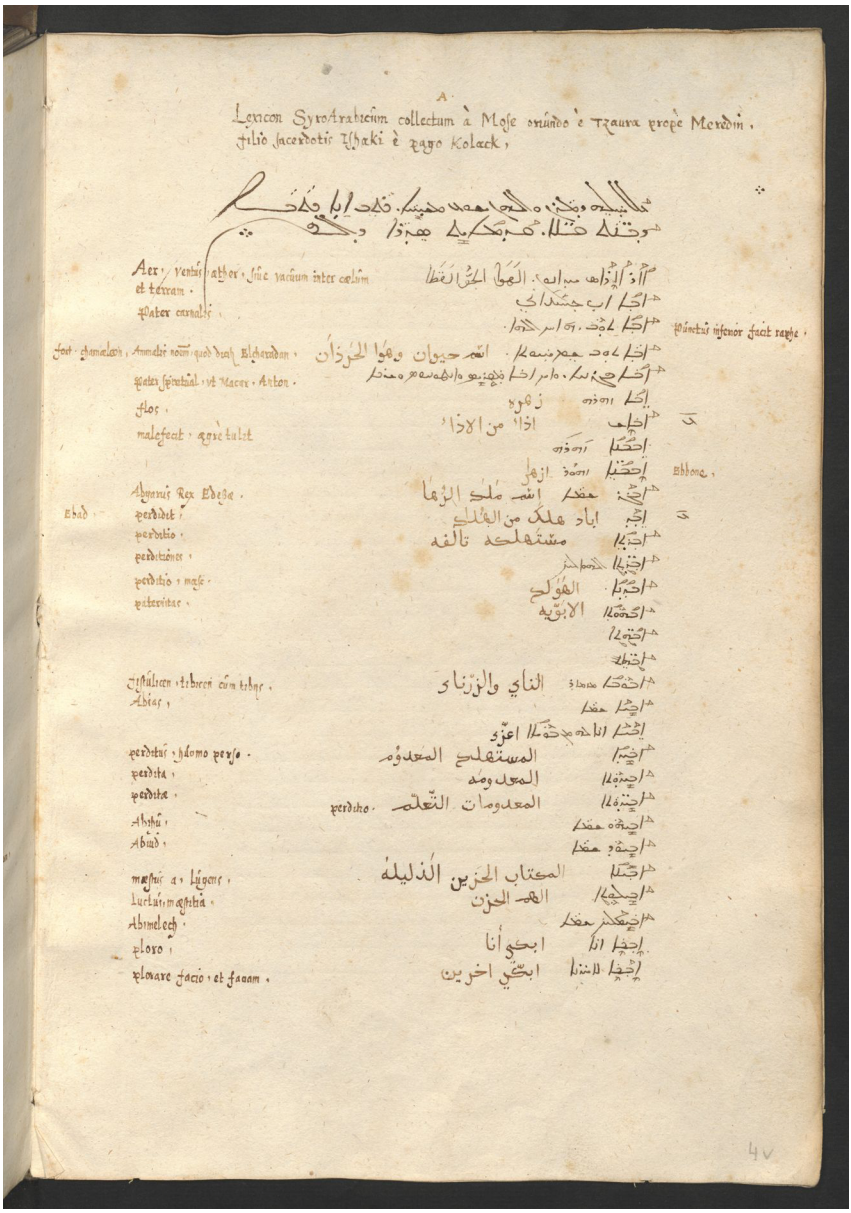
65 In 1609, Tengnagel purchased for 8 florins a codex of Bonizo of Sutri which had previously belonged to Widmanstetter. Under the autograph signature 'Jo. Albr. Wimestadii' he added: 'Cancellarii olim Ferdinandi Imp. in excelso ut vocant Austriae regimine, viri doctissimi et linguarum hebraicae, syriacae, chaldaicae et arabicae periti, qui bibliothecam suam libris orientalibus instructissimam Alberto Boiorum duci reddidit' (ÖNB, Cod. 2186).

66 ÖNB, Cod. 15162. The manuscript consists of 110 folios; on the right side there is the column in Syriac, in the centre is the Arabic and on the left side the Latin/Italian translation. On fol. 4v Tengnagel wrote: 'Lexicon SyroArabicum collectum a Mose oriundo e Tzaura prope Meredin, filio sacerdotis Ishaki e pago Kolack' (and on fol. 1r: Ex libris Sebastiani Tengnagel Burani Geldri Caesar. Biblioth. Curat. Librum hunc, si quid mihi humanitus acciderit, Caes. Bibliothecae do lego. Aº ↀDIↃCV'). The manuscript features also sporadic entries from a different hand. As often happens, Tengnagel occasionally adds a few remarks in the margin in addition to the translation. For instance, on fol. 53v: 'Gurdi sono Turchi Persiani, dicono Kun pro cunno. NB. Churdi habent succeßionem dominorum, et tamen sub Turcha sunt'; fol. 75v: 'Morun, nomen prop. a quo Maronitae appellant nos Romanos Levanin, id est Leoninos, a S. Leone PP. qui diversi sunt a nobis, duce Iacobo, a quo ipsi Iacobitae. Not. Nestoriani sunt cultures maximi B. V. Mariae, Graecos appellant Iacobitae Malachiin, a Rege vel Imp. item Marquianin, a Marciano Imp. in Synodo IV Chalcedonensi'. Tengnagel describes the Codex in his catalogue as follows: 'Lexicon SyroArabicum, a Moyse Meredinaeo Ignati Patriarchae Antiocheni legato, collectum, et a me in Arabicis ex Bavarico Codice exscriptum. In fol. 15 flor.' (ÖNB, Cod. 9539, fol. 51v).

67 ÖNB, Cod. 11814. This manuscript consists of 11 folios, with Tengnagel's handwriting discernible on fol. 5r. The text is identical to that in cod. 11879, fols. 43r–82v (Johannes Faber's codex). ÖNB, Cod. 11879 concludes with an appendix that highlights the similarities between the beliefs and rites of Christians, Jews, and Muslims. Guido Bartolucci is


A
Lexicon SyroArabicum collectum à Mose oriundo è Tzaura prope Merdin,
filio sacerdotis Yhaki è pago Kolaek,
Aer, ventis pater, sive vacuum inter cælum
et terram.
Pater cœnalis.
Pater cœnalis inferior facit rayhe.
Asinus.
Asinus.
Asinus

Yet Tengnagel was well aware that he lived in a time radically different from Widmanstetter's. Behind the collective endeavour of the *editio princeps* lay an idea of unity that Tengnagel's contemporaries now perceived as anachronistic: Widmanstetter wanted his readers to hear the authentic voice of Jesus, the Christian language ('veluti ex ore Iesu Christi'), prior to any divisions.[68] Ferdinand I's, and later Maximilian's, financial and political support for Oriental studies stemmed from their desire to present themselves as rulers of both Western and Eastern Christendom and as agents in the conversion of Muslims and Jews in particular. Hence the creation (also ephemeral) of Hebrew professorships as part of the University of Vienna's reform in 1554.[69]

Tengnagel sought a patron for his studies in the three emperors he served, but failed to find one. The physician and Orientalist Petrus Kirstenius (1577–1640),[70] from Wrocław, wrote to Tengnagel lamenting the lack of an Arabic type printing press in the territory of the Holy Roman Empire and asking him to persuade the emperor to invest the necessary money. These efforts were

currently studying the connections between this appendix and the works of Ficino. See G. Bartolucci, 'Marsilio Ficino and Islamic Tradition: His Sources and His Interpretation,' forthcoming.

68 *Ketābâ d-'ewangelîôn*, p. KK3.

69 The professorship was held by the Jewish convert Anthonius Margaritha, the Hungarian Janós Sylvester, Andreas Plancus, and the Jewish convert from Udine Paulus Weidner, who died in 1585. For a survey of Jewish and Syriac studies in Vienna under Ferdinand I, cf. C. Roche, 'Langues orientales et réseaux orientalistes à Vienne au xvie siècle: les Habsbourg et l'unité chrétienne au temps des divisions confessionnelles (1533–1587)', in *Les villes des Habsbourg du xve au xixe siècle*, ed. L. Pelizaeus (Reims, 2021), pp. 63–86. On Margaritha, cf. M. Diemling, 'Anthonius Margaritha and his ‚Der Gantz Judisch Glaub'', in *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, ed. D. P. Belland, S. G. Burnett (Boston, Leiden, 2006), pp. 303–33. On Weidner, cf. P. J. Diamant, 'Paulus Weidner von Billerburg (1525–1585), kaiserlicher Leibarzt und Rektor der Universität', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 13/14 (1933), 57–64; H. Smolinsky, 'Konversion zur Konfession. Jüdische Konvertiten im 16. Jahrhundert', in *Konversionen im Mittelalter und in der Frühneuzeit*, eds. F. Niewöhner and F. Rädle (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 1999), pp. 153–70; C. Roche, 'An Erasmian Jewish Convert in 16th Century Vienna? Christian Concord and Jewish Sources in the Work of Paulus Weidner', *Religions*, 14, no. 9: 1141 (2023), https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14091141. On the reforms of the University of Vienna, cf. J. Aschbach, 'Geschichte der Wiener Universität', in *Die Wiener Universität und ihre Gelehrten 1520–1565* (Vienna, 1888), vol. 3, pp. 36–40.

70 A comprehensive study on Kirstenius is yet to be undertaken. On him, see H. Witte, *Memoriae medicorum nostri saeculi* (Königsberg, Frankfurt, 1676), pp. 112–23; P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (Amsterdam, 1697) vol. II, pp. 236–8; and A. Schimmelpfennig, 'Kirstenius, Petrus,' in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (*ADB*), 16 (Leipzig, 1882), p. 34. Kirstenius printed Megiser's Turkish grammar in his printing house, see Nil Ö. Palabıyık, *Silent Teachers. Turkish Books and Oriental Learning in Early Modern Europe, 1544–1669* (London, 2023), pp. 96–8.

in vain, so Kirstenius finally decided to set up his own printing press, though he complained to Tengnagel about the challenges of managing the enterprise, both financially and scientifically, as he had no qualified people to employ.[71] In 1614, Tengnagel wrote to Daniel Heinsius to tell him about the return of the Arabic lexicon (formerly Scaliger's) that Heinsius had lent him, and asked him for help in finding a printer willing to publish the copy that Tengnagel had made together with İbrāhīm Dervīş, with the addition of the Latin translation. Such a printer, if found, could also publish other texts that he wished to release and that he considered almost ready. He lamented the 'printers who are deaf or only interested in their own profit,' envied the better situation among the 'Batavi,' and expressed hope for the 'rise of some Maecenas who will turn his eyes on these fruitless fields'.[72] He reiterated this view to Erpenius around the same time, giving him a list of the works he intended to print if he could only find a willing printer (this list is analysed in detail in the next section).[73]

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71 STR0021, STR0050; STR0066; STR0076; STS0041.

72 STR0200 (Tengnagel to Heinsius).

73 STR199 (22 Aug. 1614): 'Ante semestre, et quod excurrit literarum aliquid ad te, Clariß. et doctissime Erpenni, dedi, quibus mihi aditum ad amicitiae tuae vestibulum conciliare equidem conatus sum. Verum fallaci hactenus et casso voto, nam ad meas nihil dum, quod avidissime discupiebam, rescriptum aut redditum est, quid causae sit, haud satis exputo nisi fortasse an aut meae aut tuae lata tabellariorum culpa aut incuria disperierint, quod sane nolim. Itaque paucis retexo scriptionis officium, et eadem consimilis argumenti chorda oberrare, studiorum tuorum peregrinorum incitamentis, immo irritamentis vehementer impellor, nam et ego eorum ἔρῳ δυσερῷ μαινόμενος et quaecumque eorundem corrivalem aut consecraneum fando accipio, illum mihi ad usus adiungere meos, cupiditate quadam incredibili, neque ut arbitror, reprehendenda flagro, in quorum numero cum tibi palmam facile deferrat orientalium harum litterarum eques et senatus, et merito quidem, cum earum pomeria non tantum viva voce, sed et scriptis in publicum editis longe lateque proferre, illustrare, et ad summum pervehere fastigium sedulo connitaris. Macte hoc animo et hac felicitate, VC, Deus et Magnates nostri Belgae tua praeclare coepta secundent, attollant, et illustria aliquot ex Arabum fodinis eruta monumenta in Medic., Matheti., Astronomia, Historia et Philosophia, in publicam hanc reipub. litterariae orchestram impensis procudant et perducant suis. Conferrem et ego nonnullam in haec studia Symbolam, si Typographus aliquis ea typis mandare vellet. Curo enim exscribi Historiam Turcicam turcice MS a legato turcico hic agente mutuo acceptam, rarioris sane notae et commatis opus, ut pote quod complectitur omnium, quotquot a condita Mahummedana secta ubique gentium floruerunt, Chalipharum, Regum, Sultanorum, in diversis nobisque incognitis provinciis, res gestas domi militiaeque, ac successorum seriem exacte et accurate, Ismaelis etiam Abilfada Cosmographiam ex autograph. Palat., et Chronicon Ebu Giapher, aliaque non ingrata forte an vobis si typographum invenirent, quod ex te rescire aveo. Item quidnam praeterea in hoc literarum genere moliaris et comiteris quod posteritatem iuvet augeatque. Hactenus quidem, nescio qua Bibliopolae nostri incuriam an secordia, praestantia illa, qua ex semidirutis Maurorum attegiis, qua ingenii vestri ope, depronta opuscula necdum degustare potui. Quare ea mihi per Joannem

Among Tengnagel's papers is a surprising letter dated 1617 from Erpenius to Josephus Barbatus, given that Tengnagel only met Barbatus through Kepler in 1621. In the letter, Erpenius informs Barbatus that he cannot supply him with Arabic typefaces from his own press and advises him to seek assistance elsewhere in his quest to set up an Oriental printing press.[74] With the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, Tengnagel seemed to give up all plans to print his works, although he continued to work on his manuscripts and to expand his collection.

The epitome of elegance and precision in typeface, Raimondi's Typographia Medicea in Rome, was the ideal to which both Tengnagel and Kirstenius aspired. Tengnagel, who owned almost all of the books printed by Raimondi, relentlessly sought details about the manuscript collection left by Raimondi, utilising his network of informants and friends in Rome to frequently request a catalogue. Although a northerner, Tengnagel viewed Rome – not Paris, Venice, or Leiden, which was only beginning to make its mark in the field – as the hub of Oriental studies in Europe and longed to visit and perfect his Arabic skills there. Despite multiple attempts to secure permission from Emperor Rudolf, and despite his support from influential figures at court such as Barvitius, Pistorius, and Gretser, Tengnagel was never able to fulfil this dream. In Rome, he was attracted by the various colleges where Eastern languages were studied that had been founded during the papacy of Gregory XIII and Clement VII; he was in contact, for example, with the rector of the Maronite College. He was interested in the book market which, in his eyes, could rival Constantinople's in wealth, and above all he was attracted to the travellers, missionaries and scholars who lived in or passed through the city. When informed that the Jesuit Ignazio Lomellini was translating the Qur'an into Latin, Tengnagel expressed interest in his work and sought the catalogue of Lomellini's library, eventually

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Wilhelmi Amersordianum ad vos abeuntem, amicum meum, cui et cum patre tuo usus intercedit familiaris, submittenda avide expecto Proverbia ut illa Arabica, et observation. Grammatic. ut et Lexicon Raphelengian. et Wilhelmi Bedwelli epist. Catholic. it. Alcmariam istius epistolam ad Tit. et Grammat. accepi Bedwell magnam librorum Orientalium copiam advexisse vel comparasse ex oriente, eorum si tibi in mundo est, ut et tuorum, et a M. Scaligero relictorum indiculum ut mihi transmittas rogo, simulque indices, quaenam opuscula praelo committes. Atque hic finem impono scriptioni, quam longius extendam alias, ubi tuas mercib. Arabicis onustas recepero, quibus ut me quamprimum bees, rogo. Hisce te VC salere ac valere ac vitam legendo scribendoque percudere opto, Clariss. ac doctiss. viris Vulcanio, Baudio, Meursio ac Heynsio salutem ac officia mea velim deferas'.

74 STS0093. Erpenius tells Barbatus that he cannot give him the Arabic type matrices and suggests that he should contact Kirstenius and Moretus. He says that eventually 'his disciple' would have explained the situation better.

obtaining it; he also knew that the mathematician Strachan had left his library to the Discalced Carmelites and requested its catalogue.[75] With the Maronite Victor Scialac he rejoiced at the favour that Pope Paul V showed towards Arabic studies and hoped it would grow further. Indeed, Paul V in 1605 re-established the teaching of Arabic (assigned to Marcos Dobelio), and, with the bull *Apostolicae Servitutis Onere* of 1610, he encouraged the study of Greek, Hebrew and Arabic among the Preaching Orders, declaring the learning of Arabic a fundamental requirement for the missions. As a result, the study of Arabic was established in the convent schools of San Pietro in Monte Aureo, San Pancrazio, Santa Maria della Scala, San Paolo al Quirinale, and San Lorenzo in Lucina. And it was also Pope Paul V who set up missions in China, India, Persia, Japan, Congo and Ethiopia: all these efforts culminated in the foundation of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in 1622 under Gregory XV (the bull *Inscrutabili Divinae Providentiae Arcanum* sanctioning its establishment is dated 22 June), and in the foundation of the Polyglot Typography of Propaganda Fide on 3 June 1626, which printed texts in Arabic, Glagolitic, Ethiopic, Syriac, Armenian, Bulgarian and Georgian characters. Emperor Ferdinand II, who did not provide political and economic support for any local projects, sent typefaces to Rome for the printing of missals in Illyrian.[76]

However, Tengnagel was not blind to the ambiguities of Rome, at once a normative centre that aspired to be the capital of scholarship, but also the capital of censorship. The burning of the Talmud (1553), the defence of the inalterability of the Vulgate, the ban on Bibliander's Qur'an in the Index, the de-Islamization of the Arabic language (which was taught using only Christian texts for missionary purposes), and the discouragement of theological disputes with Muslims, all weakened the school of Eastern philology in Rome. Tengnagel observed the state of neglect in which the Typographia Medicea had fallen after the death of Raimondi (Scialac asked Cosimo II in vain for its direction), and the transfer of the *Typographia Savarinana* from

75 For further details on Lomellini and Tengnagel, see the note at the end of this section. For an expanded discussion on some aspects of Tengnagel's interest in Rome, please see C. Petrolini, 'Rome as a Hub of Arabic Studies in the 17th Century: A View from Vienna' in *The Qur'an in Rome. Manuscripts, Translations, and the Study of Islam in Early Modern Catholicism*, ed. F. Stella, R. Tottoli (Berlin-Boston, 2024), pp. 157–178.

76 Cf. G. Pizzorusso, 'I satelliti di Propaganda Fide: il Collegio Urbano e la Tipografia poliglotta. Note di ricerca su due istituzioni culturali romane nel XVII secolo', in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, 116/2 (2004), pp. 471–498, at 488. Ferdinand II requested that the missals be printed in the Illyrian language, otherwise 'the people were left without mass and went to hear those of the schismatic Greeks in the Illyrian language, resulting in the transition of Catholics to schism'.

Rome to Paris,[77] and became aware of the contrasts between the two opposing tendencies in Roman Catholicism. On the one hand there was the mistrust that Petrus Canisius, in Vienna, had already shown towards the Arabic studies of Guillaume Postel. On the other hand, there was the immense contribution that *les savoirs missionaires* made to the knowledge of the non-European world and to the non-Biblical religions.[78] Interesting, in this regard, was his attempt to establish contact in 1615 with the Ambrosiana in Milan, which was at the time building up a remarkable Oriental collection at the behest of Cardinal Federico Borromeo. In fact, Borromeo himself knew about Tengnagel and his research and offered to be his patron and write to the emperor on his behalf on a subject that has still to be investigated.[79]

The distrust towards Oriental philology was summed up later by Nicolas Malebranche. In *De la Recherche de la Verité* (1674), Malebranche severly castigated scholars who spent their days studying Hebrew and Arabic. To him, it seemed an unforgivable waste of energy and intelligence, inevitably leading to unbelief and impiety: it is not in history that one encounters God. Those learned men, busy ascertaining facts and things, 'entirely occupied with matters of chronology, geography and grammar', neglected the truth of the Gospel.[80] But

77 See S. Fani, 'Printing the Qur'an in Rome: From the Typographia Medicea to Marracci's Paduan Edition', in *The Qur'an in Rome. Manuscripts, Translations, and the Study of Islam in Early Modern Catholicism*, ed. F. Stella, R. Tottoli (Berlin-Boston, 2024), pp. 79–122.

78 Cf. I. G. Županov and Â. Barreto Xavier, *Catholic Orientalism Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th–18th Centuries)* (Oxford, 2015); R. Trent Pomplun, J. P. Rubiés, and I. G. Županov (eds.), *Early Catholic Orientalism*, Special Issue of the *Journal of Early Modern History* (2020).

79 STR0018, a letter from Martino Bonacina, is (until now) the only record of communication between Tengnagel and Milan. Bonacina reports that he has explained the whole situation to the cardinal and that the cardinal 'completely embraces your will and has praised it: therefore, have him as a generous patron with only a few, whose commitment (to you) you can test if you wish as soon as the possibility arises. From what I could gather from a conversation with him, he will write to the emperor about the whole situation'. Finally, Bonacina offers to grant Tengnagel's wish to get in touch with Grazio Maria Grazi, a bibliophile in Borromeo's service. On the foundation of Ambrosiana, see R. Ferro and F. Buzzi (eds.), *Federico Borromeo fondatore della Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Rome-Milan, 2005); R. Ferro, *Federico Borromeo ed Ericio Puteano. Cultura e letteratura a Milano ai primi del Seicento* (Rome, Milano, 2007). On Grazi, see M. Cavarzere and M. Sangalli, 'Grazio Maria Grazi tra Bellisario Bulgarini e Federico Borromeo: scuola, erudizione e collezionismo librario tra Siena, Venezia e Milano (XVI–XVII sec.)', *Studi Veneziani*, 71 (2015), 1724–90.

80 'D'où il vient qu'il y a des personnes qui passent toute leur vie à lire des rabbins, et d'autres livres écrits dans les langues étrangères, obscurs et corrompus, et par des auteurs sans goût et sans intelligence; si ce n'est parce qu'ils se persuadent, que lorsqu'ils savent les langues orientales, ils sont plus grands et plus élevés que ceux qui les ignorent. Et qui peut

there were others who believed that the survival of Catholicism should indeed come through studies and engagement with the Eastern churches, Judaism, and even Islam.

Perhaps Tengnagel had talked about this too with Lucas Holstenius, whom he met in Vienna in January 1630, and with whom he remained in correspondence. The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek holds an account in which Holstenius, the Vatican librarian, offers the cardinals of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide some advice on how to promote the expansion of the Catholic Church and urged them to promote Arabic studies and free themselves from the 'soverchia paura', because 'la Chiesa di Dio non riceve maggiore né più certo rimedio che dai libri e fatighe di huomini eruditi'.[81]

Besides theological and theoretical considerations were political conflicts within the Catholic front. These were all the more visible in Vienna, where, in the 1620s, the schism between the bishop's power and religious orders on the one hand, and the Society of Jesus and the temporal power on the other, became increasingly deep.

Tengnagel experienced these opposing tensions on at least three occasions: through the *affaire* of the censorship of Hebrew books promoted in 1630 by his friend Scipioni Sgambati, a Jesuit from Naples; through his letters with Pietro Della Valle, who was irritated by the 'excessive timidity of the Roman doctors' who did not allow him to publish about his travels to the East; and finally, through his friendship and collaboration with the Jesuit Petrus Lansselius, who was working to produce a Polyglot Bible that would also include the Arabic version. This last episode shows the consequences of Arabic studies on the theological-normative apparatus of post-Tridentine Catholicism, and vice versa. The other two will be examined next.

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les soutenir dans leur travail ingrat, désagréable, pénible et inutile, si ce n'est l'espérance de quelque élévation, et la vue de quelque vaine grandeur? […] Les langues, et principalement celles qui ne sont point en usage en leur pays, comme l'arabe ou le rabbinage ou quelques autres semblables, leur paraissent dignes de leur application et de leur étude. S'ils lisent l'Écriture Sainte ce n'est pas pour apprendre la religion et la piété; les points de chronologie, de géographie et les difficulté de grammaire, les occupent tout entier; ils désirent avec plus d'ardeur la connaissance de ces choses que les vérités salutaires de l'Evangile', N. Malebranche, *De la recherche de la vérité. Où l'on traite de la Nature de l'Esprit de l'homme, & de l'usage qu'il en doit faire pour éviter l'erreur dans les Sciences* (Paris, 1678), pp. 254–6.

81 L. Holstenius, *Informatione*, in ÖNB, Cod. 5852, fols. 128r–133v.

3.4.1 *Petrus Lansselius*

In Antwerp around 1620, Balthasar Moretus I had undertaken a new edition of the *Biblia Regia* that his grandfather Christophe Plantin had printed in the same city in 1568–1572. The role that had then been of Benito Arias Montano was this time entrusted to the Jesuit Lansselius: Moretus wrote to the Jesuit General Muzio Vitelleschi for permission to involve him in the endeavour, and Moretus – who had fairly assiduous exchanges with Bellarmino – informed and sought the approval of Cardinal Scipione Cobelluzzi, Pope Paul V's Secretary, and Andrea Brogiotti, head of the Vatican printing house. Lansselius settled in Antwerp in 1622 and from there made a tour of libraries in search of valuable manuscripts for the edition.

It was then that he came into contact with Tengnagel, as he obtained six biblical manuscripts on loan from the imperial library. In a letter of 1626, in a warm and friendly tone, Lansselius told Tengnagel that he had asked Father Wilhelm Lamormaini to obtain a decree from the emperor to authorise the transfer of the requested books to Antwerp at Moretus's expense. He also asked Tengnagel to lend him some books from his personal collection, in particular his Arabic lexicon and his copy of the Pentateuch printed in Constantinople in 1546–1547 by Eleazar Gershom ben Soncino. Promising to return them in a short time, he claimed to expand Tengnagel's lexicon: drop by drop a lake is formed, he wrote, quoting a proverb in Arabic. He added that Jean-Baptiste Gramaye recommended that he should spend the winter in Vienna, in the library with Tengnagel, but that the plan had fallen through.[82] In later letters,

82 STT0081, from Prague. In his letter, Lansselius references two distinct proverbs. The first, in Arabic, is 'يَمْنَعُ الحَيَا الرِّزق' [*yamna'u al-ḥayā ar-rizq*], which can be translated as 'Rain (or abundant crops) hinder livelihood', highlighting the idea that an excess of a good thing can be counterproductive. The second proverb, 'دَمْلَهْ بَدَاملَه كُولْ اُلُوْر اَكَلَهْ' [*damla be-damla göl olur añla*] is Ottoman Turkish and translates to 'Constant dripping makes a lake', emphasising the cumulative power of small, consistent efforts. I am grateful to Hülya Çelik and Claudia Römer for their translation. The copy of the Pentateuch printed by Soncino (cf. R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 115–8) owned by Tengnagel can be found in ÖNB, 3.D.29, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09709013. On the blank page before the title page, Tengnagel writes: 'Pentateuchus sive quinque Libri Mosis, Hebraice, cum Chaldaica versione Onkelos, Arabica Rabbi Saadiae Gaon, et Persica Rabbi Iacobi Tavas, et commentario R. Salomonis, Excus. Constantinopoli, anno a condito mundo, iuxta epocham Hebraicam 5306. Codex rarus, pretiosus, et paucis Iudaeorum Occidentalium visus. Empt. 40 floren. 13 ducatis'; on the frontispiece: 'Ex libris Sebastiani Tengnageli IVD Sac. Caes. Mat. Consiliar. et Bibliothecar. Constat 13 Ducatis. Pentateuchus Mosis Hebraico, Chaldaico, Arabice, et Persice, cum comment. R. Salomonis, Excus. Constantinop. Aº 5306/1545'.

Lansselius told of his visit to Basel to Johann Buxtorf, who was working on Maimonides and the Talmud; of having seen in the Abbey of St. Gallen a manuscript of Moses of Mardin (he recognised the handwriting that Tengnagel had shown him); of having bought a Ruthenian text; and above all, of the fate of Erpenius's library before being bought by the Duke of Buckingham and taken to England.[83]

Among Tengnagel's letters of 1626 is a copy of the two printed pages (in 250 copies) from Lansselius explaining the Polyglot Bible project and requesting access to the collections of various libraries. At the end of the printed text, Tengnagel transcribed in his own hand a letter that the Jesuit Cornelius a Lapide had sent from Rome to Lansselius to explain the difficulties that had arisen in Rome due to the plan of adding the Arabic version to the Polyglot Bible, which differed from the Vulgate on many points. Under Pope Gregory XV there was a move to print a Bible in 20 languages, but nothing happened and distrust grew especially towards the Arabic and Syriac versions. In fact, at the end of 1626, Moretus and Lansselius's enterprise was stopped from Rome and the Society of Jesus was not in a position to stand up for it: it was too risky an edition, from which it might appear that the Jesuits wanted to 'improve' the Bible, in particular by questioning the authority of the Sixtine Septuagint. Holstenius tried to plead the cause, but to no avail. Then, when the first volume of the Polyglot Bible was published in Paris in 1628, Moretus's project finally collapsed, and in 1630 Lansselius went to Madrid to teach Oriental languages at the Colegio Imperial.[84] Lansselius's last letter to Tengnagel refers to the Lead

83 STT0085; STT0088.

84 On the failure of the Moretus project, cf. D. Imhof, 'Petrus Lansselius and a New Edition of Plantin's Polyglot Bible Balthasar Moretus I's Ambitious but Unrealized Polyglot Bible', *Quaerendo* 51/3 (2021), 269–86. On the conflicts regarding the authority of the Septuagint, especially with regard to Hebrew, and on the divergence between the proposal of Morin and that of Lansselius, see N. Hardy, *Criticism and Confession. The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 249–64. Lansselius' printed text and the excerpt from Cornelius' letter to Lapide is in ST0064. Lapide's letter is dated 18.4.1626 and Tengnagel copied it on 12.9.1626: 'Arabica Biblia ut addat, non probo, nec probat Illustris. Archiepiscopus Damascenus, Arabum Patriarcha, a quo Arabica mea in Isaiam habui, caeterisque dicunt enim non esse digna quae S. Scripturae interpretantur. Quare cogitat ipse cum suis novam ex Syriaco Arabicam versionem cudere. Cogitabat ipse Arabicum Isaiam in Latinum a se traductum typis dare, sed non emiserunt Censores Pontificis ob dissonantiam a vulgata. R.P. Claudius P. Etzelio non permisit Epistolas Canonicas ex Arabico (Syriaco dicendum) edere: Syriaca plus auctoritatis habent. Cogitabant hic multi sub Gregorio XV edere Biblia linguis XX, sed eo mortuo res plane refrixit. Expectandum, dum Dominus Damascenus iam dictus cum sociis Syriaca in Latinum transferat quod tarde fiet sane Syriaca aeque ac Arabica saepe a Vulgata dissonant, quare nostri censent ea potius silentio premenda esse, ne vulgatae nostrae derogare videamur. Ut ut est Syriaca

Books of Granada: the Jesuit wanted to know Tengnagel's opinion and sent him a transcription of some lines. Lansselius had already worked on the Lead Books in Rome and continued to work on them in Madrid: when he died in 1632, he was translating the laminae.[85]

3.4.2 *Pedro de Alcalá*

We do not have Tengnagel's answer concerning the Lead Books of Sacromonte. This is rather unfortunate, because Tengnagel was showing interest in the communities of Moriscos. Of particular note is his search, begun around 1611, for the two books by Pedro de Alcalá, printed together in 1505 in Granada by Juan de Valera: the *Arte para Ligeramente Saber la Lengua Araviga* and the *Vocabulista Arauigo en Letra Castellana*, a grammar and the first Arabic dictionary ever printed (the Arabic lemmas were transliterated in Latin characters). The work belonged to the policy pursued by the first bishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera (1428–1507), who was in favour of the study of Arabic by prelates and missionaries to communicate with the Mudéjares and induce them to conversion. It was an ephemeral experiment, soon supplanted (under Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros) by forced conversions and the prohibition of Arabic.

Yet Alcalá's text had an interesting circulation in Central Europe. Tengnagel made a copy of the vocabulary entries, ordering them alphabetically from Arabic (not from Spanish, as in Alcalá). He had obtained it on loan in 1605 thanks to the Jesuit Nicolaus Serarius. Wishing to procure a personal copy, he used his Jesuit channels, turning first to Georg Sturn and then to Jacob Gretser, who promised to ask the Jesuits Anton Welser and Juan de Pineda about it. Robert de Scheilder and the Spanish scholar Vincente Noguera were also mobilised and, in the end, Tengnagel obtained his copy. The movement did not end, because Kirstenius, from Wrocław, borrowed the book from Tengnagel, calling it 'that oriundo with a Spanish father and an Arab mother'.[86]

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et Arabica cum Hebraeis et Graecis non sunt comparanda. Qua de causa ego ea caute ac parce cito, ac deinceps parcius ea citabo'.

85 A. de Backer, C. Sommervogel and A. Carayon (eds.), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Louvain, 1960), vol. 4, pp. 1494–5: 'Au moment de sa mort, il travaillait à la correction de la version des Septante, et à l'explication "das laminas que se hallaron en el Sancto Monte de Granada".'

86 P. de Alcalá, *Arte para ligera mente saber la lengua arauiga y Vocabulista arauigo en letra castellana* (Granada, 1505) [ÖNB, CP.2.B.25, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09650166]. The lemmas copied and ordered by Tengnagel are in ÖNB, Cod. 15164. On fol. 1r, Tengnagel wrote: 'Pedro de Alcalà lexicon ArabicoHispanicum Granatense a me in ordinem Alphabeticum digestum, mutilum'. The letters mentioning Alcalá's book are as follows:

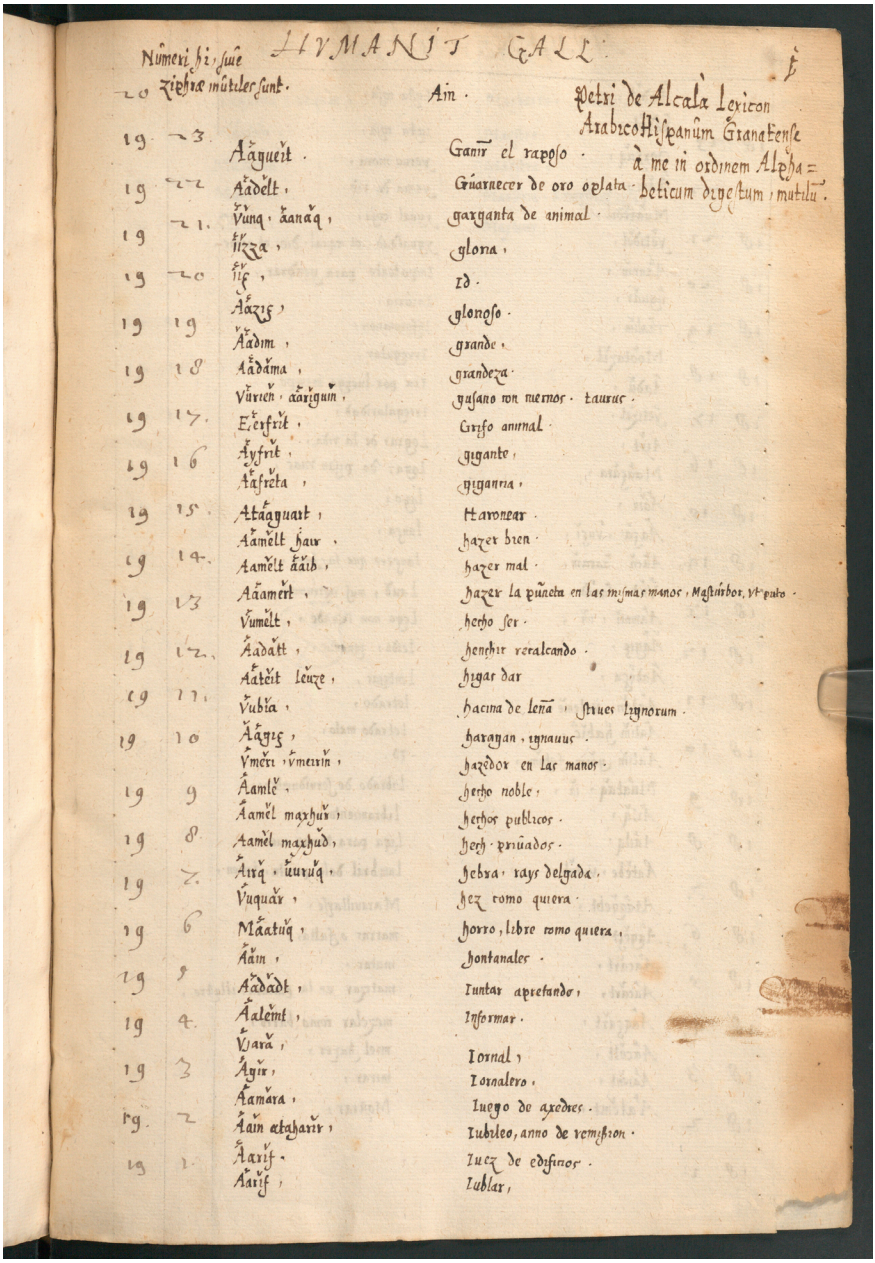

FIGURE 3.5 Pedro de Alcalá, *Lexicon Arabico-Hispanum*, ÖNB, Cod. 15164, fol. 1

3.4.3 *Pietro Della Valle*

'If [among your writings] there are any that might fear the excessively scrupulous Roman censorship', wrote Tengnagel to Pietro Della Valle in 1629, 'I will make every effort to have them printed in Germany'.[87] Tengnagel's correspondence touches different chords and registers: deference and erudition prevail, but there are also more personal and intimate notes, and sometimes a playful mood. In the correspondence with Della Valle, starting in 1628, the imperial librarian appears self-confident, endlessly curious about news and in admiration of a man like Della Valle, who had combined his studies with travel and direct observation of the things of the world. Della Valle, in turn, used his usual direct and somewhat witty style with Tengnagel, without concealing his problems with Roman censorship.

Tengnagel had read *Della Conditioni di Abbvas Re di Persia* – both a delightful literary portrait and a political programme of alliance between the Catholic Church and the Safavid Empire – and liked it very much, finding it 'elegant, sophisticated, intriguing and learned', and wished to translate it into Latin to widen its audience. Della Valle told him he had published the booklet in Venice and not in Rome because of the 'soverchia timidità […] di questi Signori

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STQ0006, STR0019, STR0038, STR0116, STR0133, STR0152, STR0199, STS0059; STS0080; STS0152. On Alcalá's work, see O. Zwartjes, 'Pedro de Alcalá', in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 6 Western Europe* (*1500–1600*), ed. D. Thomas and J. Chesworth (Leiden, 2014), pp. 73–8; R. Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe* (*1505–1624*) (Leiden, 2020), pp. 101–9; E. Pezzi, *El vocabulario de Pedro de Alcalá* (Almería, 1989); O. Zwartjes, 'More on Arabic linguistic terminology in Pedro de Alcalá', *Historiographia Linguistica* 41 (2014), 247–97; on the mentions of Alcalá in Raphelengius' Arabic lexicon, cf. A. Hamilton, '"Nam Tirones Sumus". Franciscus Raphelengius's *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Leiden 1613)', in id., *Arabs and Arabists. Selected Articles* (Leiden, 2022), pp. 237–8. On the theological-political relevance of this work and the legitimacy of catechesis in Arabic over the Iberian Peninsula, cf. M. García-Arenal, 'The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada', *Arabica*, 56/6 (2009), 495–528, at 500–3; S. Pastore, *Il Vangelo e la spada. L'inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici* (*1460–1598*) (Rome, 2003), Chap. 5; D. Scotto, 'Neither through Habits, nor Solely through Will, but through Infused Faith: Hernando de Talavera's Understanding of Conversion', in *Forced Conversion in Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Coercion and Faith in Premodern Iberia and Beyond*, ed. M. García-Arenal and Y. Glazer-Eytan (Leiden, 2019), pp. 291–326.

87 STT0136 (the draft) and AAV, Della Valle-Del Bufalo, fols. 173r–174r: 'Historia Vestra, Illustriss. Domine, de Regis Persarum conditionibus, ut latine versatur et in Germania recudatur, si iussere operam dabo. Ad extremum oro, ut ea quae affecta vel confecta in linguis Orientalibus praecipue ad Historiam Spectantia, in Scriniis tuis litterariis possideatur, ea in publicum emittas, et eruditae posteritati haud quaquam amplius invideas; si quae autem sint, quae censuram Romanam, nimis quam scrupulosam, forte an reformident, illa ut in Germania typis describantur, summa enitar ope'.

Dottori Romani', who condemned his 'lodi di quel re infedele'. Here Della Valle was hiding his own failure: he had written that book to persuade the cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide to seek an alliance with the shah, but had misunderstood the intentions of Rome. He knew that in the past such an alliance had been wanted and sought after, and he could have proved it, but he felt it was not worth it: 'Non sono prete, né Dottore, son huomo da spada, non ho voce in capitolo, et appò loro val più una sciocca consideratione di un inesperto scrupolista che cento attestationi d'un mio pari'.[88]

The book ended up on the Index but was circulated extensively, and its popularity in Vienna is quite remarkable. Before receiving his complimentary copy from Della Valle, Tengnagel had already been shown the book by 'a heretic gentleman' and then by Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg, the former Lutheran and powerful first counsellor of Ferdinand II. It received enthusiastic support by word of mouth and was passed from hand to hand among the members of the court. Everyone loved it – Francisco de Moncada, Marquis of Aytona, the Spanish ambassador in Vienna; Péter Pázmány, archbishop of Strigonium; the Apostolic Nuncio Giovanni Battista Maria Pallotta; and Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein.[89]

Perhaps on the wave of this consensus, Della Valle tried to pass from words to deeds, asking Tengnagel to request Ferdinand II to appoint him as

88 P. Della Valle, *Delle conditioni di Abbas re di Persia. All'illustrissimo & Reverendissimo Sig. Francesco Cardinal Barberino* (Venice, 1628). Della Valle sent the book to Vienna and the copy sent is now catalogued as ÖNB, 65.F.23, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10392177 ('Ex libris Sebastiani Tengnagelii I.V.D., Caes. Consiliari et Bibliothec. Ex dono Nobilissimi et linguarum Orientalium peritissimi Domini Auctoris'). In his letter enclosed with the book, Della Valle apologised for his style 'rudi ac extemporali' and claimed to have written the booklet to defend 'the truth of the supreme religion'. The letters have been published in *Petri Lambecij Hamburgensis Commentariorum*, vol. 3. On the correspondence between Della Valle and Tengnagel, see C. Petrolini, 'Roma, Vienna e l'Oriente. Le lettere di Sebastian Tengnagel e Pietro Della Valle', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 100/1 (2020), 349–73, at 359–63.

89 On Dietrichstein (1570–1636), cf. R. Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counterreformation. Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaini, SJ and the Formation of Imperial Policy* (Chapel Hill, 1981); S. Giordano, 'La legazione del cardinale Franz von Dietrichstein per le nozze di Mattia, re d'Ungheria e di Boemia (1611)', *Kaiserhof – Papsthof: 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, ed. R. Bösel, G. Klingestein and A. Koller (Vienna, 2006), pp. 44–57. On Pázmány (1570–1637), see R. Johnston, H. Louthan and T. Ó hAnnracháin, 'Catholic Reformers. Stanislas Hosius, Melchior Khlesl, and Péter Pázmány', in *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe*, ed. H. Louthan and G. Murdock (Leiden, 2015), pp. 210–20; P. Shore, *Narratives of Adversity. Jesuits on the Eastern Peripheries of the Habsburg Realms 1640–1773* (Budapest-New York, 2012), pp. 251–7; on his antagonism to the Barberini, cf. R. Becker and P. Tusor, *Negozio del S.r Card. Pasman. Péter Pázmány's Imperial Embassage to Rome in 1632* (Budapest-Rome, 2019).

imperial ambassador to the Persian Empire. Della Valle advised Tengnagel to evoke the example of Rudolf II, who had welcomed Sir Anthony Sherley's embassy in 1600 and sent István Kakas Zalánkemény and Georg Tectander to Isfahan. According to Della Valle, Rudolf's plan had failed only because of the intervention of Matthias, who signed the peace of Zsitvatorok in 1606. It was a mistake, but there was still time to fix it. The Roman traveller, although so well informed about world affairs, seemed to ignore the deep shifts in the Constantinople–Vienna relationship, as well as the devastation of the Thirty Years' War. In his opinion, it was sufficient to merely 'quell the civil conflicts' in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire and then launch an attack on the Ottomans; indeed, following an old European habit, the infidel enemy could perhaps heal the rifts in Christendom.

The moment was propitious because the Ottoman Empire, he wrote, was 'tottering': Sultan Murad IV was too young to hold power firmly; the army was torn apart by a myriad of 'internal discord'; the ministers were selfish and unprepared; the finances were in disarray and 'the provinces devastated by a terrible tyranny'. In short, according to him, all seemed to point to the imminent ruin of the Ottoman Empire; but what mattered more than anything else was the division within Islam, which had to be exploited, and deepened – that is why it was necessary to call on the support of the Persians, who were 'implacable and eternal enemies of the Turks [...] not only for the sake of their policy, but because of the divergence between their countries in terms of spirit and religion'.

Scipione Sgambati, the Neapolitan Jesuit who had acted as a go-between for Della Valle and Tengnagel, was enthusiastic about the proposal. Tengnagel, by contrast, was silent on the subject – at least in the extant letters – and preferred to talk with the traveller only about books. He urged him to publish everything he had in his drawers, from accounts of his travels to works of history. Could he, the librarian asked, discover more about the Mughal emperor Jahangir, for example? Could he perhaps sketch a portrait of this ruler to accompany that of Abbas and thus contribute to a better understanding of the different Islamic types of sovereignty? The books Della Valle mentioned to him were tasty 'delicacies' for his soul, and he would have liked to devour them all. But some of the titles tempted him more than others.[90] Prominent among these are the profes-

90 Piemontese identified all the works mentioned by Della Valle to Tengnagel, see A. M. Piemontese, *Persica Vaticana: Roma e Persia tra codici e testi* (Città del Vaticano, 2017), pp. 16–8, 238, 245–249; Hülya Çelik instead identified the books mentioned by Tengnagel to Della Valle, see H. Çelik and C. Petrolini, 'Establishing an «Orientalium linguarum Bibliotheca» in 17th-century Vienna: Sebastian

sions of faith of the Sunnis and Shiites. Della Valle had even translated the Shia profession into Latin, but he was pessimistic about its publication: 'non sarà facilmente possibile stamparla a Roma, a causa degli insegnamenti sacrileghi della dottrina che essa riporta'. Yet a better knowledge of Islamic doctrine, he quickly added, could have been of great benefit to Catholic missionaries.[91]

Another text that intrigued Tengnagel was 'l'epistola di Vostra Signoria ad un nobile Persiano con la risposta del Persiano'. Della Valle wrote this text in Isfahan with the Augustinian Manuel da Madre de Deus after a lively debate in the spring of 1621 with the philosophers and poets Mīr Dāmād and Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī. The debate was about the three traditional points of discord between Muslims and Christians: the alleged corruption of Christian texts (Taḥrīf), the refusal to recognise Muhammad's as a prophet, and the worship of holy images.[92] The result was an intellectual controversy that reached the feet of pope Urban VIII as a challenge. Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlavī had, in fact, responded with a text that he sent to pope in Rome in 1622, declaring that if the pope and his cardinals responded persuasively, the theologians of Isfahan would all convert to Roman Catholicism. In the end, although a special congregation had been created for drafting the response, no text ever left Rome in response

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Tengnagel and the trajectories of his manuscripts', *Bibliothecae.it* 10 (2021), 175–231 (https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2283-9364/13081), at 206–11.

91 STT0113, fol. 183v: 'Professio Fidei Mahammedanorum duplex apud me est, altera nimirum Sonnitarum, qui sunt Turcae, altera Sciaitarum qui Persae, utraque compendiosa, et curiositatis non expers. Posteriorem quamvis inculte, latinitate donavi, sed ea est, quae typis tradi, Romae non facile permittatur, ob impia sectae, quae memorat, documenta: alibi forsitan minus rigide haberetur, praesertim cum illius notitiam doctoribus nostris necessariam fore mihi persuadeam, ut sciant quid eorum perfidiae sit obiciendum'. Piemontese found the first one in BAV, Vat. pers. 70.II and the second in BAV, Vat. pers. 8.III.

92 Piemontese has identified Della Valle's text: BAV, Vat. pers. 7, with the Persian version (Risāla-yi *Piṭrūs dillā Vāllī begzāda az Rīm Pāpā bi-ǧānib-i ḫuddām-i siyādat-panāh-i Mīr Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Vahhābī dar baʿżī umūr-i dīn-i masīḥiyān*); BAV, Borg. lat. 545 (fols. 44r–58v), with the version in Latin (Epistola Petri a Valle peregrini patricii romani ad nobilem persam Mir Muhammed Abd el Vehabi Sphahanensem de quibusdam controversiis fidei inter Christianos et Muhammedanos). On Della Valle's text, see P. Orsatti, 'Uno scritto ritrovato di Pietro Della Valle e la polemica religiosa nella storia degli studi sul persiano', *Rivista degli studi orientali* 66/3–4 (1992), 267–74; R. Almagià, 'Per una conoscenza più completa della figura e dell'opera di Pietro Della Valle', *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie 8, vol. 6,7–10 (1951), 375–81; D. Halft, 'Pietro della Valle. Risāla-yi Piṭrūs dillā Vāllī', in *Christian-Muslim Relations*, 10 (Leiden, 2017), pp. 518–21. For an online edition of this text, cf. C. Wenzel, 'Pietro della Valle's Risāla on "Some Matters Related to Christianity"', *MIDÉO*, 35 (2020), 217–44 (http://journals.openedition.org/mideo/5526).

to the challenge. And when Della Valle prepared his text for printing in 1633, something went wrong, and everything came to a halt.[93]

In conclusion, Tengnagel's correspondence with Della Valle holds particular value within his extensive collection of letters for two significant reasons. Firstly, these letters offer a glimpse into the more audacious facets of the imperial librarian's character. He did not shy away from criticising Rome and possibly exposing himself to risk in order to disseminate the writings of his Roman friend, and he took pride in showcasing his own collection. The second reason concerns the extent of the Orient which captured Tengnagel's interest. While Islamic nations occupied a centre place in his mental geography, influencing his interests, studies, and unrealized projects, his interest transcended these boundaries. He sought updates from Della Valle regarding India, Tibet, and Ethiopia, with the Americas appearing scarcely, if at all, in their correspondence. However, Persia takes center stage in their correspondence, mirroring the rich insights found in the sole surviving letter from Pedro Teixeira to Tengnagel. And Persia stood as a melting pot of diverse belief systems, hosting animists, atomists, adherents of metempsychosis, and many others. Della Valle was acutely aware of this variety and diversity, as evidenced in a letter where he meticulously catalogued his collection of Persian and Arabic books. Concluding the letter, he noted: '[I also have] many books of various extravagant sects, such as the sect of those who call themselves 'اهل تحقیق' [*ahl-i taḥqīq*, 'people of investigation'] who believe in no other God than the elements, no other life than the transmutation of forms into different matters, no other Heaven or way to God than to dissolve into the elements, no other punishment than to be transformed into something worse, etc. Another sect they call 'طریق زنادق' [*ṭarīq-i zanādiq*, 'The Path of Heretics'] who, basing themselves on the premise that God is present everywhere in every house, consequently, believe

93 The frontispiece and two printed quarter-sheet sections are in AAV, Della Valle-Del Bufalo, 52/8, fols. 320r–323v (Epistola Petri a Valle Peregrini Patricii Romani | Ad Nobilem Persam | Mir Muhamed Abd'el Vehabi Spahanesem | De quibusdam controuersijs fidei | Inter Christianos et Muhammedanos | Persico sermone conscripta Spahani | Anno Domini 1621, | Et nunc in lucem edita | Cum interpretatione Latina eiusdem Auctoris, Romae, Typis Sacrae Congr. de Propag. Fide 1633. Superiorum permissu). On the whole affair, cf. the thorough recounting by Piemontese, *Persica Vaticana*, pp. 30–52, 279–330 and D. Halft, 'Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alavī', in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 10: Ottoman and Safavid Empires 1600–1700, ed. D. Thomas and J. Chesworth (Leiden, Brill, 2017), pp. 529–46. On the joint work between Tommaso Obicini and a 'mullah' in Venice to translate the text of 'Alavī, Sayyid Aḥmad, *Misqal-i Safa dar tajiliya va tasfiyayi A'ina-yi Haqqnama*, cf. C. Petrolini, 'Il Mullah maestro di Persiano', in C. Petrolini, V. Lavenia and S. Pavone, *Sacre Metamorfosi. Racconti di conversione tra Roma e il mondo in età moderna* (Rome, 2022), pp. 450–60.

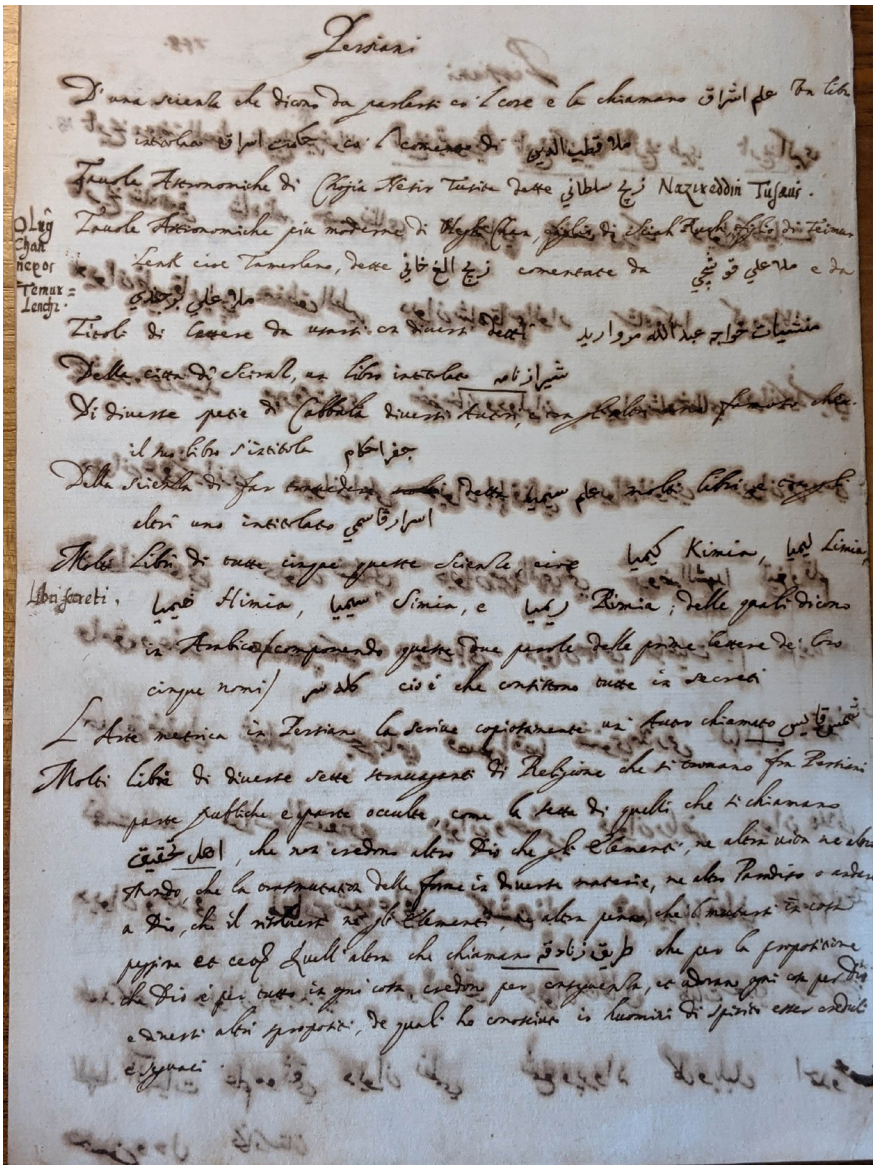

FIGURE 3.6 Pietro Della Valle's Letter, ÖNB, Autogr. 10/34, fol. 749r (2r)

and worship everything as God, and these other absurdities, of which I have known intelligent men to be believers and followers'.[94]

3.5 The Qur'an and the Talmud

The celebrated Ottoman traveller and Qur'an reciter, Evliya Çelebi, arrived in Vienna on a diplomatic mission in 1665. The city left a profound impression on him, a memory he later transformed, as usual, with a touch of fantastical invention, into a captivating narrative in his voluminous travelogues. Among the many sights, it was the city's cathedral, the Stephansdom, that struck him most. The gold accents, vivid colours, countless statues, depictions of heaven and hell, and the pervasive smell captivated his senses. Yet it was the cathedral's library that truly captured his admiration. He wrote: 'The walls of the cupboards have niches plastered with raw ambergris and housing copies of the Gospel, the Torah, the Psalms, and the Koran. Important books by various authors in every language of the world are found here. There are hundreds of thousands of bound books, with special priests appointed for their care. It is a great library that has to be seen.'[95]

94 ÖNB, Autogr. 10/34, fol. 5v: 'molti libri di diverse sette stravaganti, come la setta di quelli che si chiamano 'اهل تحقيق' [*ahl-i taḥqīq*] che non credono altro Dio che gli elementi, né altra vita che la trasmutation delle forme in diverse materie, né altro Paradiso o andare a Dio, che il risolversi ne gli elementi, né altra pena, che il mutarsi in cosa peggiore etc. Quell'altra che chiamano 'طريق زنادق' [*ṭarīq-i zanādiq*] che per la propositione che Dio è per tutto in ogni casa, credono per conseguenza, et adorano ogni cosa per Dio e questi altri spropositi, de quali ho conosciuto in huomini di spirito esser creduli e seguaci'.

95 *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the 'Book of Travels' of Evliya Çelebi*, trans. and comm. R. Dankoff and S. Kim (London, 2010), p. 230. The passage continues as follows: 'There is no such collection of books anywhere in the world, except in Cairo at the mosques of Sultan Barquq and Sultan Faraj, and in Istanbul at the mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror, the Süleymaniye, the mosque of Bayezid the Saint, and the New Mosque (mosque of Valide Sultan). God only knows the number of books in those mosques. But the number is greater in this Stephan monastery in Vienna, since there are numerous illustrated books in the infidel script of every language, including anatomical texts and cosmographies with the titles Atlas, Minor, Geography, and Mappa Mundi. Our libraries, on the other hand, have none of these illustrated books, since "Pictures are unlawful". That is why there are so many books in the Stephansdom. When this humble one had a tour of it, with the permission of the head priest, I was lost in astonishment, and the fragrance of musk and pure ambergris suffused my brain'. Markus Köhbach has pointed out the inconsistencies in some of Evliya Çelebi's descriptions of the Vienna Cathedral and his use of stereotypes

Contrary to Evliya Çelebi's account, it is, unfortunately, highly improbable that copies of the Qur'an and the Torah were displayed alongside the Gospels in Vienna's cathedral. More plausibly, his observations refer to the imperial library. If this is the case, his description fits in well with the circumstances of that period. On the cathedral's façade, Evliya Çelebi might have even noticed the bas-relief dedicated to Sebastian Tengnagel, the central contributor to the library's Oriental collection. Thanks to Tengnagel's efforts, the library's holdings grew significantly to include copies of the Talmud, the Qur'an, and the Christian Bible. This section will take a closer look at the Islamic and Jewish texts housed within the library, examining their acquisition, their place in the collection, and their influence on Tengnagel's intellectual development and that of his contemporaries.

Tengnagel, not without some pride, described to Della Valle his collection of manuscripts in Turkish, Persian and Arabic. Among these works of geography, history and poetry, the 'most precious gem' of his treasure trove was, he claimed, a magnificent Qur'an from Esztergom with an interlinear translation in Turkish, which had cost him 100 florins. An enduring distinction exists between early modern Catholic and Protestant Orientalists, primarily rooted in their knowledge of and interaction with the Qur'an. Unlike their Protestant counterparts, Catholic Orientalists were generally believed to concentrate primarily on Christian Arabic texts or to create Arabic materials for propaganda – purposefully avoiding the scholarly study of the Qur'an. Indeed, the Qur'an was included in the Index of Forbidden Books as early as 1559 and 1564. However, the Roman condemnation was explicitly aimed at the Basel edition by Oporinus and Bibliander, reflecting a distinct anti-Protestant stance.[96] Tengnagel, an advisor to three Catholic emperors, was certainly aware of this context; his

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in describing Christian churches. See M. Köhbach, 'Die Beschreibung der Kathedralen von Iaşi, Kaschau und Wien bei Evliyā Çelebi', *Südost-Forschungen*, 38 (1979), 213–22.

96 A generic condemnation of the Qur'an can already be found in the Index of Venice and Milan in 1554. Preceding and less related to anti-Protestant actions were the inquisitorial condemnations of the Qur'an in the Iberian Peninsula, with references available in the Portuguese Index of 1547 and 1551 and in the Spanish Index in 1555 and 1559. For further insights into the prohibition of reading, printing, and translating the Qur'an, see A. Hamilton, 'The Study of Islam in Early Modern Europe' in id., *Arabs and Arabists: Selected Articles* (Leiden, 2021), pp. 283–302. Specifically for the Roman Catholic context, see also A. Vanoli, 'Corano,' in *Dizionario dell'Inquisizione*, ed. A. Prosperi, V. Lavenia and J. Tedeschi (Pisa, 2008), I, pp. 413–4, and U. Rozzo and R. Gorian, *Il libro religioso* (Milan, 2002), p. 114. On the ban of the Italian Qur'an edited by Arrivabene-Castrodardo (*Alcorano di Macometto*), see P. M. Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an: A Renaissance Companion to Islam* (Pennsylvania, 2018), p. 36. On the censorship of Francesco Sansovino's pages on the life of Muhammad (taken from Castrodardo) and their motivations, see V. Lavenia,

personal library housed several editions of the Index.[97] But although he had never undertaken a systematic study of the Qur'an, he was quite familiar with it, owning fourteen copies, either complete or in fragments. He also seemed to endorse Petrus Kirstenius's unrealised plan to print the Qur'an in Arabic along with a new Latin translation within the Holy Roman Empire. Kirstenius had requested his friend to lend him three copies known to be in the imperial library for this project in 1608.[98] The ambitious plan was eventually abandoned, and Kirstenius decided to publish a selection of his typographic characters instead. He presented the Arabic text of the Fātiḥa (resulting from the collation of six manuscripts), alongside his own translation, supplemented with translations by Robert of Ketton and Guillaume Postel, as well as two important Christian texts in Arabic: Psalm 50, known for its mystical and sometimes heterodox interpretations (marked with diacritical signs by an 'Arabic tutor', as Kirstenius claims), and John 17 (copied from a manuscript Tengnagel had lent him), a controversial passage frequently cited by anti-Trinitarians. In the dedicatory epistle of this booklet to his father-in-law, Kirstenius stated that there were multiple reasons to publish the Qur'an, primarily linguistic and theological in nature.[99]

'Non barbari, ma religiosi e soldati. Machiavelli, Giovio e la turcofilia in alcuni testi nel Cinquecento', *Storia del Pensiero Politico*, 3 (2014), 31–58, at 52.

97 He owned, for instance, the Tridentine Index printed in Venice in 1568 by Domenico Farri [ÖNB 74.V.161, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09989862]. On his copy, Tengnagel marked or underlined various names, including Postel and Erasmus.

98 STR0066, fol. 95v: 'The second book of grammar, how difficult it will be! Certainly, no book other than the Qur'an could provide the inflections and formations of words. Therefore, I have decided to translate this book into Latin, word by word, in parts, and to publish it in due course. For this reason, I have repeatedly asked whether it would be possible to obtain the imperial copies under certain conditions. His Serene Highness Matthias has given me hope of two copies, and I expect an answer as soon as possible, in the hope of being informed which Arabic codices are hidden in the Imperial Library'. ('Secundus porro liber Grammatices, quam erit difficilis! Certe ex alio libro nullo nisi alKorano, erui poterunt, vocum flexiones formationesque. Ideoque & illum librum per partes ad verbum in latinam linguam transferre & suo tempore edere decrevi. Hanc itaque ob causam aliquoties iam petii, ut mihi significares an exemplaria Caesarea, aliqua conditione habere posse. Spes mihi facta est, de duobus Sereniss. Matthiae exemplaribus. Puto respondat PT quam primum copiosique & qui codices arabici ali in Vestra Caes. latrant Bibliotheca communicaret').

99 P. Kirstenius, *Tria specimina characterum arabicorum sive oratio domini nostri Jesu Christi, quam describit S. Johannes cap. 17 ex vetusto codice manuscripto Arabico Caesario transcripta et Regii Davidis Psalmus Quinquagesimus ac tandem primum* سورة *Suuretu, libri, vulgo, Alkoran dicti, quod nonnulli Symbolum Mahummedicum vocant, ex collatione sex exemplarium manuscriptorum editum* (Breslau, Typis Arabicis, ac sumptibus Authoris, 1608 [GerManI ArabIae stVDIa Captent]). This translation of the sura is mentioned in

We have already alluded to Tengnagel's interest in the Latin translation of the Qur'an by the Genoese Jesuit Ignazio Lomellini. Tengnagel had entrusted Sebastiano Forteguerra – a clergyman, historian, and member of an illustrious family from Pistoia – with conducting investigations into this matter. Forteguerra, who served Pope Paul V before becoming chaplain to emperor Ferdinand II, had been tasked with documenting the history of the Habsburgs and, in 1624, was sent to Florence to examine its archives. Tengnagel asked Forteguerra to provide him with Arabic books and updates from Rome, particularly concerning the publication of Qur'an-related works and the progress of Lomellini's translation. In response, Forteguerra recounted his meetings with Lomellini and described the work Lomellini had shown him on the Qur'an: 'I have had two meetings with Father Ignazio Lomellini, who showed me his refutation of the Qur'an, which is already complete. Yet the expenses needed for its publication are causing delays. The book is a folio featuring the Arabic text of the Qur'an, accompanied by a Latin explanation and refutation. He also gave me an index of all the Oriental books he owns, which you will find enclosed with this letter. I have not yet had the opportunity to meet with the Archbishop of Damascus, but I will do so at the earliest convenience, and I am eager to fulfil your request by visiting him and the Maronites. However, in regard to the sale of manuscripts in Oriental languages, Father Lomellino informs me that they are hard to come by or come with a hefty price tag'.[100] Despite extensive research, the catalogue of Lomellini's Oriental books in Vienna has not yet been located, a topic that was also touched upon in the correspondence between Tengnagel and Della Valle. Intriguingly, Lomellini was part of the eleven-member committee of theologians assembled by the

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one of the disputations (strongly anti-Catholic) of J. M. Lange and G. M. Schnützlein, *De speciminibus, conatibus variis atque novissimis successibus doctorum quorundam virorum in edendo alcorano Arabico* (Altdorf, 1704), pp. 7–8.

100 Forteguerra to Tengnagel (29 Nov. 1626), STT0083. On Lomellini, see P. Shore, 'An Early Encounter with the Qur'an. Ignazio Lomellini's Animadversione, Notae ac Disputationes in Pestilentem Alcoranum,' *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 34/1 (2017), 1–22; id., *A Baroque Jesuit's Encounter with the Qur'an. An Examination of Ignazio Lomellini's, S.J., Animadversiones, Notae ac Disputationes in Pestilentem Alcoranum* (Wiesbaden, 2023); id., 'A Solitary Jesuit Scholar and the Qur'an: The Translation and Commentary of Ignazio Lomellini', in *The Qur'an in Rome. Manuscripts, Translations, and the Study of Islam in Early Modern Catholicism*, ed. F. Stella, R. Tottoli (Berlin-Boston, 2024), pp. 289–304. A reference to the mission to Florence can be found in E. Garms-Cornides, 'Assenza e non presenza. Gli Asburgo a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento', in *Gli archivi della Santa Sede e il mondo asburgico nella prima età moderna*, ed. M. Sanfilippo, A. Koller, G. Pizzorusso (Viterbo, 2004), pp. 119–147: 143.



FIGURE 3.7 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 180, fol. 2rv

Congregation of Propaganda Fide in 1625, entrusted explicitly with addressing a provocative book written by 'Alavī, Sayyid Aḥmad.

Further evidence attesting Tengnagel's interest and knowledge of the Qur'an could be advanced, but two examples should suffice. The first is connected to Kepler, who enjoyed a warm relationship with Tengnagel. Kepler, from Linz, in 1620 queried Tengnagel about one of his Arabic manuscripts by sketching a few of its words. Tengnagel responded, jesting that deciphering its exact meaning was a riddle not even Oedipus could have solved, but it appeared to be chapters from the Qur'an.[101]

101 Tengnagel to Kepler (18 May 1620), ÖNB, Cod. 10703, fols. 98–99. Published in: W. von Dyck and M. Caspar (eds.), *Johannes Kepler Gesammelte Werke. Briefe 1612–1620* (Munich, 1955), vol. 17, p. 435 (lett. n. 879): 'Arabicus ille liber, quem varie laborioseque depingis, quo titulo sit insigniendus, ne Oedipus quidem fortean coniecerit. Excussis nihilominus multifariis tuis notis, si quid coniectura augurari possum, existimo esse capita quaedam ex Alcorano deprompta, aut Enchiridia precum, quae cottidie in synagogis suis recitare, et aurato floridoque opere varie illustrare Muhammedani solent. Si copia inspiciendi libelli, consopitis hisce exitiosis motibus, fieri mihi posset, certiora quaedam afferrem. Interim contenti

The second example concerns Tengnagel's collection.

Although never explicitly mentioned in the letters, Tengnagel owned a quite unusual manuscript: a polemical and catechetical work written by Balázs Somlyai. Somlyai, a young Hungarian captured during the Battle of Mohács, converted to Islam (adopting the typical patronymic for converts, Murad ibn Abdullah) and, after thirty years of captivity in Transylvania, worked as a dragoman. 'Kitāb taswīyati t-tawaǧǧuh ilā l-Ḥaqq' (*Guide for Turning Oneself towards God*) is an extraordinary text, both in its content and as a physical object. Written by Murad in Ottoman-Turkish in 1556, it is incomplete but, like the only other existing copy (preserved in London), it contains both the Turkish version and the Latin translation that Murad himself added in 1567–1569.[102] This dual-language format, with the Ottoman-Turkish text side by side with the Latin, not only adds to its scholarly significance but also makes it a rare and valuable artefact. We do not know how or when Tengnagel came into possession of the manuscript. We only know the price he paid: 14 florins. The only slight trace we have is in a letter to Christmann from 1611, where Tengnagel writes: 'The small book you are asking about is not in Arabic, but in Turkish, written by a certain Turk named Murad, with punctuation, and if you want to take a look, I shall send it to the next fair; or if you wish, I could have it copied

simus hac divinatione'; Kepler's letter is at Ibid., pp. 426–8 (lett. n. 874, 20.03.1620. The original is in ÖNB, Cod. 9737d, fols. 16–17).

102 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 180. The erasure on the top of the title page was made by Tengnagel. This is Tengnagel's translation of the title as recorded in his manuscript catalogues: 'Liber de intentione vultus ad Deum, Auctore Murad Beg Interprete Suleymanis Imp. Turcici, Latine et Turcice. Manuscript. in 4º 14 fl.' (ÖNB, Cod. 9539, fol. 43v); 'Libel. de intentione vultus ad Deum, auctore Murade Becho/Bego interprete Suleymani Imp. Turc et lat.' (ÖNB, Cod. 12650, fol. 18v). On Murad, see T. Krstić, 'Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 (2009), 35–63; Ead., *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, 2011); Ead., 'Murad ibn Abdullah', in T. David and J. Chesworth (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500–1900*. Vol. 7 (Leiden, 2015), pp. 698–704; F. Babinger et al. (eds.), *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1927); P. Ács, 'Tarjumans Mahmud and Murad: Austrian and Hungarian Renegades as Sultan's Interpreters,' in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. B. Guthmüller and W. Kühlmann (Tübingen, 2000), pp. 307–16. On the spread of the text among converts in Constantinople, see M. Mulsow, 'Adam Neusers Brief an Sultan Selim II. und seine geplante Rechtfertigungsschrift. Eine Rekonstruktion anhand neuer Manuskriptfunde,' in *Religiöser Nonkonformismus und frühneuzeitliche Gelehrtenkultur*, ed. Friedrich Vollhardt (Berlin, 2014), pp. 293–318; id., 'Fluchträume und Konversionsräume zwischen Heidelberg und Istanbul. Der Fall Adam Neuser,' in *Kriminelle Freidenker Alchemisten. Räume des Untergrunds in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. M. Mulsow (Cologne, 2014), pp. 33–59.

by my Turkish copyist'.[103] Tengnagel was responding to Christmann's request to locate a book that Christmann himself had seen in Vienna in 1581 when Blotius showed him a box of books that Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq had brought back from Constantinople. Among the books, nearly all in Greek, there was one in Arabic and Latin, a dialogue between a Muslim and a Christian. He asks if Tengnagel can locate it and send him more precise information.[104]

In any case, the Qur'an is at the core of Murad's discourse, all revolving around its interpretation as a 'treasure trove of all truths' (even the evangelical ones): a 'gift' that allows 'reason' to access to the whole truth. Emphasis on the 'rationality' of the Qur'an and of conversion to Islam belongs to the *topoi* of early modern times,[105] but Murad combines this topic with a series of interesting metaphors. The Qur'an is also described as a 'medicina spiritualis': just as a physician can understand a patient's health by taking his pulse, so too do the syllables and words of the Qur'an enable a lucid and rational comprehension of humanity's spiritual state.

In the light of these and other examples, it becomes evident that, alongside his primary focus on geography and history, Tengnagel possessed a considerable knowledge of the Qur'an. Furthermore, his expertise was not limited to the Qur'an but extended to another text considered taboo in Catholic Europe of that time – the Talmud. This knowledge led to his involvement, between 1628–1630, in an episode of anti-Jewish censorship promoted by Ferdinand II, during a time of significant change for the Jewish community in Vienna. The

103 STR0139.

104 STT0158, Christmann to Tengnagel: 'S.P. dico D. Tengnagel: quem exoratum cuperem, ut in bibliotheca Viennensi inquirat de libello quodam m.s. Arabico Latino. Cum enim Viennae essem anno 1581, mense Iulio, et lustrarem libros Greacos ab Augerio Busbekio Constantinopoli comparatos, sicut manus ipsius in frontispitio indicabat: inter illos libros Graecos occurrit libellus Arabicus cum versione latina, ex qua colligebam, ibi contineri colloquium inter Turcam et Christianum. Si recte memini, libellus erat in forma 8 aut 4 et in frontispitio primae pagellae offerebat nomen Busbekij, ut etiam in reliquis libris Graecis fiebat: et libri isti omnes in aliquot cistis clausi latitabant, quos nos permittente D. Blotio extraximus, et quales essent, inspeximus. Sed ubi iam in bibliotheca visantur, facile noverit D. Tengnagel: eundem rogo, ut si libellum istum Arabico Latinum m.s. invenerit, nobiscum communiret, et quinam alii ibidem in lingua Arabica scripti custodiantur, significare haud dedignetur'. The Codex ÖNB, A. F. 180 does not bear Busbeq's *ex libris*. Nonetheless, it features two substantial erasures by Tengnagel himself, which obscure the underlying writing.

105 See N. Malcolm, 'Islam as a "Rational" Religion: Early Modern European', in J. Loop and J. Kraye (eds.), *Scholarship between Europe and the Levant Essays in Honour of Alastair Hamilton* (Leiden, 2020), pp. 15–33.

story is intricate and still mostly to be investigated, but it is worth at least sketching its contours, as it is of considerable interest.[106]

The main character here is a friend of Tengnagel, the Jesuit Scipione Sgambati (1595–1652). He acted as the intermediary between Tengnagel and Della Valle; in fact, Sgambati had met the traveller in Naples, where he taught mathematics, praised Copernicus and Galileo, and attended the city's anti-dogmatic and outspoken intellectual circles. In 1628, for reasons still unknown, he was sent to Vienna, where he taught theology and Sacred Scripture. He devoted himself in particular to the study of Hebrew texts but also worked on other projects, such as a translation of Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*. Back in Naples, his fellow Jesuits claimed he fell ill from the excessive study of Hebrew, and that he died insane. His research culminated in the monumental *Archivorum Veteris Testamenti libri tres*, a work published posthumously in 1703, while the manuscripts he left in Naples, including an Italian translation of the Mishnah, are also of the utmost interest.[107]

The key documents for understanding this affair are not in Vienna but in Rome. These include letters that Sgambati sent to his superiors, where he sought to defend himself against the charge of having acted without adequately informing the headquarters of the Society of Jesus.[108] In his account of the events, Sgambati explains that everything began with a letter sent by a Hungarian Jew to the Archbishop of Strigonium, discussing the Messiah. Sgambati was tasked with responding, and after an eight-day conversation

106 I am profoundly grateful to Joanna Weinberg and Piet van Boxel for their generous assistance in investigating this matter. We plan to present and analyse the materials related to this affair in a forthcoming joint publication, which will explore Tengnagel's contributions to Jewish studies.

107 On Sgambati, see R. Gatto, *Tra scienza e immaginazione. Le matematiche presso il collegio gesuitico napoletano, 1552–1670* (Florence, 1994), pp. 113–120, 130–150, 159; P. Alegambe and P. de Ribadeneyra, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp, 1643), 417 sg.; on his 'madness' cf. L. Muratori, *Delle riflessioni sopra il buon gusto nelle scienze e nell'arti* (Venice, 1743), 127 sg; A. de Backer, C. Sommervogel and A. Carayon, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Louvain, 1960), vol. 7, pp. 1172–5. On his Jewish studies and on his seven manuscripts in Rome and Naples, see A. Porziungolo, 'Gli studi ebraici di Scipione Sgambati (S. J. 1595–1652): la traduzione italiana inedita del commento alla Mišnah', *Materia giudaica* 22 (2017), 25–34. On the translations of the Mishnah in early modern Europe, cf. P. van Boxel, K. Macfarlane and J. Weinberg (eds.), *The Mishnaic Moment Jewish Law among Jews and Christians in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 2022). Sgambati wrote a homage to Sitti Maani in P. Della Valle, *Funerale della Signora Sitti Maani Gioerida* (Roma, 1627). On his translation into Latin of Marcus Aurelius (now in the BAV, Barb. lat. 8, 141 fols), see Holstenius's letter to Jan Gaspard Gevaerts, in M. Hoc, *Le déclin de l'humanisme belge* (Brussels, 1922), p. 188.

108 ARSI, Austr. 21 and 23; HHStA, Rom, Hofkorr. 10 Fasz. P, fols. 76r and 78r.

with the author of the letter, he succeeded in converting him and his family. This news was met with enthusiasm by both Ferdinand II and Vitelleschi, General of the Society of Jesus. Subsequently, following additional conversions and 'upon the incitement' of two Jewish converts, an ambitious project began to take shape in Vienna – a vast plan to address the 'negotio degli hebrei', establishing a censorship body, managed by the Society of Jesus in collaboration with imperial authorities, with jurisdiction over Jewish texts across Bohemia, Austria, and Germany, including Prague, Vienna, and Frankfurt. Ferdinand II readily agreed. The emperor, who had 'an infinite number of Jews' under his rule, had already taken significant steps concerning the Jewish community in Vienna. Following the substantial financial support provided by the community during the Thirty Years' War, he designated the 'Untern Wert' (modern-day Leopoldstadt) in 1624 as a place reserved for Jews, where they could gather and erect synagogues – something that had been forbidden until then.[109]

Even Rome initially appeared to endorse and vigorously support Sgambati's initiative. On 25 November 1629, the Inquisitor Desiderio Scaglia wrote to the Nuncio Giovanni Battista Pallotta in Vienna regarding Sgambati's request for instructions on how to proceed. This letter, later included in Francesco Albizzi's famous inquisitorial handbook *De Inconstantia in Iure Admittenda vel Non*, is a highly vehement and antisemitic text. Scaglia reported that the tribunal of the Inquisition had received reports that Jews in the Holy Roman Empire were reading and spreading the Talmud, thereby creating a 'pericolo di infezione della purità della Religione Cristiana' (danger to the purity of the Christian religion). He argued the necessity of eliminating the Talmud and supporting Sgambati's efforts, but only on the condition that the text's non-amendable nature was not questioned: 'il fine necessario è di estinguere la perniciosissima dottrina Talmudica e di reprimere l'orgoglio di queste dure cervici' (the necessary goal is to extinguish the pernicious Talmudic doctrine and suppress the pride of these stubborn necks).[110]

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109 See G. Wolf, *Ferdinand II. und die Juden* (Vienna, 1859); A. F. Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien* (Vienna, 1918); J. I. Israel, 'Central European Jewry during the Thirty Years' War', *Central European History*, 16/1 (1983), 3–30; K. Schubert, *Die Geschichte des österreichischen Judentums* (Vienna, 2008), pp. 39–49; S. Hödl, P. Rauscher and B. Staudinger, *Hofjuden und Landjuden: Jüdisches Leben in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2004); S. Hödl, 'Die Juden in Wien von 1529 bis 1783', in *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*, ed. P. Csendes and F. Opll, in vol. 2: *Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. K. Vocelka and A. Traninger (Wien-Cologne-Weimar, 2003), pp. 282–310. On the possible building of a synagogue in the surroundings of the imperial library, see the last section.

110 F. Albizzi, *De inconstantia in iure admittenda vel non* (Amsterdam, 1683), 296–299. For a discussion of the letter, though not in reference to the events in Vienna, see K. R. Stow,

Thus began the scrutiny of thousands of Hebrew books in Vienna. Sgambati, aided by a rabbi who visited the college daily, at least two Jewish converts, and almost certainly Tengnagel, undertook this vast task. Indeed, Tengnagel's involvement extended beyond assisting Sgambati; he also played a significant role in a related affair that unfolded in Vienna – the trial of Yom-Tov Lipmann Heller, a Bohemian rabbi, Talmudist, and philosopher, who was a disciple of the Maharal in Prague and held positions as chief rabbi in Vienna (1625–1727), Prague (1627–1629), and Krakow (where he later witnessed the Chmielnicki Uprising of 1648).[111] Arrested in Prague in June 1629, Heller was jailed in Vienna on the charge of having published sacrilegious statements against Christians in *Maʿadanei Melekh*, his commentary on the Talmud published in 1619 and 1628. At his trial, Tengnagel, summoned by the emperor as an expert in Hebrew, joined the other inquirers – including two Jewish converts, the blind Paul Joseph bar Zadok and Matthias Maximilian Norbertin – in questioning Heller.[112] They asked why he had praised the Talmud, given that the pope, 'the father of all emperors and whom the Jewish communities were bound to obey,' had ordered its burning in 1553. Heller was ultimately sentenced to pay 12,000 Reichsthalers, to resign as chief rabbi of Prague, and to burn all copies

'The Burning of the Talmud, in the light of sixteenth century Catholic attitudes toward the Talmud', *Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 34 (1972), 435–59, at 444–51. On Scaglia as an inquisitor, cf. J. Tedeschi, 'Desiderio Scaglia', in *Dizionario dell'Inquisizione*, ed. A. Prosperi, V. Lavenia and J. Tedeschi (Pisa, 2010), vol. 3, pp. 1390–1.

111 Regarding Heller and a comprehensive account of his trial, see J. M. Davis, *Yom-Tov Lipmann Heller: Portrait of a seventeenth-century rabbi* (Oxford-Portland, 2004), pp. 136–158; A. Z. Schwarz, 'Zum Prozess des Lipman Heller', in *Festskrift i anledning af Professor Simonsens*, ed. J. Fischer (Copenhagen, 1923), pp. 206–12. Schwarz also transcribes the summons of Tengnagel by the emperor (the original is in STT0133). On the meaning and the circulation of Heller's works on the Mishnah, see J. Weinberg, 'The Role of Jewish Commentaries in Christian Interpretation of the Mishnah in Seventeenth-Century Northern Europe', in *The Mishnaic Moment: Jewish Law between Jews and Christians in Early Modern Europe*, ed. P. van Boxel, K. Macfarlane and J. Weinberg (Oxford, 2022), pp. 301–19.

112 Zadok was originally from Poland and lived in Germany where he assisted Hebrew scholars. In 1611, he converted to Catholicism and took the name Paul Joseph while living in Altdorf, Germany after losing his eyesight and without any assistance. He later resided in Vienna at the Hofspital. Cf. E. Carlebach, *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750* (New Haven, 2011), p. 128. Norbertin (Max Trippetta), was from Bolzano and converted to Catholicism in 1618 at the court of Claudia de' Medici, Archduchess of Austria and Landesfürstin of Tyrol. For more information on him, see H. Noflatscher and U. Schattner-Rieser, 'Der hebräische Taufhymnus des Karl Sigmund Konstantin (1637). Ein Zeugnis jüdisch-christlicher Konversion am Hof Claudia de' Medicis', in *Tiroler Heimat. Zeitschrift für Regional- und Kulturgeschichte Nord-, Ost- und Südtirols*, 81 (2017), 137–48, at 138.

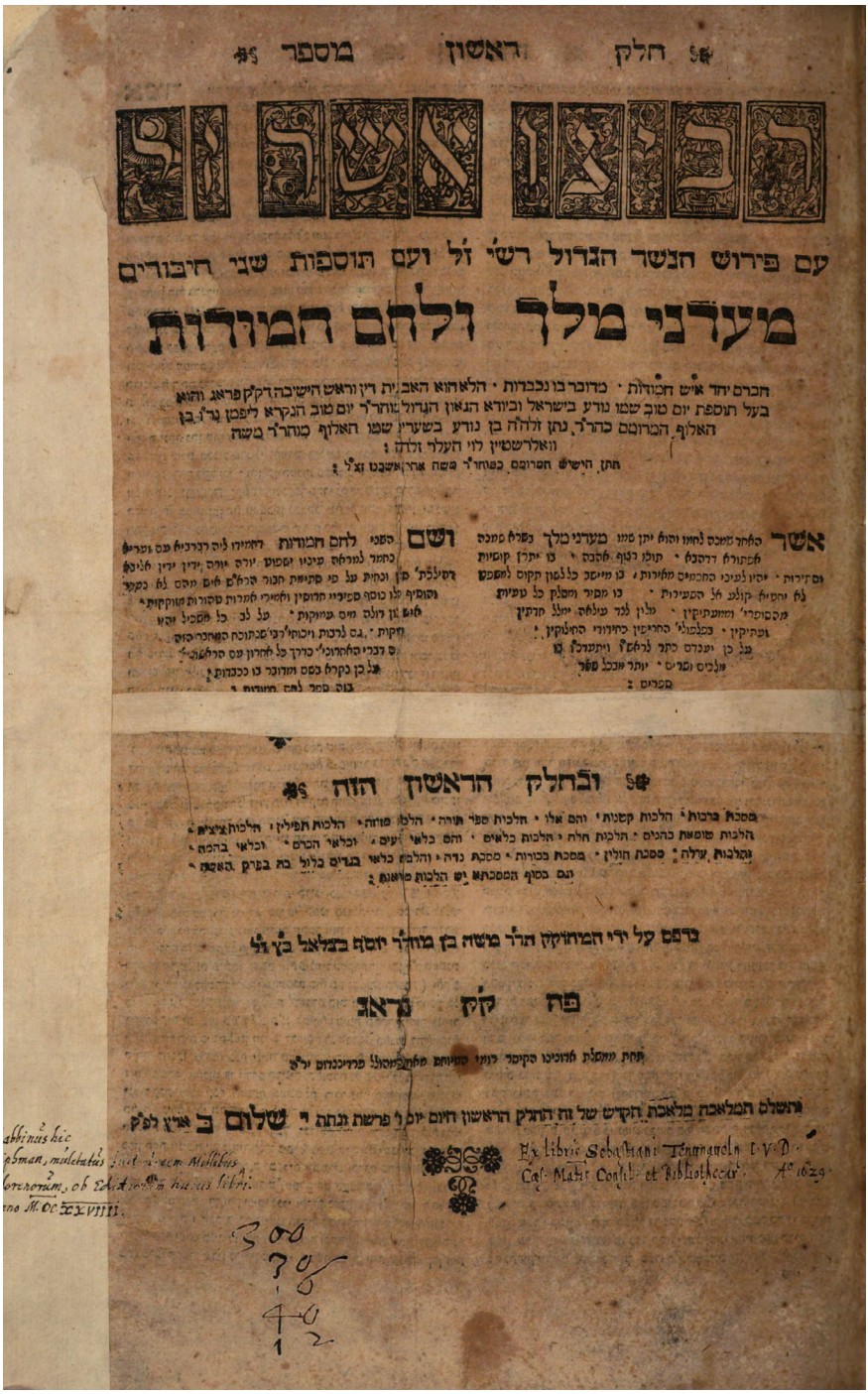

FIGURE 3.8 Yom-Tov Lipmann Heller, Ma'adanei Melekh. ÖNB, Prunksaal Signatur: 20.O.6

of *Ma'adanei Melekh*. Nonetheless, Tengnagel retained a personal copy of the work in his collection.[113]

In his apologetic letters to Rome, Sgambati briefly recounted the trial and explained how he had studied Heller's book together with Tengnagel and Paul Joseph bar Zadok at Tengnagel's home. He said that Norbertin continued to make further denunciations and threatened the Jewish community, 'travagliava i Giudei dicendo voler fare che fossero levati loro tutti i libri'. At that point, the Jewish community of Vienna turned to Sgambati for help, asking that their books be censored but not destroyed, and Sgambati replied, 'poiché desideravano corretione [che] portassero i libri, senza promettere, né minacciar loro altro'. This initiated a flurry of activity, with many books being submitted to the Jesuit (and possibly to Tengnagel as well). Forced to defend himself, Sgambati later expressed regret for having embarked on this task, explaining that his motivation was primarily to deepen his knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish texts: 'desideravo molto pigliar notitia di quei loro libri, e perfettionarmi se havessi potuto nella lingua, massime havendo per la mani lo studio della Scrittura, alla quale è tanto necessaria la cognitione delle cose e la lingua ebraica'. In his letters, he insisted that he never intended to include the Talmud in this process of 'correction', dismissing such claims as false rumours spread by Jews. Nonetheless, the Jewish community in Vienna apparently offered Sgambati 500 scudi to travel to Rome to plead his case. In the responses from Rome this became the main point of suspicion: that Sgambati promised the Jews to 'correct' the Talmud – something that was utterly inadmissible.[114]

113 Yom-Tov Lipmann Heller, *Ma'adanei Melekh* (Prague 1628). Tengnagel's copy has the signature ÖNB, 20.O.6, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10454512; on the first page, in Tengnagel's hand: 'Ex libris Sebastiani Tengnagelii IVD Caes. Maiestatis et Bibliothecar. A° 1629'; in a different hand: 'Rabbinus hic Lipman mulctatus fuit decem millibus florinorum ob editionem huius libri. Anno 1629'. Heller was related to the Jewish physician Judah Leib Ma'or Katan (Leo Lucerna), a friend of Tengnagel.

114 ARSI, Aust. 23, fol. 116 (4 May 1630): 'Il mio parere è che non si possa dire agli Hebrei che si faranno correggere i libri loro, specialmente il Talmud, e che poi corretti si permetteranno. Perché è certo che tra i libri loro ve ne sono molti che non si possono né si devono correggere ma sono affatto condannati e si devono loro levare e prohibire, e però essendo l'intentione di SM e di VS Ill. di proseguire e terminar questo negotio, con quel zelo del maggior bene, e utilità della S. Chiesa, e de Giudei medesimi, col quale l'han cominciato, è necessario a questo fine non impegnarsi in simile promesse che possano astringer a conceder quello che poi non si vole né si può concedere'; ARSI, Aust. 23, fol. 100v: 'Intanto i giudei, ai quali era stato ordinato che dessero largo viatico per questo viaggio, e dimora in Roma, havevano più volte offerto e portato cinquecento scudi, volendo che li pigliassi ancor che non dovessi andar, ma essendo ributtati, ultimamente li diedero ad un giudeo che li tenesse a mia requisitione. La settimana passata venne una lettera al P. Rettore di Mons. Vescovo di Culma, cancellier del Regno di Hungaria, nella quale diceva haver

Sgambati's plan envisaged the establishment in Vienna of a Jewish printing house, supervised by the emperor and the Society of Jesus, to print texts that had been previously censored. The Jesuits, like the Dominicans, would act as custodians of the 'purity of the faith', using the censorship of Jewish books to eradicate the heretical books and 'the extirpation of heresy'. Sgambati added that it would also be of great benefit to start a typography capable of printing in Arabic and Persian script, so that it could print the Pentateuch in three languages. The project was so ambitious that Sgambati asked his good friend Pietro Della Valle to inform him about what books were circulating in the Jewish communities in the East.[115]

Once again, Rome halted the entire endeavour – citing theological and ideological concerns, as well as fears of losing control over such a delicate matter. A decisive factor, however, was probably the growing rivalry between the Society of Jesus and other religious orders in the imperial territories and in Vienna, which necessitated caution. It is no coincidence that Sgambati repeatedly evoked the name of the Capuchin Valeriano Magni as the hidden force behind the slanders against him.[116]

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inteso che qui da theologi della Compagnia fossero state fatte fatiche per la corretione de libri hebraici, e nominamente del Talmud (il che viene facilmente sparso da Giudei, non essendo vero che mai si sia parlato di corregger il Talmud)'.

115 'La Maestà dell'Imperatore ha risoluto di voler riformar l'insolenza degli Ebrei nell'Austria e nell'altre sue provincie e regni, volendo che si correggano i libri loro, e si tolgano le bestemmie e calunnie contro Cristo e contro cristiani, la qual opera è già cominciata. Havendo i Giudei per suo commandamento cominciato a portare i suoi libri da me, in gran copia, acciò sian rivisti. E se bene ho molti che concorrono alla fatica, perché a varii Giudei convertiti dò a ciascuno il suo libro da rivedere, tuttavia resta tanto da fare che la metà sarebbe soverchio. Onde ricorro anche alla sua cortese benignità, che m'aiuti in alcuna cosa le parrà di potere: come se in Oriente, dove i Giudei son più liberi ha havuta notitia di libri più acerbamente scritti contro cristiani, come sono תולדות ישו, נצחון עברים [*Toledot Yeshu*, a polemical account of the life of Jesus; *Sefer Nitsaḥon*, an anti-Christian controversial treatise by Yom Tov Lipmann Mühlhausen (d. circa 1440)] e simili. Perché qui è difficile il cavar loro di bocca, o dalle case tal libri, ma sapendone il nome si prohibiranno. Desidererei sapere se in Oriente è in osservanza il Talmud Babilonese, di cui qui si servono, e in tutta Europa, o il Gerosolimitano, il quale ancor non ho veduto' (AAV, Della Valle-Del Bufalo, 37, fols. 120v–121r).

116 On these antagonisms, see A. Catalano, 'La politica della curia romana in Boemia: dalla strategia del nunzio Carlo Carafa a quella del cappuccino Valeriano Magni', in *Kaiserhof – Papsthof: 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, ed. R. Bösel, G. Klingestein and A. Koller (Vienna, 2006), pp. 105–21; A. Koller, 'Le rôle du Saint-Siège au début de la guerre de Trente ans. Les objectifs de la politique allemande de Gregoire XV (1621–1623)', in *L'Europe des traités de Westphalie. Esprit de la diplomatie et diplomatie de l'esprit*, ed. L. Bély and I. Richefort (Paris, 2000), pp. 123–33.

What is of interest in this story is Tengnagel's reputation as a connoisseur of Jewish texts, including the Talmud – and indeed, he was, although much remains to be uncovered regarding the exact nature of his interest and the depth of his expertise. There is no doubt that he was familiar with the Talmud: he possessed numerous commentaries on it and annotated the sixteen volumes published by Marc'Antonio Giustiniani in Venice in 1551, most of which were destroyed in the flames of 1553.[117]

3.6 Conclusions

In this section we started with three observations about Tengnagel: the 'confessional disorder' of his friendships and loyalties, which were diverse and sometimes seemingly contradictory; the elusive and often opaque nature of his religious identity; and the centrality of Oriental studies to his intellectual and even emotional life. These observations do not serve as keys to unlock a single closed room. Instead, they resemble the stained glass windows of a cathedral, admired for their design rather than for what lies behind the glass. From this composition emerges an interest in the religious phenomena and their development throughout history, fuelled by Tengnagel's knowledge of the foundational texts of the Abrahamic religions: the Bible, the Qur'an, and the Talmud. We have observed in Tengnagel an aspiration to compare different faiths, rituals, texts, beliefs, extending even to those of pagans or Indians.

Tengnagel's lifelong project was to write – using philological tools – and eventually publish a history of the Ottomans, tracing their origins from the dawn of Islam through the successive dynasties, wars, and events up to his own time, as he announced to Erpenius, to de Thou, and others. However, he never completed it, due to a lack of political and financial support from the emperor and, to some extent, from Rome and the papacy. Other obstacles included his physical ailments, which prevented him from working for long periods, competition with Erpenius and, above all, the outbreak of war. In this chapter, we have tried to show that this project, far from being 'exotic', addressed the collective and personal challenges of a man who had witnessed

117 On the Talmud printed by Giustiniani and on its burning, see P. F. Grendler, 'The Destruction of Hebrew Books in Venice, 1568', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 45 (1978), 103–30. On the Rules of Hebrew Printing in Germany, see S. G. Burnett, *The Regulation of Hebrew Printing in Germany, 1555–1630: Confessional Politics and the Limits of Jewish Toleration*, in *Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder, and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture*, ed. M. Reinhart and T. Robisheaux (Kirksville, 1998), pp. 329–48.

and lived through three conflicts of a primarily religious nature – conflicts between Christians and Christians, and between Christians and Muslims. This is why, for Tengnagel, Oriental studies could and should draw on both Catholic and Lutheran or Calvinist approaches, as the anecdote of the Golius brothers shows. Paradoxically, the unfinished nature of Tengnagel's project and his own reticence compel us to sift through materials that are as scattered and unstructured as they are valuable: marginal notes, catalogues, notebooks, and, of course, letters – fragments that, at times, offer glimpses into the cluttered desk and the mental and moral landscape of a seventeenth-century Orientalist in Vienna, revealing his hesitations and audacities.

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CHAPTER 4

Sebastian Tengnagel as a Pioneer of Oriental Studies

Hülya Çelik

4.1 Introduction: Sebastian Tengnagel's Oriental Library

In this chapter I will examine Tengnagel as a philologist engaged in Oriental studies as an academic discipline.[1] I will do so by presenting his private library (consisting of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts) in general, as well as by focusing on particular manuscripts that he had copied and/or which he intensively annotated, edited and clearly prepared for eventual publication. The manuscripts of Tengnagel's private/personal Oriental library form a substantial part of the 'Oriental' collection of today's Austrian National Library. Within his huge collection of manuscripts[2] in the three dominant languages of the Ottoman Empire are at least five manuscripts whose copies were commissioned by Tengnagel and made by the captive 'scribe' or copyist İbrāhīm Dervīş. The combination of topics and genres, and the existence of monolingual, bilingual and trilingual works in manuscript form, represents the Ottoman culture's literary mix of the time, as well as the (scholarly) interests of a late sixteenth–early seventeenth-century Orientalist and librarian.

Sebastian Tengnagel documented his private Oriental library twice: the first occasion is in the 'Catalogus librorum suorum a. 1613', ÖNB, Cod. 9539 (Fig. 4.1), in which he recorded the list of 'handwritten and printed Arabic, Turkish, Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian and Serbian (language) books'[3] (fols. 43r–52r) in

1 Note on transcription: The *IJMES* transliteration system has been used for Arabic, Persian and Ottoman-Turkish, for the latter with the exceptions of *ġ* (for Arabic *ġayn*) and *ḫ* (for Arabic *ḫā'*).

2 See G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1865–1867), vol. 3, p. IX: Flügel gives the figure of 179 manuscripts and Tengnagel notes in his catalogue the figure of 90 manuscripts and 16 printed books. The difference in number may be caused by later separations of manuscripts that were originally bound together. See below for details of a small number of manuscripts that are in other libraries today.

3 *'Libri Arabici, Turcici, Syriaci, Aethiopici, Armeni, et serviorum ling. manuscripti et excusi.'* This codex is digitised and available at http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/7899507.

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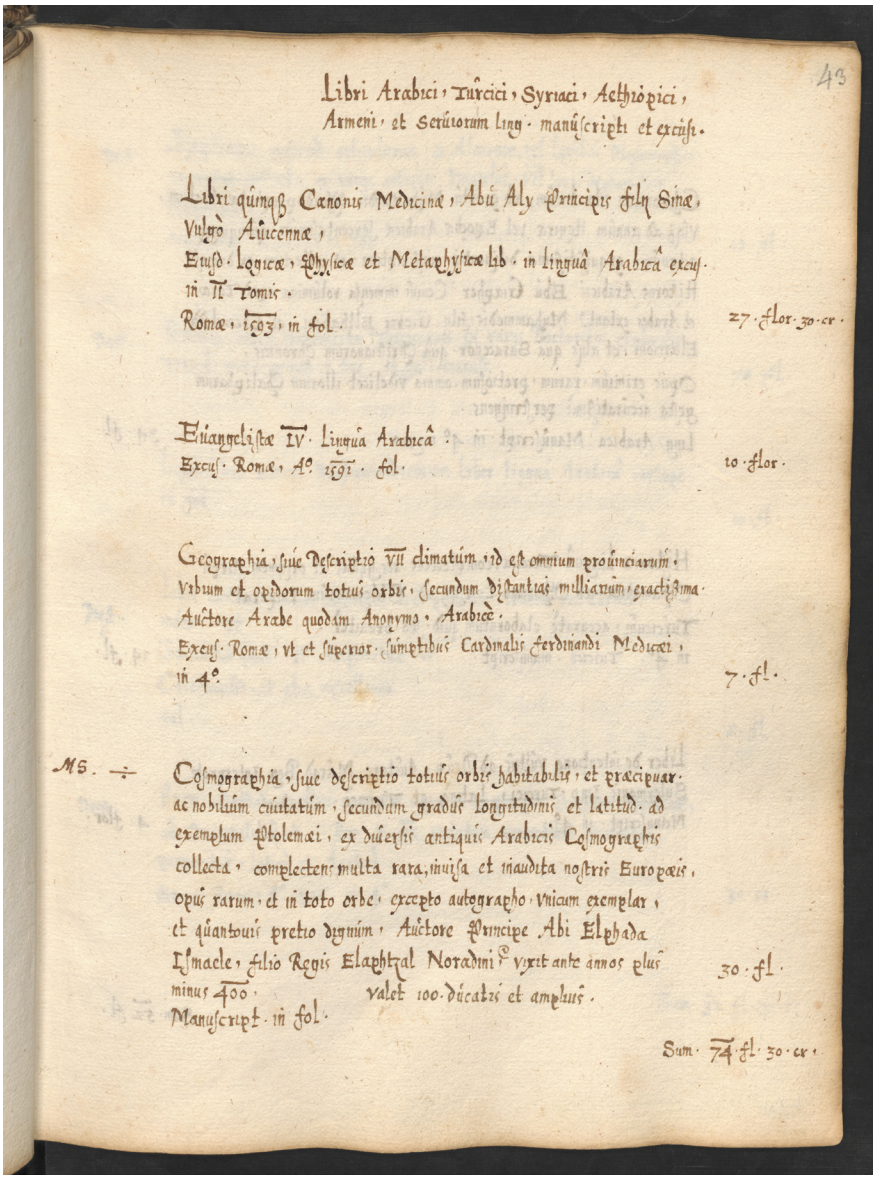
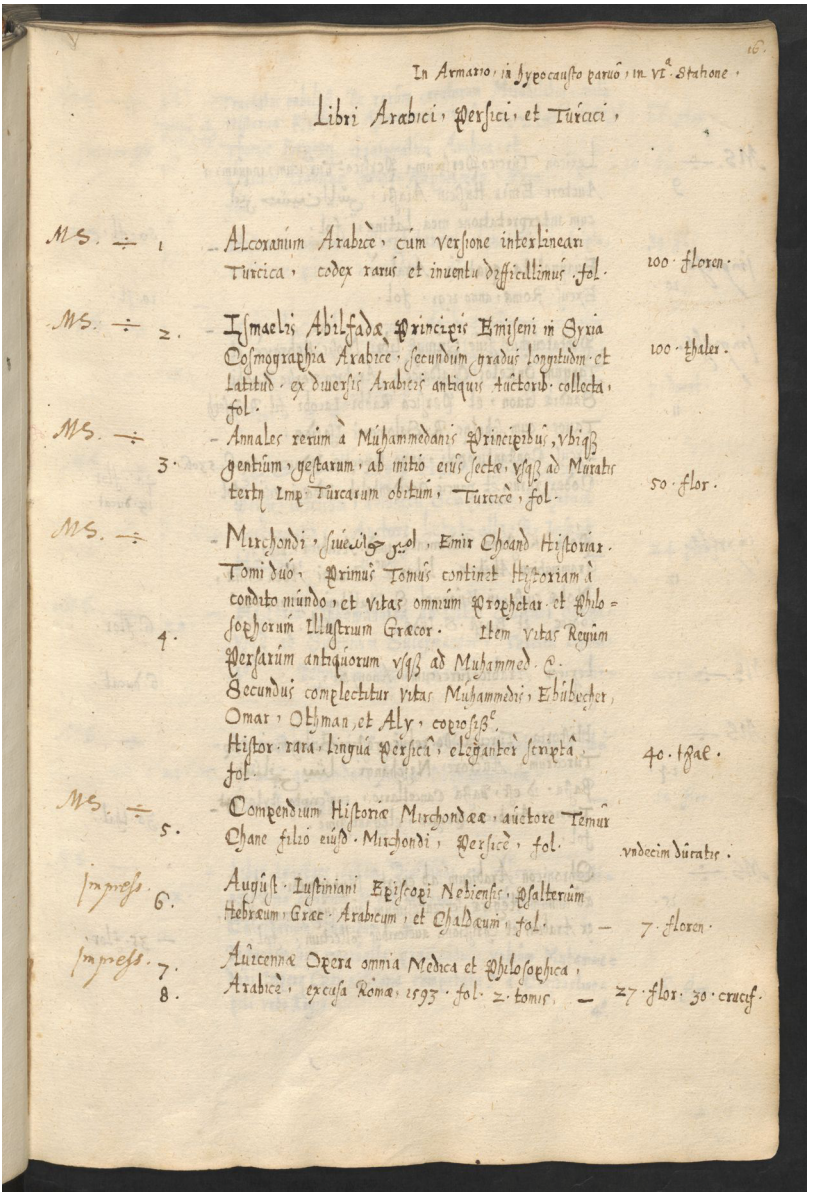


FIGURE 4.1 ÖNB, Cod. 9539, fol. 43r



16.

In Armario, in hypocausto paruo, in VI.a Statione.

Libri Arabici, Persici, et Turcici,

MS. ÷ 1 Alcoranum Arabicè, cum versione interlineari Turcica, codex rarus et inuentu difficillimus. fol. 100. floren.

MS. ÷ 2. Ismaelis Abilfadæ Principis Emiseni in Syria Cosmographia Arabicè, secundum gradus longitudin. et Latitud. ex diuersis Arabicis antiquis Auctorib. collecta, fol. 100. thaler.

MS. ÷ 3. Annales rerum à Muhammedanis Principibus, vbiqß gentium, gestarum, ab initio eius sectæ, vsqß ad Muratis tertij Imp. Turcarum obitum, Turcicè, fol. 50. flor.

MS. ÷ 4. Mirchondi, siue امیر خواند, Emir Choand Historiar. Tomi duo, Primus Tomus continet Historiam à condito mundo, et vitas omnium Prophetar. et Philosophorum Illustrium Græcor. Item vitas Regum Persarum antiquorum vsqß ad Muhammed. C. Secundus complectitur vitas Muhammedis, Ebubecher, Omar, Othman, et Aly, copiosiß.e Histor. rara, lingua Persica, eleganter scripta. fol. 40. thal.

MS. ÷ 5. Compendium Historiæ Mirchondææ, auctore Temur Chane filio eiusd. Mirchondi, Persicè, fol. vndecim duratis.

Impress. 6. August. Iustiniani Episcopi Nebiensis, Psalterium Hebræum, Græc. Arabicum, et Chaldæum, fol. — 7. floren.

Impress. 7. 8. Auicennæ Opera omnia Medica et Philosophica, Arabicè, excusa Romæ, 1593. fol. 2. tomis. — 27. flor. 30. crucif.

FIGURE 4.2 ÖNB, Cod. 12650, fol. 16r

1613; the second catalogue, written later and probably used by him until his death, is the 'Libri Arabici, Persici, et Turcici' in ÖNB, Cod. 12650[4] (fols. 16r–20v) (Fig. 4.2).[5]

Regardless of what the 'Orient' meant for the Viennese court librarian, the focus of this chapter will be on those Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts in Tengnagel's private library that eventually found their permanent place in the court library and were catalogued several times.[6]

This chapter will answer the following questions by presenting Tengnagel's scholarly practices: What and how much did Tengnagel know about the Ottoman Empire and the Orient? How up to date was his knowledge? To what degree did he master the three main languages of the Ottoman Empire? Which publication projects of lexicographical and historical works did he conduct? Who later use and work with his preliminary studies?

Table 4.1, below, provides an overview over Tengnagel's manuscripts still preserved in the Austrian National Library.[7] From the perspective of the history of the collection, the number of Qur'ans is particularly noteworthy, and the importance of quranic content for Tengnagel is evidenced in his notebooks, which are also in the Austrian National Library. Connected to the topic of religion are also works of a general nature (Qur'an exegeses, traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad, i.e., *hadith*, or topics related to conversion), as well as prayer books. Another subject that obviously preoccupied Sebastian Tengnagel very much, and which again is evident from the number of manuscripts in his private collection, is lexicography. It is known from his correspondence that he asked for specific titles, which most probably came to his attention through other sources. Tengnagel also had a considerable number of manuscripts on Persian and Turkish literature, some of which he also annotated or provided with Latin interlinear translations.

By comparing Tengnagel's indices with the catalogues written later, such as that of Gustav Flügel, we can identify manuscripts that he lent to other

4 This codex is digitised and available at http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/7382915.

5 C. Römer, 'An Ottoman Copyist Working for Sebastian Tengnagel, Librarian at the Vienna Hofbibliothek, 1608–1636', in *Archív orientální, Supplementa* VIII (1998), pp. 330–49, at 332. See especially chapter 6 of this volume. The second catalogue was probably begun in 1625.

6 Catalogues that we know of are those of Peter Lambeck (1665), Daniel de Nessel (1690), Albrecht Krafft in manuscript form (before 1847), and Gustav Flügel (1865–1867).

7 'The Digital Oriental Library of Sebastian Tengnagel' is in preparation. It will provide the visualization of his Oriental manuscripts regarding topics and scholarly practices, linked to his correspondence (see chapter 2).

TABLE 4.1 Sebastian Tengnagel's Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Mixed manuscripts

Sebastian Tengnagel's Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Mixed manuscripts: main contents

Qur'ans	14	Cosmography	2
Religious works	9	Travelogue	1
Prayer books	5	Multiple-Text Manuscripts	5
History	9	Divination, Kabbalistics, Alchemy	3
Geography	1	Letter collections	1
Lexicography	15	Astronomy, Astrology, Calendarium	1
Grammar	4	Logic, Philosophy, Ethics	1
Poetry	12	Ethics	2
Medicine	1	+ others	86

librarians and scholars and which for some reason failed to make their way back to him. As already underlined by Franz Unterkircher, Tengnagel felt very strongly that the Oriental manuscripts he had borrowed should be returned to him, and likewise, after his death, that any outstanding manuscripts should be returned to the imperial court library.[8] It is therefore very plausible that some of the Oriental manuscripts that are no longer in the National Library disappeared from the Oriental collection in an undocumented way; and a close comparison of the catalogues written after Tengnagel will certainly prove this. Indeed, the fact that a considerable number of Tengnagel's manuscripts have the stamp of the French Bibliothèque Impériale is evidence that they were temporarily in Paris and were brought back by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall and others to the Kaiserliche Hofbibliothek before 1820.[9] However, what were clearly lost from his private library were some of his prayer books. In his later catalogue, ÖNB, Cod. 12650, he notes that numbers 88 to 100 of his Oriental

8 F. Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius und seine ersten Nachfolger (1575–1663)', in J. Stummvoll, ed., *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* I (Vienna, 1968), pp. 129–45, here 132.

9 See F. Menčik, 'Die Wegführung der Handschriften aus der Hofbibliothek durch die Franzosen im Jahre 1809', in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Bd. XXVIII, Heft 6 (1910), pp. IV–XXVIII, at XXIII–XXV; H. Kremers, 'Der Aufenthalt Joseph von Hammer-Purgstalls in Paris und die Rettung der Wiener orientalischen Handschriften', in H. D. Galter and S. Haas, eds., *Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. Grenzgänger zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Graz, 2008), pp. 77–86; Flügel, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. XI: for example, Freiherr von Ottenfels was also able to bring back some of the Oriental manuscripts to the Hofbibliothek in 1814 and 1815.

library, which comprise 13 manuscript items, are prayer books of Arabic and Turkish content.[10] One of these prayer books from his collection, no longer in the Austrian National Library, is now in the University of Toronto Library and apparently arrived there in 1995 via the library of Knox College.[11] Another manuscript from Tengnagel's collection is in Göttingen today and is the prose work *Rose Garden* (*Gulistān*), a collection of stories and poetry in the style of a Mirror for Princes (*Fürstenspiegel*), by the famous Persian poet Saʿdī Shirāzī.[12]

What is clear is that the contents of his library, his indices, inventory lists of other 'Oriental' libraries in Europe (Heidelberg, Leiden, Munich and the Vatican), his notebooks showing his expertise in the three languages, and the information in his correspondence, allow us to compare Tengnagel with – and judge him on the same level of scholarship as – other far more renowned European librarians and scholars such as Giovanni Battista Raimondi, Jakob Christmann, Pietro Della Valle, William Bedwell, Wilhelm Schickard, Jacobus Golius, and even Thomas Erpenius.

4.2 The Captive's Copies

The fact that Tengnagel not only purchased Oriental manuscripts as a private collector but commissioned the copying of certain works in Arabic, Persian and Turkish is one of the reasons why we should consider Tengnagel not only as a polyglot and multi-scriptural librarian, but also as a scholar of 'Oriental studies' in general and someone engaged in printing the contents of these manuscripts he had copied. Tengnagel commissioned the Turkish captive to

10 ÖNB, Cod. 12650, fol. 20v: '*Nr. 88–100 Item 13 alii libelli precationum Arab. et Turcicè, in 12°. et 16. faciunt 100 libros.*'

11 UTL Fisher 01016 Prayer book (see also chapters 3 and 5 of the current volume). See E. Birnbaum, *Ottoman Turkish and Çaġatay Mss in Canada. A Union Catalogue of the Four Collections* (Leiden, Boston, 2015), p. 436: 'Good nesih; fully vocalized. [ca. 219 fol.; partly foliated (most numbers trimmed off in an early rebinding); 9.5 × 7 (6.5 × 5) cm; 7 lines; (…) undated but perhaps 16–17th century. (…)] "Preces et Capitula Alcorani".'

12 Now preserved in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, ms. Pers. 4. See P. Babinski, 'Ottoman Philology and the Origins of Persian Studies in Western Europe: *The Gulistān*'s Orientalist Readers', *Lias* 46/2, *Special Issue: Empires of Knowledge* (2019), pp. 233–315, at 241–44. Cf. also *Die Handschriften in Göttingen. 3. Universitätsbibliothek. Nachlässe von Gelehrten, Orientalische Handschriften. Handschriften im Besitz von Instituten und Behörden. Register zu Band 1–3.* (Berlin, 1894) (*Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preussischen Staate, 1, Hannover, 3*), p. 395. The digitized catalogue entry is accessible at http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs//katalogseiten/HSK0719_b395_jpg.htm (accessed 30 October 2022).

do the copying by asking the emperor for permission and financial support.[13] There are obvious signs that Tengnagel either assisted in this process, and/or that he at least checked whether the copy had been made correctly. These signs indicate that Tengnagel's incentives and motives exceed an interest in, and curiosity for, the Orient. As well as revealing a pure acquisition of knowledge about the Orient, they indicate scholarly ambitions which would lead to publications. Above all, Tengnagel's surviving work in these five manuscripts, in the form of annotations of the most diverse kind, are indications of his expertise in the three languages of the Ottoman Empire, as well as his ability to handle historical and lexicographical works in different languages and even to prepare them for print.[14] This, however, never took place, at least where the five projects presented in this section are concerned, and Tengnagel was unable to realize any of his projects during his lifetime. Of note in this context is the fact that his preliminary work, his historical studies and his lexicographical works (including his hitherto disregarded notebooks in manuscript form) served as models for the publications of subsequent users, scholars, librarians and interpreters.[15]

So far, we have been able to identify five Viennese manuscripts that must have been copied by the captive İbrāhīm Dervīş, under the guidance of Sebastian Tengnagel, as described in the numbered sections (1–5) below. What has to be underlined again, before detailing each manuscript, is the linguistic and thematic scope of these codices: three of them are Arabic, one is Turkish and one is a multi-lingual manuscript in Persian, Turkish and Latin (with references in Hebrew); from a thematic point of view they can be categorized as eminent works of Arabic geography and historiography, the history of the Muslim dynasties in Turkish, religion (Arabic), and lexicography (Persian-Turkish).

(1) ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 5, *Taqwīm al-Buldān* ('The Position of the Lands').[16] This is a descriptive geography in Arabic written by Abū l-Fidā, who died in 1331.[17] Notes by Tengnagel can be found on nearly every page of the codex, which comprises 40+117 folios. This work had great prominence even in Tengnagel's

13 Römer, 'An Ottoman Copyist,' p. 344.

14 For more detail on printing in Arabic characters see chapter 3 of the current volume.

15 Franciscus à Mesgnien Meninski (1623–1698) and Johann Baptista Podestá (1625–1688), see below.

16 R. Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe* (Leiden, Boston, 2020), pp. 57–60; Römer, 'An Ottoman Copyist', especially pp. 334–39; for the use of another work of Abū l-Fidā, namely his history *Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, by later Orientalists see A. Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters. Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge et al., 2018).

17 See H. A. R. Gibb, 'Abu'l-Fidā', in *EI*^{2}, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0182.

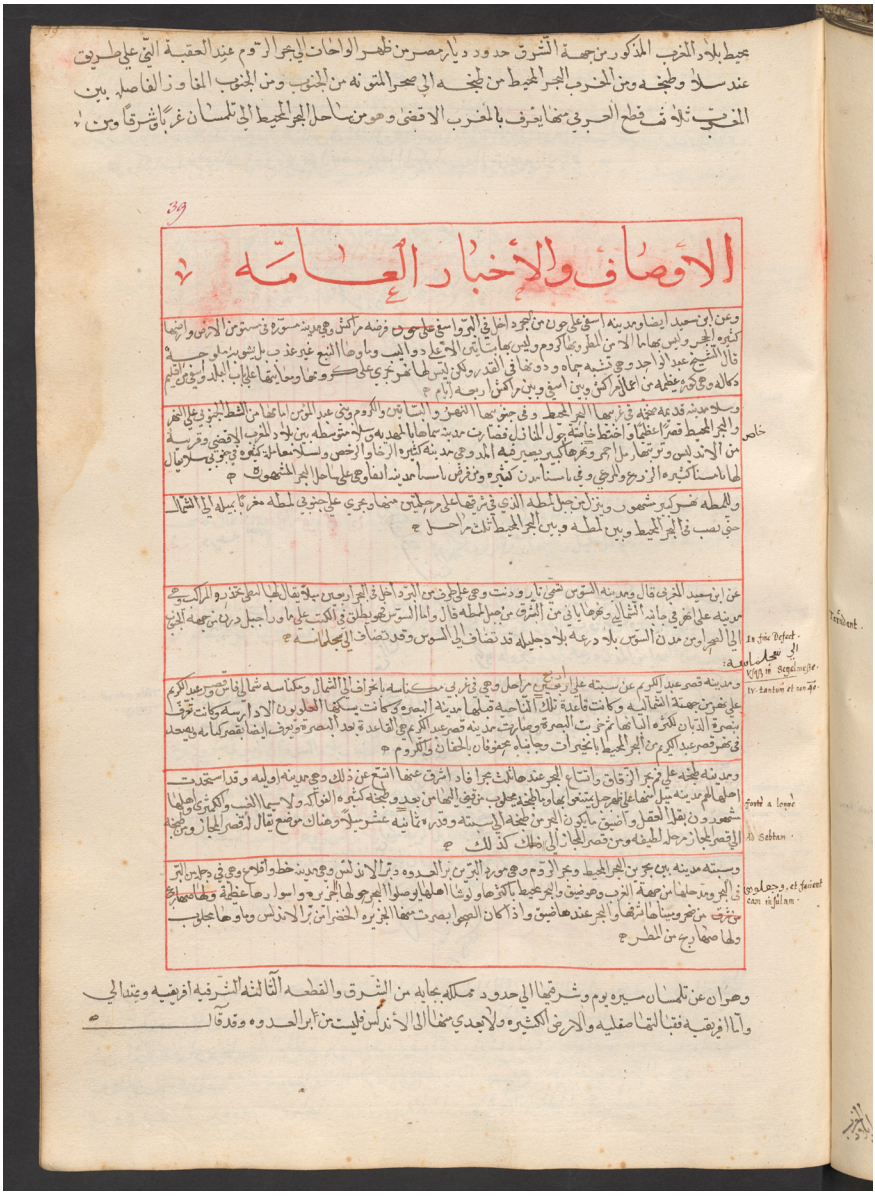


FIGURE 4.3 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 5, fol. 39r

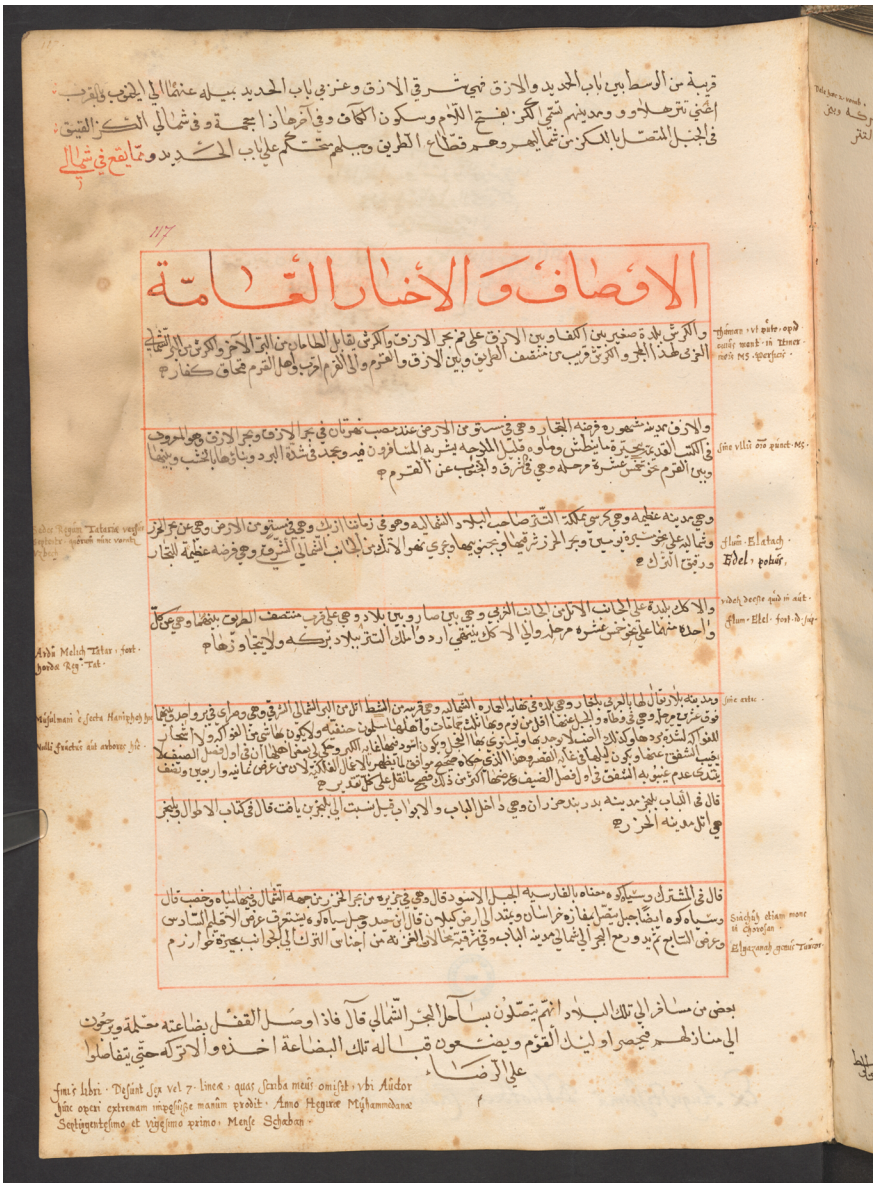


FIGURE 4.4 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 5, fol. 117r

time: we know that Guillaume Postel, Scaliger and later Erpenius worked intensively with, and on, this text. We also know that Tengnagel's manuscript was copied from Postel's manuscript by İbrāhīm Dervīş in September/October 1610. As well as having marginal notes related to the content (a common scholarly practice), this manuscript shows evidence of Tengnagel's extraordinary system of correcting certain Arabic words and word groups that were copied by the scribe. For example, his corrections on fol. 39r (Fig. 4.3) and fol. 117r (Fig. 4.4) suggest that after İbrāhīm Dervīş had completed his copying process, Tengnagel compared the copy with the source manuscript from which the copy had been made.

(2) ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 12, *Tārīḫü l-Cenābī* or *The History of Cenābī* is a history of all Muslim dynasties up to and including the Ottomans. The date of the copy is probably after 1614. The manuscript shows Tengnagel's addenda on nearly every page: interlinear Latin translations, marginal notes and corrections of the Turkish text written by the captive İbrāhīm Dervīş, and an incomplete table of contents (Figs. 4.5 and 4.6).

The manuscript that was commissioned, read and annotated by Tengnagel is the shortened Ottoman-Turkish version of the Arabic manuscript. The Ottoman-Turkish version is known for its easily comprehensible language and was used by later Ottoman historiographers.[18]

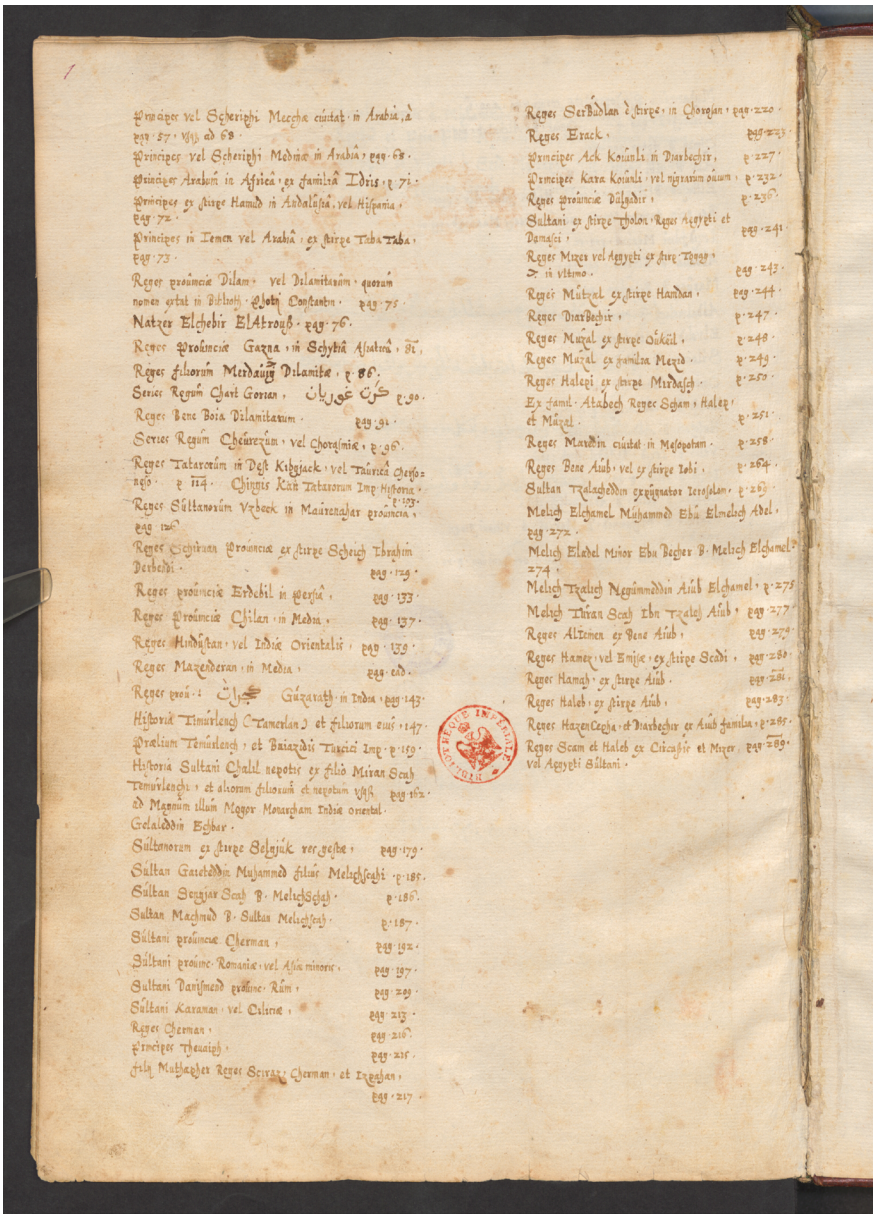
As Natalie Rothman has observed,[19] this codex was used by Podestá for his book *De Gestis Timurlenkii*. Concerning the origin of the copy she adds the following: 'Cenābī's manuscript [...] was likely procured for Tengnagel shortly after it had been created, and was possibly copied especially for him.'[20] Tengnagel's many addenda suggest that he intended to translate the whole work/manuscript. Another sign of this intention is the fact that he noted in one of his notebooks (ÖNB, Cod. 15164) passages omitted by İbrāhīm Dervīş in ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 12. However, Tengnagel's particular curiosity about this manuscript may be explained by his intention to publish a historiographic work on Muslim dynasties.[21] That he was interested not only in the life of Timur (r. 1370–1405),

18 See Flügel, *Katalog*, vol. 2, pp. 85–7 (no. 853); Römer, 'An Ottoman Copyist', pp. 342 and 345; for the author Cenābī (d. 1590), who wrote his history first in Arabic: see F. Rosenthal, 'al-Djannābī', in *EI²*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1996 (first printed in 1991) and M. Canatar, 'Cenâbî Mustafa Efendi: Hayatı, Eseri ve Tarih Görüşü,' *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 4 (1999), pp. 1–6.

19 E. N. Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance. Diplomatic Interpreters and the Routes of Orientalism* (Ithaca, London, 2021), pp. 213–4.

20 Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance*, p. 214.

21 See chapter 3 of the current volume.



Principes vel Scherifi Meccæ ciuitat. in Arabiâ, à pag. 57. vsq; ad 68.
Principes vel Scherifi Medinæ in Arabiâ, pag. 68.
Principes Arabum in Africâ, ex familiâ Idris, p. 71.
Principes ex stirpe Hamidi in Andaluſiâ, vel Hiſpania, pag. 72.
Principes in Iemen vel Arabiâ, ex stirpe Taba Taba, pag. 73.
Reges prouinciæ Dilam, vel Dilamitarum, quorum nomen extat in Biblioth. Gabr. Conſtantin. pag. 75.
Natrer Elchebir ElAtroqs. pag. 76.
Reges Prouinciæ Gazna, in Scythiâ Aſiatica, &c.
Reges filiorum Merdauig Dilamitæ, p. 86.
Series Regum Chart Gorian, كرت غوريان p. 90.
Reges Bene Boia Dilamitarum. pag. 91.
Series Regum Cheurezm, vel Choraſmiæ, p. 96.
Reges Tatarorum in Deſt Kiptzack, vel Taurica Cherſonneſo. p. 114. Chingis Kan Tatarorum Imp. Hiſtoria. p. 125.
Reges Sultanorum Vzbeck in Mauerenahar prouincia, pag. 126.
Reges Schiruan Prouinciæ ex stirpe Scheich Ibrahim Derbendi. pag. 129.
Reges prouinciæ Erdebil in Perſia, pag. 133.
Reges Prouinciæ Ghilan, in Media, pag. 137.
Reges Hindoſtan, vel Indiæ Orientalis, pag. 139.
Reges Mazenderan, in Media, pag. ead.
Reges prou. Guzarath in Indea, pag. 143.
Hiſtoria Timurlenck Tamerlan, et filiorum eius, 147.
Prælium Temurlenck, et Baiazidis Turcici Imp. p. 159.
Hiſtoria Sultani Chalil nepotis ex filio Miran Schah Temurlenck, et aliorum filiorum et nepotum ipſius pag. 162. ad Magnum illum Mogor Monarcham Indiæ oriental. Gelaleddin Ekbar.
Sultanorum ex stirpe Seljuk vet. geſtæ, pag. 179.
Sultan Gaieddin Muhammed filius Melechſchahi. p. 186.
Sultan Senjar Schah B. Melechschah. p. 186.
Sultan Machmud B. Sultan Melechschah. p. 187.
Sultani prouinciæ Cherman, pag. 192.
Sultani prouinc. Romaniæ, vel Aſiæ minoris, pag. 197.
Sultani Danischmend prouinc. Rum, pag. 209.
Sultani Karaman, vel Caſtriæ, pag. 213.
Reges Cherman, pag. 216.
Principes Thecaigh, pag. 218.
Ishk Muthaher Reges Schiraz, Cherman, et Ispahan, pag. 217.

Reges Serbadian è stirpe, in Chorajan, pag. 220.
Reges Erack, pag. 223.
Principes Ack Coiunli in Diarbechir, p. 227.
Principes Kara Coiunli, vel nigrarum ouium, p. 232.
Reges prouinciæ Dulgadir, p. 236.
Sultani ex stirpe Tholon, Reges Aegypti et Damaſci, pag. 241.
Reges Mizer vel Aegypti ex stirpe Ayoub, & in vltimo. pag. 243.
Reges Mutzal ex stirpe Hamdan, pag. 244.
Reges Diarbechir, p. 247.
Reges Mutzal ex stirpe Okeil, p. 248.
Reges Mutzal ex familia Merzd, p. 249.
Reges Halepi ex stirpe Mirdaſch, p. 250.
Ex famil. Atabech Reges Scham, Halep, et Mutzal. p. 251.
Reges Mardin ciuitat. in Meſopotam. p. 258.
Reges Bene Aiub, vel ex stirpe Iobi, p. 264.
Sultan Tzalacheddin expugnator Ieroſolam, p. 265.
Melich Elchamel Muhammed Ebn Elmelech Adel, pag. 272.
Melich Eladel Minor Ebn Becher B. Melich Elchamel. 274.
Melich Tzaheh Negmmeddin Aiub Elchamel, p. 275.
Melich Thuran Schah Ibn Tzaheh Aiub, pag. 277.
Reges Alzemen ex Bene Aiub, pag. 279.
Reges Hamez, vel Emiſæ, ex stirpe Scadi, pag. 280.
Reges Hamah, ex stirpe Aiub. pag. 281.
Reges Haleb, ex stirpe Aiub, pag. 283.
Reges Hazen Cecha, et Diarbechir ex Aiub familia, p. 285.
Reges Scam et Haleb ex Circaſsis et Mizer pag. 289. vel Aegypti Sultani.

FIGURE 4.5 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 12, fol. 1r

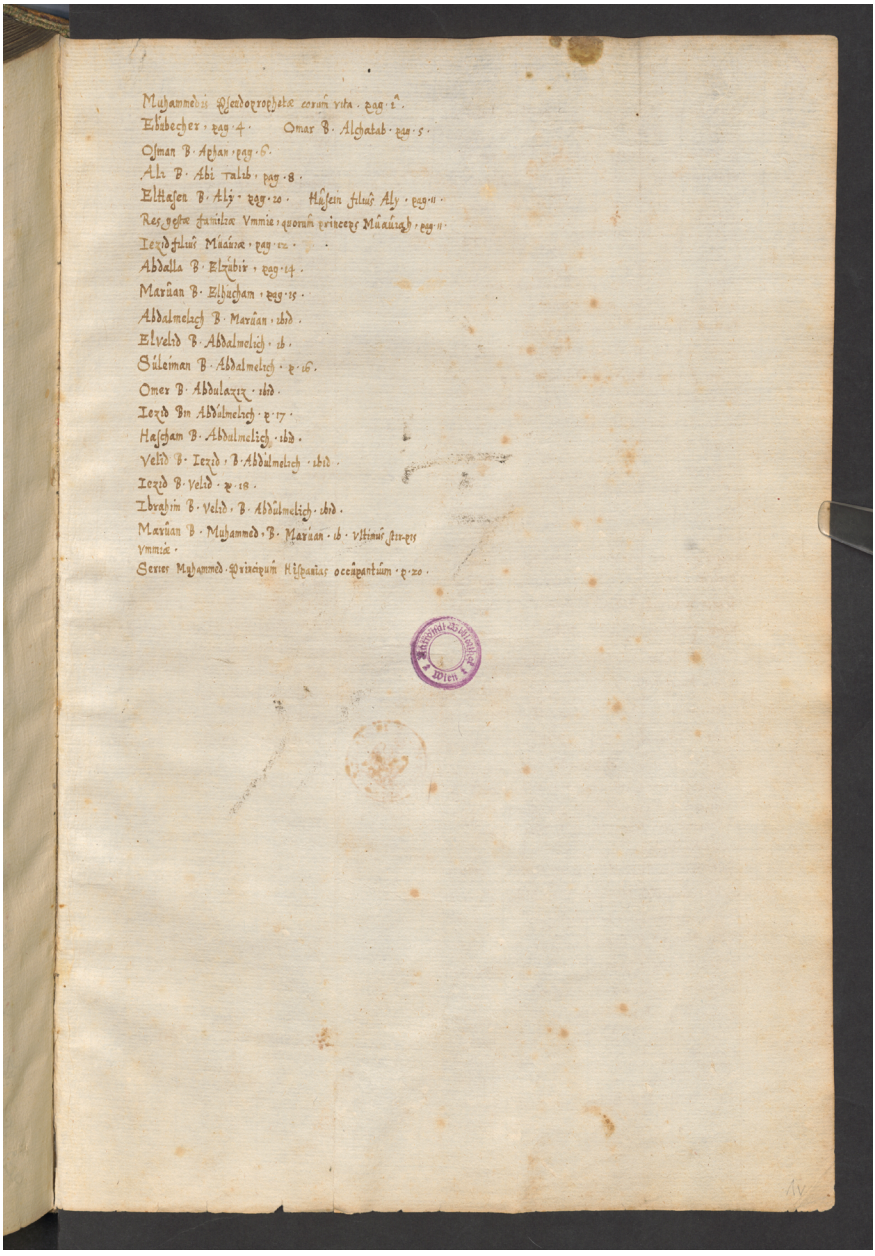


FIGURE 4.6 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 12, fol. 1v

founder of the Timurid dynasty,[22] is obvious from the intensive annotations and interlinear translations of certain words and phrases found throughout the entire manuscript. However, we also know from his notebooks that he had translated this part of Cenābī's history into Latin. The manuscript consists of 225 folios comprising 41 chapters: the history of the Ottomans up to the time of Sultan Murād III (r. 1574–1595) are described between folios 195r and 224r. Although Tengnagel did not annotate, read or work on this part as intensively as he did in the section on Timur, he particularly annotated folios 219v to 221v (Fig. 4.7), which contain a description of the reigns of Sultan Selīm II (r. 1566–1574) and Murād III.[23]

(3) ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 26, *Luġāt-i Emīr Ḥüseyin el-Ayāsī* ('The Dictionary of Emir Hüseyin el-Ayasi') is a Persian-Turkish dictionary and the date of the copy is June 1614. This manuscript is also interesting because it was copied from the manuscript that formerly belonged to Scaliger and was lent to Tengnagel by the Leiden librarian Daniel Heinsius (d. 1655).[24] The title given by Tengnagel, and still used by the Austrian National Library, is misleading, as it becomes clear from its content that it corresponds to the material in the famous Persian-Turkish dictionary of Niʿmetullāh.[25] Although Tengnagel was aware of Niʿmetullāh's dictionary, for some reason he attributed the dictionary to a certain Emir Ḥüseyin el-Ayāsī, known only for his name,[26] which may correspond to the copyist or the compiler of the Scaliger manuscript.[27] It is an extraordinary codex and needs deeper research from the perspective of the history of knowledge. The codex shows the type of interdisciplinary work done by the court librarian. At the same time, the manuscript copied by the captive

22 See B. F. Manz, 'Tīmūr Lang', in *EI²*, https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1223.

23 Unfortunately, it is not clear yet from which manuscript Dervīş İbrāhīm copied Cenābī's historiographic work.

24 Römer, 'An Ottoman Copyist', pp. 340–41; Jones, *Learning Arabic*, p. 61.

25 For Niʿmetullāh and his dictionary see E. Berthels, 'Niʿmat Allāh b. Aḥmad', in *EI²*, vol. VIII (Leiden, 1995), p. 44: doi: 10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5914; A. İnce, *Lügat-i Niʾmetuʾllâh* (Ankara, 2015); A. Sargsyan, 'Persian-Turkish Dictionaries of the mid-15th–16th Centuries: A Trajectory of Knowledge Mobility', in eds. E. Dierauff, D. Dierks, B. Henning, T. Leber and A. Sargsyan, *Knowledge on the Move in a Transottoman Perspective* (Göttingen, 2021), pp. 39–70; N. Ö. Palabıyık, *Silent Teachers. Turkish Books and Oriental Learning in Early Modern Europe, 1544–1699* (New York, London, 2023), pp. 142–4, 150–3.

26 Palabıyık, *Silent Teachers*, p. 143.

27 I presented his manuscript, ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 26, its contents and manuscriptological peculiarities in an article based on my paper at the conference *Multilingualism, Translation, Transfer: Persian in the Ottoman Empire* (Gotha 2023), see H. Çelik, 'Court Librarian Sebastian Tengnagel's Persian-Turkish-Latin Dictionary Project and a Turkish Captive's Multilingualism in 1614'.

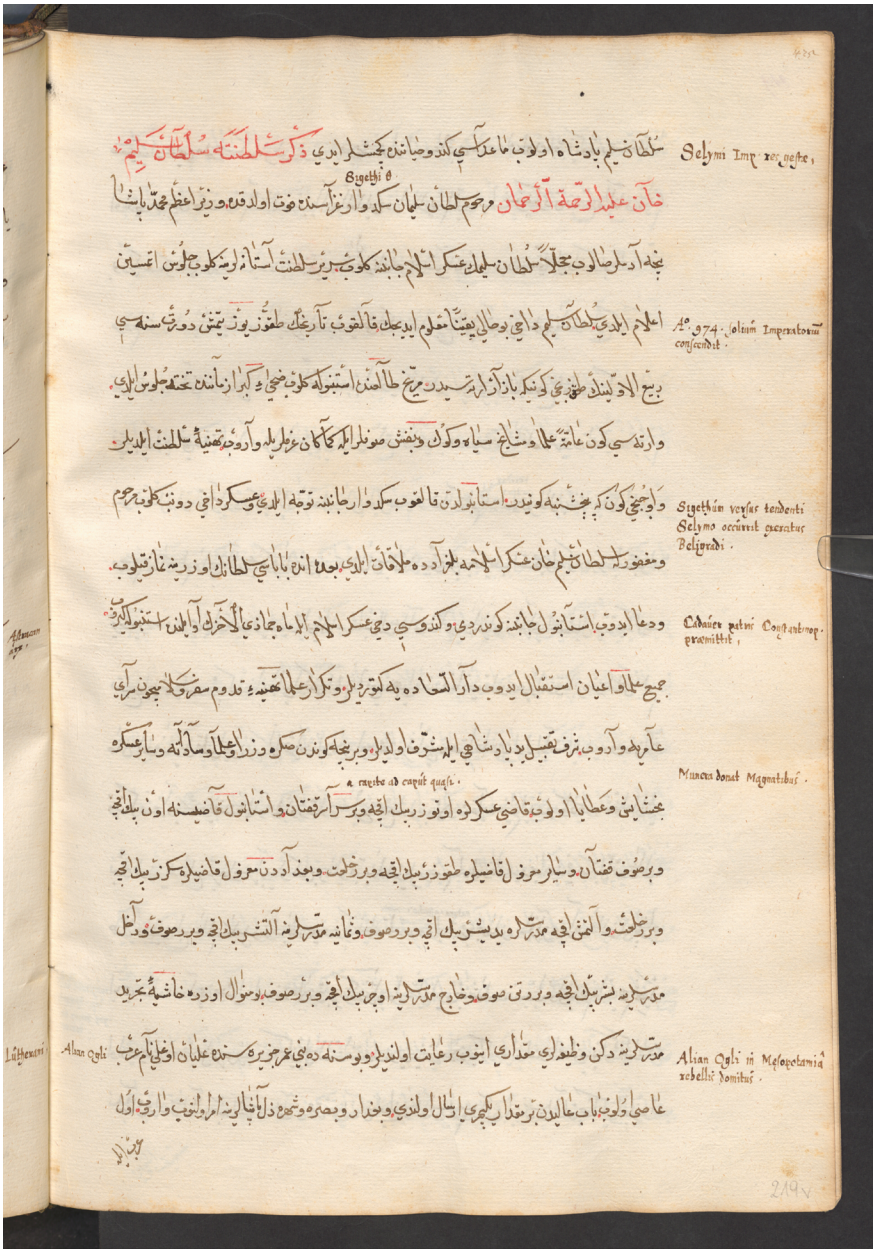


FIGURE 4.7 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 12, fol. 219v

may be regarded as a working copy for potential publication. The translations appear on almost every page of the 377 folios. Tengnagel not only translates the Persian-Turkish words into Latin, but he also adds references to a Persian translation of the Pentateuch and makes notes in Hebrew script. It is very probable that he had used a polyglot edition of the Pentateuch and made references to the Persian and Hebrew passages or words.[28] As in his later catalogue, he inserted the title of a printed book, and we may assume that Tengnagel used this codex for his references in the manuscript copied by İbrāhīm Dervīş: 'Printed book 11. The Pentateuch or the Five Books of Moses in Hebraic; the Targum Onkelos in Chaldean; the Arabic version by Rabbi Saadia Gaon, and the Persian version by Rabbi Jacob, the son of R. Joseph Tauos (with the marginal notes by R. Salomon Isac). Printed in Constantinople in the year 5306 of the Jewish epoch. [It is a] very rare codex, seen by only few occidental Jews, fol.'[29] One of the volumes of this printed Pentateuch recorded in Tengnagel's catalogue very probably corresponds to the shelfmark 20.P.16.(Vol.1) ALT PRUNK, where an *Ex libris* of Sebastian Tengnagel can be found on the title page.[30]

On fol. 20r (Fig. 4.8) examples of several of Sebastian Tengnagel's scholarly practices are assembled on a single page. The first entry is *parākīdan*: the Persian original reads (پَرَاکِیدَنْ), below the Persian script Tengnagel wrote 'gen. 49.' and added to the right of this, in Persian script (پَرَاکَنْد). To the left of this he wrote the Latin translation 'dispergere, dissipare' ('disperse, scatter') and to the left of this translation we read İbrāhīm Dervīş's Ottoman Turkish '*ṭaġıtmaḳ*' (طَاغِتْمَقْ). The eighth and penultimate entry on the folio is *barāmadan* (بَرَآمَدَنْ). The Ottoman note is '*bi-maʿnā parāmadan*' (بِمَعْنَی پَرَآمَدَنْ), and Tengnagel's

28 We also know that he asked for the polyglot Pentateuch in a letter to Albanus. See H. Çelik and C. Petrolini, 'Establishing an "Orientalium linguarum Bibliotheca" in 17th-century Vienna: Sebastian Tengnagel and the trajectories of his manuscripts', *Bibliothecae.it* 10 (2021), pp. 175–231 (https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2283-9364/13081), 190–91; ÖNB, Cod. 8997, 52r–53r, see also chapter 2 of the current volume.

29 ÖNB, Cod. 12650, fol. 16v: '*Impress. 11. Pentateuchus sive Quinque libri Mosis Hebraicè, et Targum Onkelos Chaldaicè, Arabica versio Rabbi Saadiæ Gaon, et Persica Rabbi Iacobi fil. R. Ioseph Tauos. cum scholiis R. Salomonis Isacidæ, Excus. Constantinopoli, anno Epochæ Iudaicæ, 5036 5306 Codex rarus, et paucis occidentalib. Iudæis visus, fol.*'

30 See http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC12247669. The title given by the Austrian National Library is '*Thargum, hoc est, paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in sacra Biblia, ex Chaldaeo in Latinum fidelissime versa … autore Paulo Fagio: 1: Pentateuchus, sive Quinque libri Moysi*'.

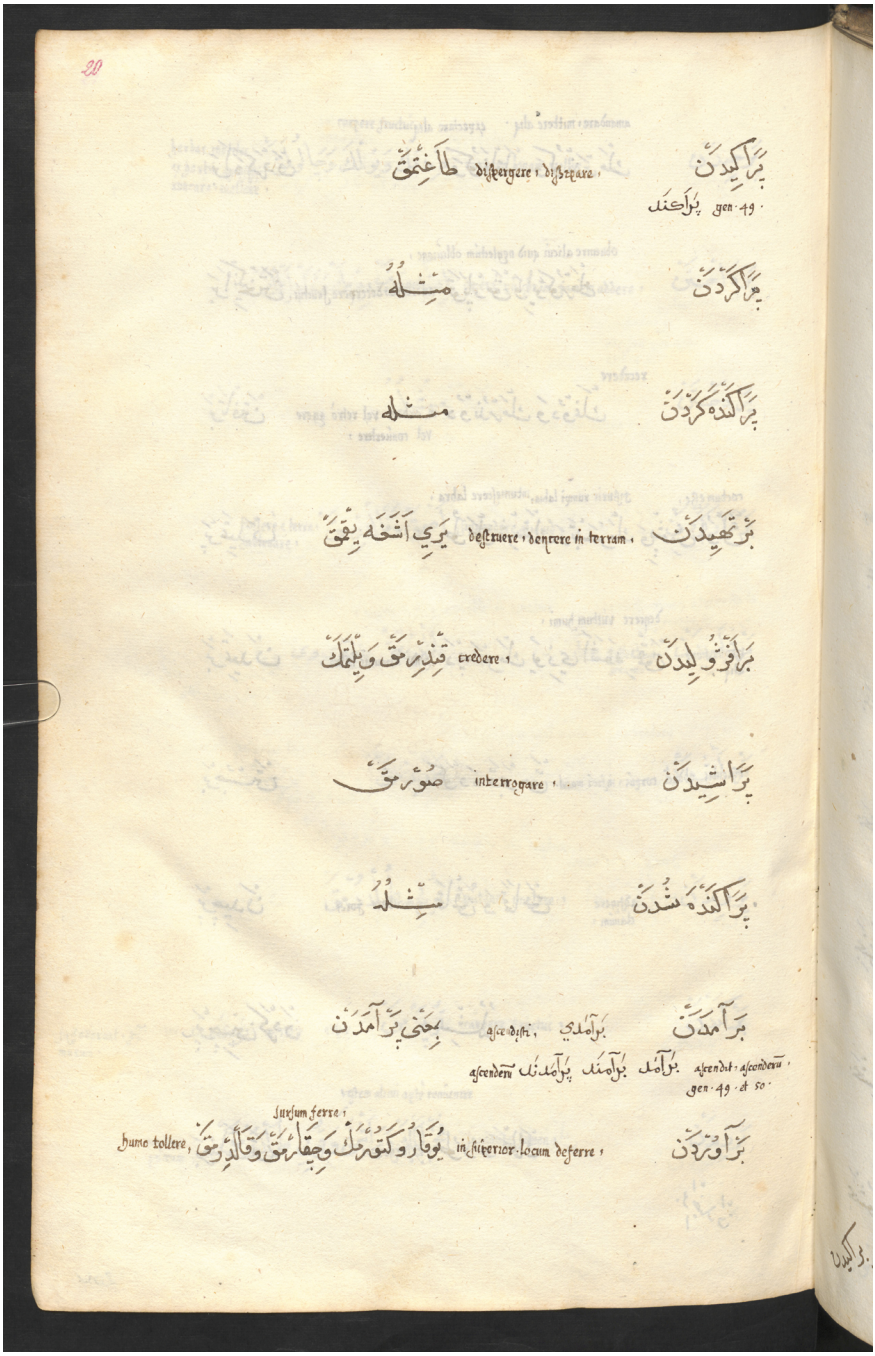


FIGURE 4.8 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 26, fol. 20r

note to this entry is: '(بَرآمَدي) ascendisti,[31] (پَرآمَدنَد), (بَرآمَند), (بَرآمَد), ascenderu ascendit, ascenderu, gen. 49. et 50.'[32]

On certain pages of Tengnagel's comprehensive dictionary project we also come across what we can identify as good examples for 'visualizing knowledge'. On fol. 304v (Fig. 4.9), for example, we can assume that Tengnagel asked the copyist İbrāhīm Dervīş to explain to him what a *kashkanjīr* (كَشكَنجِيرْ) (Ott. Turkish *keşkencīr*)[33] looked like. Although we do not know for certain, we may also assume that Tengnagel even asked İbrāhīm Dervīş to draw, and therefore make visual, references to the meaning of the Persian word. Above the entry we see Tengnagel's note 'Instrument. ut hic depictum, ad discendam artem iaculandi arcu', 'A tool like the one pictured here to learn the art of archery'. From right to left we can read the Persian original (كَشكَنجِيرْ); and to the left of this the drawing is inserted; and left of the drawing again is the Turkish explanation that the copyist copied from the original:

> *Bir āletdür ki yay çekmege heves ėdenler aġır ṭaşları zencīrler-ile // muḥkem bergidirler bir yėre berkinmiş aġacuñ çatalından yā delüginden çekerler.*
>
> It is a tool with which those who intend to do archery fasten heavy stones with chains and put it on the fork or the whole of a steady tree which they pull.

The Turkish explanation is surrounded by Tengnagel's translation of certain words like *catenis* for '*zencīrler*', *discere volunt* above '*çekmege heves*', *firmiter* to the right '*muḥkem*', *extrahunt* to the right '*çekerler*', *alligatu* below '*bergidirler*' or *lignum in terra defixum* below '*bir yėre berkinmiş aġacuñ*'.

(4) ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 31: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* ('The [Collection of] Authentic [Traditions] of Bukhārī') is the well-known collection of prophetic traditions in Arabic written by the famous Muslim scholar Muḥammad al-Bukhārī,[34]

---

31 Whereas *ascendesti* occurs in Gen. 49,9 the latter two forms are not there.

32 It is not clear if *ascenderu* is an abbreviation of *ascenderunt* and it is also not clear what Tengnagel meant with the Persian word (بَرآمَند).

33 S. J. Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon* (Istanbul, 1978, Reprint of Constantinople 1890), p. 1553: '*keshkenjīr* […] A machine for exercising the muscles of a novice before he handles a bow'.

34 See J. Robson, 'al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl,' in *EI*^{2}, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1510; al-Bukhari's famous compilation of the prophetic traditions was very well known to European scholars and partially translated. See, for example, Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, pp. 54 and 115.

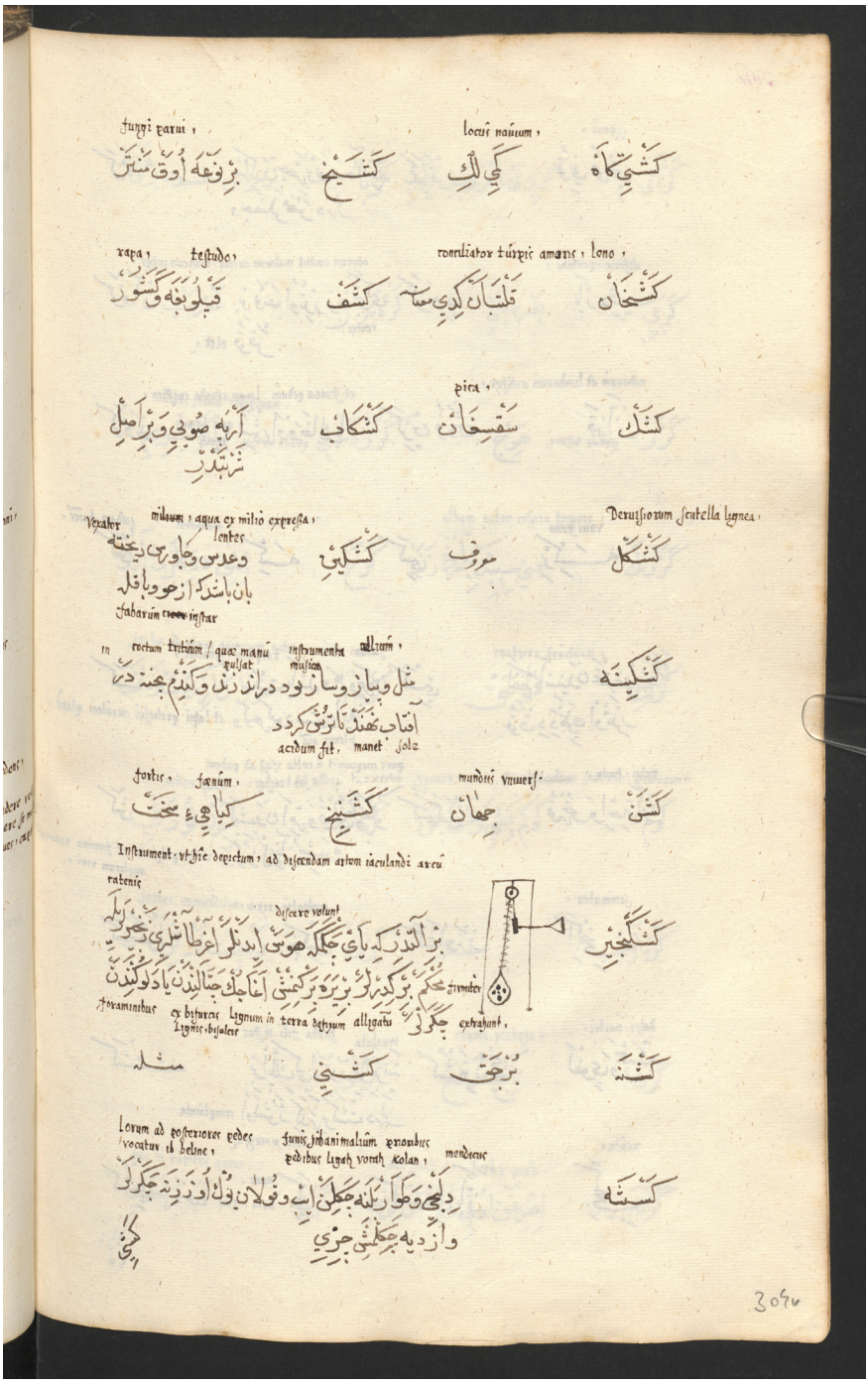


FIGURE 4.9 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 26, fol. 304v

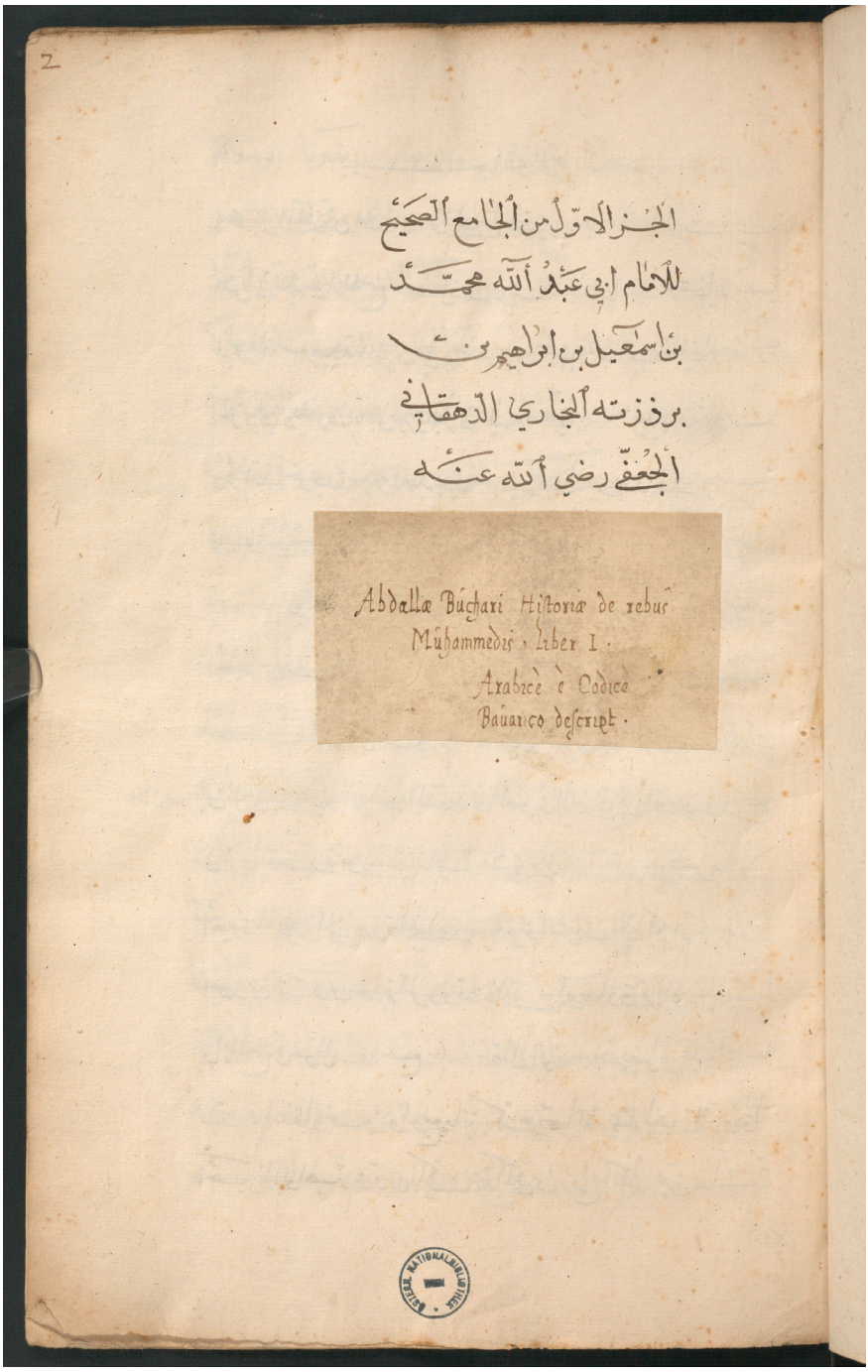
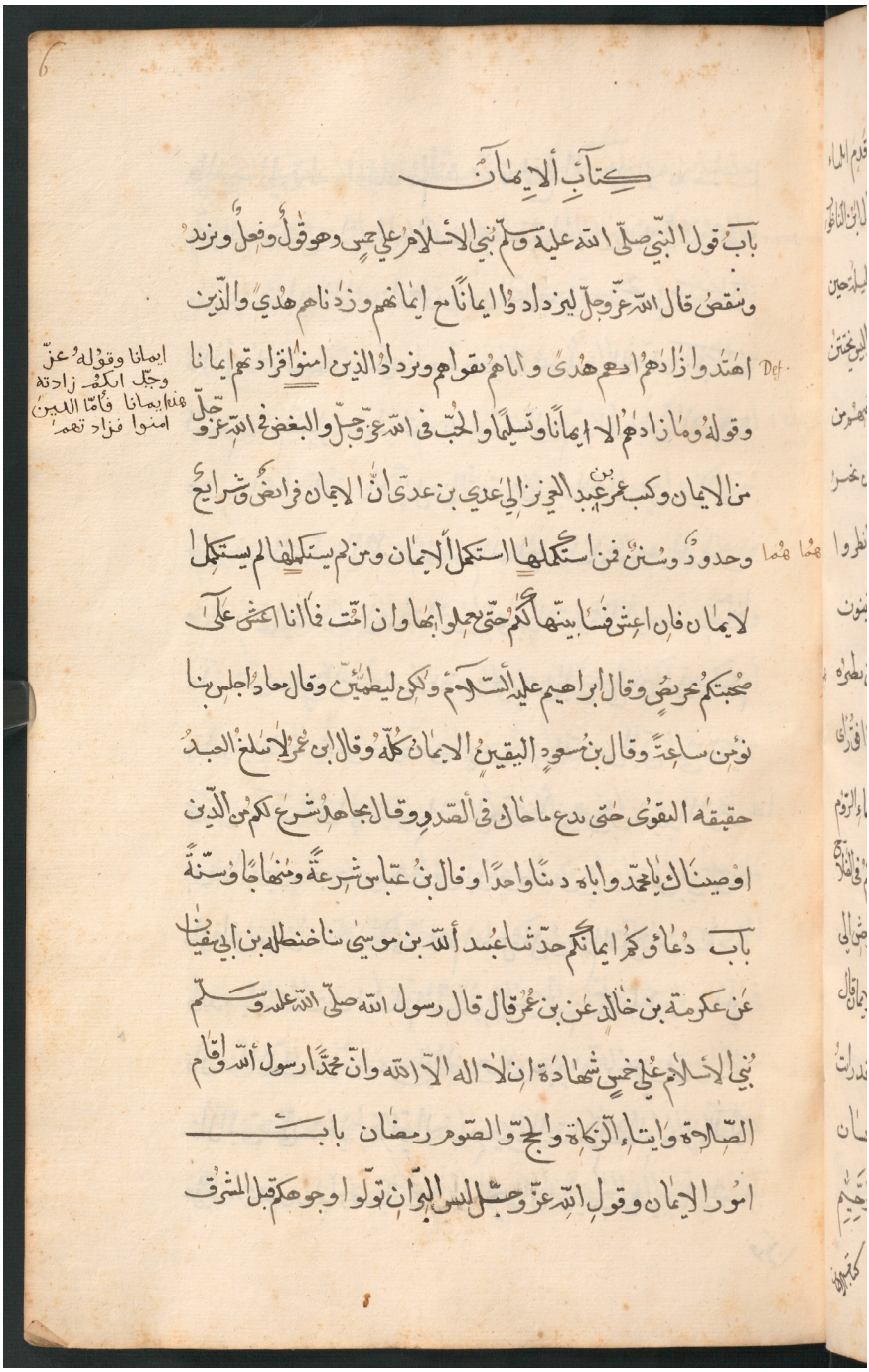


FIGURE 4.10 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 31, fol. 2r



كتاب الايمان

باب قول النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بني الاسلام على خمس وهو قول وفعل ويزيد
وينقص قال الله عز وجل ليزدادوا ايمانا مع ايمانهم وزدناهم هدى والذين
اهتدوا زادهم هدى واتاهم تقواهم وقوله وما زادهم الا ايمانا وتسليما والحب في الله عز وجل والبغض في الله عز وجل
من الايمان وكتب عمر بن عبد العزيز الى عدي بن عدي ان الايمان فرائض وشرائع
وحدود وسنن من استكملها استكمل الايمان ومن لم يستكملها لم يستكمل
الايمان فان اعش فسابينها لكم حتى تعملوا بها وان امت فما انا على
صحبتكم بحريص وقال ابراهيم عليه السلام ولكن ليطمئن وقال معاذ اجلس بنا
نؤمن ساعة وقال ابن مسعود اليقين الايمان كله وقال ابن عمر لا تبلغ العبد
حقيقة التقوى حتى يدع ما حاك في الصدر وقال مجاهد شرع لكم من الدين
اوصيناك يا محمد واباه دينا واحدا وقال ابن عباس شرعة ومنهاجا وسنة

باب دعاؤكم ايمانكم حدثنا عبد الله بن موسى نا حنظلة بن ابي سفيان
عن عكرمة بن خالد عن ابن عمر قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
بني الاسلام على خمس شهادة ان لا اله الا الله وان محمدا رسول الله واقام
الصلاة وايتاء الزكاة والحج والصوم رمضان باب
امور الايمان وقول الله عز وجل ليس البر ان تولوا وجوهكم قبل المشرق

ايمانا وقوله عز وجل اكفهم زادته هذا ايمانا فاما الذين امنوا فزادتهم

Def.

هما هما

FIGURE 4.11 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 31, fol. 6r



FIGURE 4.12 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 53, fols. 215v–216r



هدية بين اسد الدين وشاور على ان ينصرف اسد الدين الى الشام ويحمل اليه
شاور عوض ما انفقه وبذل له خمسين الف دينار فاخذها ورجع بمجموعه الى الشام
وفي سنة ثلاث وستين وخمسمايه انعم الملك العادل نور الدين على اسد الدين شيركوه
بن شادي بحمص واعمالها وتسلمها ومضى وفي سنة اربع وستين وخمسمايه كان مشيرا
اسد الدوله الثالث اربع وستين وخمسمايه الى مصر وسببه ان الفرنج خربوا الديار
المصريه لانهم دخلوها مرتين واطلعوا على احوالها وعرفوا جهاتها وطمعوا في اخذها
فجمعوا جموعا عظيما واظهروا انهم قاصدين حمص وكان الملك نور الدين مشغولا
بجهة الفرات والشمال فتوجهوا من عسقلان في المحرم ووصلوا الى بلبيس وحاصروها
وملكوها واستولوا عليها واحرقوا شاور مصر خوفا من الفرنج ولما ضايقوا القاهرة
بعث الى مري ملكهم يطلب منه الصلح على الف الف دينار بعضها معجل وبعضها مؤجل
فاجابه مري الى الصلح وحلف عليه فحمل اليه شاور مايه الف دينار وماطله
بالباقي وكتب الى الملك العادل نور الدين بن زنكي يستصرخ به وسود كتبه
وجعل في طيها شعور النسا ووصل كتبه الى الملك العادل وكان مقيما بحلب
فسار اسد الدين من حمص الى حلب في ليلة واحدة وجمعا العساكر وسارا الى دمشق
وعرضا العساكر على الفوار ثم سار اسد الدين الى مصر في سبعين الف فارس

وراجل

Induciæ inter Ased et Saur.

A°. 563. Noradin donat Ased Schirchut Emisam.

A°. 564 tertium mouet Ased B. Schadi in Aegypt.

Caussa, quia franci populantur eam.

N. loc.

franci occupant

Caherem obsident.

Et Saur pacem cum eis mit magna pecuniæ summa data et promissa.

Scribit ad Noradinum, vt sibi succurrat.

Asededdin ingreditur 70000 hoim Aegypt.

215v

who died in 870. Unfortunately, the copy is not dated. On fol. 2r of the codex (Fig. 4.10) we see Tengnagel's Latin writing '*Abdallae Buchari Historiae de rebus Muhammedis Liber 1. Arabice e codice Bavarico descript*'.[35]

Although Tengnagel's notes appear on only a few pages of this Arabic manuscript of 40 folios (ending on fol. 11r), his corrections are noteworthy. So, on fol. 6r (Fig. 4.11) of this codex, we can see that the scribe obviously forgot to copy a line of Arabic text, which has been subsequently added by Tengnagel in the left-hand margin.

(5) ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 53: *Tārīkh* ('Annals') is described by Tengnagel as the history of the 'Saracens' in Arabic from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad until 1259. It was written by Ibn al-'Amīd al-Makīn, who died in 1273.[36] This work – like Abū l-Fidā's descriptive geography *Taqwīm al-Buldān* – was famous in Europe and became known as 'one of the very first medieval oriental chronicles'. The copy is not dated, but we know from Sebastian Tengnagel's correspondence that the source manuscript belonging to Postel had been sent back to Gruter in March 1608.[37] While this manuscript contains fewer of Tengnagel's corrections in comparison to the previous manuscripts, it has a vast quantity of notes referring to the content, which appear on almost every leaf of the 295-folio codex. As with A. F. 12 and A. F. 26, this was a working copy that served as a first draft for a future edition or publication.

Folio 215v and 216r, for example, show (Fig. 4.12) two pages describing the reigning years 1167/8 to 1169/70 of Nūraddīn Zangī (r. 1146–1174).[38] Tengnagel annotated both pages with short translations in Latin in the margins, which he sometimes marked by underlining the translated word(s) with two lines. Furthermore, he noted the Hijri years in Arabic letters and it is possible that he asked İbrāhīm Dervīş to mark the years mentioned in the text, which can be seen as overlinings of only one line.[39]

35 This famous work of Bukhārī occurs also in the lists Tengnagel recorded comprising Arabic books and manuscripts in other European libraries (Vatican, Munich, Leiden, etc.).

36 C. Cahen and R.-G. Coquin, 'al-Makīn b. al-Amīd,' in *EI²*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0637.

37 Römer, 'An Ottoman Copyist,' pp. 341–2.

38 For the Zangid ruler of Aleppo, Nūraddīn Zangī see N. Elisséeff, 'Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī,' in *EI²*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5988.

39 While in Islamic and Arabic manuscripts we see the practice of overlining as highlighting or connecting the overlined word with a related marginal note, in Latin manuscripts this is shown by underlining; see for example, F. Sobieroj, *Variance in Arabic Manuscripts* (Berlin, Boston, 2016), p. 49.

4.3 Ordering Manuscripts – Oriental Studies as a Discipline and Networks

From Wilhelm Schickard's (d. 1635) correspondence with other scholars we know that he considered Tengnagel the most competent person to teach Turkish properly.[40] That Tengnagel *could* order manuscripts in many languages of the Orient – not restricted to Arabic, Persian and Turkish – is itself a marker of the variety of his networks. He was in the happy position of having access to an acceptable copyist of manuscripts in Arabic characters like İbrāhīm Dervīş, who was surely not a mere copyist, but at times a knowledge provider and Tengnagel's teacher.[41] Tengnagel's correspondence, part of which he copied into his notebooks, indicates that he petitioned members of his network about acquiring works mentioned in the sources he had read. Particularly interesting in this regard is a list with Arabic, Turkish and Persian works sent to the dragoman Johannes Paulus Albanus[42] in 1613 and 1617.[43] The three pages of ÖNB, Cod. 8997, fols. 52r–53r, contain 37 references to mostly Arabic and Persian titles of historical and lexicographical works that he wished to acquire. Assuming that Tengnagel already possessed a number of Oriental manuscripts in 1613, we may suggest that the reading and study of these manuscripts first provoked

40 See F. Seck, *Wilhelm Schickard: Briefwechsel*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 2002).

41 See for example another case of a helper and scribe, namely Şāhīn Ḳandī of Aleppo who helped Jacobus Golius, Palabıyık, *Silent Teachers*, pp. 154 and 171. See also J. Schmidt, 'Between Author and Library Shelf: The Intriguing History of Some Middle Eastren Manuscripts Acquired by Public Collections in the Netherlands Prior to 1800', in A. Hamilton, M. H. v. d. Boogert, and B. Westerweel, eds., *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 27–52, here especially pp. 38–40 and G. J. Toomer, *The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 237–38.

42 Zsuzsanna Cziráki's opinion is that Giovanni Paolo Damiani, an interpreter originally from Albania, and Paulus Albanus are identical. This is my translation of the relevant parts of Zsuzsanna Cziráki's email message to Claudia Römer of 10 November 2021: 'Damiani was recruited in 1610 by the Resident Michael Starzer, and in 1611 he was appointed as the imperial interpreter for Oriental languages. They were the best collaborators and even friends, and practically laid the foundations of imperial diplomacy in Constantinople after Zsitvatorok. He has a remarkably rich and long life trajectory, serving until his death in 1653, alternately in Vienna and in Constantinople, in 1622–23 or as an interim agent (after the recall of Starzer and even before the arrival of the resident Sebastian Lustrier). He is one of the most outstanding interpreters of the 17th century, yet there is practically nothing in the literature about his person, although there is quite a lot of talk about him in the archival records.' See chapter 5 of the current volume.

43 Preserved in ÖNB, Cod. 8997, fols. 52r–53r, see Çelik and Petrolini, 'Establishing', 190 and footnote 31. A digitised version of ÖNB, Cod. 8997 is available here: http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/7637104.

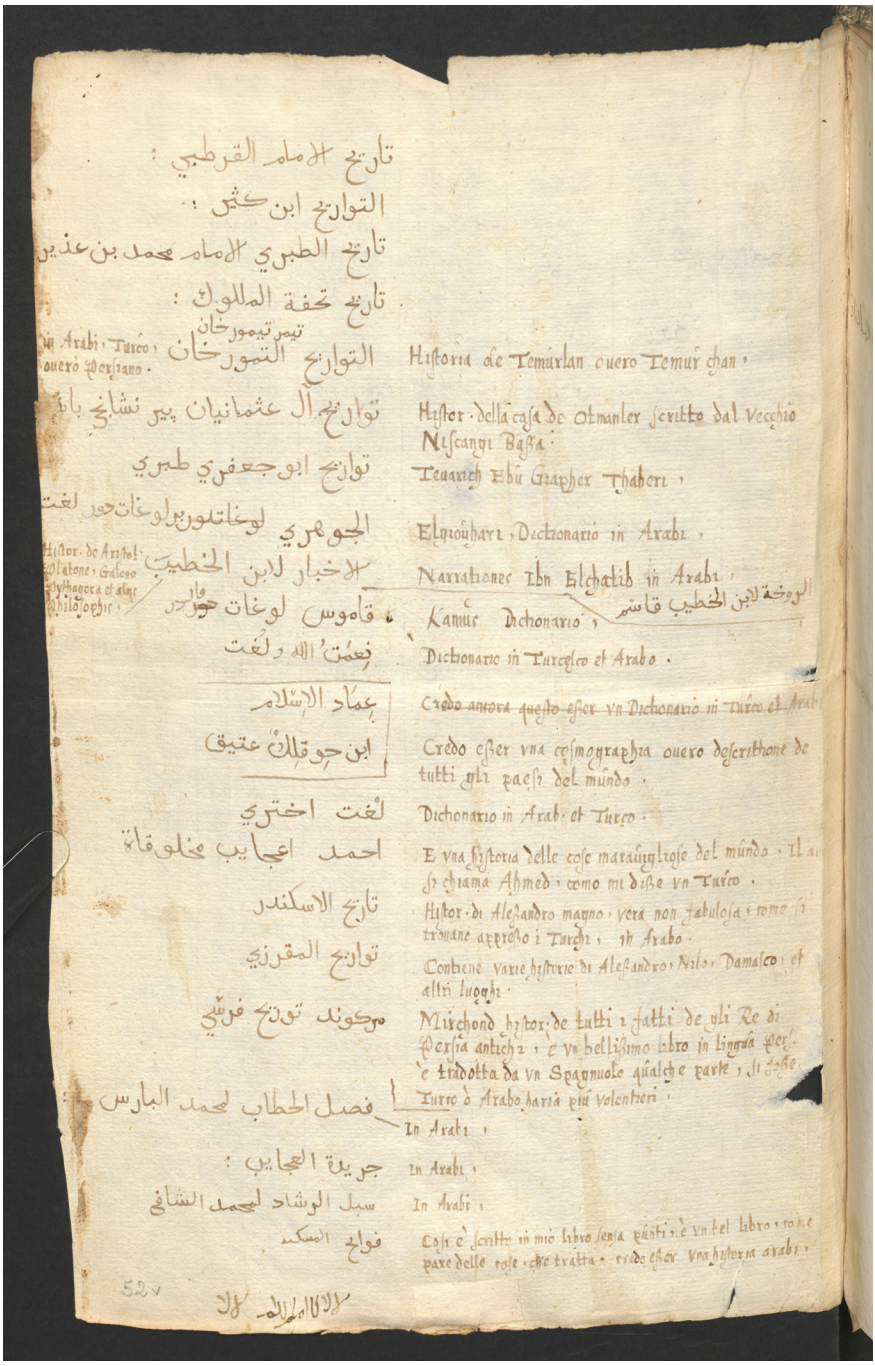


FIGURE 4.13 ÖNB, Cod. 8997, fol. 52v

his interest (at least in the three languages written in Arabic script) and then led him to further, known Oriental titles mentioned in these diverse sources. On fol. 52v, for example (Fig. 4.13), Tengnagel notes 22 titles of Arabic, Persian and Turkish historical and lexicographical works. In another case, he makes an annotation directly on to the manuscript itself, where the sources used are quoted (Fig. 4.16). To some extent it is possible to trace the sources from the titles: two possible sources are the manuscript copies made by İbrāhīm Dervīş, the Arabic historical work of Al-Makīn (A. F. 53), and the geographical work of Abū l-Fidā (A. F. 5). Furthermore, Tengnagel must again have asked İbrāhīm Dervīş himself – since the latter obviously had a proper knowledge of the three languages demanded by Tengnagel (reading, understanding and writing) – about possible means of language acquisition, for example dictionaries or grammar books. And, as is evident from the many signs of informants in Tengnagel's notebooks, he had access to expert knowledge and colloquial Ottoman-Turkish of the time (see below).

It is necessary to compare the list of three pages (1613 and 1617) with a much later one sent to Pietro Della Valle in 1628.[44] Such a comparison will ultimately allow us to determine which codices or works Tengnagel acquired through Albanus and which manuscripts he still needed or wished to acquire when writing to Della Valle. Another letter in his collection of correspondence shows that Tengnagel (besides his librarianship and scholarship) was clearly regarded as a broker, who could potentially build contacts between scholars engaged in 'Turkish studies' and Turkish captives or converts. This is also obvious from Jakob Christmann's Turkish letter addressed to the 'Turkish Paul', baptized Paul Willich (Fig. 4.14).[45] Christmann clearly wanted the letter to be read by the captive İbrāhīm Dervīş, to hear the latter's views on his, i.e. Christmann's proficiency in Turkish.[46]

44 See Çelik and Petrolini, 'Establishing', pp. 206–11.

45 For Paul Willich see Jones, *Learning Arabic*, pp. 55–56.

46 While this is mentioned only briefly here, it will be the content of a forthcoming research note by the present author, including a transcription and translation of Christmann's Turkish letter.

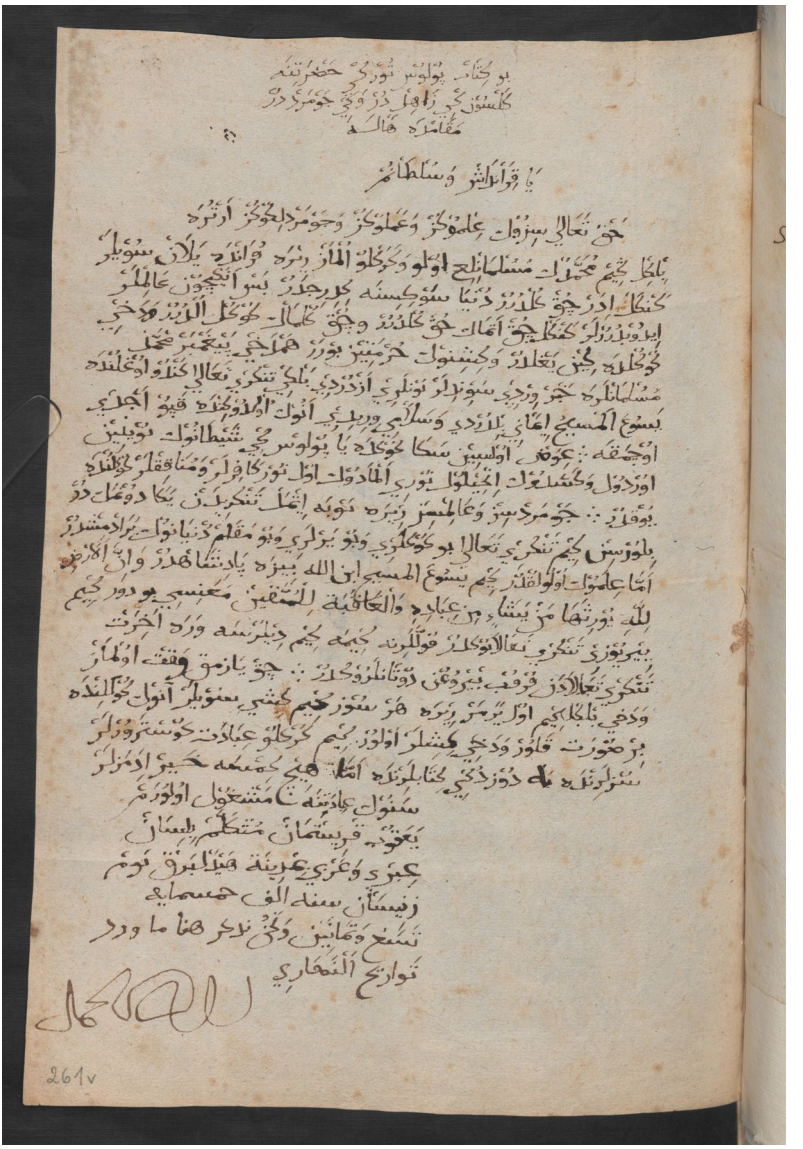


FIGURE 4.14 STT0157

4.4 Reading and Using Manuscripts in the Three Languages of the Ottoman Empire

In the following sections I will show the diverse work and engagement of a librarian with 'Ottoman' and Oriental manuscript material: what can his work with religious manuscripts, dictionaries and historical manuscripts tell us about the dimensions of a librarian's interest and curiosity? And how did he access the individual pieces of his later 'treasure'? What can the contents of his notebooks tell us about his informants and his own ambitions to publish in the field of Oriental studies? In order to answer these questions, I will focus on the manuscripts and topics that were obviously of greatest interest to Sebastian Tengnagel. To better underline the title of this chapter and Tengnagel's level of knowledge as a pioneer in the field of Oriental studies I will briefly present some of the contents of some of his notebooks; following this, I will focus on Tengnagel's work with manuscripts on the topics of religion, lexicography and history.

Tengnagel's private Oriental library, his notebooks and his correspondence give us many hints about his scholarly practices.[47] His annotations in the manuscripts include the following practices: transcriptions or transliterations of Arabic written words, such as place names or known Islamic figures, translations – sometimes even of full sentences – explanations, references to other works (for example Biblical translations), and corrections. Tengnagel's corrections particularly show his philological expertise, as he seemed to be able to recognize mistakes made in the manuscripts by his copyist(s), mostly in Arabic and Turkish. He makes references in his manuscripts and notebooks to other works and, in the case of the manuscripts copied by the captive İbrāhīm Dervīş, it is obvious that the references point to the sources from which the copies had been made. Furthermore, the corrections refer mainly to mistakes made by the captive copyist while copying Arabic manuscripts, such as Abū l-Fidā's geographical work (A. F. 5), the compilation of prophetic traditions of Bukhārī (A. F. 31), or the history of Jirjis al-Makīn (A. F. 53). In much of Tengnagel's collection of books and manuscripts there is evidence of such practices in manuscripts that he purchased, which contain not only signs of use (and reading), but also statements/explanations and even judgements regarding their content.

47 A. Grafton and G. Most, *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices. A Global Comparative Approach* (Cambridge, 2016).

Of special interest in this regard are Tengnagel's notebooks, which contain excerpts from lists of Oriental collections in European institutional, as well as private, libraries (including that of Thomas Erpenius) in two, three or four languages. These notebooks not only provide evidence of Tengnagel's language learning, and his collaborative work with his copyists/informants, but they show his accumulation of information from manuscript and printed sources, thus hinting at his ongoing projects for eventual publication.

The following list (Table 4.2), showing the notebooks related to Sebastian Tengnagel and kept in the Austrian National Library, contains material about the 'Orient' in general and ranges from translations of passages from historiographic works to simple word lists:

TABLE 4.2 Tengnagel's notebooks

Shelfmark	**Titles given by the Austrian National Library**	**Short description of relevant material**
8997	Historical Collected Manuscript[a]	Lists of Arabic books in Munich and the Vatican; 'Vita magni Timurlan'; Tengnagel's translation of a chapter from the Ottoman historiographic work of Cenābī (see below)
9690	Collected Manuscript	Catalogi librorum aliaeque notitiae litterariae & Catalogi duo amicorum
10364	Historical Collected Manuscript[b]	Nota ad Sorsani et Massae vitam Avicennae (fols. 3r–8r)
13429	Collected Manuscript	Miscellanea orientalia (fols. 1r–26v), Glossarium nominum arabicorum ex Avicenna (fols. 27r–120v), Glossae arabico-latinae (fols. 121r–159v)
13928	Collected Manuscript	Catalogus librorum orientalium manuscriptorum in bibliotheca Thomae Erpenii a. 1622 (8 fols.)

a See the digitized version here: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13958446.
b See the digitized version here: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13956812.

TABLE 4.2 Tengnagel's notebooks (*cont.*)

Shelfmark	Titles given by the Austrian National Library	Short description of relevant material
15160	Catalogi variorum librorum, vocabula arabica etc. e Cod. Palatinae Bibliothecae ms. excerpta	Contains many pages in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, several of them obviously in the captive İbrāhīm Dervīş's hand
15161	Miscellanea arabica, turcica et hebraica	Contains many pages in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, several of them obviously in the captive İbrāhīm Dervīş's hand
15162	Collected Manuscript[c]	'Mosis Mered. Lexicon syro-arabicum cum versione Latina'[d]
15164	Lexicon arabico-hispanicum Granatense in ordinem alphabeticum digestum a Sebastiano Tengnagel	References to other manuscripts used by Tengnagel and copied by İbrāhīm Dervīş, for example A. F. 12, the history of Cenābī (see below)
15165	Collected Manuscript	Calendarium sanctorum arabicum & Sylloge vocabulorum arabicorum, persicorum, turcicorum et armeniacorum cum interpretatione

c See the digitized version here: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13960624.
d See Chiara Petrolini's chapter 3 of the current volume.

In two of these notebooks, 15161 and 15165, we come across two poems that were probable to have been composed and written by the captive İbrāhīm Dervīş.[48] Another clear fact is that Tengnagel's expertise in the three

48 H. Çelik, 'Traces of the Captive Copyist Derviş İbrahim in Sebastian Tengnagel's (d. 1636) Notebooks', in Hülya Çelik, Yavuz Köse and Gisela Procházka-Eisl, eds., *"Buyurdum ki …" – The Whole World of Ottomanica and Beyond. Studies in Honour of Claudia Römer* (Leiden, Boston, 2023), pp. 270–93.

languages, especially Turkish, and his access to a 'Turkish amanuensis', was far better known in his lifetime than it is today. Apart from certain elements of the notebooks, this is evident from letters in his collected correspondence. In another letter by Jakob Christmann, written in 1610 to an unidentified person[49] (but probably Jan Gruter), the writer asks the recipient for a favour, namely, to act as an intermediary with Tengnagel to obtain the transcription of a certain Turkish manuscript kept in the imperial library. This transcription had been made by the Turkish copyist used by Tengnagel. Christmann claims that he can transcribe it himself but needs to add the 'dotted vowels'[50] and other servile points required for correct pronunciation. Another person could translate the transcription into Latin. Christmann declares that he is willing to pay for the work and hopes that this task will also be an opportunity for him to become more proficient in both learning and teaching the Turkish language. In the second part of the letter, Christmann claims that the Palatine Library also holds an elegant codex, which he is willing to provide with vowel points,[51] and which could be used to defend the Christian faith. He then says that he would like to ask Tengnagel's amanuensis to examine a sample of his Turkish work,[52] in order to gauge his opinion on his mastery of the language. Christmann confirms that he has already sent this sample to the 'Turkish Paul' (also known as Paul Willich) in Saxony, a knight of the Brandenburg court, but has not received a reply, perhaps because the letter failed to reach its destination.[53] He further declares that he wishes to return soon to practising the language in which he himself has written something.

Before presenting Tengnagel's main interests it is also important to mention those manuscripts whose themes cannot easily be classified. This is true especially for the so-called multiple-text manuscripts owned by Tengnagel

49 STR01099.

50 '*Puncto vocalio*': This can mean two things: either Christmann means vowel signs, as these can be a considerable aid to reading in Ottoman, or he means the dots of the Arabic letters, which could indicate a handwriting that was copied very quickly.

51 '*Punctis vocalibus*', cf. previous footnote.

52 STT0157, see Fig. 4.14.

53 Jones, *Learning Arabic*, pp. 55–6: 'Paul was a Turk from Adrianople (Edirne) who had been captured at the Hungarian town of Veszprem [...]. He was brought to Johann Margrave of Brandenburg-Kustrin, after whose death he entered the service of Prince Joachim Friedrich, the administrator of the archbishopric of Magdeburg is in Saxony. [...] Jakob Christman was another contemporary who, so it seems, had heard about Paul Willich. In a letter to Sebastian Tengnagel he mentioned that in 1589 – before publication of Radtmann's *Introductio* – he had sent a copy of his "Specimen of Turkish Exercises" to a Turk at the Brandenburg court for comment and correction but that he had received no reply'.

(five codices of varying size and content).[54] Many of these multiple-text manuscripts consist of numerous excerpts from partially known Arabic, Persian or Turkish works, but can also contain texts for practical use, such as calendars[55] or practical advice (*fā'ida*). The most comprehensive example of the multiple-text manuscripts owned and read by Tengnagel is A. F. 507. This miscellaneous manuscript has been catalogued in detail by Gustav Flügel, who has determined that it contains 99 different parts.[56] The manuscript of 530 folios contains intensive annotations in the form of short translations into Latin by Tengnagel, and it was obviously studied by him in detail.

In addition, Tengnagel worked intensively with another known source circulating in premodern Europe and within the Republic of Letters: the 'Canon of Medicine/Canon of Avicenna'.[57] He possessed printed translations of it and also purchased the second book of the Canon in Arabic in manuscript form.[58] In this manuscript he refers to another work – a type of concordance – and in one of his notebooks there is a long excerpt titled 'Glossarium nominum arabicorum ex Avicenna',[59] which was originally written by 'Andreas Bellunensis', also known as Andrea Alpago (d. 1522), the translator of the Canon.[60]

4.4.1 *Sebastian Tengnagel as a Collector of Qur'ans and Other Religion Related Manuscripts*[61]

Another significant manuscript regarding Tengnagel's work with the scribe is a complete Qur'an, which seems to have been Tengnagel's 'pride', since he mentions it in several letters as a very illustrious codex [A. F. 6].[62] Tengnagel makes no annotations apart from references at the start of chapters and it is probable that the interlinear Turkish translations are again written by the captive copyist

54 I have presented the titles that Tengnagel gives to these manuscripts, and their contents, at the workshop *Titles, Labels and Names of Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, University of Hamburg. These multiple-text manuscripts will be the focus of the forthcoming article 'The Court Librarian Sebastian Tengnagel (d. 1636) as a First Labeller of Oriental Multiple-Text Manuscripts at the Austrian National Library.'

55 Tengnagel copied one such calendar into one of his notebooks, see ÖNB, Cod. 15165, fols. 74r–77v.

56 See the digital catalogue entry of the Austrian National Library on http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14405165; Flügel, *Katalog*, vol. 3, pp. 520–32.

57 See A. M. Goichon, 'Ibn Sīnā', in *EI²*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0342.

58 For ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 61 see Flügel, *Katalog*, vol. 2, pp. 522–3 (no. 1456) and the digital catalogue entry of the Austrian National Library: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC15071397.

59 ÖNB, Cod. 13429, fols. 27r–120v.

60 N. G. Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy: The Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500* (Princeton, 1987).

61 Regarding Tengnagel and his religion see especially chapter 3 of the current volume.

62 Römer, 'An Ottoman Copyist', pp. 342–3.

TABLE 4.3 Tengnagel's Qur'an collection

Shelfmark	Description
A. F. 6	Complete with Turkish interlinear translations; copied 1555
A. F. 170	'Magribinian fragment of the Qur'an'; copied 1532
A. F. 243	The third quranic part, '*cüz*' (not chapter), sura 2, verse 254 to sura 3, verse 85
A. F. 244	The fifth quranic part, sura 4, verse 28 to 146
A. F. 246	The 16th quranic part, sura 18, verse 74 to the end of sura 20
A. F. 247	The 13th quranic part, sura 12, verse 53 to the end of sura 14; connected to Baron Job Hartmann von Enenkel (d. 1627, *Türkenbeute*)[a]
A. F. 248	The 20th quranic part, sura 27, verse 57 to sura 29, verse 44
A. F. 249	The beginning of the 28th quranic part, sura 58, verse 1 to sura 60, verse 12
A. F. 250	The second quranic part, sura 2, verse 136 to 253
A. F. 288	The 20th quranic part, sura 27, verse 57 to sura 29, verse 44
A. F. 408	(Connection to Tengnagel is not clear yet), incomplete
A. F. 457	Complete Qur'an
A. F. 464	Complete Qur'an, although the first three folios are missing
A. F. 491	Complete Qur'an, copied 1582

a See chapter 5 of the current volume.

İbrāhīm Dervīş.[63] Tengnagel's interest in quranic matters is also obvious from his huge collection of different Qur'an chapters (Table 4.3) and at least another complete codex. Furthermore, the notebooks contain references to pages or folios of a Qur'an manuscript, particularly in the Arabic-Latin vocabulary lists.

What is also important regarding Tengnagel as a manuscript user is that he obviously had some respect for these texts. He seldom annotated them, although he worked with their contents in his notebooks. The only signs he left in some of the Qur'ans are the references at the start of chapters. It is probable that the absence of any notes or annotations about this considerable collection (14 manuscripts of varying sizes, complete Qur'ans as well as various sections) is due to Tengnagel's appreciation of their high value. In A. F. 6, on some pages, he added European numbers for the verses of the suras. The numbers appear before and not after the verses, in Muslim style. Another important point is the

63 Römer, 'An Ottoman Copyist', p. 343.

fact that this manuscript was not conceived as an interlinear Qur'an translation, because the intervals between the lines are small.[64]

In the context of religious literature (both Islamic and Christian), Tengnagel owned the famous Arabic translation of the Gospel, the *al-Arbaʿat al-Anājīl al-muqaddasat* [A. F. 97]. From his correspondence we know that Petrus Kirstenius asked for this codex[65] and ultimately published a work related to it. A further famous work of Islamic conversion literature was at Tengnagel's disposal: the *Kitāb Tesvīyeti l-Teveccüh ilā l-Ḥaḳḳ* [A. F. 180],[66] written by the

TABLE 4.4 Tengnagel's prayer books

Shelfmarks	Descriptions
A. F. 472	*Kitāb aṣ-Ṣalāt*; Arabic prayer book with various additions, 1575, 107 folios
A. F. 492	*Kitāb aṣ-Ṣalāt*; a comprehensive Arabic-Turkish prayer book, 1618, 403 folios
A. F. 525	*Kitāb aṣ-Ṣalāt*; Arabic-Turkish prayer book with Tengnagel's Latin annotations, 228 folios
A. F. 529	*Kitāb aṣ-Ṣalāt*; Arabic-Turkish prayer book compiled from three fragments, 93 folios
A. F. 532	*Kitāb aṣ-Ṣalāt*; Arabic-Turkish prayer book composed of three different parts with many kabbalistic magical elements, 165 folios
A. F. 543	*Kitāb aṣ-Ṣalāt*; Arabic-Turkish prayer book, 80 folios

Hungarian renegade Murād Beg in 1556–1557 in Ottoman Turkish and later equipped with a Latin translation.[67]

64 The intervals between lines in interlinear Qur'an translations are normally extra-large, so that the word-by-word translations can easily be added. As with original interlinear translations, they incline above the lines towards the upper left. On the other hand, any notes between lines in any text generally look like this.

65 See STR0065, Kirstenius to Tengnagel, 1607-07-19. On Kirstenius see chapters 2, 3 and 5 of the current volume.

66 A second, more complete manuscript containing this work is at the British Library in London, shelfmark MS Add. 19894. Cf. also the next footnote and F. Babinger, 'Der Pfortendolmetsch Murād und seine Schriften', in F. Babinger, R. Gragger, E. Mittwoch and J. H. Mordtmann, eds., *Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit: Nach Handschriften in Oxford und Wien* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1927), pp. 33–54.

67 For ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 180 see chapter 3 of the current volume. Some initial research on this very important source has already been done and a critical edition of the Latin-Ottoman version is still pending. See also the following works on Murād Beg's *Tesvīyet*: T. Krstić,

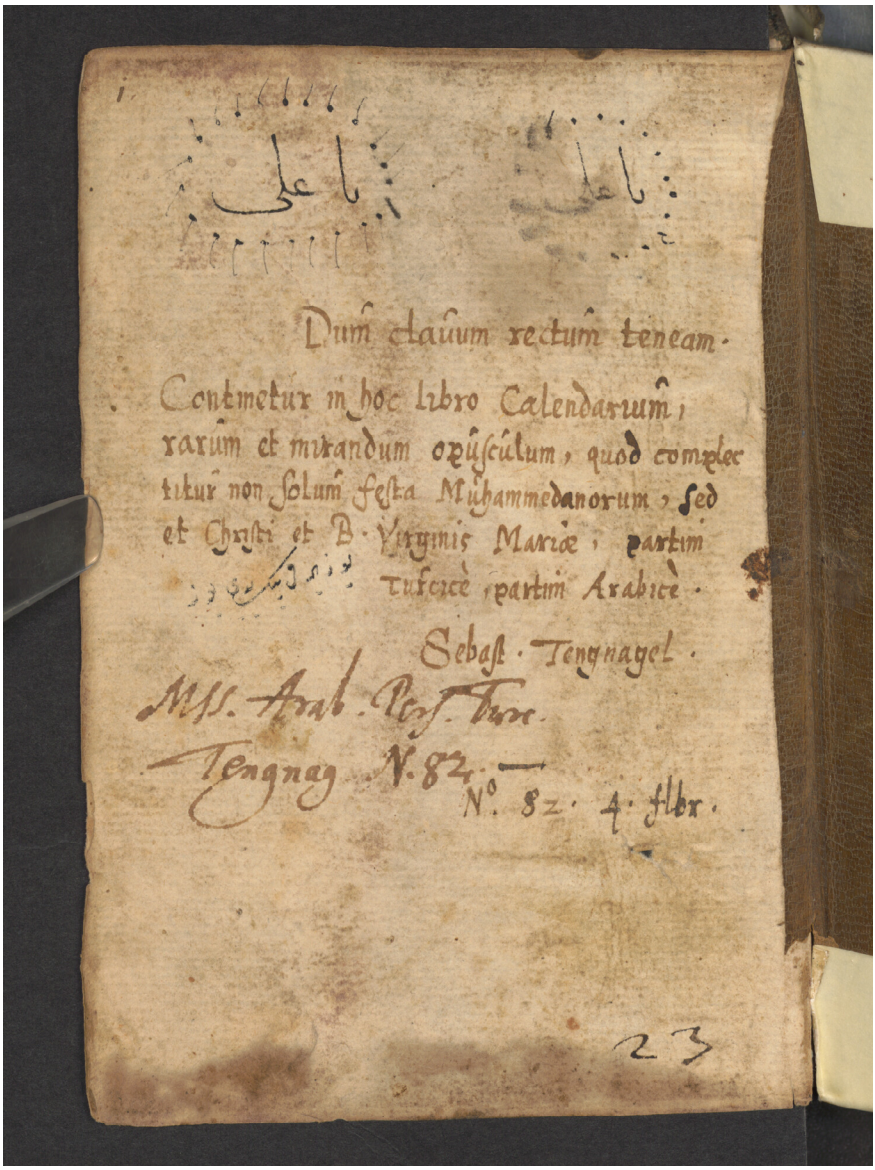


FIGURE 4.15 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 472, fol. 1r

See chapter 3 '*Dum clavum rectum teneam*' of the current volume.

Beside Qur'an manuscripts and codices related to topics such as Islamic jurisprudence Tengnagel seems to have had a special interest in prayer books, owning at least six, mostly bilingual (Arabic and Ottoman-Turkish).[68] The ÖNB has registered these manuscripts as '*Gebetbuch Kitāb alsala*' ('Prayer book Kitāb alsala'), as most do not bear any title. Table 4.4 lists the shelfmarks and gives short descriptions of these prayer books.[69]

It is probable that Tengnagel had also read these manuscripts, as he wrote descriptive notes in most of them regarding their contents. In A. F. 472, for example, he made a note regarding the manuscript's contents on fol. 1r (Fig. 4.15) and annotated several other pages of the manuscript, which consists of 107 folios in twelves.

4.4.2 *Dictionaries and Other Language-Related Manuscripts*

There is clear evidence of the mobility of knowledge through 'informants'. An examination of Tengnagel's notebooks (ÖNB, Cod. 15160 and 15161) in conjunction with the various dictionaries at his disposal gives a clear picture of his direct working processes with his informant scribe(s), his awareness of the 'entanglement' of the Ottoman languages, and his curiosity for 'the Orient' in general. The most prominent manuscript within Tengnagel's language and dictionary-related collection is the copy based on Emīr Ḥüseyin el-Ayāsī's dictionary [A. F. 26]. From Tengnagel's correspondence we know that there was another lexicographic publication project offered to him by Gruter, this time an Arabic-Latin lexicon for which preparations were made by Hans Georg Weigenmaier in Tübingen [STR0028].[70] Finally, Tengnagel was engaged with a lexicon for a Hispano-Arabic and Latin dictionary, based on Pedro de Alcalá's previous work (published in 1505), as documented both in his correspondence and his notebooks.

Tengnagel possessed at least 13 dictionaries (Arabic-Persian-Turkish), five grammars (Persian and Arabic) and several glossaries related to prominent

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'Of Translation and Empire: Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Imperial Interpreters as Renaissance Go-Betweens,' in C. Woodhead, ed., *The Ottoman World* (London, 2012), pp. 130–42 and M. Mulsow, 'Antitrinitarians and conversion to Islam: Adam Neuser reads Murad b. Abdullah in Ottoman Istanbul,' in C. Norton, ed., *Conversion and Islam in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (London, 2017), pp. 181–93.

68 On Tengnagel's prayer books see also chapter 5 of the current volume.

69 For Ottoman prayer books see J. Zimmermann, 'Gebets- und Talismansammlungen/Collections of Prayers and Talismans', in J. Karolewski and Y. Köse, eds., *Wunder der erschaffenen Dinge*: *Osmanische Manuskripte in Hamburger Sammlungen/Wonders of Creation: Ottoman Manuscripts from Hamburg Collections* (*manuscript cultures* 9) (Hamburg, 2018), pp. 237–39.

70 See chapter 3.

specialist works such as the *Gulistān* or the *Būstān* (19 manuscripts in total). Table 4.5 shows the titles of dictionaries and grammars owned, used and studied by Tengnagel. Some of these works were so popular within the Ottoman lexicographic traditions of the time that he owned two copies of the same work. This is the case, for example, with the dictionaries of Ibn Firişte and Ḥalīmī, specialist dictionaries such as the one containing the vocabulary and contents of Saʿdī Shirāzī's *Rose Garden*.[71]

TABLE 4.5 Tengnagel's Arabic, Persian and Turkish dictionaries and grammars

Tengnagel's Arabic, Persian and Turkish dictionaries and grammars

Languages	**Sources/Codices**	**Type, title and extent**
Persian-Turkish-Latin	A. F. 26, *Luġāt-i Emīr Ḥüseyin el-Ayāsī*	Dictionary, *The Dictionary of Emīr Ḥüseyin el-Ayāsī*, 377 fols.
Arabic-Turkish	A. F. 39, *Mirḳātu l-Luġāt*	Dictionary, *The Language Ladder* written by ʿAbdullāh Kestelī, 254 fols.
Arabic-Turkish	A. F. 175, *Kitāb Ismi llāh*, *Kitāb-i Müşkilāt-i İnşā*	Dictionary, *The Book of God's Name* and *The Book of the Difficulties of Style*, 41 fols.
Arabic	A. F. 177, *Awḍaḥ al-Masālik ilā Alifiyyat Ibn Mālik*, *Sharḥ Shāfiyyat Ibn al-Ḥājib*	Grammar, *The Clearest of the Paths to the Alifiyyat of Ibn Mālik* and Commentary on the *Shāfiyyat of Ibn al-Ḥājib*, 168 and 132 fols.
Arabic	A. F. 186, *Jumlat aṣ-Ṣarf*	Grammar, *The Whole of Grammar*, 75 fols.
Arabic/ Persian-Turkish	A. F. 208, *Luġāt-i Ḥalīmī*	Dictionary, *The Dictionary of Ḥalīmī*, 141 fols.
Persian-Turkish	A. F. 209, *Luġāt-i Aḫterī*	Dictionary, *The Dictionary of Aḫterī*, 358 fols.
Arabic-Persian	A. F. 320a, *Luġāt-i Meṣnevī*	Dictionary with special vocabulary occurring in Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, *The Dictionary of the Mathnawī*, 44 fols.

71 A more detailed study of Tengnagel's collection of manuscripts related to language acquisition and Ottoman lexicographic traditions with the provisory title 'Court Librarian Sebastian Tengnagel's Ottoman Dictionaries as François à Mesgnien Meninski's Sources for his *Thesaurus*' is in preparation.

TABLE 4.5 Tengnagel's Arabic, Persian and Turkish dictionaries and grammars (*cont.*)

Tengnagel's Arabic, Persian and Turkish dictionaries and grammars		
Arabic-Turkish	A. F. 320b, *Luġāt-i Marāḥ*	Glossary on the grammatical tractate *Marāḥ* ('The Joys') (*Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Masʿūd), 10 fols.
Arabic-Persian	A. F. 320c, *Luġāt-i Gulistān*	Dictionary with special vocabulary occurring in Saʿdī Shirāzī's *Rose Garden*, *The Dictionary of the Rose Garden*, 24 fols.
Persian-Turkish	A. F. 394, *Qawāʿid al-Furs*, *Wasīlat al-Maqāṣid ilā Aḥsan al-Marāṣid*	Grammar and dictionary, *The Rules of Persian* and *Means for Obtaining the Purposes Leading to the Most Beautiful of the Stations*, 137 fols.
Arabic/ Persian-Turkish	A. F. 426, *Luġāt-i Ḥalīmī*, *Qawāʿid-i kullī fī l-Furs*	Dictionary and grammar, *The Dictionary of Ḥalīmī* and *The Rules of Persian*, 131 fols.
Arabic-Turkish	A. F. 461, *Müşkilāt-i İnşā*	Special vocabulary for good style/letter writing; *The Difficulties of Style*, 9 fols.
Persian-Turkish	A. F. 466a, *Tuḥfetü l-ʿUşşāḳ*	Persian sentences with Turkish interlinear translations, *The Gift of the Lovers*, 16 fols.
Arabic/ Persian-Turkish	A. F. 466c, *Luġāt-i Gülistān*	Dictionary, see above, *The Dictionary of the Rose Garden*, 19 fols.
Arabic-Turkish	A. F. 466d, *Luġāt-i İbn Firişte*	Dictionary, *The Dictionary of İbn Firişte*, 37 fols.
Persian-Turkish	A. F. 478a, *Risāle-i Dānistan*	Dictionary with special vocabulary, *The Treatise 'To Know'*, 35 fols.
Arabic-Turkish	A. F. 478c, *Luġāt-i İbn Firişte*	Dictionary, *The Dictionary of İbn Firişte*, 9 fols.
Arabic	A. F. 481, *Jumlat aṣ-Ṣarf*	Grammar, *The Whole of Grammar*, 127 fols.

The indices of Tengnagel's private library of Oriental manuscripts and books, as well as his correspondence with various scholars, ambassadors, travellers and missionaries, indicate his special interest in dictionaries in the three languages of the Ottoman Empire. His collection demonstrates how the traditional combination of knowledge of *elsine-i ṣelāṣe* ('the three languages') went beyond the Ottoman borders and was the subject of a Habsburg court librarian's daily work.[72] It is noteworthy that Tengnagel possessed and had access to nearly all the dictionaries produced in Ottoman lands, as well as other sources that were used some decades later by François à Mesgnien Meninski (d. 1698) for his prominent *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium, turcicae, arabicae, persicae* (3 vols., Vienna 1680–87). Examples include the *Luġāt-i Aḫterī* [A. F. 209], the *Luġāt-i Ḥalīmī* [A. F. 208 and A. F. 426], the *Mirḳātu l-luġāt* of Kestelī [A. F. 39] and the *Luġāt-i Niʿmetullāh*.[73]

Several members of the Republic of Letters (such as Raimondi and Tengnagel) appropriated the bibliographic traditions of mostly Ottoman lexicographers' works. In these works, the authors, usually in the introductory parts of their dictionaries (prose, verse, and mixed), mention the sources used – sometimes with critical accounts of earlier and contemporary works in the same genre. Tengnagel, obviously interested in the parallel learning of the three languages, noted the titles of the works mentioned and later ordered them via travellers and other individuals.

As polyglot dictionaries and handbooks of Oriental languages were already common in Europe, it is probable that Tengnagel's intention was to publish such a polyglot dictionary himself (and with the help of the captive copyist). We can assume this from the bulk of word lists scattered throughout diverse notebooks – some made by Tengnagel himself and others made by him in conjunction with İbrāhīm Dervīş.

That Sebastian Tengnagel's interest in the three languages cannot be regarded as mere curiosity is clear from a comment he wrote on fol. 250r of A. F. 39, the dictionary of Kestelī (Fig. 4.16):[74]

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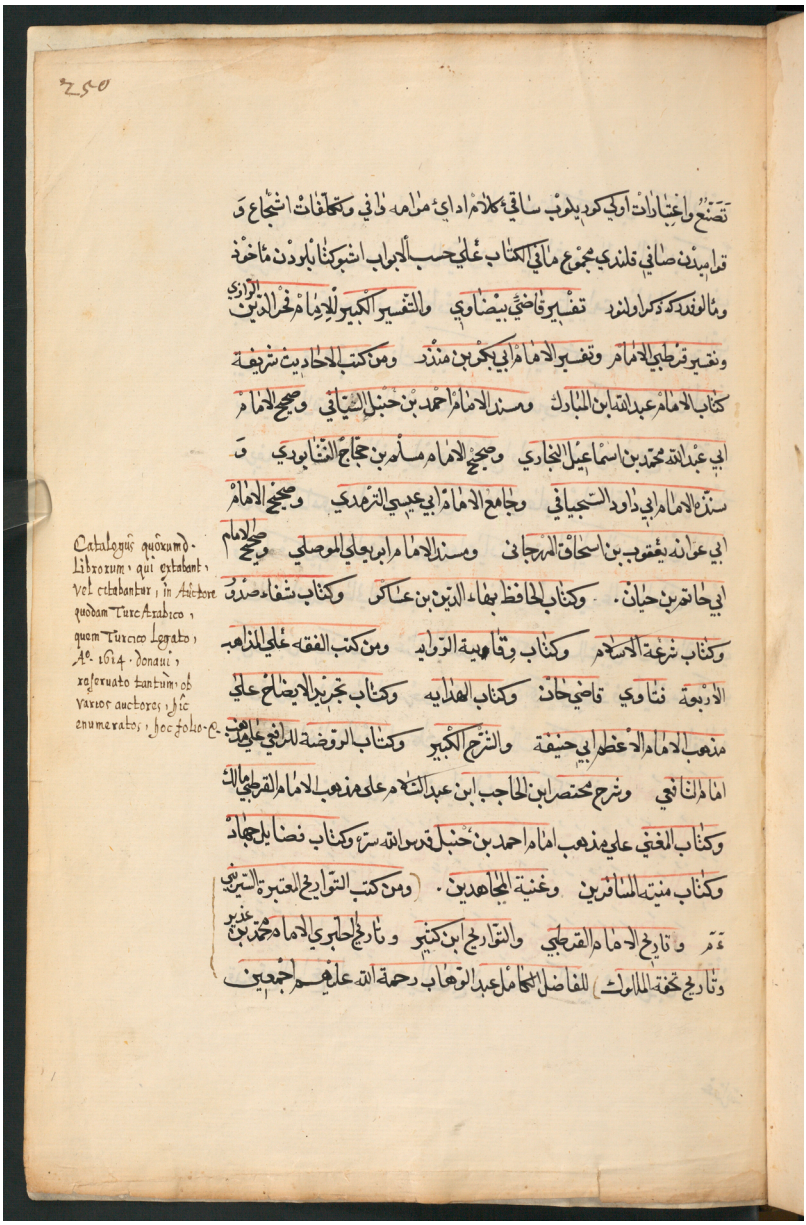
72 J. Strauss, 'Funktionsgebundenheit von Einzelsprachen und die Rolle von Übersetzungen am Beispiel des Osmanischen Reiches', in H. Kittel, A. P. Frank and N. Greiner, eds., *Übersetzung – Translation – Traduction*. Vol. 26/2 (*Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft / Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science* [HSK]) (Berlin–New York, 2007), pp. 1242–9.

73 Palabıyık, *Silent Teachers*, pp. 153–4.

74 *Catalogus quorumd. Librorum, qui extabant, vel citabantur, in Auctore quodam TurcArabico, quem Turcico Legato, Aº. 1614. donavi, reservato tantum, ob varios auctores, hic enumeratos, hoc folio.*



250

تصنع واعتبارات اولي كوريلوب ساقي كلام اداي مرامه وافي وتكلفات اشجاع و
قواميدن صافي قلندي مجموع ما في الكتاب علي حسب الابواب اشبو كتابلردن ماخوذ
ومالوفدر كه ذكر اولنور تفسير قاضي بيضاوي والتفسير الكبير للامام فخر الدين الرازي
وتفسير قرطبي الامام وتفسير الامام ابي بكر بن منذر ومن كتب الاحاديث شريفة
كتاب الامام عبد الله ابن المبارك ومسند الامام احمد بن حنبل الشيباني وصحيح الامام
ابي عبد الله محمد بن اسماعيل البخاري وصحيح الامام مسلم بن حجاج النشابوري و
سنده الامام ابي داود السجيافي وجامع الامام ابي عيسي الترمذي وصحيح الامام
ابي عوانه يعقوب بن اسحاق المهرجاني ومسند الامام ابو يعلي الموصلي وصحيح الامام
ابي حاتم بن حبان. وكتاب الحافظ بهاء الدين بن عساكر وكتاب شفاء صدور
وكتاب شرعة الاسلام وكتاب وقاية الرواية ومن كتب الفقه علي المذاهب
الاربعة فتاوي قاضي خان وكتاب الهدايه وكتاب تجريد الايضاح علي
مذهب الامام الاعظم ابي حنيفة والشرح الكبير وكتاب الروضة للرافعي علي مذهب
امام الشافعي وشرح مختصر ابن الحاجب ابن عبد السلام علي مذهب الامام القرطبي مالك
وكتاب المغني علي مذهب امام احمد بن حنبل قدس الله سره وكتاب فضايل جهاد
وكتاب منية المسافرين وغنية المجاهدين. (ومن كتب التواريخ المعتبرة السيرتي
ءم وتاريخ الامام القرطبي والتواريخ ابن كثير وتاريخ الطبري الامام محمد بن عذير
وتاريخ تحفة الملوك) للفاضل الكامل عبد الوهاب رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين

Catalogus quorumd. Librorum, qui extabant, vel citabantur, in Auctore quodam Turc Arabico, quem Turcico Legato, Ao. 1614. donaui, reseruato tantum, ob varios auctores, sic enumeratos, hoc folio. C.

FIGURE 4.16 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 39, fol. 250r

> Catalogue of the books that existed or were quoted in [the work of] a certain Turkish-Arabic author that I gave to the Turkish ambassador in 1614. I only kept this sheet because of the various enumerated authors.

4.4.3 *Tengnagel's Scholarly Work with Historical Manuscripts*

We can deduce a librarian's extraordinary engagement not only from the number of historical, historiographic and semi-historical manuscripts in all three languages, but also from Tengnagel's intensive and diverse, partly scholarly, work with these manuscripts. Table 4.6 contains the manuscripts that can be classified

TABLE 4.6 Tengnagel's collection of historical works

Shelfmark	Original title and author if known	English short translation
A. F. 11	*Rawḍat aṣ-ṣafā' fī sīrat al-anbiyā' wa-l-mulūk wa-l-ḫulafā'*, Mīrḫwānd (d. 1497–8)	*The Garden of the Pure on the Biography of the Prophets, the Kings and the Caliphs*
A. F. 12	*Tārīḫü l-Cenābī*, Cenābī (d. 1590)	*The History of Cenābī*
A. F. 21	*Ḫulāṣatu l-aḫbār fī bayāni aḥwāli l-aḫyār / Rawżatu ṣ-ṣafā' fī sīrati l-anbiyā …*, Ḫwāndamīr (d. 1534–5)	*Selection of the Best News about the Dispute of Living Conditions of the Most Apt Men*
A. F. 48	*Ṭabaḳātü l-Memālik ve Derecātü l-Mesālik*, Ḳoca Nişāncı (d. 1567)[a]	*The Layers of States and the Levels of Principles*
A. F. 53	*Tārīḫ al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd*	*The History of al-Makīn* (d. 1273)
A. F. 149	*Laṭā'if al-afkār wa-kāšif al-asrār, Ḥüseyin bin Ḥasan* (written in 1529)	*The Subtle Thoughts and the Discoverer of the Secrets*
A. F. 223	*Kitāb-ıTevārīḫ-i Selāṭīn-i Āl-i ʿOṣmān*	*The Book of the Annals of the Sultans of the Ottoman Dynasty* (till the year 1549)
A. F. 251	*Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOṣmān*	*The Annals of the Ottoman Dynasty* (till the year 1471)
A. F. 445	*Tevārīḫ-i ʿOṣmān*	*Annals of the Ottomans* (till the year 1490)

a Bought for a value of 30 Thalers.

under the topic history. Tengnagel aimed to publish works on history, especially on Timur, but also generally on Islamic dynasties. As observed earlier, two manuscripts from this list, A. F. 12 and A. F. 53, were copied by İbrāhīm Dervīş.

One of the manuscripts copied by the Turkish captive Dervīş İbrāhīm during Tengnagel's service as a librarian was *The History of Cenābī* – a history of all Islamic dynasties down to the Ottomans, written by Muṣṭafā Cenābi (d. 1590) and dedicated to Murād III (r. 1574–1595).[75] As with Tengnagel's 'dictionary project', this manuscript can undoubtedly be seen as a 'working copy' on which Tengnagel conducted further philological work in order to translate the whole manuscript or parts of it. So, when looking through Tengnagel's notebooks, it is clear that he translated the '*Vita Magni Temurlan et posteriorum eius*' from the *Tārīḫü l-Cenābī*, as the cross-references in his translation correspond to the pages and folios in the copied 'original'. This translation work of Tengnagel is only one example of the (successful or unsuccessful) dissemination of knowledge regarding Islamic dynasties and ruler personalities in general, as well as Ottoman historiographical literature in translation, particularly in seventeenth-century Europe. On fol. 60r (Fig. 4.17) we can read Tengnagel's Latin translation starting with Timur's expeditions to India, more precisely Delhi, and continuing with the year 1399/1400 (IE 802) in which confrontations between Sultan Bāyezīd (r. 1389–1402) and the various *beylik*s (Aydın, Menteşe and Germiyan) started and led to the Battle of Ankara (1402) between Bāyezīd and Timur.[76] On this page we can also see Tengnagel's Arabic writing of certain 'words occurring in the text, such as 'قريه' (for 'قره') 'black', 'سيواس' 'Sivas' or 'ارزنكان' 'Erzincan'. Another of Tengnagel's notes is the page number of the manuscript, 'pag. 154' which corresponds with fol. 78v of the manuscript copied by İbrāhīm Dervīş.

An interesting sample passage is Tengnagel's translation of that part in which Bāyezīd asks Timur to meet on the battlefield and in response Timur attacks Sivas.

Ottoman-Turkish transcription of the text (A. F. 12, fol. 78v):

> *Yıldırım Ḫān daḫı anuñ istemedügi ḫaberleri gönderüb anı merd iseñ*[77] *meydāna gel dėyü cenge daʿvet eyledi. Vaḳtā-ki Temürleng bu ḫaberi istimāʿ eyledi sekiz yüz üc Muḥarreminde ḳalḳub Sīvāsı muḥāṣara eyledi.*

75 See Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance*, p. 214.

76 On the interest of scholars like Barthélemy d'Herbelot in the history and biographies of Islamic rulers and especially the Mongol invasions see Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, p. 127.

77 Ms.: The last two words are underlined (and not overlined) which indicates that Tengnagel may have not understood the Ottoman-Turkish expression 'if you are brave', whereas *merd*/*mard* is a Persian word very common in Ottoman-Turkish.

Ve ol ġāyet ṣaʿb ḥiṣār idi. Ṭaraf-ı ġarbīsinden mā-ʿadāsı ṣu ile muḥīṭ idi. Pes Tīmūrleng emr ėdüb cānib-i ġarbīden nuḳḳāblar sūr altın oyub[78] *āteş yaḳdılar. Pes cümle ol cānibüñ dīvārları düşüb ehl-i ḳalʿe amān ṭaleb ėtdiler. Tīmūr daḫı amān vėrüb ehl-i ḳalʿe gelüb Temürlenge muṭīʿ oldılar.*

Latin translation of Sebastian Tengnagel (ÖNB, Cod. 8997, 60r–v):[79]

Quibus auditis, Baiazides minime paruit, sed bellum Temurlencho per legatos indici iussit. [60v] Quo comperto, anno 803, mense Muharram, contracta firma militum manu, Temurlenchus Sebastiam, situ arduam, praeruptam et ab occidentali latere aquis cinctam ar(c)te obsidet, variisque machinis tormentisque diverberat, et cuniculis sub murum occidentalem actis, iisque pyrio inflammatis pulvere, partem moenium munimentorum haud paenitendam deiiciunt solo; qua ruina perculsi et ad incitas redacti, op(p)idani fidem salutemque precibus exposcunt, quibus inflexus[80] Temurlenchus op(p)idum arcemque in fidem recipit suam.

Translation of the Latin translation:

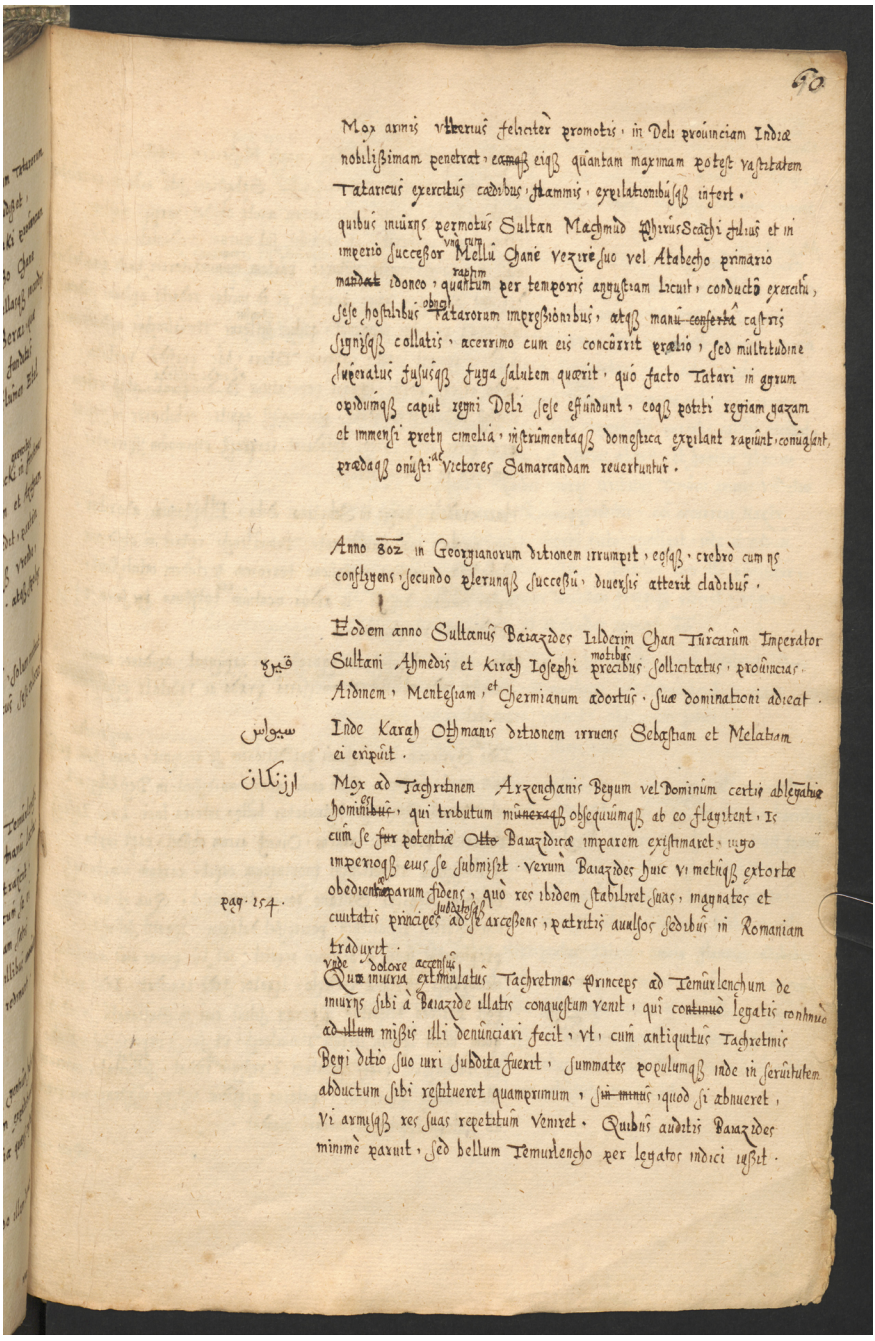
Upon hearing that, Bayezid did not obey. On the contrary, he ordered the ambassadors to declare war on Timur. When he was informed of that – it was the year 803, in the month of Muharram – Timur assembled a legion of his most faithful men and laid siege to Sebaste. The city was located in a high and steep position and was surrounded on the west side by water, so he began to strike it violently with war machines and artillery weapons; then he had tunnels dug under the western wall, and after filling them with gunpowder, he detonated them, blowing up and razing to the ground a huge part of the walls. Upset by this disaster, the citizens, kept in check, pleaded for protection and salvation. Bowing to these pleas, Timur took the city and its fortress under his protection.

ÖNB, Cod. 8997, fols. 55r–62v, '*Vita Magni Temurlan et posteriorum eius*', in comparison with ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 12. Manuscript A. F. 12 has two different schemes of pagination: one following the conventional folio pagination and

78 Tengnagel wrote the Latin translation '*perforare*' above the Turkish *oyub*.

79 I would like to thank Lara Nicolini (University of Genoa) and Federico Nosenzo for assisting with the Latin transcription and translation.

80 Above the word: *assensus*.



60

Mox armis vlterius feliciter promotis, in Deli prouinciam Indiæ nobilissimam penetrat, ~~eamq~~ eiq̃ quantam maximam potest vastitatem Tataricus exercitus cædibus, flammis, expilationibusq̃ infert.

quibus iniurijs permotus Sultan Machmud Phirus Scachi filius et in imperio successor vnà cum Mellu Chane vezire suo vel Atabecho primario ~~mandat~~ idoneo, raptim quantum per temporis angustiam licuit, conducto exercitu, sese hostilibus obijcit Tatarorum impressionibus, atq̃ manu ~~conserta~~ castris signisq̃ collatis, acerrimo cum eis concurrit prælio, sed multitudine superatus fususq̃ fuga salutem quærit, quo facto Tatari in agrum opidumq̃ caput regni Deli sese effundunt, eoq̃ potiti regiam gazam et immensi pretij cimelia, instrumentaq̃ domestica expilant rapiunt, conuasant, prædaq̃ onusti ac victores Samarcandam reuertuntur.

Anno 802 in Georgianorum ditionem irrumpit, eosq̃, crebrò cum ijs confligens, secundo plerunq̃ successu, diuersis atterit cladibus.

Eodem anno Sultanus Baiazides Ilderim Chan Turcarum Imperator

قيره Sultani Ahmedis et Kirah Iosephi motibus precibus sollicitatus, prouincias Aidinem, Mentesiam, et Chermianum adortus, suæ dominationi adiecit.

سيواس Inde Karah Othmanis ditionem irruens Sebastiam et Melatiam ei eripuit.

ارزنكان Mox ad Tachretinem Arzenchanis Begum vel Dominum certis ablegatis hominibus, qui tributum munera q̃ obsequiumq̃ ab eo flagitent, Is cum se ~~fur~~ potentiæ ~~Otto~~ Baiazidicæ imparem existimaret, iugo imperioq̃ eius se submisit. Verum Baiazides huic vi metuq̃ extortæ obedientiæ parum fidens, quò res ibidem stabiliret suas, magnates et ciuitatis principes subditosq̃ ad se arcessens, patritis auulsos sedibus in Romaniam traduxit.

pag. 154.

Quæ vnde dolore accensus iniuria extimulatus Tachretinus Princeps ad Temurlenchum de iniurijs sibi à Baiazide illatis conquestum venit, qui ~~continuò~~ legatis continuò ~~ad illum~~ missis illi denunciari fecit, vt, cum antiquitus Tachretinis Begi ditio suo iuri subdita fuerit, summates populumq̃ inde in seruitutem abductum sibi restitueret quamprimum, ~~sin minus~~, quod si abnueret, vi armisq̃ res suas repetitum veniret. Quibus auditis Baiazides minimè paruit, sed bellum Temurlencho per legatos indici iussit.

FIGURE 4.17 ÖNB, Cod. 8997, fol. 60r

another following a 'page' pagination without recto and verso. Taking the first page reference in the translation in ÖNB, Cod. 8997 (referred to as '*Historische Sammelhandschrift*' by the Austrian National Library), which is 'fol. 150' [on ÖNB, Cod. 8997, fol. 56v] and continues with 'pag. 151' [on 8997, fol. 57r], and comparing it with ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 12, we see that it corresponds with the content of 'pag. 150' (= fol. 76v of ÖNB, Cod.A. F. 12) and with 'pag. 151' (= fol. 77r). The start of this section in ÖNB, Cod A. F. 12/*The History of Cenābī* is on fol. 75r (Fig. 4.18) and the section title is: *ẕikr-i Timurleng ve evlāduhū* ('About Timurleng and His Successors'). Sebastian Tengnagel's marginal note, which is a translation of this title, is as follows: '*Temurlanch et Filiorum eius Origines et Successiones*.' This section on Timur comprises the folios from 76v to 91r, but Sebastian Tengnagel only translated from fols. 76r to 80r. The incomplete translation of the section, and the fact that Tengnagel left some passages blank for further research or study, suggests that he may have continued his translation in one of his many notebooks.

At the same time, this translational undertaking of Tengnagel can be linked with other titles or books in his library and his correspondence. We know that he possessed the *Histoire du Grand Tamerlanes*, written by Jean Du Bec (d. 1610) and printed in 1602 in Lyon (Fig. 4.19).[81] Tengnagel put his *Ex libris* and the date 1609 on the title page and noted that it was a gift of 'Rossweydus Antverpia'. The same Heribert Rosweyde (d. 1629), a Dutch Jesuit, writes earlier, on 31 March 1608 from Leiden, that he has the *Life of Tamerlane* in two hands.[82] Tengnagel may have tried to collect sources relating to the founder of the Timurid dynasty in order to publish a description of his life.

It is interesting to note that J. B. Podestá (d. 1703), the famous rival of Meninski, published his *De Gestis Timurlenkii seu Tamerlanis*[83] in Vienna in 1680. As with Tengnagel's dictionary project(s), we must consider whether Podestá used Tengnagel's preliminary works. From the title page (Fig. 4.20) it appears that Podestá had access to Turkish, Arabic and Persian manuscripts from the Viennese court library and it is probable that he used the same

81 ÖNB, 63.K.32. Digitalized and available at http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/105CA1CA.

82 STR0083: '*Tamerlani vitam hic habes a duplici manu.*' It is not clear what 'habes' means here. Did Rosweyde send the manuscripts to Tengnagel and announces them in a letter, or was this the accompanying letter? Or did he mean that Tengnagel possessed them already?

83 The full title of the book is *De Gestis Timurlenkii, seu Tamerlanis, opusculum Turc-Arab: Persicum, extractum ex cod. manuscripto bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis, latine redditum a Joanne Baptista Podesta*. A digitized version can be found here: http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/105C90AD.

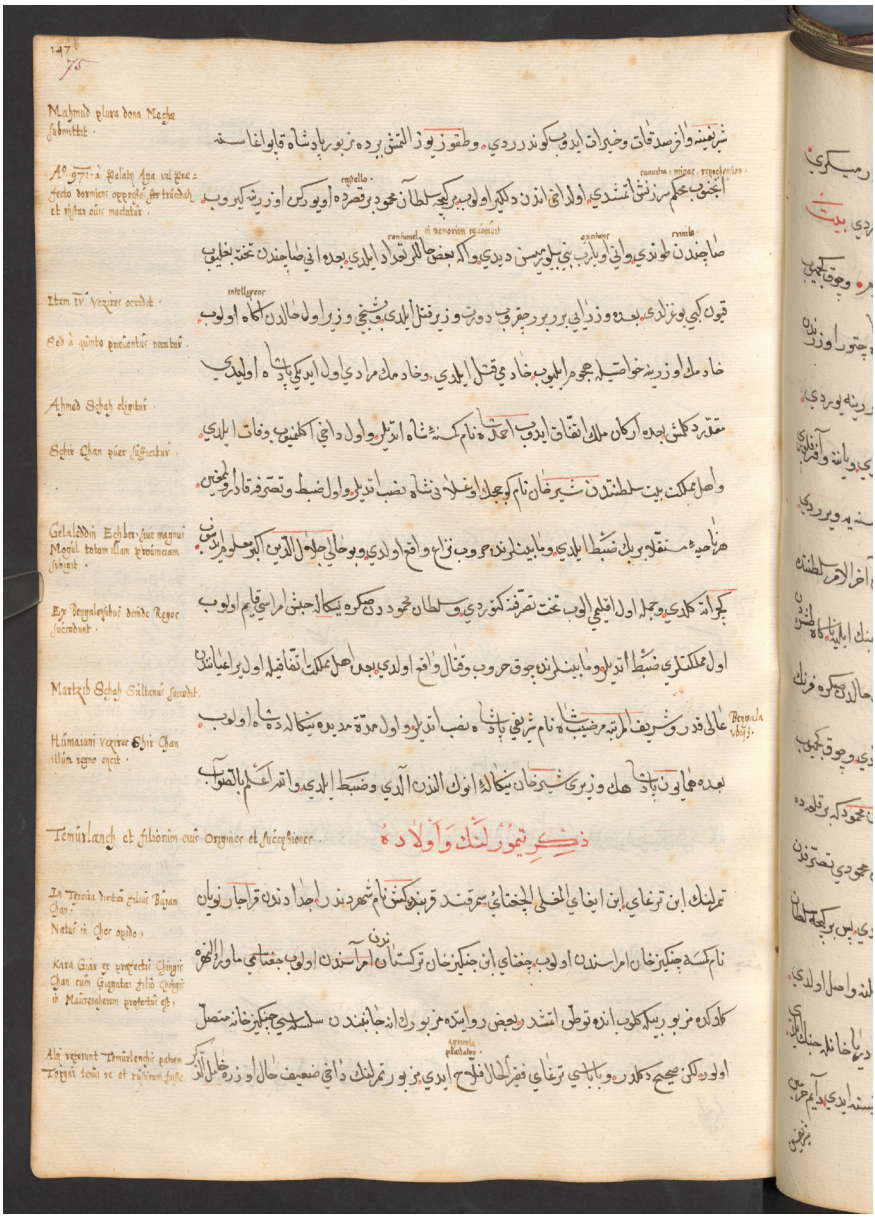
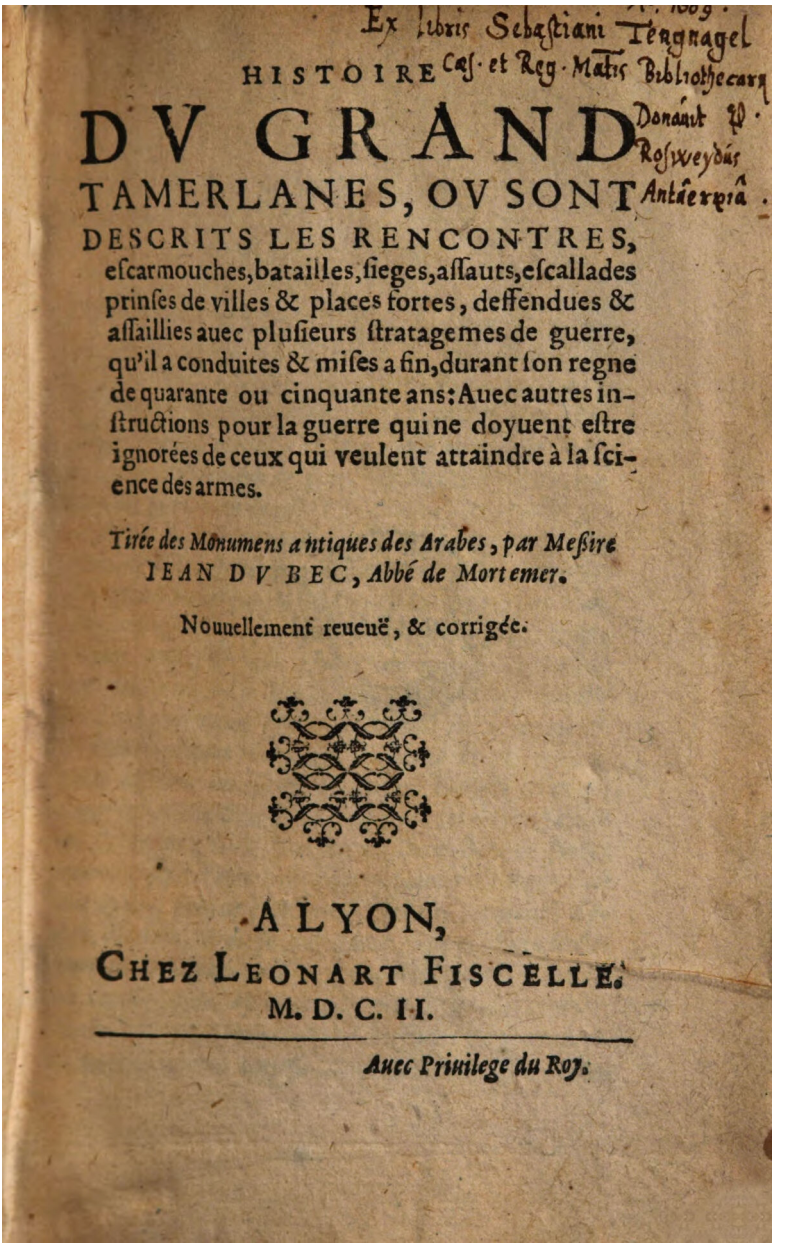


FIGURE 4.18 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 12, fol. 75r


Ex libris Sebastiani Tengnagel
HISTOIRE Cæs. et Reg. Matis Bibliothecarij
DV GRAND Donauit P. Rosweydus Antuerpiâ.
TAMERLANES, OV SONT
DESCRITS LES RENCONTRES,
escarmouches, batailles, sieges, assauts, escallades
prinses de villes & places fortes, deffendues &
assaillies auec plusieurs stratagemes de guerre,
qu'il a conduites & mises a fin, durant son regne
de quarante ou cinquante ans: Auec autres in-
structions pour la guerre qui ne doyuent estre
ignorées de ceux qui veulent attaindre à la sci-
ence des armes.

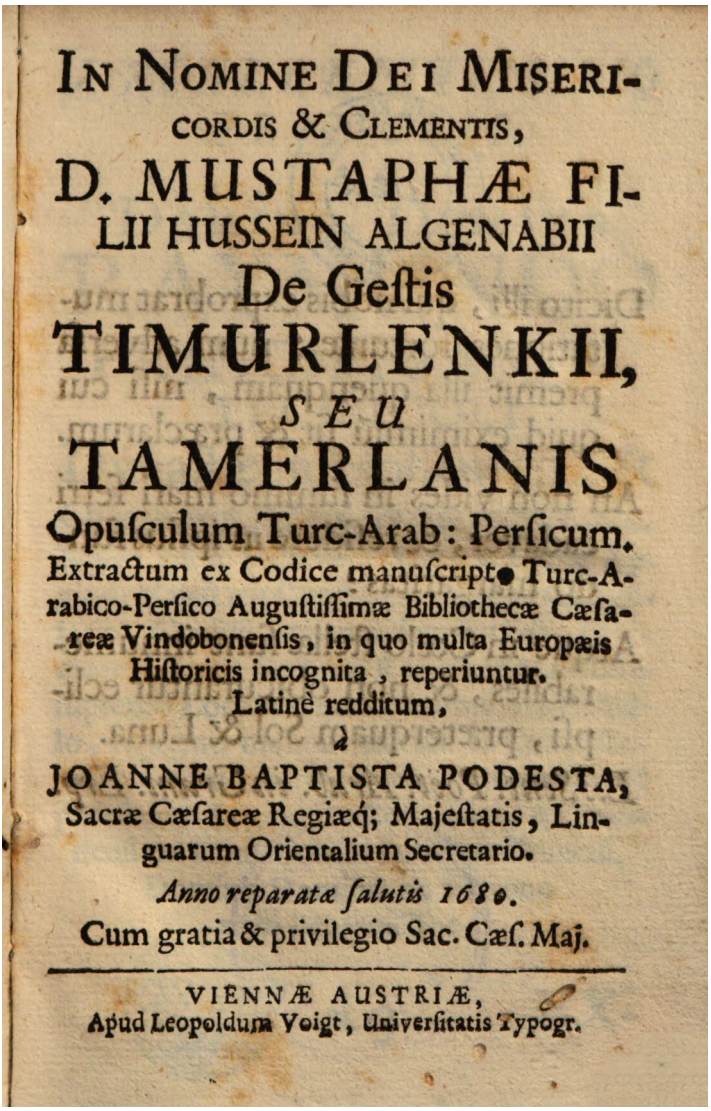
Tirée des Monumens antiques des Arabes, par Messire
IEAN DV BEC, *Abbé de Mortemer.*

Nouuellement reueuë, & corrigée.

A LYON,
CHEZ LEONART FISCELLE.
M. D. C. II.

Auec Priuilege du Roy.

FIGURE 4.19 ÖNB 63.K.32 title page, Jean Du Bec's *Histoire du grand Tamerlanes*



IN NOMINE DEI MISERICORDIS & CLEMENTIS,
D. MUSTAPHÆ FILII HUSSEIN ALGENABII
De Gestis
TIMURLENKII,
SEU
TAMERLANIS
Opusculum Turc-Arab: Persicum.
Extractum ex Codice manuscripto Turc-Arabico-Persico Augustissimæ Bibliothecæ Cæsareæ Vindobonensis, in quo multa Europæis Historicis incognita, reperiuntur.
Latinè redditum,
à
JOANNE BAPTISTA PODESTA,
Sacræ Cæsareæ Regiæq; Majestatis, Linguarum Orientalium Secretario.
Anno reparatæ salutis 1680.
Cum gratia & privilegio Sac. Cæs. Maj.

VIENNÆ AUSTRIÆ,
Apud Leopoldum Voigt, Universitatis Typogr.

FIGURE 4.20 ÖNB 63.L.19 title page, J. B. Podestá's *De gestis Timurlenkii*

manuscripts that Tengnagel had previously ordered from correspondents or acquaintances.

Tengnagel's special interest in the Mongol Empire, together with his intention to publish his Latin translations from the sources in his private library, is reflected in his correspondence with Wilhelm Schickard (d. 1635). The latter wrote, much later, on 25 March 1628, that he would be pleased to put 'Gengis-Khan's life translated by Sebastian' into his *Tarich*.[84] Most probably Schickard was referring here to his *Tarich h. e. Series Regum Persiae ab Ardschir-Babekan usque ad Jazdi Gerdem ab Chaliphis Expulsum per Annos Fere 400*. […], printed in Tübingen in 1628, as his letter was written in the same year. What we know for certain is that Tengnagel had an edition of the 1628 print in his private library preserved in the Austrian National Library.[85]

However, Tengnagel's scholarly work on Cenābī's Ottoman-Turkish historiographical book is not confined to a translation of the section on the emperor Timur. On fol. 75r, for instance (there are many more examples), Tengnagel, in one of his manifold annotations in the manuscript copy, refers to another historiographic work, namely Pedro Teixeira's *Relaciones*. Tengnagel's copy of the book, which contains many of its owner's annotations, has the shelfmark 43.Z.46 ALT PRUNK.[86] If we take a closer look at the print that Tengnagel possessed (Fig. 4.21), we find that on the verso of the title page Tengnagel noted down the contents of the seven volumes of another famous Persian historiographic work of the time, namely the universal history started by Mirhwand and continued by his nephew,[87] and he mentions that he excerpted the list from Thomas Erpenius' catalogue of Oriental books.

Tengnagel's work with historiographic material in the three languages is noteworthy from a codicological perspective. For example, passages in his notebook (or *Sammelhandschrift*) 15164 can be linked to Dervīş İbrāhīm's manuscript copy. The notebook has the shelfmark 15164 but was titled according to its main content, namely the '*Lexicon arabico-hispanicum Granatense in ordinem alphabeticum digestum a Sebastiano Tengnagel*'. However, in order to understand the full extent of Tengnagel's scholarly skills, it is necessary to check the shorter entries of the notebook in the same detail as we have

84 STT0108.

85 ÖNB, 65.F.11, cf. also correspondence of Schickard with Friedrich Seck, see chapter 2.

86 *Relaciones De Pedro Teixeira D'el Origen Descendencia Y Syccession de los reyes de Persia, y de Harmuz Y De Vn Viage Hecho Por El Mismo Avtor dende la India Oriental hasta Italia por tierra* (Antwerpen, 1610). Cf. also chapter 6. The print is also digitized: http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/105C901D.

87 See H. Beveridge and J. T. P. de Bruijn, 'Khwāndamīr', in *EI²*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0493.

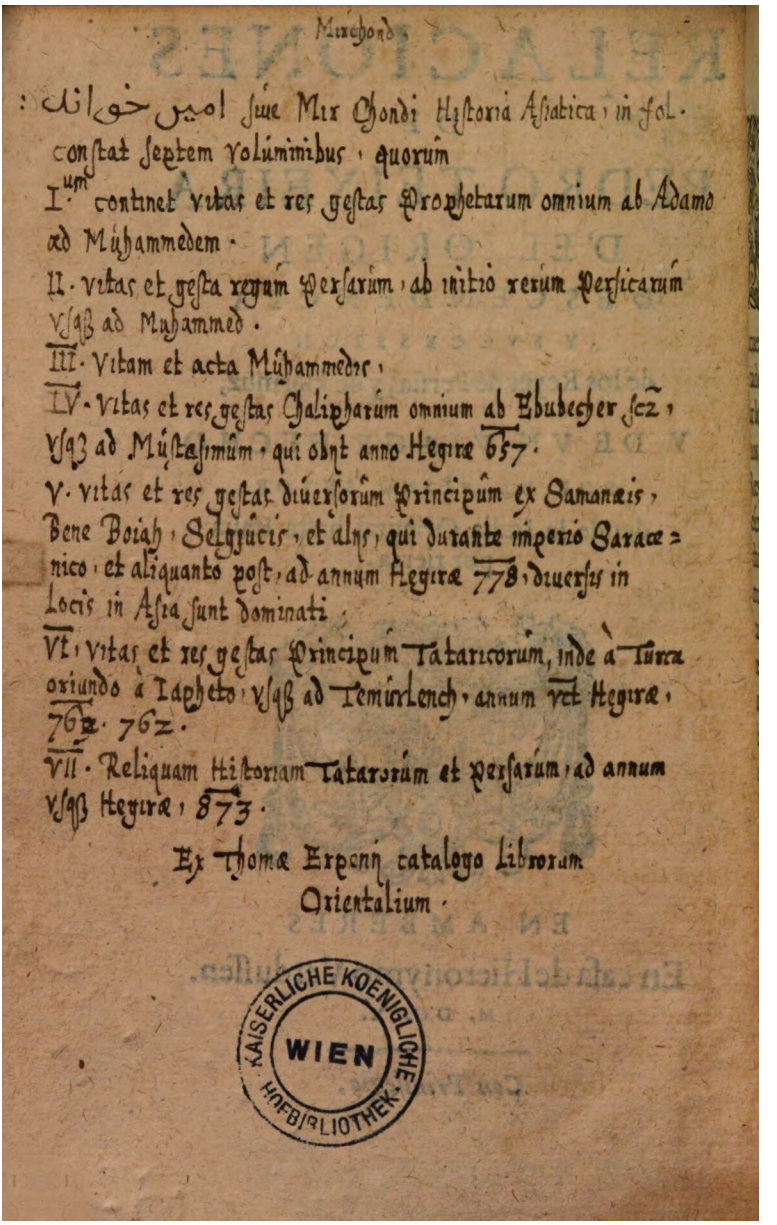


FIGURE 4.21 ÖNB 43.Z.46 ALT PRUNK, *Relaciones De Pedro Teixeira*, verso of the title page

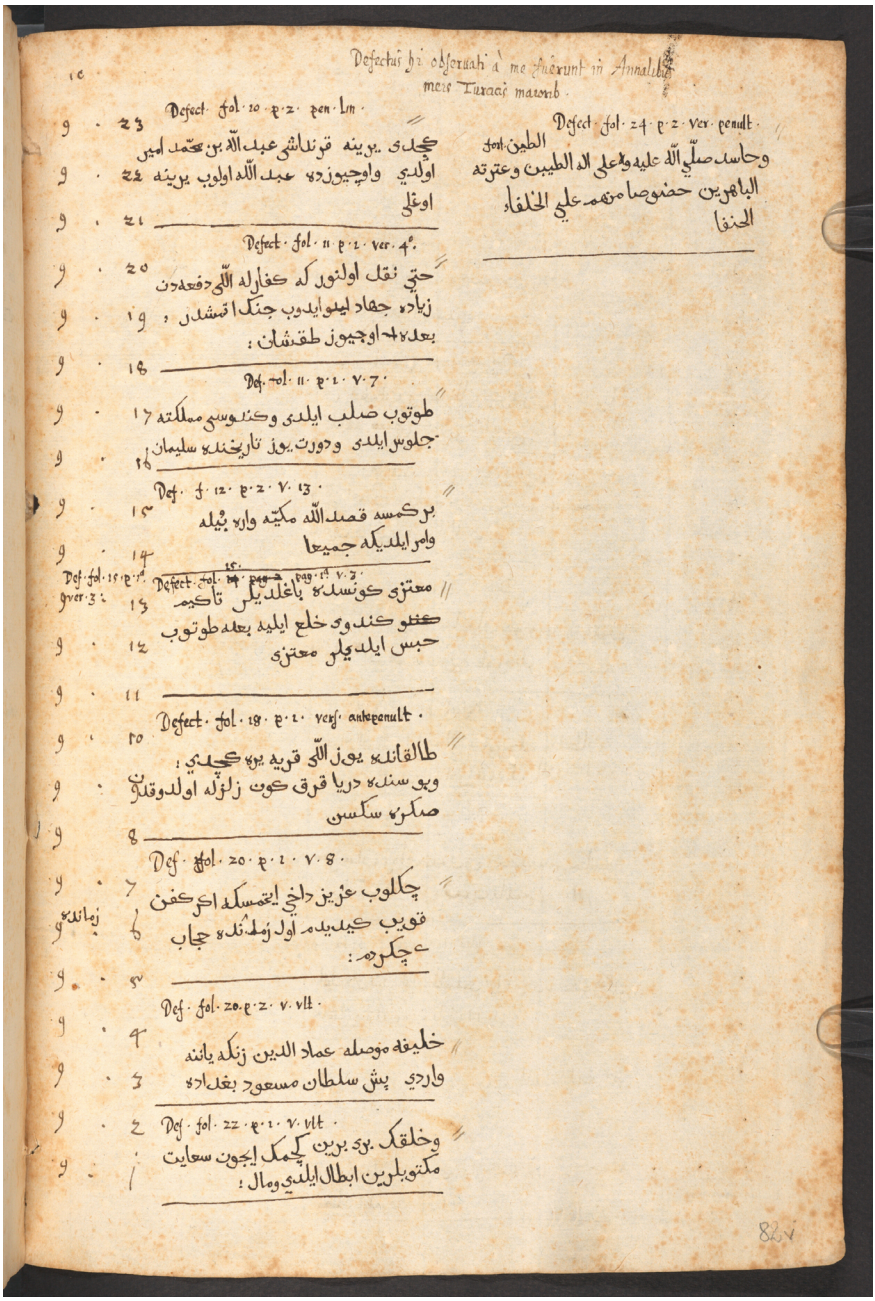


FIGURE 4.22 ÖNB, Cod. 15164, fol. 82v

checked the main content, for example in the well-known dictionary of Pedro de Alcalá.[88] On three folios, 79v, 80r and 82v, there are three separate lists in which Tengnagel lists the captive copyist's omissions, as well as 'defect[ive]' passages, and refers to the page/folio in the copied manuscript. On fol. 82v (Fig. 4.22), for example, Tengnagel noted down 10 corrected passages of Cenābī's history in Arabic letters and Turkish language, which Dervīş İbrāhīm had obviously failed to copy properly.

If we examine the listed passages written by Tengnagel himself in Latin script, we see the omitted passages of the list in the copied manuscript in their proper places, but obviously inserted later, mostly in the margin. For example, in the second entry in the left column Tengnagel notes the following:

> Defect. fol. 21. [Tengnagel's foliation/pagination] p. 2. ver. 40. [Ottoman-Turkish in Arabic script] *ḥattā naḳl olunur ki küffārla elli defʿadan // ziyāde cihād* (*idü*)[89] *idüb ceng itmişdür // baʿdehū üçyüz ṭoḳsan* [it is even told that he fought more than 50 times with the infidels and then [in] 390].

This entry corresponds to *Cenābī's History*, A. F. 12, fol. 12r (and one can also see Tengnagel's pagination '21' on fol. 12r, see Fig. 4.23). Furthermore, the next and third entry is about the same manuscript page:

> Def. fol. 21. p. 2. v. 7. *ṭutub ṣalb eyledi ve kendüsi memlekete // cülūs eyledi ve dört yüz tārīḫinde Süleymān* [captured him and hanged him and he himself settled in the homeland and in the year 400 Süleyman].

The shorter passages or words and phrases omitted were largely written by Tengnagel himself, in Arabic script, and the manuscript shows plenty of passages where he may have compared the copied version of Dervīş İbrāhīm with the original. This may be assumed from the vast number of annotations, such as in fol. 12r, where to the right of the twelfth line Tengnagel adds in the Arabic script Ottoman words 'و قرنداشني' (*ve ḳarındaşını*, 'and his brother'), which Dervīş İbrāhīm obviously forgot to copy.

In addition to A. F. 12, *The History of Cenābī*, at least four manuscripts in Tengnagel's private library were historical works about the Ottomans (A. F. 48, 223, 251 and 445, cf. Table 4.6). From these manuscripts, especially A. F. 223,

88 On Pedro de Alcalá see chapter 3 of the current volume.

89 Tengnagel obviously forgot to cross out the wrongly written *idü*, which he then rewrote correctly as *idüb* (and not connecting the letter *alif* with the letter *ya*).

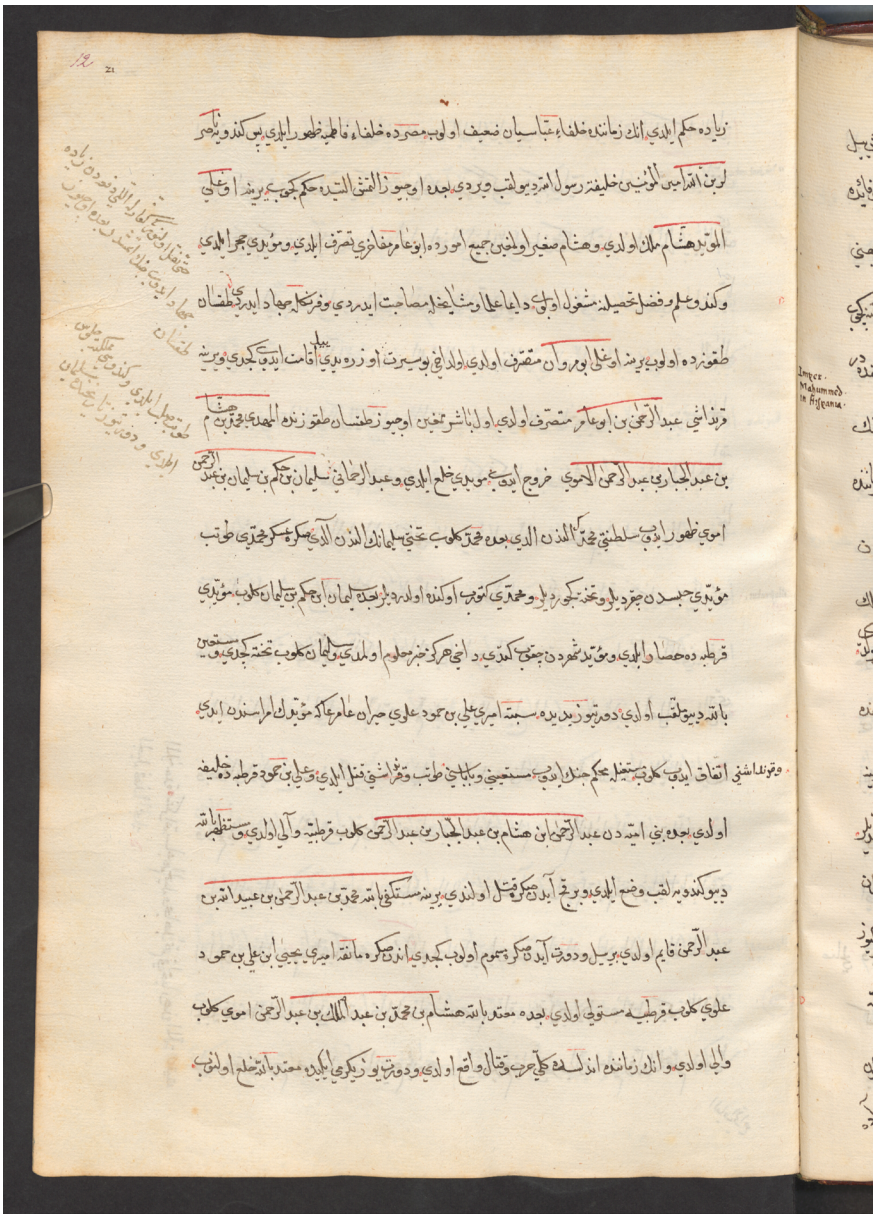


FIGURE 4.23 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 12, fol. 12r



FIGURE 4.24 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 223, fol. 25v

The Book of the Annals of the Sultans of the Ottoman Dynasty was used, very probably read, and annotated by Tengnagel. On fol. 25v (Fig. 4.24) we again witness his curiosity about details regarding Timur. We see him translating a whole passage into Latin in the right-hand margin of the folio and the passage contains information on Bāyezīd I's (r. 1389–1402) captivity. Another common practice is for him to write down interlinear translations which can also be seen on this folio.

4.5 Conclusion

Tengnagel's knowledge of the Christian Orient and the Ottoman Empire is considerable for someone of his period and profession. A person who spends his salary on acquiring hundreds of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts obviously goes beyond a mere collector or interested reader. Tengnagel can be considered a pioneer in Oriental manuscript studies because of his scholarly practices evident in the manuscripts themselves and in his notebooks and working copies. He obviously had book projects in the field of lexicography and history, which he was unable to realize during his lifetime. Nevertheless, his privately acquired manuscripts have been the basic building blocks for later dictionaries, such as that of Meninski.

As Palabıyık was able to exemplify for Anton Deusing,[90] who is forgotten today, there were quite a few actors in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe whose (mainly linguistic) preoccupation with Ottoman Turkish was motivated by the desire to learn and understand Arabic and Persian and then other languages of the Orient. Following Palabıyık, I reemphasize the role of handwritten works left by Tengnagel. If we were to consider only the printed works he collected, and the manuscripts he brought from Constantinople and elsewhere, we would still be unable to grasp the extent of his knowledge and erudition of the Orient and the Ottoman Empire, or his linguistic skills. Tengnagel was one of the most important collectors of manuscripts of his time. He surveyed the most important fields of knowledge, such as historiographies, religions, grammars and dictionaries, which came from the Ottoman Empire or elsewhere, and he succeeded in finding certain works – in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

Tengnagel's private collection of Oriental manuscripts can be compared to few similar libraries of earlier or later librarians, and the legacy he left, including

90 Palabıyık, *Silent Teachers*.

the 'working copies' (A. F. 26) that he intended as preparation, deserves further scholarly attention and appreciation in the field of Oriental studies in general, and in the discipline of Ottoman studies in particular.

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CHAPTER 5

Violence, Friendship and Knowledge: Sebastian Tengnagel's Encounters and a Wider Republic of Letters

Chiara Petrolini

'Breaking ice in an uncharted sea', 'exploring unknown lands', 'straining one's eyesight and health to dig silver from untouched mines' and 'toiling like mules in labyrinthine mills'. These are the metaphors used by Sebastian Tengnagel and his correspondents to describe their studies of Oriental languages. From this shared rhetoric emerges a motif that persists into the twentieth century, as highlighted by Edward Said: the image of the solitary scholar, sacrificing energy and physical health to a relentless academic journey.

But this portrayal is only partly true. Mastering Oriental languages in early modern Europe was undoubtedly a formidable challenge. Precisely because of the scarcity of resources, scholars created 'mutual support groups'[1] to help one another in their studies, and these alliances extended beyond European colleagues to include individuals from diverse non-European and non-Christian backgrounds, many of whom have not traditionally been acknowledged as part of the Republic of Letters. This web of interconnection and collaboration has been long obscured by what Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi called the 'general amnesia' in the European narrative of Oriental studies, which neglected or deliberately diminished the role of non-European and non-Christian contributors to knowledge about the East. However, starting from the 1990s, numerous studies have been dedicated to the input of non-Europeans, and in the last decade, this has become a central focus in the field. A prime example of both the historical neglect and the recent increased scholarly attention is the case of Anṭūn Yūsuf Ḥannā Diyāb of Aleppo (*c.*1688–1763), who played a crucial role in shaping the French edition of the *One Thousand and One Nights* by narrating tales such as *Aladdin* and *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*. Yet, his contribution was overshadowed by the French Orientalist and publisher Antoine Galland.

1 M. Feingold, 'Learning Arabic in Early Modern England', in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic* (Leiden, Boston, 2017), p. 50.

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Nevertheless, thanks to the discovery of Diyāb's handwritten travel account in the Vatican Library, his contribution and story are now widely recognised.[2]

This chapter seeks to illuminate those figures who were important for Tengnagel yet often remained in the background: dragomans, brokers, informants, soldiers, scribes, slaves, and Muslim, Eastern Christian, and Jewish scholars. These are the individuals whom Ann Blair, in her effort to renew the lexicon and methodology of the history of scholarship, termed 'new knowledge makers' and 'co-elaborators'.[3] A close examination of Tengnagel's archives, including fragments, marginalia, letters, and notes reveals a world of exchanges and interactions, allowing us to trace a genealogy of Orientalism that was not merely representational but, as E. Natalie Rothman has written, a 'culmination of specific communicative circuits and institutionalised genres of knowledge production' that involved an interplay between different groups.[4] This analysis goes beyond pure intellectual history, revealing connections to slavery, looted libraries and mosques, prisoners of war, friendships, and partnerships spanning various social and religious contexts of the time. Even from a purely formal analysis, Tengnagel's papers exhibit notable stylistic and linguistic diversity. The texts move from erudite Latin – occasionally interspersed with elements of colloquial and comedic speech – to passages in ancient Greek. They also contain references to a simplified form of Italian, a 'pidgin-like' variant that was commonly used in the Ottoman Empire and across the Mediterranean. These documents incorporate Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew and, sometimes, Spanish, Dutch, German, and French. This linguistic variety underscores the vast array of contacts and influences that Tengnagel

2 Diyāb's travel account – preserved in an Arabic manuscript at the Vatican Library – has been published in Arabic in 2017 and has been translated into French and English: Hanna Dyâb, *D'Alep à Paris: Les pérégrinations d'un jeune syrien au temps de Louis XIV*, ed. and trans. by P. Fahmé-Thiéry, B. Heyberger, and J. Lentin (Paris: Sindbad, 2015); Ḥannā Diyāb, *The Book of Travels*, ed. by J. Stephan, trans. by E. Muhanna, 2 vols. (New York, 2021). On the encounter between Galland and Diyāb, see *The Annotated Arabian Nights: Tales from 1001 Nights*, ed. by P. Lemos Horta, trans. by Y. Seale (New York, 2021), pp. 523–96; P. Lemos Horta, *Marvellous Thieves: Secret Authors of the Arabian Nights* (Boston, 2019), 17–21; *Le Journal d'Antoine Galland (1646–1715)*, ed. by F. Bauden and R. Waller (Paris, 2011), vol. 1, p. 290.

3 See M. Tavakoli-Targhi, 'Orientalism's Genesis Amnesia', in *Antinomies of Modernity: Essays on Race, Orient, Nation*, eds. V. Kaiwar and S. Mazumdar (New York, 2003), pp. 92–119; E. N. Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance* (Ithaca-New York, 2021), pp. 1–19; N. Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity Through Arab Eyes, 1517–1798* (Leiden, 2021); A. Blair, 'New Knowledge Makers', in *New Horizons for Early Modern European Scholarship*, eds. N. Popper and A. Blair (Baltimore, 2021), pp. 167–82; A. Grafton, 'Notes from Underground on Cultural Transmission', in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, eds. A. Grafton and A. Blair (Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 1–7.

4 Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance*, p. 11.

encountered in his scholarly pursuits. Only a fraction of this process and these meetings can be traced: fundamental parts remain submerged and lost to time. Others have left only faint traces, often relying, as we have seen, on marginalia and short notes. John-Paul Ghobrial has shown the importance of these notes for rewriting the history of European proto-Orientalism, and the case of Tengnagel confirms this. It is only thanks to marginal notes that we learn, for instance, that Tengnagel's first Arabic teacher was an 'African Jew'; or that an Ottoman soldier, taken prisoner, taught him a list of Turkish words; or that an Armenian priest taught him other words in Armenian and supplied information on the geography of Armenia, surrounding regions, and Persia, noting that Isfahan was about the size of Prague.[5] These are faint traces, small clues that together form a trail offering a slightly different perspective on the history of Oriental studies.

Building knowledge of the Islamicate world in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe might appear a perfect example of pure, dry, intellectual history. It was driven by a small group of pioneers, élite male scholars deeply absorbed in philological and linguistic inquiries. It is a story for the most part born inside the walls of libraries, a sophisticated world made of paper. But this 'pure' knowledge was rooted in a complex, layered terrain, intersecting with military conflict, irenic tensions, missionary propaganda, philological study, and religious disputes. It was also a story of danger, of underground contacts, of physical and cultural movements, and of violence. It is an intricate phenomenon involving antithetical elements, which can be described in binary terms such as violence and friendship, hatred and curiosity, prejudice and inquiry. This knowledge emerged through close and continuous exchanges between the learned members of the Republic of Letters and numerous hybrid figures in a shifting ecosystem: travellers, adventurers, missionaries, dragomans, converts, merchants, and captives. All these elements, along with many others, formed the foundation from which the first Orientalism emerged. And if there is one place in seventeenth-century Europe where this intricate texture is clearly visible, it is Vienna. In this section I will listen closely to the background noise of the city of Vienna and the voices of those who enabled Tengnagel to become an Orientalist.

5 ÖNB, Cod. 15165 fol. 46r: 'Haec sequentia relata sunt ab Armeno quodam Sacerdote satis vitiose excepta, A. 1600' ('Baccu è una grande città appresso il mare da Baccu, 8 giornat. da Demir [...] Isfahan cosi grande, como Praga'); Cod. 15161, fol. 32v: 'Arabica et Hebraea quaedam a Iudaeo Africano accepta, qui me anno 1601, in Arabicis instruebat'; fol. 49r: 'Vocabula Persica quae accepi a quodam Presbytero Armeno, aº 1605, qui totum fere Orientem lustraverat'.

FIGURE 5.1 Leo Lucerna's letter to Samuel Archivolti, ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, fol. 306v

In 1608, Judah Leib Ma'or Katan (latinised as Leo Lucerna), a prominent physician and rabbi in Vienna, wrote a letter of recommendation for his friend Tengnagel to Samuel Archivolti, a poet, scholar and rabbi in Padua.[6] Lucerna facilitated the acquisition of several Hebrew manuscripts for Tengnagel's collection. He asked Archivolti to welcome Tengnagel, who wished to visit the city and to be introduced into Padua's Jewish community. 'He is an educated and wise man' wrote Lucerna, 'a lover of wisdom and a friend of Israel'. He deserved the rabbi's help for all these qualities, Lucerna wrote, but above all because he was a foreigner: 'I know the soul of the foreigner because I too have been a foreigner', added Lucerna (fig. 5.1).[7]

Foreigners, with their bodies and their souls (often facing both voluntary and coerced conversions), played a key role in the acquisition of Oriental knowledge in early modern Europe. And they played a particularly significant role in the story of Sebastian Tengnagel, who himself was a foreigner, neither born in Vienna nor a native German speaker. Here, 'foreigners' is meant in both a literal, geographical sense, referring to people arriving from more or less far away, and in a broader, metaphorical sense, referring to strangers or aliens: people from different cultural and religious traditions, or outsiders to the theatre in which the history of Orientalism is usually set, the European Republic of Letters. At times, these foreigners were fully integrated into the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual Holy Roman Empire, at others, they faced marginalisation and violence.

The intellectual enterprise of advancing knowledge and extending the methods of philology beyond the confines of Latin and Greek was also a story marked by violence: inflicted, suffered, mitigated. Even from a purely material perspective, violence is hidden – but it is there. A significant number of the

6 Sh'muel ben Elhanan Ya'acov Archivolti (1530–1611) was born in Cesena and, from 1568, resided in Padua. There, he served the Jewish community as secretary, head of a yeshiva, and, from 1579, as rabbi. He was also the teacher of Leon Modena. See Y. Horowitz, 'Archivolti, Samuel', in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, eds. M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik (Macmillan Reference, 2007), vol. 2, p. 418; D. Harrán, D. '"Keḥi kinnor" by Samuel Archivolti (d. 1611): A Wedding Ode with Hidden Messages', *AJS Review*, 35.2 (2011), 253–91. Tengnagel owned *Arugat ha-Bosem*, the Hebrew grammar published by Archivolti in 1602, in Venice (ÖNB, 20.K.78: Tengnagel's ex libris is on the frontispiece).

7 STT0193. This letter has been published in Hebrew by A. Z. Schwarz, 'Aus der Briefsammlung Sebastian Tengnagels', *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie*, 20 (1917), 72–6, at 74–5. I am grateful to Giacomo Corazzol for the initial translation from Hebrew, and to Joanna Weinberg for refining it and providing the proper context to evaluate its worth. The letter is undated, but Lucerna writes that Tengnagel was meant to travel to Bologna to receive his doctorate in law, which he did on 13 October 1609. Tengnagel left Vienna at the beginning of September 1609.

Oriental manuscripts that ended up in the great European libraries, where they were studied by prominent thinkers, came from military raids and looting – such as the taking of Granada or the endless wars on the Ottoman border in the Balkans. This also applies to the Tengnagel collection.

5.1 From Battlefield to Library

Tengnagel detested war. As an Erasmian, he considered it to be an ultimate tragedy that caused the disruption of civil life and studies, among other dreadful consequences. Yet Tengnagel experienced three conflicts firsthand, with at least one indirectly enriching his studies. A considerable portion of his collection of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian manuscripts, like other European collections,[8] were in fact labelled as *Türkenbeute*. These were spoils of war, acquired by Christian soldiers who looted besieged Ottoman tents, mosques, libraries, and towns during the Habsburg-Ottoman Wars. In some cases, he received these books as gifts; more often he purchased them from soldiers or officers who resold the books they had stolen from the Ottomans. These included tiny Qur'ans worn by Muslim soldiers in battle as good luck charms and amulets, which were taken when the soldiers were killed or captured.

Beyond the *Türkenbeute* (which we will return to shortly), other books in Tengnagel's possession were the fruits of robbery and plunder. Among these is the previously mentioned *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. This Byzantine work, after possibly making its way to Buda following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, was seized by an Ottoman soldier during the subsequent siege of Buda. It then embarked on an adventurous journey, passing through Constantinople and Wrocław, before finally arriving in Vienna.[9]

Some Hebrew manuscripts in Tengnagel's collection followed similar turbulent and sometimes bloodstained trajectories. Notably, two of them were seized during the 1482 siege of Kiev (Kyiv). Originally part of the library of rabbi Moses ben Jacob the Exile (1448–1520) – a scholar, poet, and astronomer who once studied in Constantinople – these manuscripts were taken by the Tatar

8 P. Babinski, 'The Formation of German Islamic Manuscript Collections in the 17th Century', in *Sammler-Bibliothekare-Forscher: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, eds. S. Mangold-Will, C. Rauch and S. Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main, 2022), pp. 19–44; R. Jones, 'Piracy, war, and the acquisition of Arabic manuscripts in Renaissance Europe', *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 2 (1987), 96–110.

9 See Chapter 3.

Army under Khan Mengli Girey. Their subsequent path, leading eventually to Vienna, remains an enigma. Intriguingly, one of the manuscripts (ÖNB, Cod. Hebr. 31) contains the Hebrew translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* from both Arabic and Latin, written by Zechariah ben Aaron ha-Kohen, the instigator of the Judaizing heresy in Novgorod and Moscow.[10]

But many Jewish manuscripts in Tengnagel's library tell tales of upheaval and dislocation. Some traced their origins to Jewish families from southern Italy. Following their expulsion from the Kingdom of Naples in the early sixteenth century, these families sought refuge in either the Ottoman Empire or Venice. Over time, due to various circumstances stemming from the Diaspora, they were compelled to part with some of their prized books. An outstanding example is the 'Vienna Albucasis' from Specchia, Salento, Apulia (fig. 5.2). This manuscript, crafted in 1415, is a Hebrew translation of a segment from the extensive Arabic medical treatise by the eleventh-century Andalusian Abū al-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī (latinised as Albucasis). The translation and its intricate illustrations – depicting a realm of mythical beasts, musical instruments, ailing men, exotic plants, and whimsical sketches – were the work of the Jewish physician David ben Elijah Nezer Zahav. The exact route from Specchia to Vienna is not fully documented, but annotations suggest Tengnagel acquired it through the physician and rabbi Leo Lucerna, possibly via Venice.[11]

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10 On Moses ben Jacob the Exile, see M. Taube, 'Transmission of Scientific Texts in 15th-Century Eastern Knaan', *Aleph*, 10/2 (2010), 11–42, at 16–25; Id., *The Cultural Legacy of the Pre-Ashkenazic Jews in Eastern Europe* (Oakland, 2023), pp. 55–70; Id. (introd., ed., and trans.), *The Logika of the Judaizers. A Fifteenth-Century Ruthenian Translation from Hebrew* (Jerusalem, 2016), pp. 314–53. The two manuscripts should be identified as ÖNB, Cod. Hebr. 60 (digital copy: http://rosetta.nli.org.il/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE17333903), see A. Z. Schwarz, *Die Hebräischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 204–8; Cod. Hebr. 53 (digital copy: http://rosetta.nli.org.il/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE26442730), see Ibid., pp. 234–6. On the sack of Kiev, see J. Pelenski, 'The Sack of Kiev of 1482 in Contemporary Muscovite Chronicle Writing', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 3/4 (1979), 638–49.

11 *Sefer ha-hefez ha-shalem* (ÖNB, Cod. Hebr. 30), from Specchia, in Salento, Apulia. Tengnagel writes on the frontispiece that this is a 'liber rarissimus et inventu difficilissimus [...] Emptus VIII thaleris et 50 cruciferis'. He also owned a Latin edition of Albucasis printed in Habsburg in 1519, and on that frontispiece, he mentions his manuscript: 'Hanc Alsaharavi Arabis Practicam Hebraica lingua eleganter manuscriptam habeo, multo emendatiorem et integriorem hac latina editione, quae ex corrupto traducta est a Riccio'. On David, son of Elijah Nezer Zahav, the copyist of the manuscript from Specchia, see I. Steimann and M. Sternthal, 'Eliyyà and Dawid Nezer Zahav the Physician: Scribes and Illuminators in Salento', in *Gli ebrei nel Salento. Secoli IX–XVI*, ed. F. Lelli (Lecce, 2013), pp. 273–84.

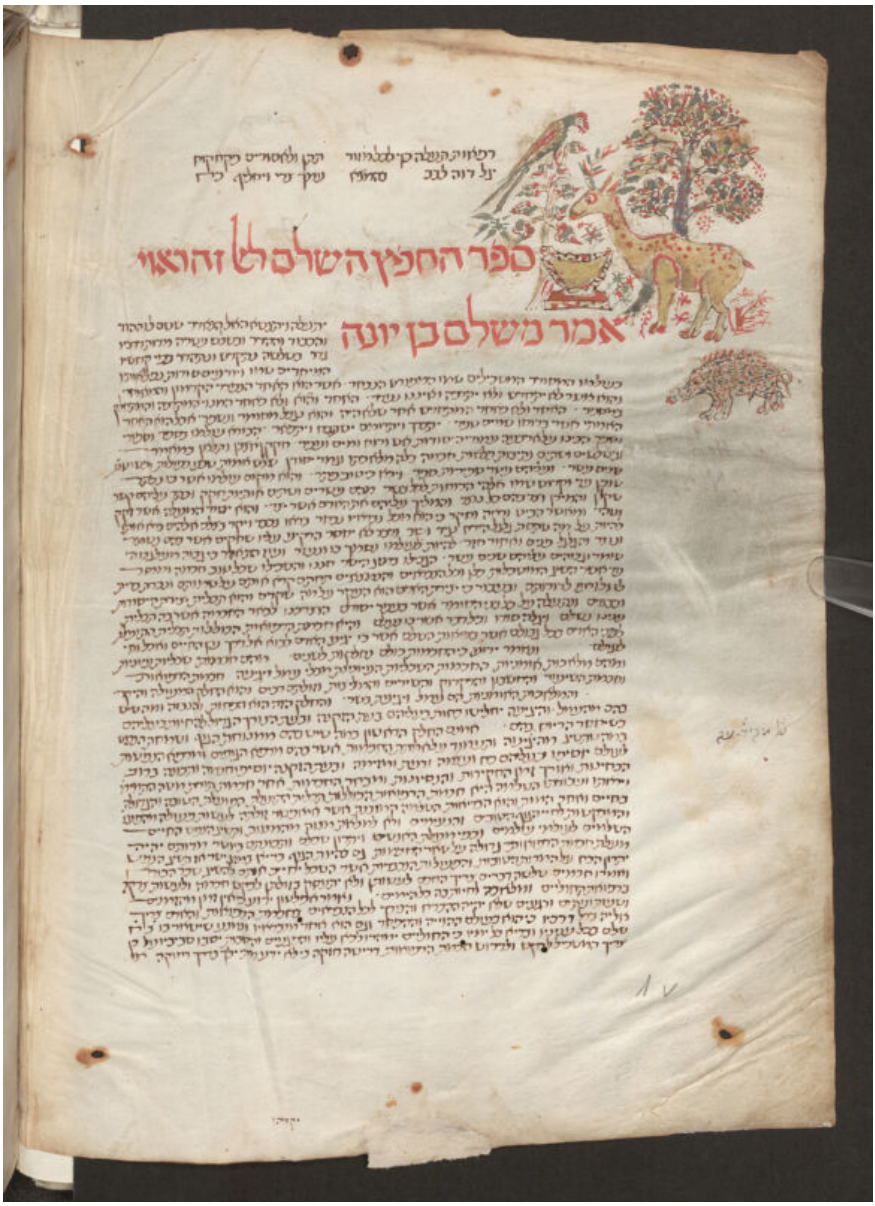

FIGURE 5.2 ÖNB, Cod. Hebr. 30, fol. 1v

The examples of manuscripts in Tengnagel's possession, marked by wars and tumultuous journeys, could be expanded further. However, it is worth noting that he also received letters from correspondents describing their efforts to protect books during an exclusively intra-Christian conflict, the Thirty Years' War. As previously mentioned, Tengnagel was kept informed and sought to assist Jan Gruter after the confiscation of the Palatine Library and the looting of his personal collection by Stradioti who threw his books out of windows. Another instance is a letter from Wilhelm Schickard, who described the desperate measures he took to hide his manuscripts and books in a crypt during the siege of Tübingen by Catholic troops in 1631.[12]

However, the key link between violent conflict and the expansion of knowledge, particularly in the realm of early modern Oriental studies in Central Europe, is found in the aftermath of the Habsburg–Ottoman Wars in Hungary. Tengnagel was intimately familiar with the details of the war, so much so that in 1610, some Royal Councillors asked him to write the history of the Long Turkish War. He declined the offer, explaining in a private letter to a close friend in Geldern his desire to convey the 'real truth' instead of seeking personal gain. He feared the repercussions of an honest portrayal of the war, given the politically charged atmosphere in Vienna. Even in the wake of the peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire at Zsitvatorok, he perceived the narrative of the war as a 'wound of Chiron' – a delicate matter not easily mended. The danger lay not only in the complexity of the events but also in the politically and confessionally charged climate of the time, making an honest account perilous. Thus, despite the prestige associated with such a project, Tengnagel chose prudence over potential danger, emphasising the challenges of retelling the events of the Hungarian war.[13]

12 STT0146 (1631–07–25).

13 STR0117: 'Delatum est mihi a Regiis Consiliariis historiographi munus, ut videlicet res per XVI annos in Hungaria cum Turcis gestas, litteris mandarem, verum tamen cum sit multorum calumniis atque adeo periculo obnoxium veritatem aperto ore profiteri, recusavi hoc onus cum incommodo meo, et non absque offensa Consili Secretioris. Ulcera enim nostrorum temporum superiorum nutu ac renutu in magnum veritatis praejudicium contrectanda essent. Valetudinis itaque imbecillitatem obtendi, et manum ad hoc, ut ita dicam, Chironico vulnere abstinere prudentiorum suasu decrevi (…)'. This refusal is also mentioned in a letter written by Tengnagel to the Jesuit Georg Sturn in Prague, also dated 1610 (STR0116): 'Τῷ ἱστοριογράφῳ munus hic mihi oblatum quod ut pote anceps et periculo obnoxium, non absque offensa repudiavi, de quo quid censeas, amando tuo iudicio explorari et certificari cuperem'. Sturn disagreed with the decision. Tengnagel's expertise in Hungarian history and Ottoman wars evident from a request made in 1619 by Péter Pázmáni, Archbishop of Esztergom, asking him to review and write a foreword for Miklós Istvánffy's *Historia Hungarica*, and to seek a publisher for it (it was published in 1622 with



FIGURE 5.3 Wien Museum, 29652 ('Einbringung der Türkenbeute aus Ungarn nach Wien im Jänner 1594')

Tengnagel was initially recruited to Vienna for his proficiency in Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac. But it was in Vienna that he established himself as one of Europe's foremost scholars of the Orient, especially in the field of Turkish studies. The Turkish wars greatly contributed to shaping this reputation. A significant number of the Islamic manuscripts in his collection were *Türkenbeute* looted from Ottoman Europe. Tengnagel benefited not only from what he called his 'silent teachers' – that is, books from battlefields and plundered libraries – but also, as we shall see, from a 'living and speaking teacher', the Muslim Dervīş İbrāhīm, a prisoner of war from the siege of the fortress of Győr in 1598.

The movement of artefacts, books, and individuals from the eastern frontlines to Vienna reveals the impact of the Hungarian Wars on the development and career of a prominent Orientalist like Tengnagel. This transfer of

Pázmáni's preface), cf. STS0119; STS0121. Tengnagel also uses the metaphor of the wound of Chiron to describe the intra-Christian conflict in Europe, as discussed in Chapter 3.

knowledge and material culture, the way it happened, and the actors involved, clearly illustrates how violence and intellectual pursuits were interconnected. It also highlights how religious differences and confessional conflicts further complicated the situation during Vienna's profound religious transformation. Additionally, this movement demonstrates how interpretations and meanings of seemingly univocal objects could change. For example, annotations in various languages on Oriental manuscripts show how their interpretation, meaning, and use varied depending on the background of their holder, whether they were a Protestant or Catholic soldier, an officer, a nobleman, a bibliophile, or a scholar. Furthermore, these manuscripts in motion offer insights into the reading habits and inclinations of the Ottoman officers and foot soldiers from whom they were taken. Evidence suggests that, much like their Christian adversaries, they brought book-amulets (ḥamā'il) and prayer scrolls with them to the battlefield, hoping for divine protection.[14] They also sought solace in mystical inscriptions for healing purposes, treating both man and beast. Interestingly, among the materials seized, poetry and dictionaries were also found.

Ownership notes and marginal annotations continue to reveal remarkable journeys and passages, although sometimes the reconstruction relies on intriguing but faint clues. For example, on the final sheet of an Ottoman chronicle manuscript (probably used by Leonclavius for his Turkish histories and brought from Constantinople by Antonius Verantius), there are three inscriptions: two in Italian and one in Ottoman. The Italian inscriptions belong to two soldiers, one from Friuli and one from Venice, both of whom were taken prisoner alongside the Habsburg Military Commander Sforza Pallavicino. In

14 On *ḥamā'il* and portable Qur'ans among Ottoman soldiers, see A. T. Şen, 'Manuscripts on the battlefields: Early modern Ottoman subjects in the European theatre of war and their textual relations to the supernatural in their fight for survival', *Aca'ib: Occasional papers on the Ottoman perceptions of the supernatural*, 2 (2021), 77–106; on pendant Qur'an, see C. Berthold, *Forms and Functions of Pendant Koran Manuscripts* (Wiesbaden, 2021); on the use of talismanic objects in battle, see M. Ekhtiar and R. Parikh, 'Power and Piety: Islamic Talismans on the Battlefield', in *Islamicate Occult Sciences in Theory and Practice*, eds. L. Saif, F. Leoni, M. Melvin-Koushki and F. Yahya (Leiden, 2021), pp. 420–53; see also T. Nünlist, 'Entzauberte Amulettrollen Hinweise zu einer typologischen Gliederung', in *Die Geheimnisse der oberen und der unteren Welt: Magie im Islam zwischen Glaube und Wissenschaft*, eds. S. Günther and P. Pielow (Leiden, 2019), pp. 247–93. For the Catholic context, I would like to thank Vincenzo Lavenia for pointing out a passage on soldiers' superstitions from Thomas Sailly's work, *Guidon et practique spirituelle du soldat chrestien* (Antwerp, 1590), p. 126: 'les oraisons, desquelles on dict, que quiconcque les porte au col, ne mourra de mort soudaine' (according to Lavenia, this primarily refers to the orations of Saint Martha). For more on Sailly's treatise, see V. Lavenia, *Dio in uniforme. Cappellani, catechesi cattolica e soldati in età moderna* (Bologna, 2018), pp. 132–42.

command of 3,000 soldiers in Hungary, Pallavicino was captured and transported to Buda in the autumn of 1553.[15] Additionally, Tengnagel's Latin inscription on a small book of Islamic prayers reveals that the manuscript was a gift sent by Cardinal Péter Pázmány from a small Hungarian village in 1613, amid an outbreak of the plague.[16] Similarly, a German inscription by a Habsburg soldier recounts the seizure of an Islamic prayer book (written in Arabic and Turkish) during the Siege of Novigrad in 1594. An almost-faded Latin inscription by Tengnagel suggests that the booklet eventually found its way to the Jesuit College in Český Krumlov before its final destination at the Vienna Library.[17] These inscriptions collectively unveil a network of transfers, both through conflict and other circumstances, that shaped the path of these manuscripts.

Within Tengnagel's collection there is a particularly remarkable subset that came from looting. These are the books he bought or received as gifts from the Protestant Baron Job Hartmann von Enenkel (1576–1627), a typical representative of the Austrian nobility who, for a certain period, managed to coexist with the region's shift towards Catholicism.[18] Enenkel, at just eighteen years old,

15 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 251, *Tārīḫ-i Āl-i ʿOsmān*; on fol. 1v, Tengnagel writes: 'Historia a condito imperio Othomano, usque ad annum Hegirae sive aerae Muhammedanae octingentesimum septuagesimum sextum. Conscripta lingua turcica N. 23'; on fol. 143v: 'Piero da Cividal de Friul schiavo del ser.mo gran Signor fu preso sotto le muraglia di Spalato già anni 24 che fu innanzi la guerra'; 'Francesco da Vicenza di finzi fu preso in Ungaria con il Sig. Sforza Palavisin [Sforza Pallavicinio]'. For the description of the manuscript, see G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien* (Vienna, 1865), vol. 30, p. 207. On Verantius, see É. Gyulai, 'Antonius Verantius', in D. Thomas and J. Chesworth (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500–1900*, Vol. 7 (Leiden, 2015), pp. 362–71.

16 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 525, *Kitāb alsala*, fol. 1r: 'R. et eruditiss. P. S. I. Petrus Pasmannus Hung. dono mihi misit, 4º Octob. Aº 1613. Et nunc archiepiscop. Strigoniens. et Cardinalis Eminentiss. 1634'; fol. 1v: 'Ex libris Sebastiani Tengnagel L.V.D. et Caes. Biblioth'. The manuscript contains Suras 6, 36, 55, 67, 78, 93 to 95, 97, 102 to 114; some Arabic prayers with Turkish characters and some amulets. The cardinal announces the dispatch of this and another 'Turkish little book' in a letter of 9.9.1613 and regrets not being able to find anything else. On Pázmány, cf. P. Shore and P. Tusor, 'Péter Pázmány: Cardinal, Archbishop of Esztergom, Primate of Hungary', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 7/4 (2020), 526–44.

17 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 501, on the inside front cover: 'Nichts ohn Vrsach. Diess Piechl hab Ich bekhumen Als wie Neuigrat haben Eingenumen von Türgen, welches ist geschehn den 9 tag Marcij Im funfzehuhundert Und in Vier un Neinziger Jar. Gott geb weitter glückh un Heyl' ('Nothing without reason. This book I got when we took Novigrad from the Turks which happened on 9 March 1594. That God continue to provide luck and salvation'. Transl. by Thomas Wallnig); 'Liber collegii Cromloviensis'.

18 On Enenkel, see F. Opll and Martin Schuetz, *Leben und Sammlungen des Job Hartmann von Enenkel* (Vienna, 2014); A. G. Coreth, 'Job Hartmann von Enenkel: Ein Gelehrter der Spätrenaissance in Österreich', *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung,*

joined the Siege of Esztergom, a centre of strategic relevance on the Danube that had changed hands multiple times between Christian and Ottoman forces. Süleyman the Magnificent had captured it in 1543, but the town saw further turmoil in the years that followed. In 1594, the Habsburg Army made six attempts to seize it. But it was not until the following year, after a relentless sixty-two-day siege, that Christian troops managed to regain control. This period of Christian rule was relatively short-lived, as the Ottomans recaptured the town in 1605.

The books in question may have been seized during the events of 4 August 1595, when an entire Ottoman camp was ransacked. This operation saw the pillaging of fifteen hundred Ottoman tents and the capture of thirty-nine artillery pieces, twenty-seven banners, and several prisoners. Books were taken too, even if they are not mentioned in the many reports written to celebrate the event.[19] The looting was carried out by Christian troops of various backgrounds and denominations, with Enenkel himself being a Protestant. pope Clement VIII had also dispatched his own army, although it arrived a few days after the capture of the camp. These chaotic events are well documented in Roman sources, which even shed light on the internal conflicts among the Christian troops. For instance, Jesuit chaplains accused Protestant soldiers of vandalising the holy images in the city's cathedral, a structure that the Ottomans had previously converted into a mosque.[20]

Mitteilungen 55 (1944), 247–302. For a more detailed analysis of the manuscripts from the battlefields in the collections of Enenkel and Tengnagel, see C. Petrolini, 'Captive Books, Captive Teachers: Spoils of the Long Turkish Wars in 17th-century Vienna', *Erudition and the Republic of Letters*, special issue curated by A. Ben Tov, P. Babinski, J. Loop, 9,3 (2024), 309–335.

19 See for instance N. Reusner, *Rerum Memorabilium in Pannonia sub Turcarum imperatoribus a capta Constantinopoli usque ad hanc aetatem, bello militiaque gestarum* (Frankfurt, 1603), p. 267: 'Ibi nostri in praedas irruunt omniaque ad castra nostra cum summo totius exercitus applausu devehunt, 29 tormenta militaria, 27 vexilla, captivi plurimi, & inter eos magnae authoritatis viri, cum universa supellectile castrensi, tentoriisque innumeris, victoribus cessere'; M. Naima, *Annals of the Turkish Empire: from 1591 to 1659*, trans. by C. Fraser (London, 1832), pp. 24–6; *Compendio di quanto è occorso in Ongaria quest'anno 1595. Dall'andata del Campo Christiano sino alla resa della Rocca di Strigonia. Con il numero de' morti, feriti, & prigioni dell'una et l'altra parte* (s.l., 1595); *Aviso della Presa di Strigonia. Cavato per Francesco Maria Casciano, dalle lettere che sono venute dal Campo, sotto Strigonia* (Roma-Padova, 1595). On the uses of the spoils of Turkish Wars in the Habsburg Monarchy, see B. Karl, 'Ottoman Objects in the Habsburg Networks of Gift-Giving in the Sixteenth Century', in *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*, ed. Z. Biedermann, A. Gerritsen and G. Riello (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 119–49.

20 On the involvement of the papal army in the siege of Esztergom, cf. G. Brunelli, *La santa impresa: Le crociate del papa in Ungheria (1595–1601)* (Rome, 2018).

There is no doubt about the provenance of these books because Enenkel had left inscriptions on each of them, often in capital letters and with a rather martial style, to commemorate the circumstances under which he acquired the volumes. However, he was unfamiliar with the direction of Arabic script, and his inscriptions ended up on what he thought were the front covers of the manuscripts but were actually the ends. For example, on the manuscript of a Turkish dictionary that later ended up in Tengnagel's collection, Enenkel had inscribed: 'PER DOMINUM NOSTRUM RODOLPHUM RECEPTO STRIGONIO 1595 / IOBUS HARTMANNI ENENKEL LIBER BARO HUNC LIBRUM AB INTERITO VINDICAVIT'.[21]

Or, as another example, on a miscellany catalogued as *Gebetbuch*, which contains prayers, invocations, and apotropaic formulas in Turkish and Arabic, there is the following inscription in Latin by Enenkel:

'DEO CONSERVATORI. CUIUS FAVORE AUXILIOQUE DN RODOLPHUS AUSTR. IMP. SEMPER AUGUSTUS, ITALICUS, HISPANICUS, PANNONICUS, TURCICUS, DACICUS. ANNO IHV ICCICXCV (sic) ARCES STRIGONIAS RECEPIT. HEIC FELICITER EXPUGNATIS CAPTISQ. HOSTIUM CASTRIS IOBUS HARTMANNUS ENENKEL LIBER BARO AUSTR. HUNC LIBRUM BIBLIOTHECAE SUAE A MILITARI VIOLENTIA VINDICAVIT'.[22]

Often, these books passed through the hands of various Christian soldiers before finding their way into collections. For instance, Enenkel purchased the manuscript ÖNB Cod. A. F. 245 (20 folios), which contains the nineteenth part of the Qur'an (from sura 25, verse 23, to sura 27, verse 56). Enenkel's inscription on this manuscript reads: 'Capto a Christianis STRIGONIO an. 1595. Liber hic Turcicus inter praedam emptus a milite per Job Hartmannum Baronem Enenkelium' ('During the siege of Esztergom in 1595 by the Christians. This

21 'Reconquest of Esztergom thanks to our Lord Rudolf in 1595. This book was saved from destruction by Job Hartmann, Baron of Enenkel', ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 175, a lexicon of some 700 Turkish-Arabic entries with Persian insertions (*Kitāb-i müşkilāt-i inşā*), to which Tengnagel added Latin translations (and, on rare occasions, German), and the *Book of the Name of God* (*Kitāb-i Ismu llāh*). Next to Tengnagel's ownership note we find the price he paid for the dictionary (1 florin and 30 crucifers).

22 'To the preserver God. Through whose favour and assistance, Rudolf, Emperor of Austria, ever august, the Italian, the Spanish, the Pannonian, the Turkish, the Dacian, conquered the fortresses of Strigonium in the year 1595. Here, after valiantly storming the enemy's camps and seizing their strongholds, Iobus Hartmannus Enenkel, Free Baron of Austria, saved this book from military violence for his library', ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 473, fol. 4v. The book includes surah 6 (verses 7–44), highlighting its protective and amulet-like power, as well as texts on the magical power of the 99 names of God (*al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*). In the colophon (*khatm*), there is a signature of someone named Farruḥ (apparently not the scribe) and the date August 15, 1531.

Turkish book was purchased from a soldier amidst the booty by Job Hartmann, Baron of Enenkel'). Beneath Enenkel's inscription, however, there is another ownership note, written by Christoph Adam Fernberger von Egernberg, a writer and collector of ancient and exotic objects, and a friend of Enenkel. He was also the older brother of the renowned traveller Christoph Carl Fernberger (1598–1653), the first Austrian to visit the Kingdom of Thailand and the Malay port-state of Patani.[23]

Enenkel was a typical member of the early modern Protestant nobility in Austria: educated in Upper Austria and Moravia, he went to university in Jena and, after participating in the Hungarian campaigns in 1594, continued his studies in Padua, Bologna and Siena. Back in Austria, he was active in several diplomatic missions and became a school inspector in Linz (where he befriended Kepler) until 1614, when he moved to Vienna and met Tengnagel. In 1624 he was involved, at the emperor's request, in a major revision of the Viennese property system and urban redesign.

Over the years, Enenkel had built up one of the most conspicuous libraries in Austria, with about 8,000 volumes.[24] He and Tengnagel shared access to their collections and exchanged books, mostly on antiquarianism and geography, but also Greek editions of the New Testament, books by theologians such as Maldonado, books by Postel, and accounts of journeys to the Holy Land. Aware of Tengnagel's appetite for the East, Enenkel introduced him to the Orientalist Johann Melchior Mader, a pupil of Erpenius and friend of Megiser whom we will look at in more detail in the following pages.

However, Enenkel's most notable legacy to Tengnagel was the gift and sale of manuscripts from Esztergom, some of which have been previously analyzed. The study of ownership notes, marginalia, and paratexts of these manuscripts reveals both the trans-imperial movement, and the broader circulation of these Oriental texts in Central Europe. Additionally, it uncovers the multiple roles and identities these texts assumed during and after the Turkish wars. A single book can be many things at the same time: a tool of self- and world

23 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 245, fol. 20v: 'Vanitas. Christoph Adam Fernberger von Ehrenberg v. Dobersberg Erb Chammerer in österrich ob der Enss'. The ÖNB holds 22 manuscripts of Christoph Adam Fernberger von Ehrenberg, including his library catalogue (ÖNB, Cod. 13290).

24 A manuscript catalogue compiled in 1624 by Enenkel is in now in Linz, Schlüsselberg Archiv 169: 'Catalogus omnium facultatum librorum qui continebantur anno MDCXXIV in bibliotheca Job-Hartmanni Baronis Enenkelij' (730 fols.). The library was arranged in 13 *repositoria*, divided into individual compartments (*loculi*). On the history of this collections, see A. Brandtner, 'Habent sua fata libelli – Bausteine zur Erforschung der Enenkel-Bibliothek', *Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines* (2000), 145–52.

knowledge, a weapon in propaganda, an object to be collected, but also a war trophy to be exhibited or sold. Or it can be all these things at once, as is the case with some of these manuscripts. A poignant illustration is the Qur'an in two volumes (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 246–247, fig. 5.4 and 5.5). On the concluding page of the first volume, a Latin inscription by Enenkel attests that the book was a war prize from the Siege of Esztergom in 1595, procured by the Baron from a soldier one year after the battle: 'During the siege of Esztergom in 1595. This book was acquired by Baron Job Hartmann von Enenkel among the other spoils of the conquered Turkish camp, and then brought to his library in 1596'.[25]

The second volume, placed at the end due to unfamiliarity with the direction of the Arabic script, features a German note by the soldier Paul N., who participated in the Hungarian campaigns and took the book, unaware that it was the Qur'an.

He curses its possible thief: 'Soli Deo gloria. Anno Domini 1602. Paullus N. des edellen gestrengen herrn Haniball Cratzen von Scharpffenstein [Hannibal Kratz von Scharfenstein] oberster leidenambtts stahallmeister. Dem ist das buch[.] Werß im nimbt der ist ein dieb. Es sey gleiche ritter oder knecht. So ist er ahn den galgen Gerecht'.[26]

Finally, on the first page of the book, in the correct direction, we find the man who acquired both volumes in 1617 and was probably the first to realise that it was a Qur'an. He is Sebastian Tengnagel: 'Ex libris Sebastiani Tengnagel Caes. et Reg. Maiestatis Bibliothecari. Aº 1617. Pars XIII capitulor. ex Alcorano'.

These inscriptions map a journey: from the battlefields of Esztergom, with its complex structure and its camps of Ottoman and Habsburg soldiers, through Enenkel's private Protestant collection in the Catholic-dominated Vienna under emperor Ferdinand II, to another private collection of a Catholic Orientalist, Tengnagel, and finally to the imperial library in Vienna, where the two collections – or part of them – were united and where they are today. The trajectory underscores three principal ways that Oriental books were perceived: as status symbols by educated nobility, venerable yet unintelligible items, to be preserved from the wrath of war; as saleable war spoils by soldiers; and as objects of investigation by scholars like Tengnagel.

25 'Strigonio Capto An. 1595. Liber hic a Iob Hartmanno Barone Enenkelio inter spolia castror. turcicor. expugnatorum acquisitus et Bibliothecae suae illatus an. 1596'.

26 'To God alone be the glory. Year of Our Lord 1602. Paulus N., equerry of Hannibal Kratz von Scharfenstein. Whoever steals this book, no matter whether he is a nobleman or a servant, is a thief and deserves the gallows'.

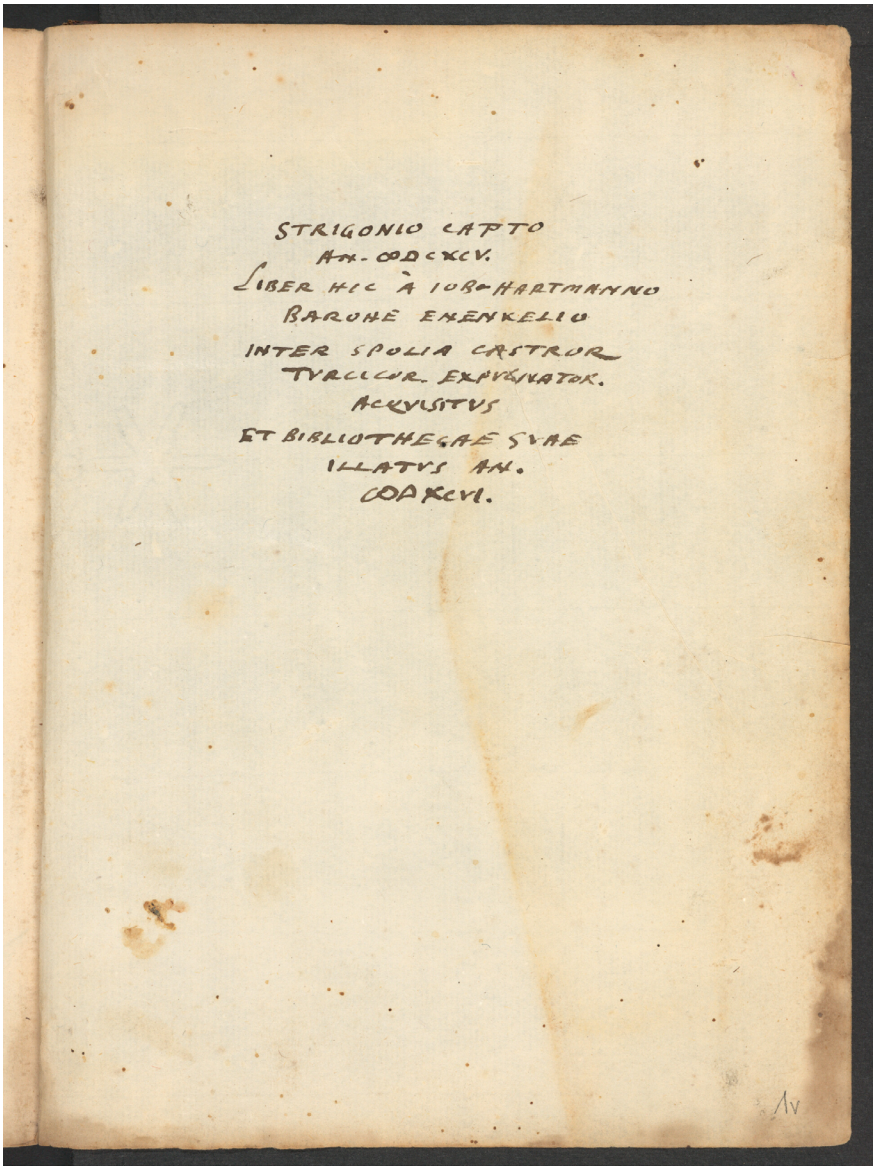

FIGURE 5.4 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 246, fol. 1v



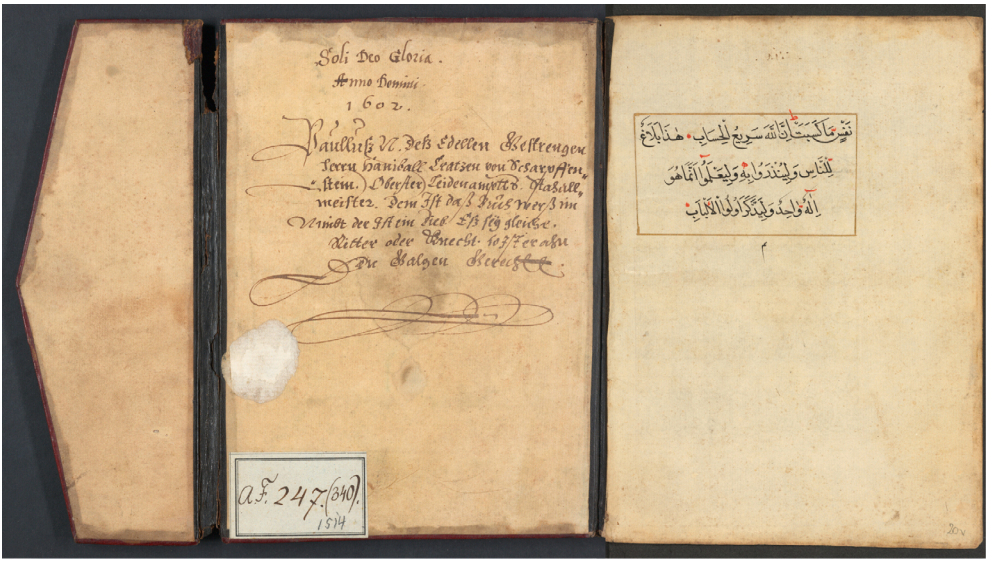

FIGURE 5.5 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 247

5.2 Teachers in Chains and Scribe Poets

5.2.1 *İbrāhīm Dervīş*

During the Turkish Wars, Tengnagel not only acquired invaluable books but also gained crucial assistance in copying and studying his manuscripts – a proficient copyist and a speaking tutor. This tutor was İbrāhīm Dervīş b. Muḥammed Şikārī Ṣā'irī al-Abṣalūyī, a man of letters, poet, painter, and an initiated member of a Sufi order, possibly in Ipsala. İbrāhīm had participated in the Hungarian campaigns of Mehmed III and was taken prisoner during the Siege of Győr (also known as Raab, Javorinum, Giavarino, or Yanıkkale), in 1598 (Fig. 5.6). This overnight assault led to the fall of the fortress, which had been under Ottoman control since 1594. Led by Miklós Pálffy and Adolph von Schwarzenberg, the siege was marked, like many others, by intense brutality. An anonymous Latin chronicle paints a vivid picture of the horrors: the 'cries of children, lamentations of women, and groans of the dying,' with streets awash in blood and the lifeless bodies of Turks.[27] In the aftermath of the siege, Győr was restored to its symbolic stature as the 'bulwark of all Christendom', marking a major blow in the Ottoman ambitions towards Vienna. The outcome rang across Catholic Europe, from Madrid to Venice and from Prague to Rome; emperor Rudolf II ordered the construction of votive shrines, known as Raabkreuze, throughout Lower Austria. The spoils of the battle were considerable: treasures in gold, luxurious fabrics, horses, and a variety of weapons. While three hundred Christian prisoners found freedom, an estimated 300 to 500 Ottomans were captured. Among these captives was İbrāhīm Dervīş.

The tale of İbrāhīm Dervīş and Tengnagel unveils the collaboration between a European humanist and a Muslim war captive, later enslaved in Habsburg territories.[28] Once again, our understanding of this (unequal) partnership

27 ÖNB, Cod. 8464, *Historia Hungarica ab a. 1572 usque ad a. 1606*, fol. 107r. For a reconstruction of the events, see G. Pálffy, *A császárváros védelmében a győri főkapitányság története 1526–1598: a győri vár törektől való visszafoglalása 400. Évfordulójának emlékére* (Győr, 1999); P. Z. Bagi, 'Azmikor az vaspléhből csinált torony tetejére helyheztetett kakas megszólalna', *Győri Tanulmányok*, 37 (2016), 5–20. For an Ottoman perspective on the siege of Győr in 1594, see C. Woodhead, *Ta'līḳī-zāde's Şehnāme-i hümāyūn: A history of the Ottoman campaign into Hungary, 1593–94* (Berlin, 1983), pp. 291–302.

28 Concerning the status of Ottoman war prisoners on Habsburg territory, cf. M. Quakatz, 'Denen Sclaven gleich gehalten warden. Muslimisch-Osmanische Kriegsgefangene im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation (1683–1699)', in *Europas Sklaven*, special issue of *Werkstattgeschichte*, ed. by J. Schiel, 66–67 (2015), 97–118; G. Dávid and P. Fodor (eds.), *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders* (*Early Fifteenth–Early Eighteenth Centuries*) (Leiden, 2007). For a detailed account of the scandal surrounding the outrageous treatment of a Muslim prisoner (and a possible forgery of documents), cf. R. D.



FIGURE 5.6 Giacomo Franco, "Strigonia Fortezza in Hungaria assediata"

emerges 'from the margins', allowing us to get to the heart of an intellectual practice and social patterns that remain largely unexplored. It is in marginal notes and colophons that the librarian mentions his amanuensis; and it is in those marginal notes that the amanuensis adds his drawings to the requested translation, or even, as recently discovered by Hülya Çelik in one of Tengnagel's notebooks, two love poems (*gazel*). The first poem speaks of İbrāhīm's deep longing for his beloved, described as a 'young male rosebud', during his time far from home and in captivity. İbrāhīm draws a sort of parallel between his physical bondage as a captive and his metaphorical enslavement to the 'Sultan of Love, chained by pain and yearning'. The second poem is an ode to the sultan

Radway, 'The Captive Self: The Art of Intrigue and the Holy Roman Emperor's Resident Ambassador at the Ottoman Court in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of early modern history* 22 (2018), 475–99.

as a *ghazi*, written from the perspective of a devoted warrior, ready to sacrifice himself in battle.[29]

The details of İbrāhīm's first encounter with Tengnagel remain obscure, but by 1606 their professional relationship had been established. Initially, İbrāhīm found himself confined in Győr as the 'slave' of Baron Seyfried Christoph von Breuner. He was later sold or relocated to the service of Karl von Liechtenstein in Vienna, upon Tengnagel's request. Though İbrāhīm's tale remains largely fragmented, it provides us with a window into the life and conditions endured by Ottoman prisoners in the aftermath of the Long Turkish War. This includes their literary and social practices during captivity. For a broader perspective, İbrāhīm's experience could be juxtaposed with other notable cases, such as Leo Africanus in Rome or the renowned account of Osman of Timișoara, whose story unfolded in regions similar to İbrāhīm's. It is also worth comparing his story with contemporary Ottoman narratives of imprisonment, such as those from Rome, Messina and Malta. A case in point is the memoirs of Hindî Mahmud, imprisoned during the Battle of Lepanto and later imprisoned in both Rome and Messina. Another example is Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi, an Ottoman judge from Cyprus, who was captured by Catholic pirates in 1597 and held in Malta.[30] These memoirs are not only of historical significance but also provide invaluable insights into the prisoners' daily lives – detailing petitions to the sultan, poetry, and everyday narratives. Both accounts also touch upon the preservation of Islamic practices during captivity, including Teravih prayers, fasting, and Quranic recitations. Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi even recounts how prisoners completed a copy of the Qur'an, based on oral recitation, within 40 days, to meet the ritual needs of the prisoners, alongside transcribing the ethical treatise *Enîsü-l-'ârfin* (The Friend of the Wise).[31] As for the situation in Győr, it remains uncertain whether Muslim prisoners were

29 H. Çelik, 'Traces of the Captive Copyist Derviş İbrahim in Sebastian Tengnagel's (d. 1636) Notebooks', in *"Buyurdum ki. ..." – The Whole World of Ottomanica and Beyond. Studies in Honor of Claudia Römer*, eds. H. Çelik, Y. Köse and G. Procházka-Eisl (Leiden, Boston, 2023), 270–93. The poems are transcribed, transl. and commented on pp. 283–6.

30 See the translation in French: *Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi, Le Captif de Malte. Récit autobiographique d'un cadi ottoman*, transl. by H. G. Özkoray (Toulouse, 2019); E. N. Dinç, 'Hindî Mahmud', in D. Thomas and J. Chesworth (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History,* vol. 10 (Leiden, 2017), pp. 75–80. As for Osman of Timisoara, see G. Casale (ed.), *Prisoner of the Infidels The Memoir of an Ottoman Muslim in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oakland, 2021).

31 Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi, *Le Captif de Malte. Récit autobiographique d'un cadi ottoman*, transl. by H. G. Özkoray (Toulouse, 2019), 40–41: 'Audit endroit, pour nos besoins de lecture, un examplaire du Livre sacré fut prepare en quarante jours et une copie du

allowed to keep or reproduce their books or to practise Islam freely. However, it is known that İbrāhīm began his work as a scribe for Tengnagel in Győr, during his incarceration there. The lamentable conditions, which may have hindered his work, ultimately led a dissatisfied Tengnagel to arrange İbrāhīm's relocation to Vienna.

However, what distinguishes the story of İbrāhīm from others is his unique (yet unequal) collaboration with Tengnagel and the mention of his name within the European Republic of Letters. Tengnagel must have informed his correspondents about his skilled copyist, and some may have even met İbrāhīm in person. Samuel Slade, for example, ended a letter from Venice by sending regards to 'the Turkish-Persian gentleman', adding with some humour that his greetings were contingent on İbrāhīm completing his assigned transcriptions. Given the rarity of scribes proficient in Turkish, Tengnagel received inquiries about İbrāhīm, including one from Christmann (discussed in Chapter 3 and 4), who first requested a sample of İbrāhīm's work for review and later sent a Turkish text to test his abilities. Petrus Kirstenius, from Wrocław, was also aware of İbrāhīm's work. In 1611, Tengnagel reported that İbrāhīm had copied the Arabic names in the margins of the *Dioscorides* requested by Kirstenius, adding that İbrāhīm had expressed willingness to convert to Catholicism, though Tengnagel remained sceptical of this claim.[32] Having İbrāhīm at his side provided Tengnagel with valuable leverage when negotiating the loan of Oriental manuscripts from prestigious European libraries. For instance, when seeking to borrow Scaliger's Arabic lexicons from Daniel Heinsius, Tengnagel emphasised that, with the help of his 'Turkish scribe, who was not unskilled and well-practiced in this field of studies', he could quickly copy the work and fulfil Scaliger's aspiration to append Latin translations to the entries.[33] True

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Ahlâk-ı Azmî fut réalisée pour Seyyid Mehmed Çelebi. La retranscription de cet ouvrage auquel son traducteur avait attribué le titre *L'Ami des savants* dura un mois'.

32 STQ0024 (1611): 'Turca noster, qui vocabula herbarum tibi aliquando exscripsit, se redemit, et ad nos reversurum si qua fides Turcica, et nomen Christianismo datum se promisit quidem, sed valide metuo, ne promissa praestet. Turcica tua quae olim ad me misisti, nec legere nec explicare poterat'. Kirstenius had asked for the names the first time in 1604 (STR0014) and 1605 (STR0021).

33 STR0135: 'Summa scriptionis meae quantum memini haec fere fuit, nimirum brevem librorum Orientalium a M. Scaligero vestro Musaeo relictorum Syllabum tua opera nancisci possem, deinde, cum duo lexica, turco Arabicum et turco persicum in vestra Bibliotheca extent, quae incomparabilis ille Heros, dum fuit, latine explanari per Turcam linguae maternae callentissimum supremis optavit votis, sed cassa spe, ego tandem Turcam librarium non inscitum et in hoc studiorum genere apprime tritum nactus, qui haec et meis describere, et vestro usui, mea ope, latinis auribus apte explicata tradere

to his word, the manuscript was reproduced in just 14 days, despite İbrāhīm's limited knowledge of Latin, which perhaps led him to illustrate the meanings of some words with drawings. Tengnagel proudly noted this accomplishment in an inscription on the manuscript's opening page, thoroughly examined by Hülya Çelik in Chapter 4.[34] İbrāhīm's name even reached Viennese noble circle, who had little interest in Oriental Studies. In one of his notebooks, Tengnagel records (Fig. 5.7) that he sent İbrāhīm's copy of the Abū l-Fidā's geography to Karl von Liechtenstein for inspection, perhaps as evidence of the scribe's skill and usefulness. This gesture was probably enabled by Liechtenstein himself, who had authorised this asymmetrical arrangement between prisoner and librarian.[35]

In other letters, however, İbrāhīm's fate takes center stage, with entire letters dedicated to him and his destiny. The existence of at least two letters from İbrāhīm Dervīş to Tengnagel is documented up until 1690, as noted in the printed catalog of Oriental manuscripts of the Vienna Library compiled by Daniel de Nessel with the assistance of Meninski. According to the catalogue, these letters were contained within Arabic manuscripts formerly owned by Tengnagel (one of which was a copy of the Qur'an). However, these documents were subsequently removed and were only identified in the 1990s through the parallel research efforts of Robert Jones and Claudia Römer. In a 1998 article, Römer published the text, translation, and analysis of a letter from İbrāhīm Dervīş that she had identified within a miscellany manuscript (Fig. 5.8).[36] Writing from the fortress of Győr on 20 May 1610, in this letter İbrāhīm congratulated

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poteris, tuam gratiam auctoritatem, ac beneficentiam adhibitis etiam deprecationibus DD Frehero & Grutero imploratum venio, rogitoque ut duorum horum codicum usum ad certum tempus suo studio consequar, quod si obtinerem, fide qua potero optima maxima eos restitutum cavebo, interponem si iubes et auctoritatem Regiam D. Gruterus in eodem studii generationi immortali beneficio sibi iam ante devinxit, duobus rarissimae notae Arabicis auctoribus, quos ab eodem Turca hic exsculpi curavi, ex Biblioth. Palatina depromptis cuius vestigiis ad te VC insistere haudquaquam uti spero grave erit, cum et Heidelbergam, et inde ad me perfacile et absque gravi periculo curari possint, polliceor etiam vicissim, si quid hic in penes nostro, quod praeclari ingenio tuo usui aut ornamento extiterit, plena (ut aiunt) manu suppeditarum'.

34 The copy Lexicon is in ÖNB Cod. A. F. 26. For further details, refer to the previous chapter.

35 ÖNB, Cod. 284, fol. 12r: 'Abilfada Ismaelem Geograph. Arabem ut exscr. per Turcam Ibrahim Derviß, misi ad Illustriß. Principem D. Carolum a Liechtenstain 4 Martii, A° 1610. Folia regia integra misi 74, quorum 19 ampliß. formae, reliqua minoris. Abilfada continet fol. 126. In univers. vero 171'. Liechtstein's letter about İbrāhīm is in STR0095.

36 Römer, 'An Ottoman Copyist'. Tengnagel writes on the back the letters (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 32, fol. 76r): 'Litterae Abrahami sive Ibrahim Persae dervisci, sive Monachi apud Turcas Iavarino ad me datae A° 1610, 20 Maj'.

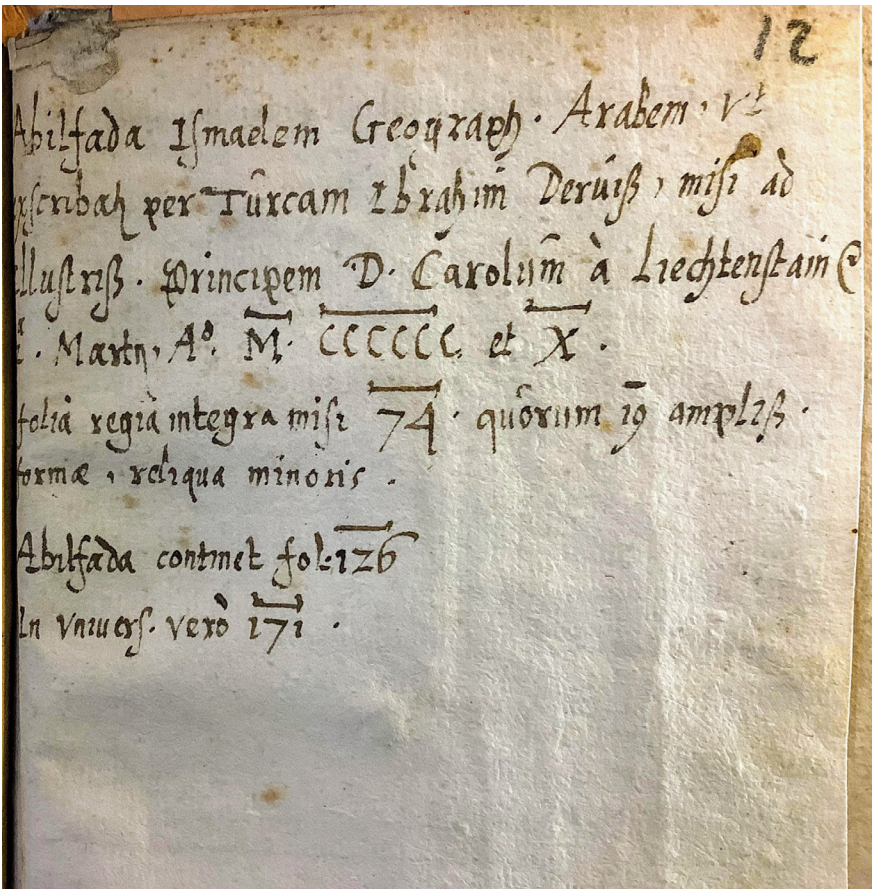


FIGURE 5.7 ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 284, fol. 23v

Sebastian on his marriage to Ursula Ungelter but swiftly shifts to his own tormented existence, imploring him for release from a life of 'perpetual sorrow. […] For the love of your God, do not leave me in this state of despair and come to my rescue'. He described his daily routine: fleeting moments of daytime freedom and nights spent in damp, constricting underground cells, punctuated by scant and inadequate meals.

It remains unclear whether he was allowed to practise his faith, but he mentions a certain 'Father Jonas' (Paṭır Yūnus), who apparently sought to catechise and convert him. Before signing off as 'the poor prisoner', İbrāhīm intertwines his plea with practical concerns, emphasising that improved living conditions would greatly enhance the quality of his scribal work, recalling Tengnagel's

earlier grievances about the inaccuracies in his transcriptions. Toward the end of the letter, İbrāhīm hints at a project: the copy of a book he promises is unparalleled in its depth and knowledge, 'different from all other books', as it conveyed 'another kind of knowledge'. This may refer to the text of Bukhārī, one of the five manuscripts he is known to have copied for Tengnagel.[37]

We do not know Tengnagel's response, if indeed he provided one. However, we do have a letter he wrote to the emperor three years later on 1 May 1613 (Fig. 5.9). This letter is notable both for its content and its rhetorical strategy. Tengnagel requests a special salary to house the prisoner in his own residence 'at his own risk'. Although İbrāhīm had already been collaborating with Tengnagel under other patrons, his workload – compounded by tasks assigned by others – left him exhausted and unable to work effectively as a scribe. At least two patrons can be identified: Baron Breuner and later Karl von Liechtenstein, who likely took responsibility for him in 1609 at Tengnagel's request. During his time with Liechtenstein, İbrāhīm was already working as a scribe, as confirmed by a report from Liechtenstein himself to the emperor.[38] Tengnagel emphasises that İbrāhīm's demanding workload, prolonged imprisonment, and advancing age had severely impacted his performance. Yet the letter focuses less on İbrāhīm's harsh living conditions and more on their effect on his productivity. Relocating him, Tengnagel argues, would significantly enhance his efficiency – a benefit to the library. It would allow İbrāhīm to focus on copying manuscripts Tengnagel had managed to borrow from Heidelberg and Leiden through Gruter and Heinsius, rare texts requiring careful and swift reproduction. Recognising that bibliophilic reasons might not suffice, Tengnagel introduces an additional advantage tied to politics and diplomacy: İbrāhīm's superior command of Ottoman Turkish far exceeded that of the interpreters serving the war council. Under Tengnagel's supervision, İbrāhīm could become a strategic asset, tasked with translating the sultan's dispatches and confidential letters – a role of the utmost importance and responsibility.

The librarian reassured the emperor that he would take full responsibility for İbrāhīm, promising to prevent any attempts to escape, ensure a fixed number of working hours each day, and facilitate a process of conversion to

37 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 31, *Ṣaḥīḥu l-Bukhārī*/ *Jāmi'a ṣ-ṣaḥīḥ* (40 fols).

38 STR0095: 'Ich lasse Ew. Gnaden hie durch bescheiden, daß wir den Türggen, welcher theils Sachen, wie Euch bewust, abschreiben soll, empfangen haben und hoffen, daß er zu unser vollster Zufriedenheit arbeiten wird. Daß ich die Ehre haben, Euere Gnaden öfters zu berichten, wenn solche Schriften zu vollenden, und was Ihr weiter gehorsam zu berichten findt, Ich werde meinem pflicht hiebei verbleiben'.

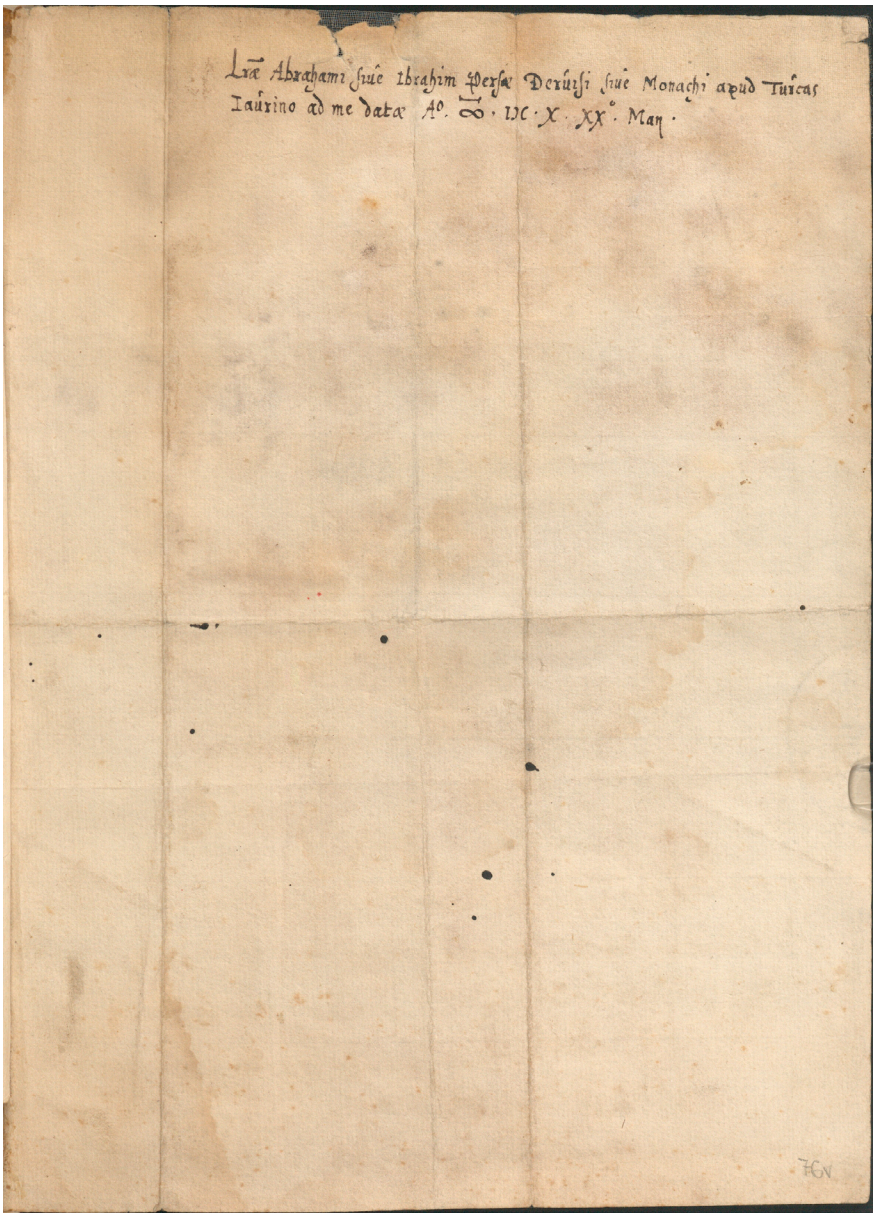
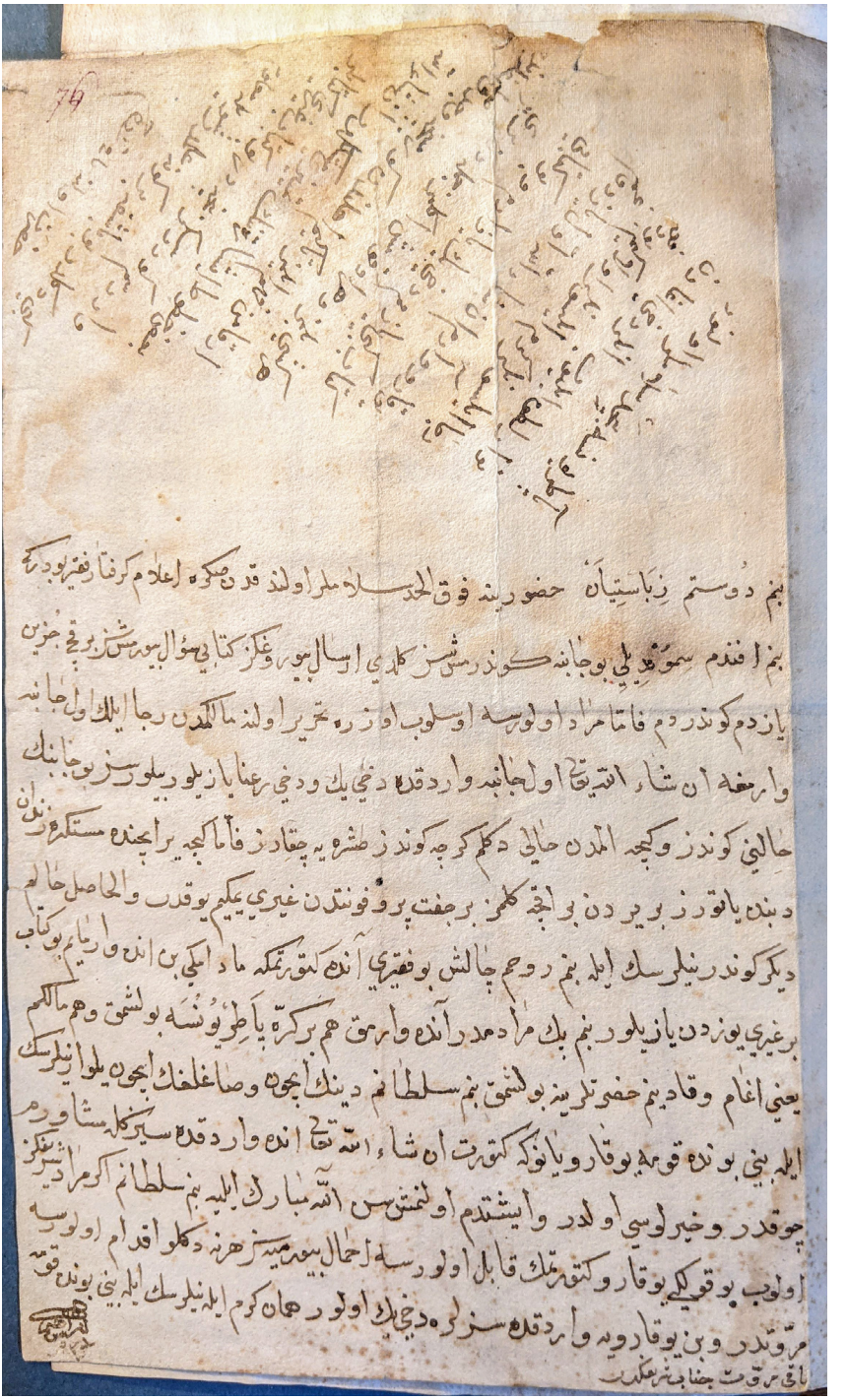


FIGURE 5.8 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 32, fols. 76rv



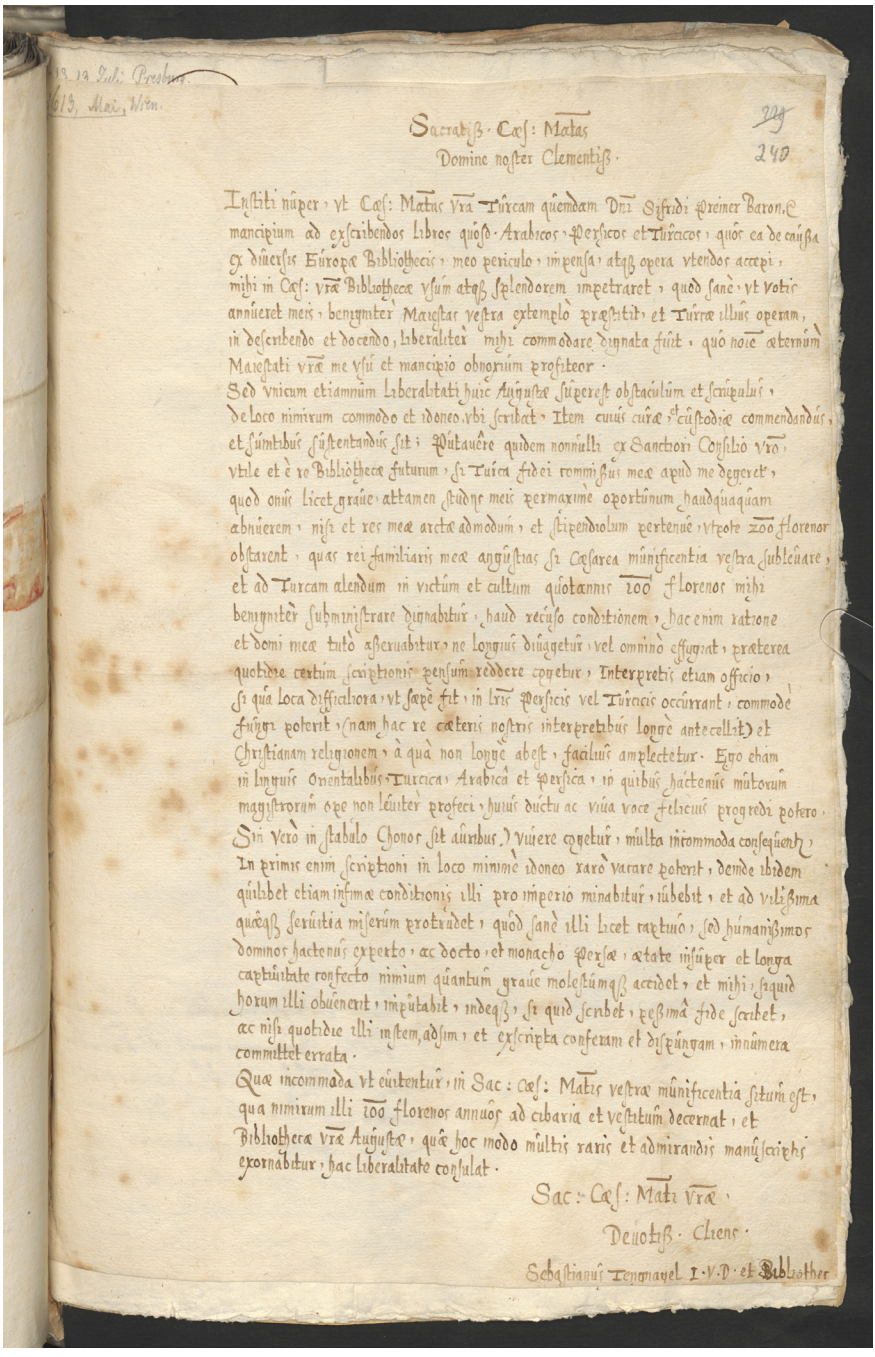


FIGURE 5.9 ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fol. 240r

Catholicism, a promise that, until then, remained largely empty. Thus, he said, after so many books, he would finally have a real, talking teacher.[39]

In Chapter 4, Hülya Çelik thoroughly examines the collaboration between Tengnagel and İbrāhīm Dervīş, offering a detailed analysis of the manuscripts copied by the prisoner and shedding light on his learning and scholarly practices. Yet, despite the relative wealth of information available, some crucial details remain elusive. Most notably, the ultimate fate of İbrāhīm is unknown. Did he return to the Ottoman Empire? Did he convert, or fall ill? Unfortunately, Tengnagel's surviving documentation offers no clues on this matter.

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39 'I had lately insisted that Your Majesty should procure for me a certain Turk, a slave of Seyfried Christoph von Breuner, to copy the Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts which I had specially sent, at my own expense and risk, from various libraries in Europe for the use and adornment of your Imperial Library. Your Majesty immediately granted my request with great generosity, and condescended to place the services of this Turk at my disposal for copying and teaching. I therefore declare myself Your Majesty's eternally grateful servant. There remains, however, but one obstacle and one scruple to the imperial generosity, and that concerns a convenient and suitable place of work where he can write, and it remains in like manner to recommend him to your care, protection and expense. And indeed, some of your council have thought that it would be more useful to the library if the Turk entrusted to my jurisdiction could live in my house; and I would certainly not refuse this burden, however heavy, and yet most useful to my studies, were it not for my meagre means and my very low salary of about 200 florins; if your Imperial Magnificence will deign to relieve these straits of my estate, and generously offer me another 100 florins a year to provide for the food and care of the Turk, I would gladly accept this condition. Thus [the Turk] will be safely guarded in my house, lest he stray too far or even run away, and he will be obliged to provide a certain amount of writing every day. He will also be able to work as an interpreter when, as is often the case, the Persian or Turkish letters are difficult to translate. In this he is far superior to our interpreters. He will also find it easier to accept the Christian religion, which he has not yet done. And so, with his guidance and living voice, I will be able to make great progress in the Oriental languages, Turkish, Arabic and Persian, in which I have hitherto made no small progress through the work of the mute masters [books]. If he is forced to continue to live in the stable (pardon the expression), there will be many serious consequences. First of all, he will have to devote himself to writing in a place that is not at all suitable; moreover, anyone, even of the lowest condition, will be able to threaten him on the basis of his authority, and will be able to give him orders and drive that wretch to all the most infamous services. And all this will be all the more serious and harmful to one like him, who is a prisoner, but who has had only very human masters, and who is a Persian scholar and monk, and who is moreover worn out by age and long imprisonment. And if any of this happens to him, he will attribute it to me, and if he writes anything, he will write it in very bad faith, and if I do not stand every day comparing and revising his writings to correct them, he will make endless mistakes. To avoid all these inconveniences, your Majesty's munificence would suffice to provide the sum of 100 florins a year for his board and clothing, and to so generously endow your Imperial Library with many rare and wonderful manuscripts'.

5.2.2 *The Quest for Scribes and Preceptors*

It is plausible that a small market for literate prisoners of war, capable of reading and writing in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, developed during and shortly after the Long Turkish War. This is suggested, for example, by a request from Petrus Kirstenius, who, in 1608, asked Tengnagel to send to Wrocław 'a Turkish prisoner who knows Arabic, even if only in reading and writing'; he asked for the ransom price and to test the prisoner's competence by providing a sample text in Arabic.[40]

Such individuals were scarce and could not meet the growing demand. Indeed, the search for teachers and copyists was akin to a quest, whether or not their contributions were formally acknowledged by Orientalists. Consider, for example, the encounters between Erpenius and the Morisco diplomat Ahmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī (*c.*1570–*c.*1640), and the considerable benefits Erpenius derived (despite only minimal acknowledgement) for his composition of an Arabic grammar.[41]

Before and after İbrāhīm, Tengnagel actively sought scribes and tutors for Arabic (and, as we shall see, for Hebrew). In an undated letter (written around 1609) he requested Samuel Slade to ask his teacher of Hebrew, none other than rabbi Leon Modena, where he might find Jewish doctors capable of copying Arabic texts. The only teacher of Tengnagel of whom we know anything – a single reference, in a note – was described as an 'African Jew'. Later, around 1626–1627, Sebastiano Forteguerra, a clergyman and historian serving Pope Paul V and the ambassador Paolo Savelli (who in 1624 was sent on a mission to Florence to examine the archives), informed Tengnagel about a man in Rome

40 STR0053: 'Uno adhuc P.T. me beare posset beneficio, si cum Dn. Thielis turcam quendam captum, qui legendi & scribendi solum calleret linguae Arabicae rationem, mihi transmitteret pretio quanti redimendus esset prius indicto, datoque ante specimine, quid praestare posset'. See Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe*, p. 60.

41 On this encounter, see G. A. Wiegers, *A learned Muslim acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius. Ahmad b. Qâsim al-Andalusî and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands* (Leiden, 1988); Id., 'A life between Europe and the Maghrib. The writings and travels of Ahmad b. Qâsim al-Andalusî', in *The Middle East and Europe. Encounters and exchanges*, ed. G. J. van Gelder and E. de Moor (Amsterdam, 1993), pp. 87–115; O. Zhiri, *Beyond Orientalism. Ahmad ibn Qāsim al-Hajarī between Europe and North Africa* (San Diego, 2023), pp. 81–101; J. Schmidt, 'An Ostrich Egg for Golius. The Heyman papers preserved in the Leiden and Manchester University Libraries and Early Modern Contacts between the Netherlands and the Middle East', in Id., *The Joys of Philology. Studies in Ottoman Literature, History and Orientalism (1500–1923)*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 2002), pp. 9–74; P. Botley and M. Vince (eds.), *The Correspondence of Isaac Casaubon in England*, vol. 1 (Geneva, 2018), pp. 501–9. On Al-Ḥajarī's travelogue, see P. S. van Koningsveld, Q. Al-Samarrai and G. A. Wiegers, *Amad ibn Qāsim Al-Ḥajarī, Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn 'alā 'l-qawm al-kāfirīn* (*The Supporter of Religion against the Infidels*) (Madrid, 2015).

proficient in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. Most importantly, this individual claimed to possess expertise in designing and crafting blocks for Oriental printing. Forteguerra suggested that, with an attractive offer, this man might be persuaded to relocate to Vienna and serve the emperor. There is no further record of this figure, but he was probably affiliated with Roman institutions supporting missionary conversion campaigns, such as the Catechumens' House or the Collegio Urbano. What is clear, however, is Tengnagel's sustained interest in securing someone capable of working in the Oriental printing house of which he dreamt.

Occasionally, Tengnagel's letters contain news of his correspondents' teachers. For example, Guillaume II Le Bé, son of the renowned Parisian printer of the same name and himself an accomplished printer in Arabic characters (while his father specialised in Hebrew), told him that he had learnt Arabic from Honoré Suffin, a citizen of Marseille. Suffin had been captured by Muslim pirates as a child and was now working as an interpreter for the King of France. Le Bé regretted not having asked him for a full translation of the Qur'an instead of limiting himself to a few surahs.[42]

In one of his notebooks, Tengnagel recorded the instructors of Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter in Greek and in Hebrew (Dattilo and the African Jew Zemetto, Michael ben Shabbetei); and, in Arabic, Diego López de Zúñiga and several unnamed teachers from Africa.[43]

The rising demand for experts in Oriental languages, coupled with the scarcity of institutions dedicated to the study of Arabic, sparked the formation of a heterogeneous group of intellectuals. These individuals sought to promote themselves and earn a living as private teachers. Their biographies reveal a blend of travel, exile, study, religious conversion, and recurring suspicions of imposture. Tengnagel forged connections with several such figures, even though Vienna remained somewhat distant from the major centres of Oriental knowledge production.

A case in point is the already mentioned Johannes Melchior Mader. Born in Waiblingen near Stuttgart in the early 1590s, he pursued his studies at Tübingen before embarking on travels that took him to cities like Prague, Leipzig, Weimar, Leiden, Paris, Louvain, Basel, Strasbourg, Augsburg, Linz, Vienna, and finally Padua. Over the course of his journey, he established connections with notable figures like Thomas Erpenius, Petrus Kirstenius, and Hieronymus Megiser. He also encountered personalities such as Andreas Osiander the Younger, Gabriel Sionita, Johannes Hesronita, and Johann Buxtorf. However,

42 STR0099 (20 March 1610).

43 ÖNB, Cod. 15160, fol. 349.

his relationship with Megiser eventually turned critical.[44] Mader had a grand vision: he aimed to establish a 'collegium arabicum', a school for the study of Arabic, in Linz. In 1618, he published a *Grammatica Arabica* and a pamphlet arguing for his school and extolling the importance of studying Arabic. Its usefulness, he wrote, was as obvious as the midday light, benefiting a range of professions from physicians to theologians and jurists. At the end of this pamphlet, Mader provided a comprehensive list of Orientalists, both living and past, but Tengnagel's name was absent.[45] There is no record of Mader's interaction with Tengnagel or a visit to his library, and it is probable that Mader's work as a teacher of Oriental languages was disrupted by the Thirty Years' War. In 1621, he published a book in Nuremberg on horses, containing various dedications to the Carinthian nobility. Yet even this book, distant in content and interests, provides interesting information. Mader praised Hector von Ernau (1562–1649) for his role at the Ottoman court in Constantinople (possibly as a member of an embassy) and his proficiency in Turkish and, in contrast, he accused Megiser, the author of the *Institutionum Linguae Turcicae* (1612). In his view, Megiser was 'ignorant of the Turkish language', and plagiarised from both Ernau's and his own works.[46] The same argument is put forward in the hundreds of handwritten notes by Mader in a copy of the *Institutionum linguae Turcicae* by Megiser, which was sold by an antique bookshop in Vienna. Besides adding 36 pages of Turkish proverbs, Mader claims that the true author of this Turkish grammar (the first printed in Europe) was Hector von Ernau: 'The lord of Ernau wrote and arranged this work during his stay in Constantinople, and Megiser presented it as if he was its author, even though that was not the case'. To emphasise his claim, Mader crossed out the word '*Authore*' referencing Megiser on the title page and replaced it with '*Descriptore*'.

5.2.3 *Abraham ben Ephraim Niederländer*

Tengnagel, like many of his contemporaries, believed that the study of Arabic and Hebrew were deeply intertwined, suggesting profound links between the two languages. He dedicated significant time to Hebrew studies, collecting

44 These connections emerge from the dedications in his *album amicorum* (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Frommann collection, StB-Nr. 138).

45 J. M. Mader, *Collegium Arabicvm, in Quo Oratio pro Lingua Arabica; Specimen trimestris institutionis; Oratio de Numero Ternario; Anarithmoglottia seu Abyssus Linguarum* (Linz, Blancus, 1618); he also published *Grammatica Arabica selecta* (Augsburg, Franck, 1617). On him and his accusations of plagiarism against Megiser, cf. N. Ö. Palabıyık, *Silent Teachers. Turkish Books and Oriental Learning in Early Modern Europe, 1544–1669* (London, 2023), pp. 97–106.

46 J. M. Mader, *Equestria sive de arte equitandi* (Halbmayer, 1621).

Hebrew books – especially, but not only, Hebrew translations of Arabic texts, as shown in chapter 3. Therefore, just as he needed Arabic, Persian, and Turkish teachers and copyists, he also required Hebrew instructors and scribes.

Evidence of this emerges in a letter to king Matthias in 1611, which shows that even when Tengnagel was deeply immersed in Arabic and Turkish studies, he sought a Hebrew copyist. In the letter, he presented four requests: permission to copy several codices owned by the Jewish physician and rabbi Judah Leib Ma'or Katan (Leo Lucerna), including a rare edition of Euclid's *Elements* and an ancient Hebrew dictionary deemed 'unique in the world'; allocation of approximately 22 florins to pay a copyist to reproduce these and other Hebrew texts; the transfer of thirteen voluminous Hebrew manuscripts from the University Library to the imperial library to protect them from 'dust and moths'; and the procurement of paper, ink, and other necessary materials, as his salary was insufficient for these expenses. Tengnagel concluded his appeal by invoking the legacy of Matthias Corvinus and his renowned library.[47] Based on available records, it appears that Tengnagel's requests went unfulfilled.

However, there is an interesting twist. A Hebrew letter from 1603 reveals that Tengnagel had employed at least one Jewish scribe.[48] This was Abraham ben Ephraim Niederländer, known by various names: Abraham Schreiber, Abraham Sofer, the Sofer of Prague, and by Tengnagel as 'Abraham Iudaeus Bonnens'. An accomplished mathematician – he published a book on arithmetic (*Berit Avraham*) in Prague in 1609 – Abraham also served as the scribe for the legendary rabbi Judah ben Bezalel Loew (Maharal) of Prague. His playful letter to Tengnagel employed an acrostic with Sebastian's name, offering apologies for his illness and the resulting absence from work.[49] The specifics of what Abraham copied for Tengnagel remain an open question and are subjects of ongoing research.

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47 STQ0025. Tengnagel returned to inspect the Hebrew manuscripts in the university library and recorded 31 of them in 1623, in ÖNB, Cod. 9690, fols. 219v–220r ('Except. ex catalogo bibliothecae academicae Viennens. confect. 20 Septemb. A 1627. In litera A libri Hebraici'). On this list, see Schwarz, *Die hebräischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek*, p. XII.

48 STT0191. I would like to thank Giacomo Corazzol for the initial translation of the letter, and Joanna Weinberg for editing and providing valuable context.

49 See I. Singer and J. Z. Lauterbach, 'Niederländer, Abraham Ben Ephraim (known also as Abraham Schreiber)', *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 9 (1912), 302. On his book, see the short mention in M. J. Heller, *The Seventeenth Century Hebrew Book* (Leiden, 2010), vol. 1, p. 231.

5.3 The Dragomans

Tengnagel's mind was largely occupied with the past – not just any past, but Early Christianity, and the time at which the first divisions in the early church occurred, namely Late Antiquity in which Muḥammad also lived. And yet, in seventeenth-century Vienna, the immediate present of Muslim-dominated countries had an imposing power. Tengnagel had planned to write a history of the Ottoman Empire up to his present time. He never did it, as was the case with many of the other things he had planned, but he was undoubtedly interested in current events, especially how the different articulations of Islam were mirrored in the three Islamic empires: the Ottoman, the Persian and the Mughal.

The philologist's slowness, his meticulousness in verifying even the smallest detail, did not prevent Tengnagel from following the hectic events of his times with passion and participation. This twofold focus – on scholarship and diplomatic gossip – is well illustrated in Tengnagel's dealings with certain imperial dragomans. He would ask them to dig up the rarest manuscripts, but also to send him news of contemporary events.

It might be tempting to characterise this type of communication as a more formal or official channel compared to the tenuous traces of connections painstakingly revealed earlier. However, recent scholarship (most notably the work of E. Natalie Rothman) has demonstrated the highly complex and internally diverse world of the dragomans. Far from being passive conduits of news or artefacts, dragomans played a crucial and self-conscious role in shaping European knowledge about the East.

In this section, we will undertake a succinct analysis of three distinct interpreters – Albanus (Giovanni Paolo Damiani), Josephus Barbatus (Yūsuf ibn Abū Dhaqn), and Michel D'Asquier – who appear in Tengnagel's correspondence. While this overview sheds light on his immediate circle, the broader influence of Tengnagel and his collection on the training of later dragomans and diplomats, both before and after the establishment of the Kaiserlich-königliche Akademie für Orientalische Sprachen, remains largely unexplored.[50]

50 For an initial exploration of this topic (though tangential to Tengnagel), see M. Petrone, *A Dragoman's Wrath: Michael Talman, Translator of the Fātiḥa*, forthcoming.

5.3.1 *Albanus*

Regarding the first figure, only one letter from Tengnagel has survived, but it is a remarkably revealing document (Fig. 5.10).[51] Dated 1613, it is addressed to the dragoman Paulus Albanus, who is almost certainly identifiable as Giovanni Paolo Damiani, a member of a noble Albanian family.[52]

Multilingualism is this document's first conspicuous feature. All interactions with the dragomans were of course conducted in Italian, or at least in the Italian lingua franca used in Ottoman diplomatic correspondence with Europe. Thus, Tengnagel wrote his correspondence to Damiani, an Albanian, in fluent Italian. The *attergato*, in Latin, records that the document was first sent to Constantinople in 1613 and then again in 1617. The text consists of a list of requested books, whose titles are written in Persian, Turkish, Arabic and Hebrew, with a description in Italian to help the translator in his search.

Even from this list we see the same mechanism that we have seen before: the sign of a contact that can no longer be traced. Tengnagel almost always deduced the titles of the books he wanted to buy from other books. Sometimes, however, he was given hints orally, as in this case, from a Turkish man: 'È una historia delle cose maravigliose del mundo. Si chiama Ahmed, como mi disse un Turco'.[53]

The list of books (more than forty) is remarkable in itself, including a wide variety of works such as philosophical texts (in Greek, Hebrew and Arabic), geographical books (in Arabic), including Maimonides's commentary on the *Mishnah* and the *Guide for the Perplexed* in Arabic, and the earliest printed Jewish-Arabic text, the extremely valuable and rare polyglot Pentateuch published in Constantinople in 1546–1547 by Eleazar ben Gershom Soncino. The most fascinating detail, though, is Tengnagel's advice to the dragoman. Despite never having set foot in Constantinople, he instructed the dragoman not only to search for the books in bookshops, but also to enquire among all the educated men residing in the city, regardless of their religious affiliation, whether it be Muslim, Christian or Jewish. Moreover, someone had told him, he wrote, that the Jews in Constantinople had an enormous number of books in Arabic: he wanted catalogues and lists, if possible, and prices. Finally, in his usual hesitant and modest tone, he suggested that the dragoman should venture beyond the great book market of Constantinople and search in Damascus, Cairo, and Aleppo.

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51 ÖNB, Cod. 8997, fols. 52r–53r. H. Çelik has identified some of the manuscripts on the list and compared this list with the one, much later, sent to Della Valle.

52 See chapter 4.

53 Tengnagel obtained the manuscript. It should in fact be ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 480.

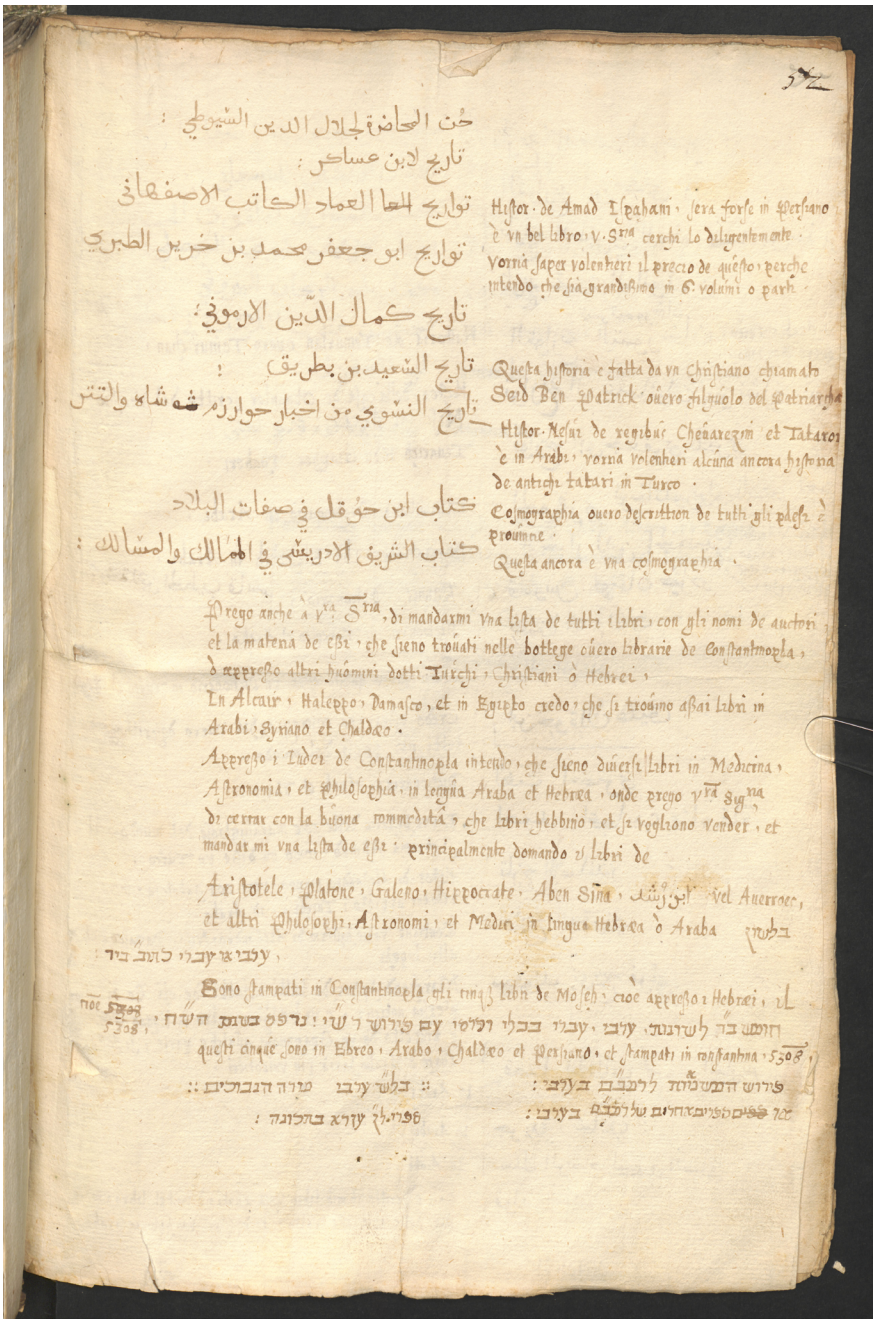


FIGURE 5.10 ÖNB, Cod. 8997, fol. 52r

5.3.2 *Barbatus and D'Asquier*

The list Tengnagel sent to Albanus in 1613 was extremely interesting, but remains the only trace of their exchange. More extensive and richer is Tengnagel's correspondence with two other dragomans, Michel D'Asquier and Josephus Barbatus (Yūsuf ibn Abū Dhaqn, also known as Abudacnus). These letters not only shed light on the contributions of the dragomans to Tengnagel's work as an Orientalist and imperial advisor, but also provide insights into life on the eastern frontier in the early years of the Thirty Years' War and in Constantinople during a particularly tumultuous period in Ottoman history. Alastair Hamilton has dedicated exceptional research to Tengnagel's two correspondents, masterfully narrating the vicissitudes of the two imperial dragomans. Therefore, I will limit myself to a brief summary and highlight only a few key aspects relevant for Tengnagel.[54]

Barbatus and D'Asquier, two unlikely friends, were vastly different in their cultural, linguistic, and social backgrounds. Barbatus, a Copt, began his education in Egypt and later continued his studies in Rome, where he converted to Roman Catholicism. He became famous throughout Europe as a teacher of Arabic and met the great names of Oriental studies in Europe, such as Casaubon, Raimondi, Scaliger, Erpenius and Bedwell. Thanks to Tengnagel's connections, Barbatus became the Habsburg dragoman at the Sublime Porte, but he constantly expressed his dissatisfaction with the role, which he nevertheless kept until an advanced age. On the other hand, D'Asquier, a Frenchman of Italian descent, was a sophisticated man, a bibliophile and antiquarian, who owned a library of 2,400 books. He was the chief interpreter at the court of emperor Ferdinand II, carried out several diplomatic missions and was on good terms with, among others, the Governor of Buda Murteza Pasha. Despite their differences, the two became close to Tengnagel, who brought them together.

54 A. Hamilton, 'Michel D'Asquier, Imperial Interpreter and Bibliophile', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 72 (2009), 237–41; Id., 'An Egyptian Traveller in the Republic of Letters: Josephus Barbatus or Abudacnus the Copt', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), 123–50. For more recently updated and revised versions of both articles see A. Hamilton, *Arabs and Arabists. Selected Articles* (Leiden, 2022), 3–41 (Barbatus) and 42–49 (D'Asquier). See also Z. Cziráki, 'Language Students and Interpreters at the Mid-seventeenth-century Habsburg Embassy in Constantinople', *Theatrum Historiae* 19 (2017), 27–44; J. Szabados, '"*Ih awer befleise mih, daß ih sie beidte zue nahbarn mahen khan*." – Die Karriere des deutschen Renegaten (Hans Caspar) in Ofen (1627–1660) im politischen und kulturellen Kontext', vol. 1, PhD diss. (Szeged, 2018), where (p. 59) Szabados says that D'Asquier had used jewellery to bribe a Turk who brought letters from Constantinople.

As we will see in more detail later, D'Asquier was captivated by Tengnagel's vast knowledge and even attempted to help him write an account of the Ottoman Empire, though no evidence of this work has survived. Meanwhile, Barbatus, feeling exhausted from his work in Constantinople and his lack of money, longed for the stimulating conversations he once had with Tengnagel in Vienna.

It was Kepler in Linz who facilitated the connection between Barbatus and Tengnagel. Kepler and Tengnagel were well acquainted and held each other in high esteem. Kepler had previously asked for Tengnagel's help in borrowing Greek manuscripts and had sought his remote opinion on the contents of an Arabic manuscript (a Qur'an, according to Tengnagel) and on the inscription on an Oriental dagger preserved in the Basilica of St. Mark in Venice, considered to be the knife with which St. Peter cut off Malchus's ear. In May 1622, Kepler wrote a warm letter of introduction for Barbatus, presenting him as a famous Arabic teacher known throughout Europe and of the gentlest manners. Barbatus asked to be introduced to Tengnagel, whom he knew by reputation. The two, Kepler concluded, shared the profession of *Linguae Arabicae*.[55]

During his brief stay in Vienna before departing for Constantinople to serve as a dragoman for the war council, Barbatus had the opportunity to interact with prominent members of the Viennese aristocracy and to find a spiritual adviser

55 ÖNB, Cod. 9737d, fols. 21r–v; published in W. von Dyck and M. Caspar (eds.), *Johannes Kepler Gesammelte Werke. Briefe 1612–1620* (Munich, 1959), vol. 18, p. 88 (lett. n. 930): 'Praesens tamen Aegyptius, Josephus Abudakan, professionibus Arabicae et Hebreae linguae per Academias Europae obitis clarus factus, a me literulas ad te commendatitias impetravit. Dignus equidem videtur, cui si quid potes, impertiaris, humanitatisque offìciis eum adiuves. Nam et patria longe dissita nos hospitalitatis admonet, et morum suavitas, vitaeque integritas omnium favorem meretur: et communis utrique vestrum professio Linguae Arabicae notitiam inter vos mutuam suadere videtur. Plura amoris argumenta invenies ipse, ubi propius hominem cognoveris'. Kepler mentions in his letter that he asked Tengnagel for a manuscript of Plutarch's '*De facie lunae*' in Greek because the Latin translation seemed too incorrect. On this request, see Ibid., pp. 87–8. On Kepler's correspondence with Tengnagel, see chapt. 3, note 101. Regarding the knife of St. Peter (Venice, Museo di San Marco, no. 122), Kepler had asked Tengnagel for an opinion on the booklet by Vincenzo Bianchi, *Parere intorno alli caratteri, che sono sopra il manico del coltello di S. Pietro, posto ultimamente nella chiesa ducale di S. Marco in Venetia* (Venezia, Ginami, 1620) but Tengnagel was not convinced by the Bianchi's interpretation: 'Acutum illud Comitis Vincentii Blanchi scriptum, sed ab Orientalium linguarum eruditione linea plerumque exerrans, summa cum voluptate legi. Affert enim varias coniecturas explicandis hisce characteribus, ut ita dicam, hieroglyphicis, sed, quantum ego assequi videor, ingenii acumini potius, quam veritatis normae consentaneas. Mihi enim in hoc antiquitatum recondito studio, prisca illa formula placet: Non liquet', in W. von Dyck and M. Caspar (eds.), *Johannes Kepler Gesammelte Werke. Briefe 1612–1620* (Munich, 1955), vol. 17, p. 435.

(Kaspar Bichler/Pichler) to counter rumours of his insincere conversion, as Hamilton has documented.[56] Before his departure, he entrusted Tengnagel with two manuscript copies of his Arabic grammar. The *Grammaticae Arabicae Compendium*, prepared in Leuven and in various other cities during his travels through the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria, was ready for printing (Fig. 5.11), was divided into four parts and pleaded for the study of Arabic as a language that was intimately connected to Hebrew, which he described as its 'daughter', making it crucial for understanding the Holy Scriptures. Barbatus also emphasised that Arabic was widely spoken throughout the East, not only by Muslims but also by Christians, Jews, and other 'infidels'. Additionally, he announced his forthcoming publication of an Arabic dictionary, a valuable resource for students of the language.[57]

Among Tengnagel's papers, there is a letter from Thomas Erpenius to Josephus Barbatus. In this letter, dated September 16, 1617, Erpenius praises Barbatus's initiatives and studies but regretfully informs him that he could not send his Arabic typefaces or their matrices. He explained that his student (probably Mader) would provide a more detailed explanation in person. Erpenius mentioned that the Raphelengian Arabic and Hebrew types were not available for sale and suggested that Barbatus might contact Balthazar Moretus in Antwerp regarding this matter. If this approach did not succeed, Erpenius recommended reaching out to Petrus Kirstenius, who might have the characters for sale.[58]

56 On Pichler, in addition to the information in Hamilton, cf. L. Lukács, *Catalogi personarum et officiorum Provinciae Austriae s.1.*, vol. II, 1601–1640 (Rome, 1982), pp. 159, 218, 230, 253, 259, 304, 306, 320, 356, 365, 383, 421, 475, 513, 705. Barbatus also asked Tengnagel to greet 'padre Enrico', who could be Heinrich Lamormaini (1575–1647), the brother of Wilhelm.

57 *Grammaticae Arabicae Compendium*, ÖNB Cod. 15161, fols. 53r–101v (53–85; 84–101). The justification of Arabic studies is on fol. 99v (and 83v), *Ad lectorem*.

58 STS0093: 'Iam aliquot menses sunt, Vir Doctissime et Praeceptor observande, quod ad tres epistolas tuas rescripsi, causasque exposui cur characteres Arabicos meos (nam Hebraicos non habeo) aut matriculas eorum transmittere non potuerim: discipulus meus fusius tibi exponet, ut non dubitem quin ipse judicaturus sit mitti non possim spem tibi feceram de typis Arabicis & Hebraicis Raphelengii nostri, non is est venales habere videatur. Verum nunc mihi sententiam mutasti videtur potueris formare tum ea de re ad eum scribere et cum Mureto cognato eius typographo Antwerpensi agere. Si hoc non succedat non dubito quin Kircstenio sui characteres venales sint, obtulit eius sed non ita praesto mihi. Si tibi arrident, id me fac certiorem ego tua causa libenter ad eum scribam, aut tu potius literas mittas valde ego ipse cuperem characteres habere et editis in lucem libris nobilissime tua studia mea promoveo. Vale et ubi occasio erit fac me subinde certiorem ut valeas et quid agas ego idem lubenter fecero; cetera autem omnia fusius ex hoc discipulo meo intellege itaque vere non addo. Iterum vale. Leyden 16 Sept. 1617'. On the back of the

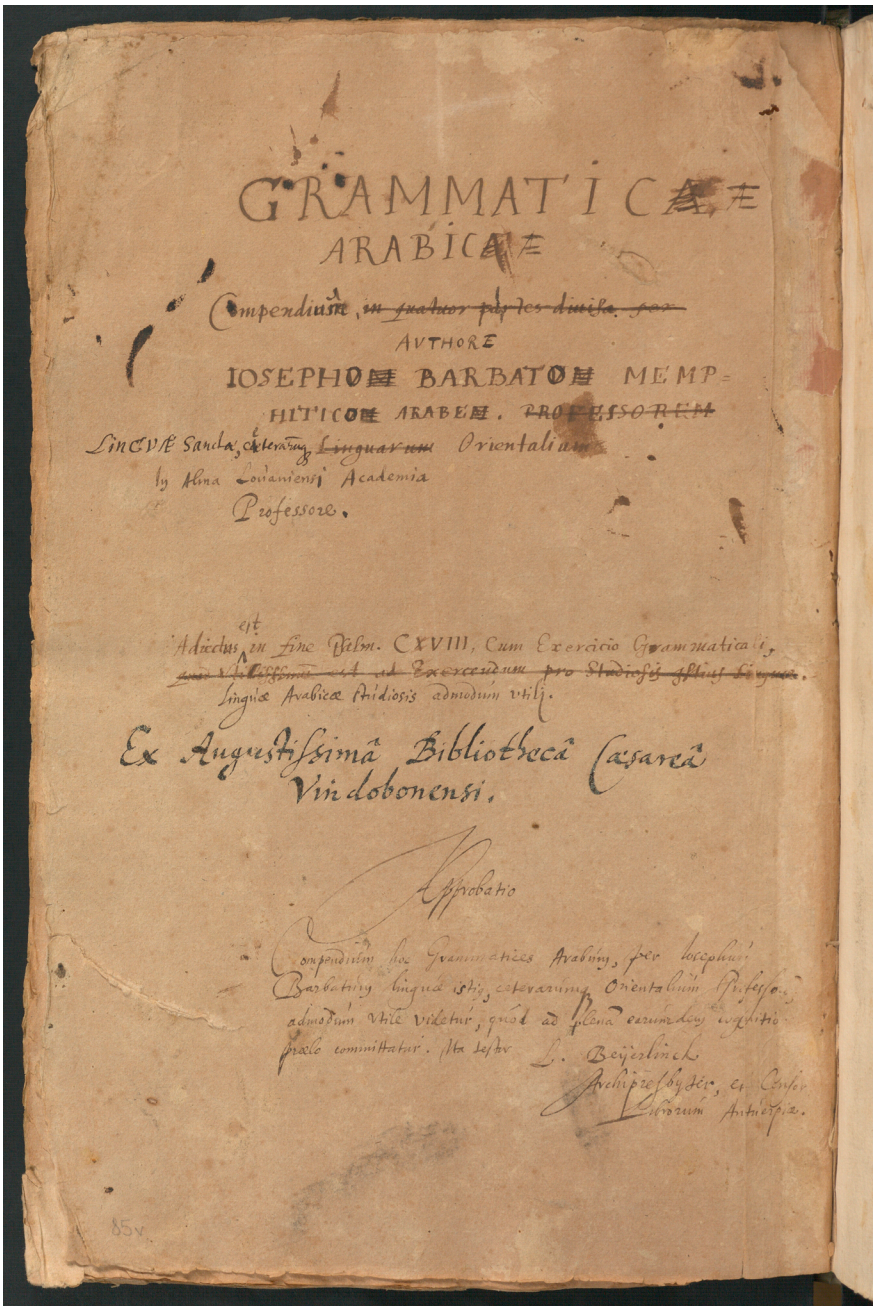
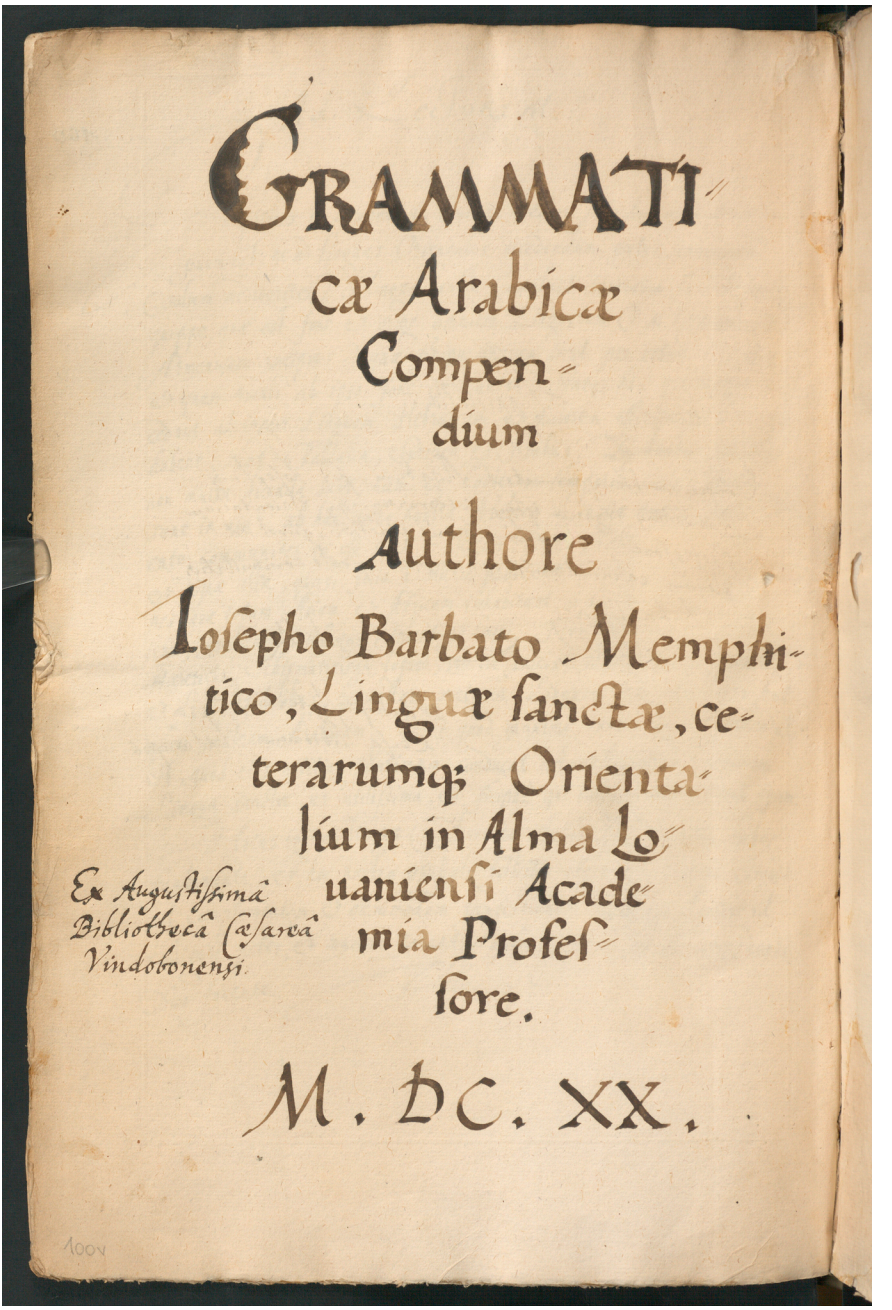


FIGURE 5.11 ÖNB, Cod. 15161, fols. 100v, 85v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tico, Linguæ sanctæ, ce-
terarumq; Orienta-
lium in Alma Lo-
uaniensi Acade-
mia Profes-
sore.

M. DC. XX.

Ex Augustissimâ Bibliothecâ Cæsareâ Vindobonensi.

1004

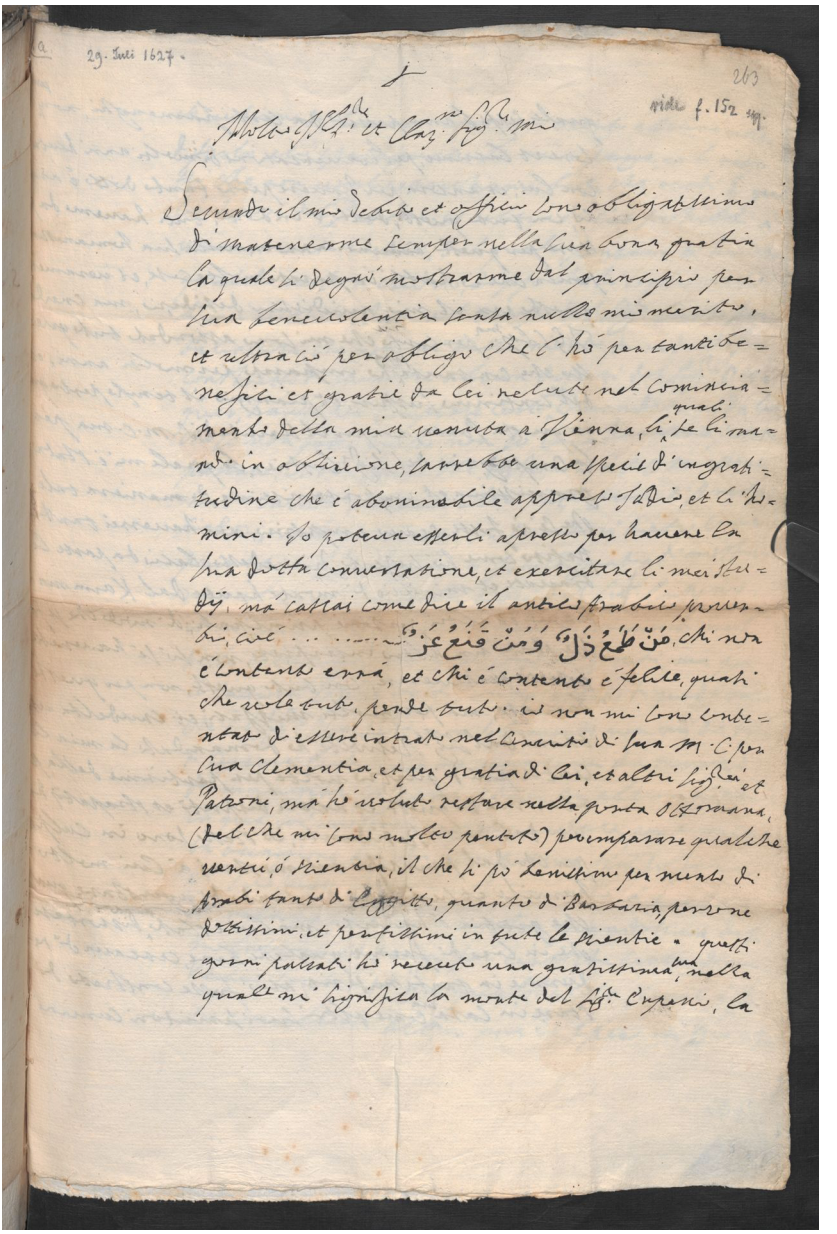

FIGURE 5.12 Barbatus's letter, ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, f. 263r

Tengnagel's communication with the dragomans was in Italian, one of the languages used for Ottoman diplomacy with European countries. The Italian of Barbatus, a native Arabic speaker, is particularly interesting as an example of the varieties of Italian serving as a lingua franca of the Mediterranean (Fig. 5.12). It is full of spirit, life and mistakes (such as the exchange between *p* and *b*, doubles, etc.), and even includes some sentences in Arabic. Barbatus turned to Tengnagel both as an influential friend who could help him unlock his payments and improve his situation, and as a confidant with whom he could share the difficulties he faced at the hands of the Resident Sebastian Lustrier.[59] Barbatus felt indebted to Tengnagel for his kindness and support in Vienna, and felt it would be an offence against God and man to forget it. There was a certain intimacy between the two, as Barbatus missed his scholarly conversations with the librarian as much as he regretted going to Constantinople. He had set out in search of knowledge and virtue, but felt he would have been better off seeking them among the Arabs of Egypt and Barbary, the most learned and skilled people in all sciences. He had forgotten everything he had learned over the past twenty years in Europe; his mistake, he said, was not being content and seeking change, and he quoted an Arabic proverb: 'Io poteva esserli apresso per havere la sua dotta conversatione, et exercitare li mei studii, ma cascai come dice il antico Arabico proverbio, cioè chi non è contento erra, et chi è contento è felice, questi che vuole tuto, perde tuto: io non mi sono contentato di essere intrato nel servitio di sua M.C. per sua Clementia, et per gratia di lei, et altri Signori et Patroni, ma ho voluto restare nella porta Ottomana (del che mi sono molto pentito) per imparare qualche vertù, o scientia, il che si può benissimo per merito di Arabi tanto di Eggitto, quanto di Barbaria, persone dottissime, et peritissimi in tute le scientie'.[60]

Of course, Tengnagel was eager to acquire a vast number of books. He had specifically given Barbatus the catalogue of Erpenius's library, asking him to search for certain titles in Constantinople. The quest for Erpenius's books and manuscripts (he managed to obtain three of them, two in Hebrew and one in Syriac)[61] occupied Tengnagel for several months until he discovered that the collection was destined for England. Although we do not have the letter in

letter, in Erpenius's handwriting, it reads: 'Clarissimo Doctissimo Viro Josepho Barbato Orientalium linguarum Professori dignissimo'.

59 Barbatus worked for three residents: Sebastian Lustrier (1625–1629), Johann Rudolf Schmid (1629–1643) and Alexander Greiffenklau (1643–1648).

60 STT0159 (1627–07–29).

61 ÖNB, Cod. Hebr. 43; Cod. Hebr. 54; Cod. Syr. 2.

which Tengnagel informed Barbatus of Erpenius's death, Barbatus's response indicates that the news had already reached Constantinople, where he had learned it from some Dutchmen in town. The dragoman lamented the death of his old acquaintance, wisely noting that death makes no distinction between the educated and the uneducated: 'whether learned or ignorant, we all must pass through this chimney'.[62] Regarding books, he remarked that there was 'an infinity' in Constantinople. But he – harassed by Lustrier – complained that he barely had time to eat, let alone search for books. He even confessed to having spent the money given to him by D'Asquier for books on a new suit, as his old clothes were too shabby and risked discrediting the emperor in the eyes of the other dragomans.[63]

Michel D'Asquier's 1664 library catalogue (Fig. 5.13) reveals a number of Italian manuscripts that suggest that his political, moral, and religious views were quite surprising for a high-ranking member of the Council of War and adviser to Ferdinand II during the Thirty Years' War, at a time when relations with the Ottoman Empire grew increasingly fraught.[64] D'Asquier was even

62 STT0159 (fol. 263v): 'Questi giorni passati ho recevuto una gratissima sua nella quale mi significa la morte del Sig.re Erpenio, la quale seppi l'anno passato da certi fiamenghi, non senza dolore et lacrime, per la conversatione di molti anni havuta con lui, et ancora per havere perso tanto dotto e amico, con tuto questo, dotto o indotti, tuti havemo da passare per questo camino. [...] . S. Clar.ma mi ha fato la gratia di mostrarmi il Catalogo delli libri del Sig. Erpenio, et mi comanda di trovare alcuni nominati nel detto Catalogo, libri ci sono infiniti, ma per li ingiurie sopra detti, sono occupato di modo tale che il Sig. Residente non solamente non mi da tempo di cercare libri, ma ne manco mi da tempo di mangiare il pane'.

63 STT0159 (1627–07–29): '[Lustrier mi costringeva a] stare in casa sua, come altri suoi servitori et vestirmi di livrea, come mi exortò alcune volte di farlo aciò sparagnasse la mia paga, io li resposi che non voglio arrichirmi, basta che eschi di qua con honore del mio Patrone, et ultra di ciò prohibbì à un mercante iudeo, dal quale pensava di havere qualche veste à credito, dappò che ho consumato li miei vestiti insi al tempo del Sig. Curzio Ambasciadore, che non mi dasse niente, di modo che fui constretto di spendere alcuni denari del Sig.re Dasquer, havuti per comprare certi libri comandatomi da lui, che si non fosse questo non so come havermi potuto passare, il che causerebbe dishonore a S.C.M. essere nudo crudo davanti altri interpreti di Ambasciadori vestiti calzati con servitori dietro come principi'.

64 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Nobilissimi Amplissimi Viri Domini Michaelis D'Asquier Sac. Caes. Maiestatis Consiliari et Interpreti Turcici festinante calamo quam celerrime compositus ita ut nulla diversitatis facultatem sed differentiae duntaxat linguarum et formae habita fuerit ratio. Anno MDCLXIV a die XXVI Augusti usque ad diem XV Septembris tempore antemeridiano ab hora octava usque ad Undecimam*, Vienna, Haus-Hof und Staatsarchiv, HA OMaA 647–342. The manuscript consists of 107 folios. D'Asquier categorises his books as either printed or manuscript, and then by language. There was a total of 2253 printed books and 147 manuscript books. Of these, 69 were in Arabic and Turkish (unfortunately, the

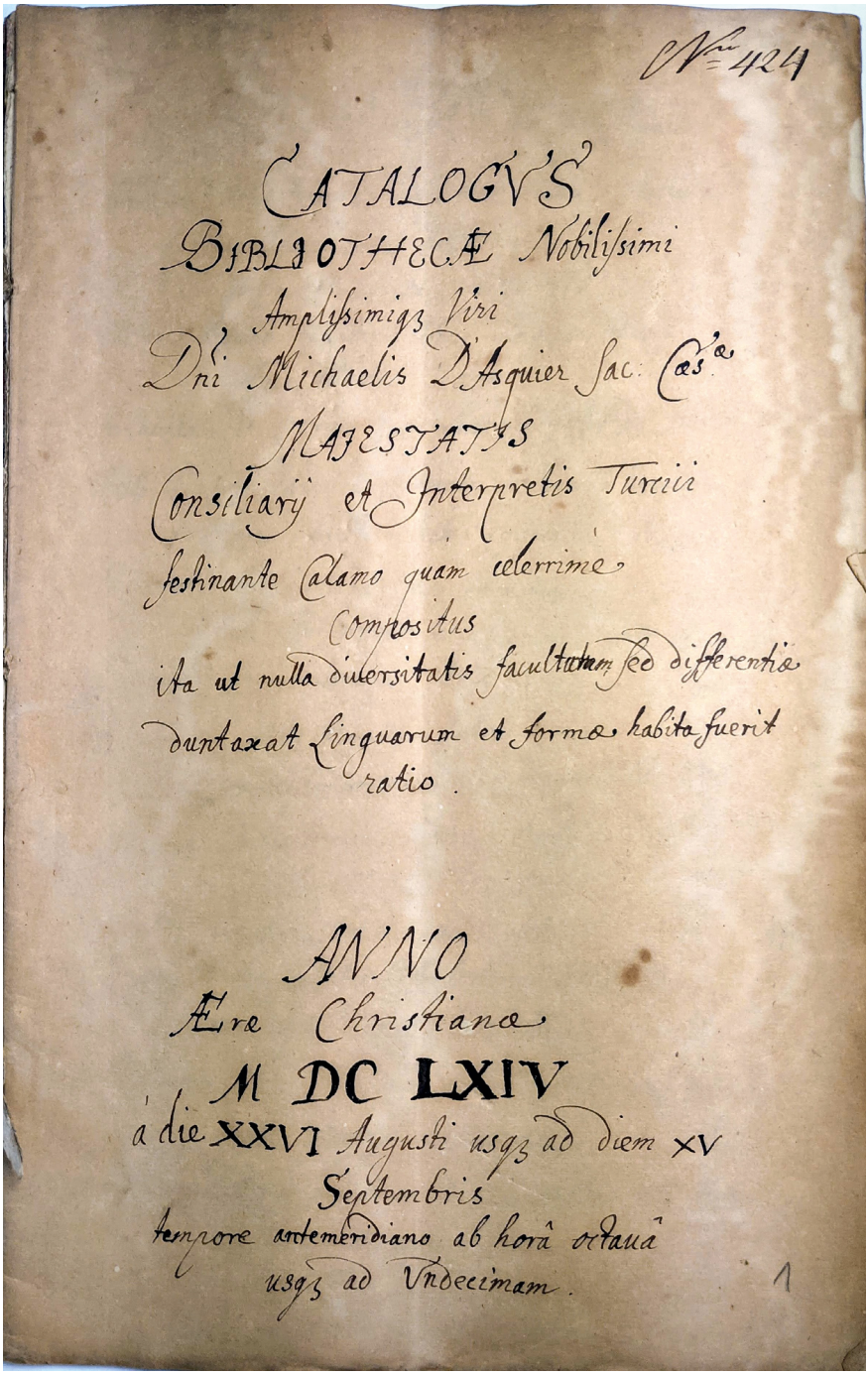

FIGURE 5.13 Vienna, Haus-Hof und Staatsarchiv, HA OMaA, fol. 1r

implicated in a trial for the attempted murder of a young Dalmatian dragoman, though he was ultimately not convicted. Additionally, Miklós Esterházy sought to discredit him, accusing him of atheism (adding that he was the worst kind of atheist, a French one!), and portraying him as a critic of the emperor.[65]

The surviving letters between D'Asquier and Tengnagel contain little in the way of diplomatic detail (information that probably passed through other channels), nor do they feature explicit political statements, apart from a few fulminating phrases, such as the remark about Murad IV, who sought to 'carry out the project of Henri IV: '*quaero pacem armis*'. Yet they serve as windows into a world stretching far beyond Vienna, Buda, and even Constantinople. D'Asquier held Tengnagel in unconditional esteem, considering him a man of 'perfect judgement'. Aware of the librarian's project of 'weaving the history of our time' (a project left unfinished, perhaps because of the illness that began to afflict Tengnagel and which D'Asquier also mentions) he sought to assist him.[66] He relayed news from Georgia, Persia, India and, of course, the western borderlands in Hungary and the Balkans. For instance, in 1625, D'Asquier countered Ottoman propaganda, which claimed that Safavid was weakening in favour of the Mughals, with more circumstantial information gathered from his contacts in Constantinople and Aleppo. A significant portion of the letters deals with the potential alliance between Gábor Bethlen, the Bohemian rebels, and the Ottomans. It is in one such letter on Bethlen that we see the convergence of diplomacy, politics and bibliophilia.This document – D'Asquier's

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titles of these are not specified, only the formats: 9 in folio, 24 in quarto, 27 in octavo, 9 in duodecimo), 29 in Latin, 33 in Italian, 2 in Spanish, 9 in French, and 5 in German. The Italian manuscripts include texts by Campanella and Aretino, an *Oratione et favore dell'università dello studio di Padova contra li Patri Giesuiti, Descrittione del Seraglio di Constantinopoli, Libro de nomi delle più famose puttane in Venetia A° 1600* (NB. *Si ritrovavano puttane in Venetia a di 28 marzo 1600 per detto de dell'officio della sanità al numero di quarante mille, cioè 40.000*). Among those in French was an Arabic-Persian dictionary written by D'Asquier himself in 1609.

65 'Personam vero domini D'Ascquirii sibi omnino suspectam esse, utpote qui et Gallus esset natione et vita atheus, insuper male contentus [cum Sua Maietate], ex cuius ore ipse dominus palatinus haec verba audivisset: in mundo non esse maiorem ingratitudinem, quam domus Austriacae; ego vix non fame pereo; talem igitur hominem in moderna rerum combinatione nulla ratione ad Turcas mitti oportere, cum et alioquin politica regula hoc suaderet, ne interpretes in legatione mittantur, neque ipsis occasio ad partem cum Turcis tractandi ullo pacto exhibeatur', in István Hajnal, *Az 1642. évi meghiúsult országgyűlés időszaka* (Budapest, 1930), p. 311. This passage is quoted by Hamilton, p. 239, footnote 20. As for the charges of murder, see I. Hiller, 'A tolmácsper', *Történelmi Szemle*, 33/3–4 (1991), 203–14.

66 STT0013: 'Per poter con la presente occasione trovare qualche luoco nell'Historie de tempi nostri, che so lei va tessendo tuttavia et rendermi immortale col suo mezo [...]'.

copy in Turkish of a letter written by Ömer Efendi, Mufti, tutor and teacher of Osman II, to Johann Ulrich von Eggenberg concerning Bethlen – is not among Tengnagel's letters, but instead appears at the end of one of the most remarkable manuscripts in Tengnagel's collection: the Turkish version of Muṣṭafā Cenābī's work.[67]

But to return to the correspondence between the two friends, D'Asquier asked Tengnagel not to divulge his letters, as he did not want to be considered a writer of 'news'. Yet D'Asquier clearly had a talent for recounting gossip and rumours ('ciance'), such as the scandal of an officer who had caught his wife in bed with a lover in Prague and, after painting his face and disguising himself as a coachman, murdered the man. He applied the same narrative skill to historical events, particularly in his vivid account of one of the most eventful moments in Ottoman history: the assassination of Sultan Osman II. He described this event – 'a memorable example of the vanity and instability of the world' – in a letter addressed not to Tengnagel (though it is among his papers) but to a court physician who was a relative of D'Asquier.[68] In a remarkable alternation

67 Cenābī Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tārīḫü l-Cenābī* (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 12), fols. 225r–226v. Meninski's description of the manuscript is peculiar in that he fails to mention the letter in question. Instead, he notes that the beginning of the copy features a Turkish version of the 1628 peace accords by D'Asquier, while at the end there is an Italian translation by D'Asquier himself describing the capture of Baghdad. See *Additamentum IV, continens Catalogum manuscriptorum Codicum Orientalium Augustae Bibliotechae, a Francisco a Masgnien Meninski scriptum*, in Peter Lambeck, *Commentariorum De Augustissima Bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensi* (Vienna, Trattnern, 1766), 379–380. On letters about the siege of Baghdad in 1625/26, see C. Römer, 'An Ottoman eyewitness's report on the Ottoman siege of Baghdad (1034–35/1624–25) preserved in Iskandar Munshī's 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī', in *Turkologu u čast! Zbornik povodom 70. rođendana Ekrema Čauševića / In honor of the Turkologist! Essays Celebrating the 70th Birthday of Ekrem Čaušević*, ed. A. Abadžić-Navaey et al. (Zagreb, 2022), 103–30; Ead., 'Die osmanische Belagerung Bagdads 1034–35/1625–26. Ein Augenzeugenbericht', *Der Islam. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients*, 66 (1989), 119–36.

68 STS0181: '[il regicidio è un] essempio memorabile della vanità et instabilità di questo mondo, che colui, che ne comandava una parte, ch'era in opinione che niente fusse impossibile al suo valore et ch'era tenuto in tanto concetto de' suoi, che l'honorano et riveriscono come l'imagine d'Idolo, venghi hora miseramente morto da suoi medesimi et da coloro che dovevano esporre la vita loro ad ogni pericolo per conservare la sua'. An almost identical account was sent by D'Asquier to the musician Pietro Paolo Melii (Archivio di Stato di Modena, Cancelleria. Documenti e carteggi di Stati e Città fuori d'Italia, Turchia. The letter is dated 25 June 1622). My sincere thanks go to the archivist Alberto Palladini for his kind assistance and expertise. On the sultan's assassination, see G. Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley, 2003); B. Tezcan, 'The history of a "primary source": The making of Tughi's chronicle on the regicide of Osman II', *Bulletin of SOAS*, 72/1 (2009), 41–62.

of global history, philosophical reflections and the minutiae of everyday life, the letter ends with a request to have four broken clocks repaired in Vienna. Like Tengnagel, D'Asquier was buried in the Stephansdom. However, according to Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, he was still alive in March 1666, when he supposedly led Peter Lambeck and Walter Leslie on a fruitless quest to locate the remains of the Corvinus Library in Buda.[69] Although D'Asquier's actual presence on this occasion is highly doubtful, he had certainly tried to gather information and acquire books from the libraries of Buda some thirty years earlier, and perhaps even sought access to the Corvinus Library. In one letter to Tengnagel, D'Asquier apologised to the voracious librarian for not dedicating himself to unearthing the manuscripts with the necessary zeal, explaining that illness had prevented him. During his convalescence, he requested Tengnagel to send him some entertaining books from Vienna to pass time. The letter also contains an intriguing note about bibliophilic practices on the border between the two empires. D'Asquier asked Tengnagel to return a Turkish book that he had previously gifted him in exchange for Tomaso Garzoni's work. He also requested a copy of Yazıcıoġlı Aḥmed Bīcān's popular cosmological book, the *ʿAcā'ib el-Maḥlūḳāt* (*Wonders of the Creatures*), so that he could arrange to have parts of it copied in Buda.[70]

The correspondence with D'Asquier clearly reveals an interaction between two peers who held mutual respect for each other. However, Tengnagel did not hesitate to express his critical views regarding dragomans as a group. In a previously mentioned letter to the emperor, he asserted that İbrāhīm Dervīş was undoubtedly more capable and reliable in interpreting and handling correspondence with Constantinople than the empire's official interpreters. He

69 J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (Vienna, 1830), vol. 6, pp. 173–4; Lambeck's text does not actually mention D'Asquier but Heinrich Julius Wogin. See P. Lambeck, 'De Itinere Budensi', in *Commentariorum* (Vienna, 1669), vol. 2, pp. 989–96. On this story and the search for the Corvinus Library, see C. Gastgeber, 'Auf der Spur der Bibliotheca Corviniana. Peter Lambecks Reisebericht nach Buda aus dem Jahr 1666', *Biblos* 54/2 (2005), 43–64.

70 'Circa gli libri di questa Biblioteca, la mia continua malatia mi ha impedito di far quanto haverei forsi potuto in miglior stato. Ho ben havuto corrispondenza con uno, et tenuto un trattato; ma sin hora non me successo d'haverne potuto ricuperare più d'uno, benché stia tuttavia aspettandone degli altri. […] Lei ha un libro Turchesco il quale hebbe da me da me per l'opera del Garzoni, mi par che vi sia qualche cosa degna d'esser copiata, la prego di mandarmelo insieme عجايب المخلوقات acciò gli possi far trascriver qui, che mi obligarà molto'. STS0206 (26 Sept. 1624). Tengnagel's copy of Bīcān's book is in ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 480.

reiterated this critique in 1627 in a reply to a German letter from the historian and polymath Veit Marchtaler of Ulm.[71] Marchtaler had written to Tengnagel seeking assistance in locating someone proficient in translating from Turkish to Hungarian, German, Latin, or Italian. He was well aware of the high costs associated with such expertise and made a vague allusion to the frequent unwelcome presence of such translators in households, particularly those with women. These concerns prompted him to seek help from Tengnagel, widely recognised as an authority in the field.

Marchtaler's request was motivated by his collaboration with Wilhelm Schickard, a professor in Tübingen, who had shown keen interest in a Turkish manuscript scroll that Marchtaler had owned for three decades, dating back to the Long Turkish Wars. This manuscript, known as *Tarich Beni Adam*, chronicles the lineage of prophets and rulers from Adam to Murad III. Marchtaler narrated to Tengnagel how he discovered it in the 'castle church' amidst the turmoil after the siege of Filek (Fiľakovo, Slovakia) in November 1593, led by Christoph von Teuffenbach. In a separate version of the story, he claimed to have obtained it during the plunder of Filek's mosque.[72]

Tengnagel was particularly intrigued by the scroll mentioned by Marchtaler. However, he regretted the absence of skilled Turkish translators in Vienna. Those available, he wrote, didn't possess adequate historical knowledge, making them unsuitable for the task. Nevertheless, he was eager to share insights from his Oriental text collection with both Marchtaler and Schickard. Tengnagel even took it upon himself to transcribe details from Abū l-Fidā's manuscript, which Wilhelm Schickard had specifically asked for.[73] In return

71 STT0099. The letter has been published in F. Seck (ed.), *Wilhelm Schickard: Briefwechsel* (Stuttgart, 2020), p. 199.

72 On the siege, cf. 'De expugnatione Flleci incerti Auctoris', in Reusner, *Rerum memorabilium in Pannonia* (Frankfurt, 1603), pp. 203–10; S. L. Tóth, 'Az 1593. évi felvidéki hadjárat és a füleki-romhányi csata', *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 1 (1999), 53–73. The scroll was sold by Veit Marchtaler's son, also named Veit, to Duke Augustus II in 1652 for 60 thalers and was later noted by Lessing. It is currently housed in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (Cod. Guelf. 111 Aug. 4°; Heinemann-Nr. 3899). Part of the manuscript was published in W. Schickard, *Tarich h. e. Series Regum Persiae ab Ardschir-Babekan usque ad Jazdi gerdem ab Chaliphis expulsum per annos fere 400* (Tübingen, 1628). It is in the dedicatory epistle (p. 6) of this edition that Marchtaler once again recounts how he acquired the scroll, specifying that he took it from a mosque. On Schickard's limited knowledge of Turkish and his reliance mainly on Jewish sources, see N. Ö. Palabıyık, *Silent Teachers. Turkish Books and Oriental Learning in Early Modern Europe, 1544–1669* (London, 2023), pp. 112–6.

73 F. Seck (ed.), *Wilhelm Schickard: Briefwechsel*, p. 348.

he apologised profusely for this trouble, as he held Tengnagel in high esteem as the foremost expert on Oriental languages, particularly Turkish, in all of Europe and acknowledged Tengnagel in the 1628 edition of his *Tarikh*.[74]

Broadly speaking, the outbreak and progression of the Thirty Years' War had a deep impact on Tengnagel's Orientalist activities, as well as those of Schickard and many others. Plans to establish an Arabic press in Vienna faltered, while the ambition to publish annals of the history of the Ottoman Empire, or the lexicons Tengnagel had diligently worked on for so long, began to fade. Although his correspondence continued, it was frequently delayed and disrupted by the war and by Tengnagel's health issues.[75] The frequency and intensity of his interactions with travellers, prisoners of war, diplomats, missionaries, and various agents crossing imperial borders reached a peak after the Long Turkish Wars. This surge was driven by the pressing need to maintain peace with the Ottomans, leading to a significant increase in both the volume and quality of these exchanges. These individuals brought Tengnagel news, books, and objects, and, as this section has aimed to demonstrate, these exchanges were vital in driving his studies. However, this is not to say that such interactions ceased entirely, as Tengnagel's manner of recording them remained consistent. For instance, in the copy of the aforementioned Tarikh donated by Schickard, Tengnagel hand-wrote some information he had received from a Capuchin about the death of Shah Abbas and the siege of Baghdad. Numerous other examples exist of these brief yet significant interactions: passing references to the travels in Europe and the East by the Jewish Orientalist Julius Conradus Otto / Naphtali Margolioth (a good acquaintance of Casaubon), or notes concerning Gabriel Bonaventura, who wrote to Tengnagel in Spanish from Venice as he was setting out for the Levant.[76] Some of these fleeting encounters left traces only through Tengnagel's multilingual dedications in the *Alba amicorum* of German or Scottish travellers (fig. 5.14, 5.15, and 5.16).

The purpose of this section has not been to provide a comprehensive overview, but rather to highlight the significance of these occasional encounters in

74 Ibid.

75 See, for example, the note from the postmaster Ottavio de Tassis in 1618 (STS0105): 'La lettera presente per il s.r Thennagh. a Vienna, che vs me mandò li 8 di luglio passato fu espedita de qui li 12 dell'istesso, ma perché le lettere alhora ancora andavano per la via di Praga, la onde dalli Ribelli son state aperte et trattenute, così dubito io grandemente che non sia andata a male, come molte altre'.

76 On Otto, see A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, *"I have always loved the Holy Tongue" Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Princeton, 2011), pp. 233–53. The letters that discuss Conradus Otto are: STR0049; STR0053; STR0067. The letter from Don Gabriel de Buenaventura is STR0029.

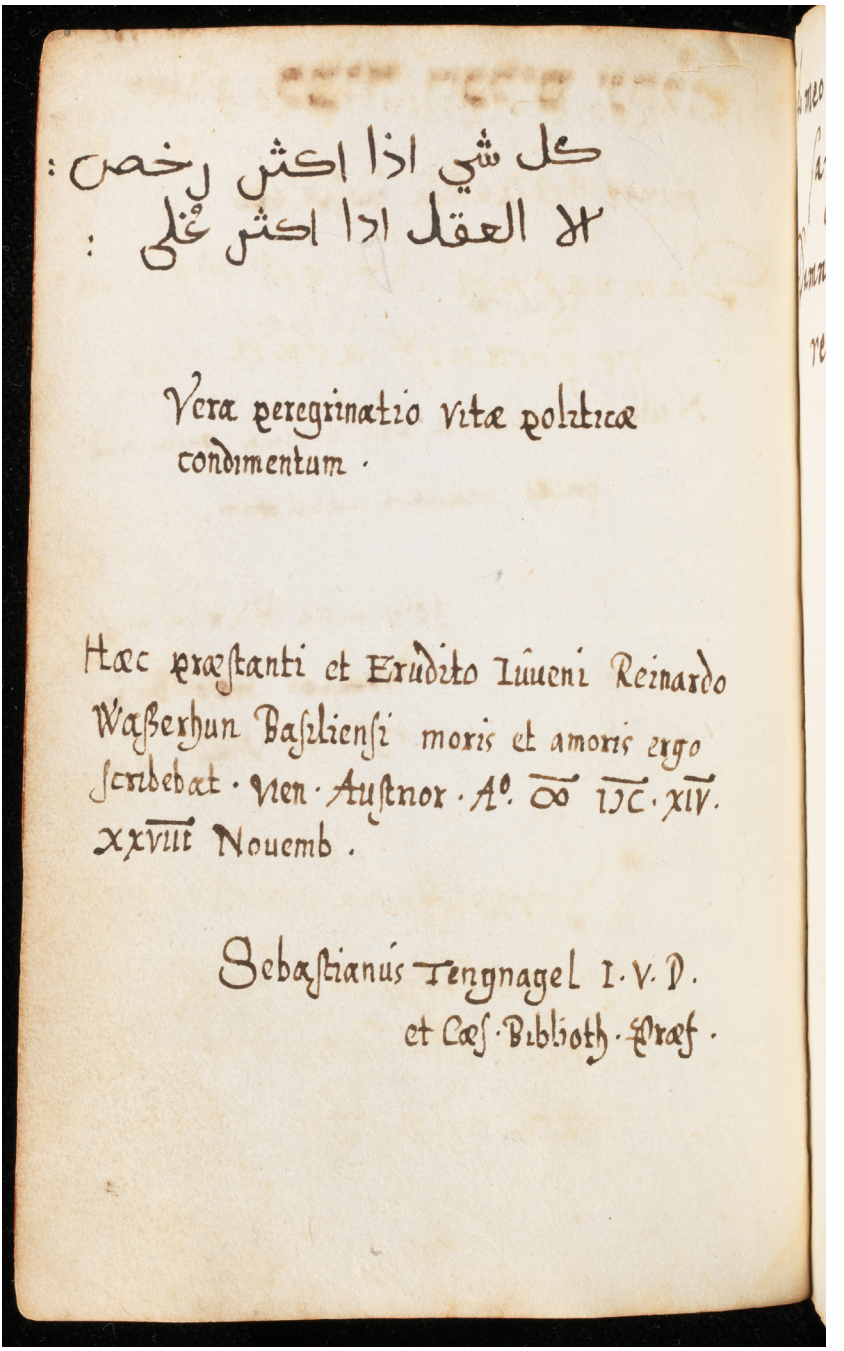

FIGURE 5.14 Stammbuch von Reinhard Wasserhun, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, UBH AN VI 26d, fol. 110r



FIGURE 5.15 *Album amicorum* of Thomas Cuming, British Library, Add MS 17083, fol. 200r

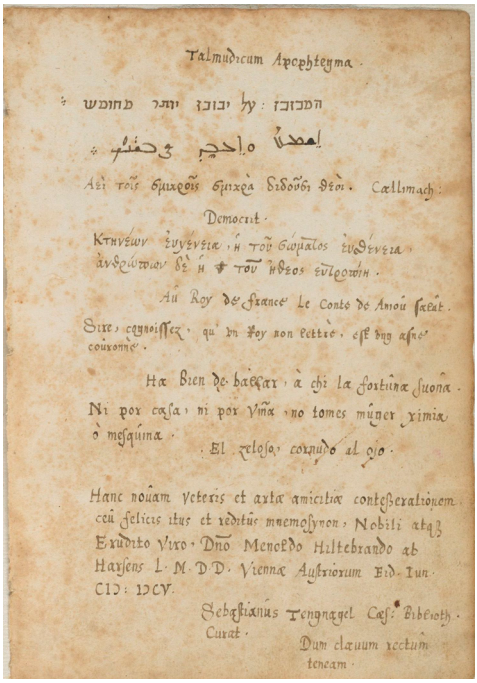

FIGURE 5.16
Album amicorum Hillbrandt, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ta-Th – Cod.hist.fol.889-44, fol. 33r

shaping Tengnagel's development, and to immerse the reader in the ambient noise of seventeenth-century Vienna, a city poised at the crossroads of two empires. Although the war curtailed many opportunities, Tengnagel's curiosity and aspirations remained undiminished. Even in his later letters, he displayed a keen interest in understanding the dynastic and military situations in Persia and Mughal India. He sent his assistant to Rome to meet Pietro Della Valle and gather first-hand information about his collection. Despite his disappointment over unfulfilled projects, Tengnagel hoped to entrust the library's care to a successor who shared his passion and knowledge of Oriental languages. According to letters exchanged between Holstenius and Peiresc, he even made an attempt to bring Schickard to the Emperor's court – a bold move, given Schickard's Protestant faith. Yet this, too, remained an unfulfilled aspiration.[77]

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77 L. Holstenius, *Epistolae ad diversos*, ed. J.-F. Boissonade (Paris, 1817), pp. 187–8: 'Tengnagelius versatissimus est in linguis Orientalibus, quarum exactissima cognitione puto ipsum omnes superare quotquot hoc tempore inter christianos Europaeos, illud scientiae genus profitentur, et lautissima instructus est librorum copia, quos magno sumptu a legatis Caesaris Byzantii sibi coemi curavit. Omnes codices legit, expendit et notavit diligentissime; sed ob senectutem ingruentem, et vertiginis morbum quo affligitur, nihil ipse publico parare potest. Id sedulo allaborat, ut Schickardum, professorem Tubingensem, ad Caesaris aulam pertrahat, cuius librum de Jure Regni apud Hebraeos, et Genealogiam Regum Persiae te vidisse non dubito. Plurima habet historica de rebus Persicis, Saracenis et Turcicis, longe, ut affirmabat ipse, praestantiora iis commentariis quos Leunclavius et Erpenius publicarunt. Dignus ille in primis est quicum amicitia tibi intercedat, et me πρόξενον ac conciliatorem offero. Poterit ille plurima tibi respondere de Bibliis Samaritanis, quorum et ipse exemplar in Caesaris bibliotheca habet' (21 June 1630).

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CHAPTER 6

Located and on the Move: the Imperial Library under the Prefecture of Sebastian Tengnagel

Paola Molino

About 30 years after Tengnagel's death, when writing the history of the institution of which he was the head, the imperial librarian Peter Lambeck was in no doubt about the qualities of his two predecessors, Hugo Blotius and Sebastian Tengnagel.[1] If Blotius – with his devotion to the library and his difficult character – was depicted as almost the embodiment of Giuseppe Arcimboldo's librarian, Tengnagel was less of a caricature – a candid man, a hard worker, grounded in learning, and with an immense knowledge of Oriental languages.[2] Learned, patient and above any confessional prejudice, Tengnagel had pursued Blotius's late humanistic programme of the library as an encyclopedia of learning and the hub of a dense scholarly network. It was also he who turned Vienna into a centre of learning for Oriental studies by acquiring single, original manuscripts in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopic, or by allowing them to be copied for the library. Both Blotius and Tengnagel had placed the interests of the emperor and of the institution above their own personal concerns: their main publications were the catalogues of

1 Part of the research for this chapter was co-supported by the project PRIN 2017 (N2P4PZ) *Books in Motion. Circulation and Construction of Knowledge between Italy and Europe in the Early Modern Period*. Please note that all websites quoted in this chapter have been captured by the Wayback machine on 06.04.2024 and can also be retrieved from there.

Peter Lambeck, *Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi liber primus* (Vienna, 1665). For further contextualization of Lambeck's account, see the Introduction.

2 Lambeck, *Commentarii* 58. For sketches of the three librarians see F. Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius und seine ersten Nachfolger (1575–1663)', in *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, ed. J. Stummvoll (Vienna, 1968), pp. 81–151. See also P. Molino, *The Paper Empire. Vienna, a Library, a Librarian* (1575–1608) (forthcoming), English translation of *L'Impero di carta. Vienna, una biblioteca, un bibliotecario* (Rome, 2017). A biographical overview of Tengnagel and the bibliography related to him is in Thomas Wallnig's chapter 1 of the present volume. For Lambeck see L. Strebl, 'Die Barocke Bibliothek (1663–1739)', in *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 4. Abschnitt, ed. J. Stummvoll (Vienna, 1968), pp. 165–84 and G. König, 'Peter Lambeck (1628–1680), Bibliothekar Kaiser Leopolds I.', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 87 (1979), 121–166.

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the library, their main friends were library users, and the heir to all their efforts and books was the imperial library.

As described in the introduction of this volume, Lambeck's biographies of the librarians within the *Commentarii* were conceived as short overviews of their lives, their scholarly networks, and their activity for the library and the works published. They were based on his predecessors' personal handwritten letters and papers preserved in the library or the recent editions of their epistolary exchanges with distinguished men of learning. In some cases, the *Commentarii* were the first place in which letters exchanged between Blotius, Tengnagel, and famous scholars, such as Tycho Brahe or Isaac Casaubon, were retrieved and published.[3] However, on the basis of these materials a "meeting" on paper with Tengnagel as librarian was difficult. Virtually all the extant letters dealt with his activity as an Oriental scholar. Lambeck and Tengnagel had never met in person, even if Lambeck may have heard of him directly from his uncle Lucas Holstenius (at the time still Cardinal Barberini's librarian) who, in the last years of Tengnagel's life, had got in touch with him through Pietro Della Valle, had met his vice-librarian Metzler in Rome, and was thus aware of his skills and learning, as well as the value of his personal library and of the imperial library.[4] And yet, when Lambeck visited the library in 1662, during a tour of Vienna, he was very disappointed to see such a distinguished collection in such a poor condition and in worse hands.[5] These conditions were of course no longer the responsibility of Tengnagel, but of his two successors, first the physician Wilhelm Rechberger (librarian from 1636 until 1650) and then Matthäus Mauchter, *Canonicus* of the church of St. Stephan (1650–1663). Lambeck wrote that while he had approached Mauchter with the express aim of inspecting the library, rather than with the intention of becoming librarian himself, he returned to Vienna as vice-librarian to Mauchter only a year after that visit.

3 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, pp. 59–61.

4 See STT0149 and STT0148.

5 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, p. 22: 'Ego interim insinuavi me in amicitiam Reverendissimi Viri Dn. *Matthaei Mauchteri*, SS. Theologiae Doctoris & Canonici Basilicae Cathedralis Vindobonensis, nec non S. Caes. Majestatis tunc temporis *Bibliothecarij*, qui me *die 6 Octobris* prima vice ad *Bibliothecam Caesaream* deduxit, ut tanquam transiens hospes literarium illum Thesaurum obiter cernerem. Quod enim Deus in Praefectura Bibliothecae successorem ipsius me destinasset, nec illi, nec mihi adhuc erat cognitum. Intravi itaque, & quocunque me verti, cum maximo animi dolore in tam miserabili & deplorando eam deprehendi statu, ut summo jure *Aesopici Galli* querula haec apud *Phaedrum* verba eruperim: '*Iaces indigno, quanta res, dudum loco./ O si quis pretij cupidus tractasset tui!/ Olim redisses ad splendorem maximum*'.

Lambeck's judgement of Rechberger, Mauchter, Tengnagel, Blotius, and many other aspects of the library's history was not fully honest, but was based rather on a very selective and "profession-oriented" reading of their legacy. What emerges from the short biographies of Blotius and Tengnagel is the extent to which Lambeck felt himself to be the legitimate heir to a tradition of imperial librarians, whose goal had been that of preserving, protecting, and making public a treasure under the aegis of the Holy Roman Emperor – the only legitimate power capable of guaranteeing a defence of the books. In Vienna books needed to be defended from many different threats: war and calamities, but also superstition, confessionalism, in a word the power of the Austrian Jesuits who had not only gained control over significant parts of the University of Vienna in 1624 (Sanctio Pragmatica) but had also aimed to control the books of the emperor, those of the university, and all other collections in the city.[6] In this regard the chronological proximity between Lambeck and Tengnagel, and of the two cities and the two courts in which they had lived, rekindle an otherwise dry account of Lambeck's inaccessible predecessor. The choice Lambeck makes about relating specific events in Tengnagel's life is telling: the mention of his knowledge of Oriental languages, taken from the letters of distinguished, protestant scholars, along with his contribution to the famous controversy between the Jesuit Jacob Gretser and the Calvinist historian Melchior Goldast, reinforce Lambeck's argument of Tengnagel's capacities beyond confessional divides. The mention of Tengnagel's position as *Stadtanwalt*, and his decision to refuse the position of official historian because it was too dangerous and difficult at that time,[7] as well as his efforts to gain further Oriental books in Vienna, including the anecdote about the loss of the library of Emperor Rudolf II's vice-chancellor (Rudolf Coraduz), acquired by the Jesuits, all demonstrated in Lambeck's eyes the coexistence of a militant commitment to books and learning within a sincere, Catholic orthodoxy. Tengnagel's successors (Rechberger

6 On this see P. Molino, 'The Library, the City, the Empire: De-provincialising Vienna in the Early Seventeenth Century', in *Knowledge and the Early Modern City. A History of Entanglements*, ed. B. De Munck and A. Romano (New York, 2019), pp. 223–49; for a more general account on Vienna in the 17th century, and the complex relationship between the city and the court, see J. P. Spielman, *The City & the Crown: Vienna and the Imperial Court, 1600–1740* (Lafayette, 1993). On the annexation of part of the University and the confessional tensions in the city see K. Mühlberger, 'Universität und Jesuitenkolleg in Wien. Von der Berufung bis zum Bau des Akademischen Kollegs', in *Die Jesuiten in Wien. Zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Ordensprovinz der "Gesellschaft Jesu" im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. Karner and W. Telesko (Vienna, 2003), pp. 21–37 and more recently K. Mühlberger, 'The Old University Quarter', in *Sites of Knowledge: the University of Vienna and its Buildings: a history 1365–2015*, ed. J. Rüdiger and D. Schweizer (Vienna, 2015), pp. 13–42.

7 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, p. 63.

and Mauchter) were not openly criticised by Lambeck but simply condemned to oblivion. He writes: 'about Rechberger – who had been the Rector of the University during the annexation of 1624 – there is nothing I can say'. While Mauchter was remembered for the purchase and cataloguing of the Fugger Library from Augsburg, not a single line is devoted to the general catalogue of the library drawn up in 1652.[8]

The story produced by Lambeck has been retold in almost all subsequent histories of the collections. All these histories have added many more sources and materials but have left the main question open regarding Tengnagel's concrete contribution as a librarian, including the extent to which his Oriental knowledge and his 'thirst' and 'hunger' for Oriental manuscripts left a track and determined the trajectory of the imperial library of Vienna. This contribution – as in the case of other early modern librarians – could be evaluated traditionally through an analysis of the catalogues produced (ingenuity in cataloguing), and by considering the availability and circulation of books within the scholarly community and the courtly entourage in Vienna, Prague and elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire. It is perhaps useful to remind the reader that Tengnagel's activity as imperial librarian in Vienna took place during the Thirty Years' War, which was, to a certain extent, also a war on libraries and books.[9] In this context, and in a period in which the imperial court itself was on the move from Prague back to Vienna, it is difficult to determine how "imperial" the library actually was, or whether the collection, with its Oriental and Western manuscripts, served the making of an empire at a time in which it was undergoing a profound redefinition.

In the following pages, I shall attempt to tackle these questions using the same sources that Lambeck had at his disposal: not only catalogues and letters preserved today in the Austrian National Library but also Tengnagel's notes, papers slips and marginalia to be found among the same letters and catalogues, and various documents that are today preserved in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna.[10] The first part of the chapter, which deals

8 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, pp. 67 and ff.

9 See Chiara Petrolini's chapter 5. See also E. H. Molin, *Spoils of Knowledge. Seventeenth-Century Plunder in Swedish Archives and Libraries* (Leiden, 2023), F. Montcher, 'Early Modern Bibliopolitics: From a Seventeenth-Century Roman-Iberian Perspective', *Pacific Coast Philology* 52.2 (2017), 206–218. More focused on the Thirty Years' War within the Holy Roman Empire is J. Bepler, 'Vicissitudo temporum: Some Sidelights on Book Collecting in the Thirty Years' War', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 32.4 (2001) 953–968, K. Schreiner, 'Württembergische Bibliotheksverluste im Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 14 (1974), 655–1027.

10 See the following pages for more details.

with Tengnagel's work as a cataloguer, is based mainly on indices, repertories and notes about the organisation of the books. The second part is based on the letters of scholars and imperial officials who communicated with him to gain information on handwritten and printed books or to manage official transactions. There is indeed a strict relationship between the catalogues and the requests from the members of the Republic of Letters because, more than ever during the Thirty Years' War, information on books and editions was circulated through transcriptions of catalogues. In contrast to the time at which Sebastian Tengnagel reached Vienna, the years of his prefecture were not characterised by such an intense mobility of scholars around libraries.[11] Samuel Slade's journey to the Continent to collect manuscripts for Henry Savile's edition of Chrysostom – so often quoted among the letters received by Tengnagel – stands out as one of the latest testimonies of a widespread practice at the end of the sixteenth century.[12] Similarly, references to visits to the library by members of the imperial entourage from Prague, such as that of Bartholomäus Immendorf, mentioned in a letter from 1611, tend to disappear in subsequent years.[13]

As we shall see, lending books to other scholars, and fulfilling intellectual curiosity were not among the primary tasks either of a librarian or of an imperial librarian. Tengnagel was appointed vice-librarian in 1599. Four years after, in 1603, his specific duties were described in a document drawn up by members of the Aulic Chamber. These included putting the library in order, and managing the correct delivery – to Vienna and to the library – of the many books that obtained an imperial privilege at the Frankfurt Book Fair twice a year, and which until that moment had remained "stuck" at the imperial court chancery in Vienna, or had never been delivered from Frankfurt.[14] By glimpsing at the

11 Some interesting reflections for the earlier time can be found in P. Nelles, 'Conrad Gessner and the Mobility of the Book: Zurich, Frankfurt, Venice (1543)', in *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe, beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption*, ed. D. Bellingradt, P. Nelles and J. Salman (Cham, 2017), pp. 39–66.

12 See, for instance, STR0032, STR0034, STR0040.

13 STR0129.

14 Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungs-, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Alte Hofkammer, Hoffinanz, Band 561-R (1603), fol. 451r, Ausgangsprotokoll der Hofkammer, 1603 August 17, Prag 'An Erzherzog Mathiaßen zu Österreich alleß denen dem bibliothecario zue Wien, Hugo Plozio, zugeordneten gehülffen, wie sich derselbe anlaße zu erkhundigen, daß hierzu ein gelerter zue superintendenten fürzunehmen, dabei auch zu verordnen, dieselb in ein ordnung zu bringen, auch die außgelehneten zu erlangen und hinfiro khein buech über nacht darauß zu leihen; wie bei der reichscanzlei die verordnung beschehen solle, die von 30 jahren hero gedruckhten exemplaria, darüber impressaria gefertigt, gepundene dahin zu geben, und daß sie auch ein gelegnes

correspondence between Tengnagel and the *Bücherkommissare* in Frankfurt we shall see that this process of delivery was fraught with difficulties typical of the confessional and political situation of the Holy Roman Empire during the Thirty Years' War.

Compared to chapters 1–5 of the present volume, this chapter adopts a specific perspective and proposes to shift the attention from Sebastian Tengnagel's fascinating activity as an early Orientalist to the material and political conditions of the institution he directed, in the urban perimeters of Vienna and in the political space of the Holy Roman Empire. By focusing, in the fourth and final part of the chapter, on Tengnagel's catalogues of his private library, preserved until his death mainly at his home, I will attempt to deconstruct modern notions of what an imperial or a private library could have been in the past, emphasising the material and spatial continuity between the two collections. What was still a problem for Lambeck, such as the impossibility of keeping the entire collection in one place, or the challenges related to the complex geography of powers between the court and the city, is clearly not a dimension of Tengnagel's life and activity, whose traces he intended to leave for posterity. However, recomposing the trajectories of the two main collections – the imperial and the private one – has the twofold advantage of embarking on an unbeaten track in archival terms: a physical or virtual track that happens to be the same one on which the librarian had to walk every day, to reach the library, obtain books with the imperial privilege to enrich the library holdings, and acquire more scribes for drawing up the catalogues. While this may sound a less fascinating story, it will hopefully merge with the Orientalist's tale to reveal unexpected connections.

6.1 A Light at the End of the Tunnel: Sebastian Tengnagel's Catalogues

Catalogues stand out as protagonists in the letters of Tengnagel: not only those of institutional libraries but also of private collections or of booksellers or book fairs. Even Lambeck was aware that Tengnagel's private collection and his notebooks were full of catalogues.[15] Some of these were functional, such as the two copies of the Index of Forbidden Books, or those of the Frankfurt Book

orth, wohin solche pibliotheca zu pawen gedenckhen und berichten wölle, betreffend.' Transcribed and published among the Documenta Rudolphina http://documenta.rudolphina.com/Regesten/A1603-08-17-15250.xml.

15 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, p. 58.

Fair for the years 1564–1592, 1593–1600 and 1603–1612,[16] and were quoted in his letters as sources of information on new publications, or used to check what books had obtained an imperial privilege.[17] Others were collected to establish other library holdings, such as the catalogue of Greek manuscripts edited in Augsburg in 1610,[18] the general catalogue of the Bodleian Library published in 1620,[19] and those of private collections, such as those of the Oriental books of Erpenius and certain booksellers.[20]

Tengnagel became acquainted with cataloguing from the moment of his arrival in Vienna. At the time, his predecessor, Hugo Blotius, was writing a five-volume catalogue, which he (Tengnagel) then largely pursued.[21] As a result, his first catalogue, completed in 1605, seems at first glance to be very similar to that of Blotius and is largely the result of the cataloguing principles of his predecessor: it is in the form of folio manuscript, bound together either after its compilation or in later years, and listing mainly the printed books preserved in the library until the arrival of Blotius in 1575 (Fig. 6.1 and 6.2).

Print acquisitions from the years 1575–1636 seem to have been listed very rarely in both Blotius and Tengnagel's catalogues, thus leading to severe criticism from institutional historians of both the imperial and the national library after the time of Lambeck, for it seemed almost as though the works of cataloguing had been paralysed for years.[22] However, from the perspective of Lambeck, who worked daily with the cards and catalogues left by Blotius, and had used the catalogues of manuscripts and prints made by Tengnagel to put the library in order,[23] it must have been clear that they were all facing an enduring effort to master an overabundance of books and papers, to cover large distances to acquire or re-acquire dispersed books, as well as they all share a common sense of belonging, a common goal whose realisation went far beyond the capacity of one man. An interesting example, to which we will return later, can be seen in a note sent by Matthäus Mauchter to the Emperor, around 15 years

16 ÖNB, Cod. 9539, fol. 14r.

17 See, for instance, the letter written on 05.02.1611 in which Tengnagel lists: "Indic. librorum Francofurti aeditorum, in 4., vitam Petrarchae Gallice in 4., Adagia Hadriani Iunii in 8.", in STR0131.

18 ÖNB, Cod. 9539, fol. 11r.

19 ÖNB, Cod. 12650, fol. 69r.

20 ÖNB, Cod. 9690, fols. 6r–7r.

21 ÖNB, Cod. 13546–13550 *Index alphabeticus librorum impressorum bibliothecae Caesareae Palatinae Vindobonensis a. 1602–1605*. For Blotius's cataloguing activity see Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, pp. 179 and ff.

22 See, for instance, Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 144 and 154.

23 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, p. 71.

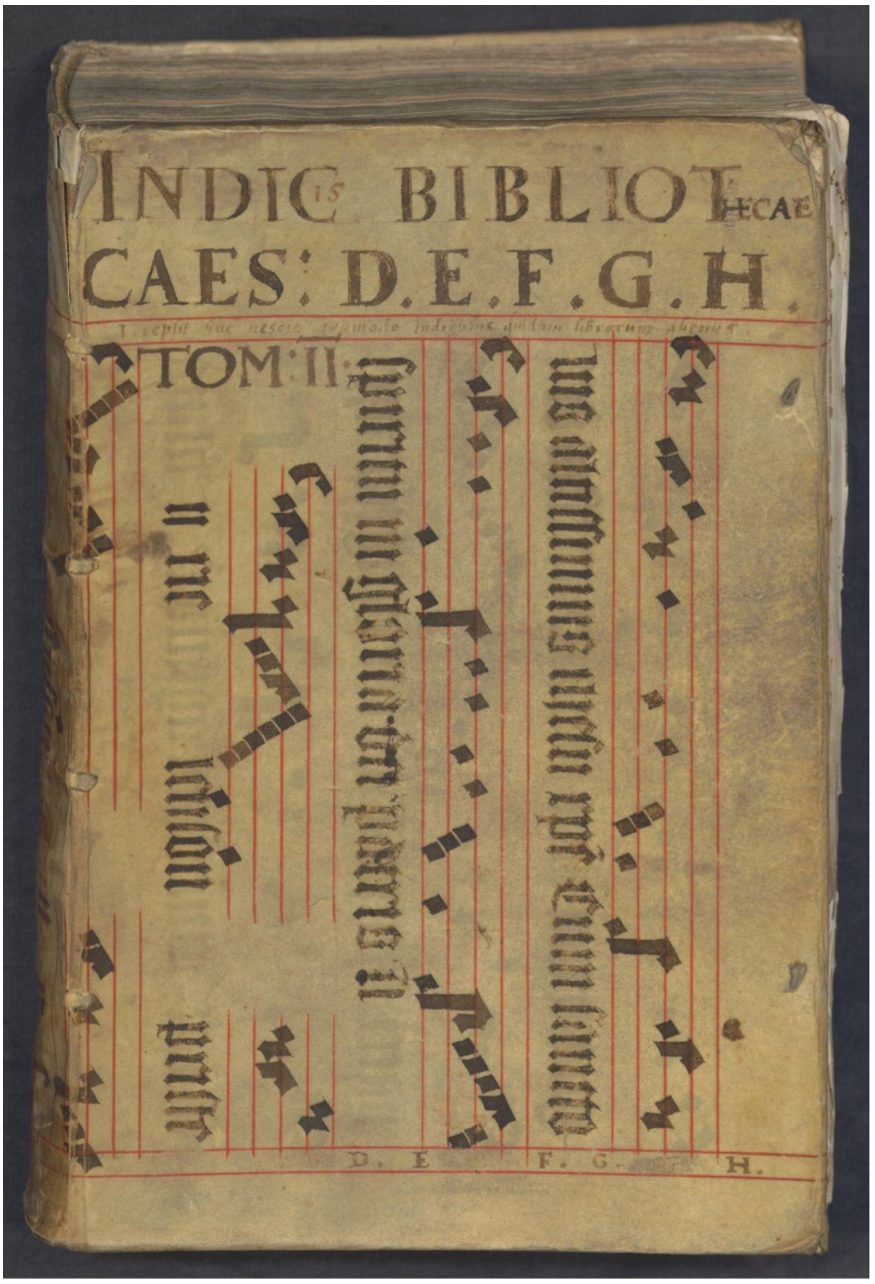

FIGURE 6.1 ÖNB, Cod. 13547, cover

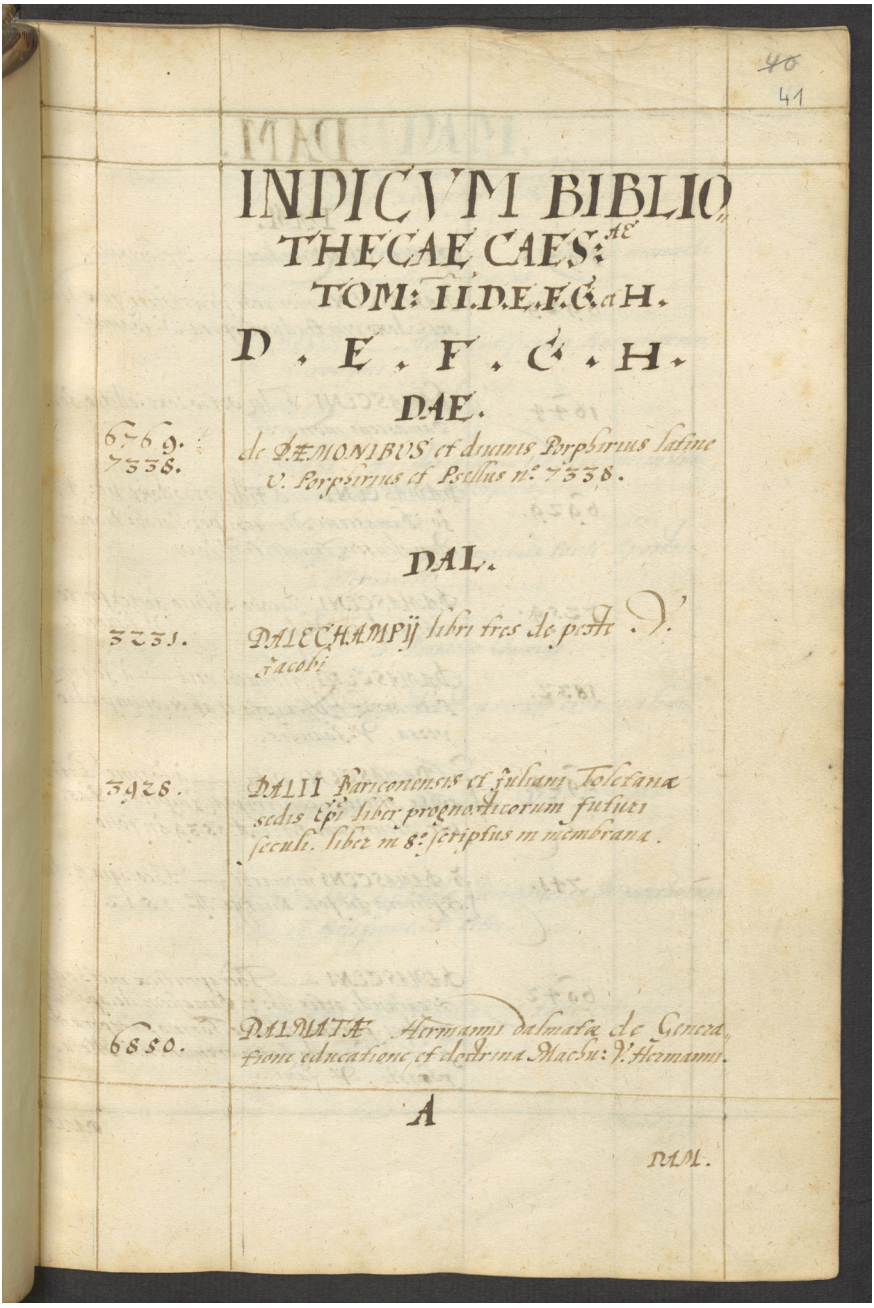

FIGURE 6.2 ÖNB, Cod. 13547, fol. 41r

after Tengnagel's death, in which he sought money for binding 2,020 books that had arrived from the Frankfurt Book Fair before his prefecture in Vienna and were still unbound.[24] On the reverse of this letter is a further note from the Aulic Chamber stating that there were then no means to cover the costs.[25] The following year the Emperor gave permission to allocate 300 florins from the 'Kays. Landtgraffenambt' to cover these expenses. The year after, however, Mauchter was required to go to Frankfurt himself to collect other books that were destined for the library but which had never arrived over the years, 'umb abholung [...] von vielen Jahren her rückständigen Büechern':[26] Apparently, it was difficult for books to be taken to Vienna without being accompanied by the imperial librarian. Now, considering that Blotius had first proposed in 1576, and later, formally, in 1579, to send every copy of a book with an imperial privilege from Frankfurt to the library in Vienna, and given that Tengnagel, as we shall see, had taken care of this process with the imperial commission, it is clear how long the process of material transfer and integration of volumes in a library could take. Their presence in a catalogue cannot be considered the achievement of one librarian only, so as their absence over the years cannot be referred to the responsibility of one librarian only. And still the following questions remain open: What was the destiny of the books that arrived in the library over the years of Tengnagel's prefecture? Where were they located? Why were they not immediately assigned a place in the catalogues?

The first answer comes, as is often the case with historical and modern libraries, from questions of space. When Tengnagel reached Vienna at the end of the 1590s, just as when José de Sigüenza took charge of the Spanish Royal Library at the Escorial in 1593, and Wolfgang Prommer compiled his first catalogue in Munich around the 1580s, most institutional libraries in Europe did not resemble fascinating centres of learning, nor did they have a unique space in which to preserve all books.[27] However, compared to other libraries of equal

24 ÖStA, FHKA, Alte Hofkammer, Niederösterreichische Herrschaftsakten, Königliche Bibliothek, fols. 69r–v (1.12.1651).

25 Ibid. 'es stundten vor dießmahl zur Verfertigung der Büecher keine mitl'.

26 ÖStA, FHKA, NÖHA, Königliche Bibliothek, fol. 74r.

27 On the foundation of the ducal library in Munich at the end of the sixteenth century see O. Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht v. und Johann Jacob Fugger* (Munich, 1917), and for the seventeenth century see R. Hacker, 'Die Münchner Hofbibliothek unter Maximilian I.', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, ed. R. Hacker (Munich, 2000), pp. 53–72. On the Escorial, see J. L. G. Sánchez-Molero, La "Librería rica" de Felipe II: estudio histórico y catalogación, San Lorenzo del Escorial, R.C.U. "Escorial Ma. Cristina", 1998. Now see also E. Andretta, *Le Monde sous l'oeil des médecins. Nature et politique à l'Escorial et au Vatican* (*XVIe siècle*), Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2024, pp. 105 and ff. and A. Miguel Alonso and M. A.

rank and size in Europe, the case of the court library of Vienna was particularly hopeless.[28] The "library" must have looked like a chaotic mass of unbound, handwritten and printed papers, full shelves, poor tables, a dense fog of smoke, and candles to provide light.[29] The rooms devoted to the library were not even in the imperial palace or in any representative or monumental space, as was to be the case in Munich or the Escorial at the end of the century, but rather, they were on the inner side of the first floor of the Convent of the Friars Minor – a large building complex at the southern border of the city, connected by a corridor to the imperial palace, but rented out and inhabited by all sorts of people. Because of its proximity to the *Landhaus*, the seat of the assembly of the South Austrian Estates, from 1576, the building had been looked upon with envy by the Protestant Estates in Vienna, who already celebrated their Holy Service in its church. Within this convent, the library was placed in a long and narrow room of 14 × 6 metres, with windows on the southern side only.

When Blotius had first received the keys in 1575, the room's storage capacity of about 8,000 volumes had already been reached, and he spent energy and money in 'conquering' other spaces inside the monastery, including a flat for the librarian, where his helpers would then live, and rooms for cataloguing in the adjacent Court Hospital.[30] But when Tengnagel became the head of the

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Sánchez Manzano, *La Biblioteca de El Escorial según la descripción del P. Claude Clement, s.J.*, in Campos F. J. – Sevilla F. de (eds.), *La ciencia en el Monasterio del Escorial, I, San Lorenzo del El Escorial* (Real Centro Universitario Escorial, 1993), pp. 617–648.

28 On seventeenth-century libraries see R. Adams and J. Glomski, 'The Problems and Perspectives of Seventeenth-Century Libraries', in *Seventeenth-Century Libraries Problems and Perspectives*, ed. R. Adams and J. Glomski (Leiden, 2023), pp. 1–17 and U. J. Schneider, 'Der Ort der Bücher in der Bibliothek und im Katalog am Beispiel von Herzog Augusts Wolfenbütteler Büchersammlung', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 59 (2005), 91–104. On the structural challenges of the imperial library in the late sixteenth century see Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, pp. 61 and ff.

29 This can be assumed by the descriptions of the librarians, Blotius and Tengnagel, in their letters as, for instance, in ÖNB, Cod. 9490, fol. 100r (letter addressed by Blotius to the Archduke Matthias) or, earlier, ÖNB, Cod. 7958, fol. 22r.

30 On the organisation of books and spaces in the Convent of the Friars Minor see O. Smital, 'Miszellen zur Geschichte der Wiener Palatina', in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Vienna, 1926), pp. 771–94, here 780–3; H. Menhardt, *Das älteste Handschriftenverzeichnis der Wiener Hofbibliothek von Hugo Blotius 1576. Kritische Ausgabe der Handschrift Series nova 4451 vom Jahre 1597 mit 4 Anhängen* (Vienna, 1957), W. Buchowiecki, *Der Barockbau der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek in Wien, ein Werk J. B. Fischers von Erlach: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Prunksaales der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna, 1957), pp. 1–33; M. Jeitler, 'Die Hofbibliothek', in *Die Wiener Hofburg 1521–1705. Baugeschichte, Funktion und Etablierung als Kaiserresidenz*, ed. H. Karner (Vienna, 2014), pp. 464–7, here 464–5.

library in 1608, the collection encompassed at least 11,000 volumes,[31] excluding the private libraries of the former imperial ambassador in Constantinople, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, which were still in wooden cases on the floor and had yet to be put in order, along with the other new acquisitions that had been placed, as we shall see, somewhere in between the rooms of the Court Hospital and Blotius's house. It was not as easy as elsewhere to organise them in the available space and any hope of moving to a better location seemed to have diminished in 1604, when Blotius and Tengnagel agreed with the General of the Minorites on making a proposal to the Archduke Matthias, and in 1613 when a last attempt was made to move the library into the Scots Abbey.[32] As a consequence, Tengnagel deployed a set of strategies, during the first years, to 'force' the material borders of the library – moving and carrying books elsewhere – and meanwhile pursued his commitment to finding a better place for the library. When he died in 1636, the library still had piles of books amassed in places waiting to be catalogued, and lacked a general catalogue of prints and manuscripts.[33] However, the sense of oppression that had frustrated Blotius seems to have been attenuated after the collection had undergone two important moves: the first was in January 1623, when all the books were moved into the building immediately inside the *Hofburg*, in the rooms that had previously been used for court accounting; and the second, more decisive time, was when they were all moved to the first floor of a house just in front of it, known in Vienna as the *Harrachsches Haus*, after the name of its first owner.[34] According to Lambeck's description, this new library had a capacity of 80,000 volumes and comprised 8 rooms.[35] Books were placed on several shelves that left only very narrow spaces in the form of thin corridors. Lambeck described this space as inadequate, dark, dusty and damp for a collection that had since acquired the private libraries of Blotius and Tengnagel, and the about 15,000 volumes of the Fugger Library from Augsburg. Soon, also the library of the

31 In a note at the end of the shelf catalogue (Cod. 13541, fol. 652v) a later hand (most probably Mauchter) wrote 'as a whole the catalogue contains 11657 books'.

32 ÖNB, Akten Karton 7, 1, 1604 and ÖNB, Cod. 9490, fols. 99r–100v, *Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius'*, pp. 133–134.

33 See, for instance, Lambeck, *Commentarii*, pp. 69–71.

34 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', p. 134. On the sense of oppression related to early modern catalogues, inventories and encyclopedias see D. Rosenberg, 'Early Modern Information Overload, Introduction', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64.1 (2003), 1–9, P. Molino, 'When Knowledge "Squared" was Knowledge shared. Strategies for Coping with an Excess of Data in Early Modern Library Catalogues', in *Coping with Copia. Epistemological Excess in Early Modern Art and Science*, ed. F. Krämer and I. Sapir (Amsterdam, forthcoming).

35 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, pp. 70–1.

Kunst und Wunderkammer of Ambras Castle, containing 583 manuscripts and 1489 printed works, would be located here.[36]

Despite Lambeck's severe verdict, this new location allowed a definitive installation of the wall-library system and a physical division between handwritten and printed books. Furthermore, the very action of moving twice, considering the growing number of books arriving at the library, suggested a possible disentanglement of the call mark from the layout of subjects or the position on specific shelves in a specific room, to facilitate the rapid cataloguing and ordering of new acquisitions.

If Blotius was a man of many words, Tengnagel seems to have been a man of many hands: his remarkable handwriting, which can be detected at first glance in the books and letters, together with a less sophisticated cursive for copying the minutes of any letters that needed to be preserved since they contained clues about Oriental manuscripts, and capital letters for the alphabetic catalogue, as well as his Arabic, Turkish and Persian handwriting. All these examples of handwriting can be detected in the catalogues that he wrote. As already mentioned, his first duty was to finish the alphabetic subject catalogue, after Blotius and his helpers had written a first alphabetical-shelf *Inventarium* of manuscripts and prints, with 7,379 entries between 1575 and 1576,[37] and a less accurate catalogue of manuscripts drawn up in 1597.[38] Next to these existing catalogues his training must have been conducted with the myriad of paper slips, pages squared and prepared for subject and shelf catalogues, the alphabetic boxes used by Blotius, and all the inconveniences of one of the most gigantic theoretical laboratories on knowledge management in Central Europe that was located in a room the size of an imperial wardrobe.[39] Blotius had thought of everything – of all possible doubts and solutions – but he lacked the time, space, money and perhaps the self-discipline to put these speculations into practice. Tengnagel had both the time and the discipline and, after some years, as we saw, he also succeeded in acquiring more space. From 1602 until 1605, still in his capacity of vice-librarian, he separated the printed from the handwritten books and produced an alphabetic catalogue of prints in five

36 Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 158 and 173–174.

37 Now only preserved in fragment form, in ÖNB, Cod. 13525, *Inventarii bibliothecae S.C. Maiestatis pars posterior* (*M-Z*) http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00163360.

38 ÖNB, Cod. Ser. Nov. 4451, *Index sive catalogus omnium librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca caesarea Viennensi inventorum anno salutis MDXCVII mense Octobris*, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14406911.

39 Specific to this aspect are the *Hebdomas Bibliothecaria* left by Blotius and described in Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, pp. 203–15.

volumes (Fig. 6.1 and 6.2).[40] The hands of Tengnagel and Blotius are all present in this catalogue, even if it is often written by a third amanuensis. Blotius intervened, for instance, with notes complaining that the *folii* had been glued or bound in the wrong order, or at the start of the second volume, where the binder had erroneously inserted a small handwritten index that did not belong to the library.[41] By contrast, Tengnagel was both a writer and a corrector of the amanuensis, for example when he corrected the name of the author *Aben Ragel* in the Latin edition of his Arabic books *de iudiciis astrorum*, because the amanuensis had chosen his other denomination, *Abolrazen*.[42] Containing approximately 21,000 entries, this catalogue is not a particularly spectacular result, because, as we saw, most of the books acquired during the prefecture of Blotius, which still failed to have a place on the shelves of the library, were not indicated. Although Lambeck acknowledges the importance of this catalogue in the history of the library, it is probably due to his first description of it merely as an alphabetic catalogue of authors – a description he made paraphrasing a *monitum* inserted by Tengnagel himself in the first page of the catalogue in which he admitted the limits of this work[43] – that this became a largely underestimated, scholarly enterprise.[44] However, this is far more than what Tengnagel and Lambeck reported, and its value lies in the organisation and accuracy of the descriptions rather than in its sophistication or completeness. As carefully explained by Tengnagel on the title page, he had inspected every single printed book that had a place on the shelves and indicated all the authors and works contained in the miscellaneous volumes. As a result, this was an author-title-subject search tool, containing all single works placed on the shelves. For instance, the over a hundred entries for Hippocrates refer to only eleven volumes (1619, 4238, 4901, 6922, 6926, 6928, 6930, 6931, 6932, 6938, 7135).[45] He provided a long title description of a book at its first appearance and then, with the help of alphabetic-cases, brief sequences ("author-title"),

40 Today the catalogue survives in two copies, a complete one in ÖNB, Cod. 13546–13550, *Index alphabeticus librorum impressorum bibliothecae Caesareae Palatinae Vindobonensis a. 1602–1605*, and a four-volumes only in Cod. 13542–13545. Interestingly the catalogue of the library today assigns the first to Tengnagel and the second to Blotius!

41 ÖNB, Cod. 13547, fols. 1v–29r http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13956322.

42 ÖNB, Cod. 13546, p. 4. See also another correction, this time of a Latin entry, at p. 49 (please note that this codex is not *foliert* but *paginiert*) http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13949033.

43 ÖNB, Cod. 13546.

44 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, p. 58: 'Hic superstite adhuc Blotio novum confecit Bibliothecae Indicem Ordine Alphabetico, secundum nomina Auctorum, integris *quinque* voluminibus in folio constantem, quem inchoavit a. 1602, absolvit autem summa animi corporisque contentione a. 1605'.

45 ÖNB, Cod. 13547, fols. 315r–324v.

when the book was referred to in a secondary entry. As a result, this catalogue was a search tool, almost an encyclopaedia of authors and subjects, similar to Conrad Gessner's first volume of the *Bibliotheca Universalis* and the *Pandactae* all in one volume.[46] The catalogue was capable of guiding a user in the world of authors and titles and instructing, at first glance, on specific subjects, through an attentive, semantic and intuitive selection made by the librarian, on the basis of author, titles or knowledge of specific topics.[47] As for the "topics", Tengnagel had identified specific keywords referring to a book or part of a book, even if the term referring to this topic was not included in the title. If we take, for instance, the key word "Austria", there are 189 entries that relate to it. Among them, the entry '7122 Austria – Conspiratio Böemorum adversus Regem Ferdinandum *v.* Böemorum'[48] refers to a title whose extensive version can be found under the letter B 'Boemorum – Conspiratio contra Regem ipsorum Ferdinandum et acta in Germanico impreßa Pragae anno 1548 in 4.'[49] Tengnagel identified this book as being relevant to a reader interested in the broader topic 'Austria', even though the word 'Austria' was not present in the title. In this way, his method diverges from the way other librarians, for example in Munich, were cataloguing during that period.[50] This method was a powerful weapon in the hands of a librarian, who could undermine or emphasise specific names or topics of the library. 'Crysostomus', for instance, has more than 100 entries,[51] 'Martin Luther' has more than 140,[52] the 'Turks' 83,[53] and the 'Emperor/Empire', in all their declinations, 59 (see fig. 6.3).[54]

In this catalogue Tengnagel had acknowledged the close relationship and continuity between prints and manuscripts: as with a manuscript, a printed volume could contain many more works than the one indicated on the first

46 On the relations between catalogues and the encyclopaedic tradition see E. Garberson, 'Libraries, Memory and the Space of Knowledge', *Journal of the History of Collections* 18.2 (2006), 105–36.

47 For an explanation of different cataloguing techniques, as regards Gessner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*, see Molino, 'When Knowledge "Squared" was Knowledge shared', forthcoming, and H. Zedelmaier, *Werkstätten des Wissens zwischen Renaissance und Aufklärung* (Tübingen, 2015).

48 ÖNB, Cod. 13546, p. 254.

49 ÖNB, Cod. 13546, p. 377.

50 A more detailed description of the Munich case is in Molino, 'When Knowedge "Squared" was Knowledge shared'.

51 ÖNB, Cod. 13546, pp. 472–488.

52 ÖNB, Cod. 13548, fols. 212v–223v.

53 ÖNB, Cod. 13550, fols. 128v–134r.

54 ÖNB, Cod. 13548, fols. 19v–23r.

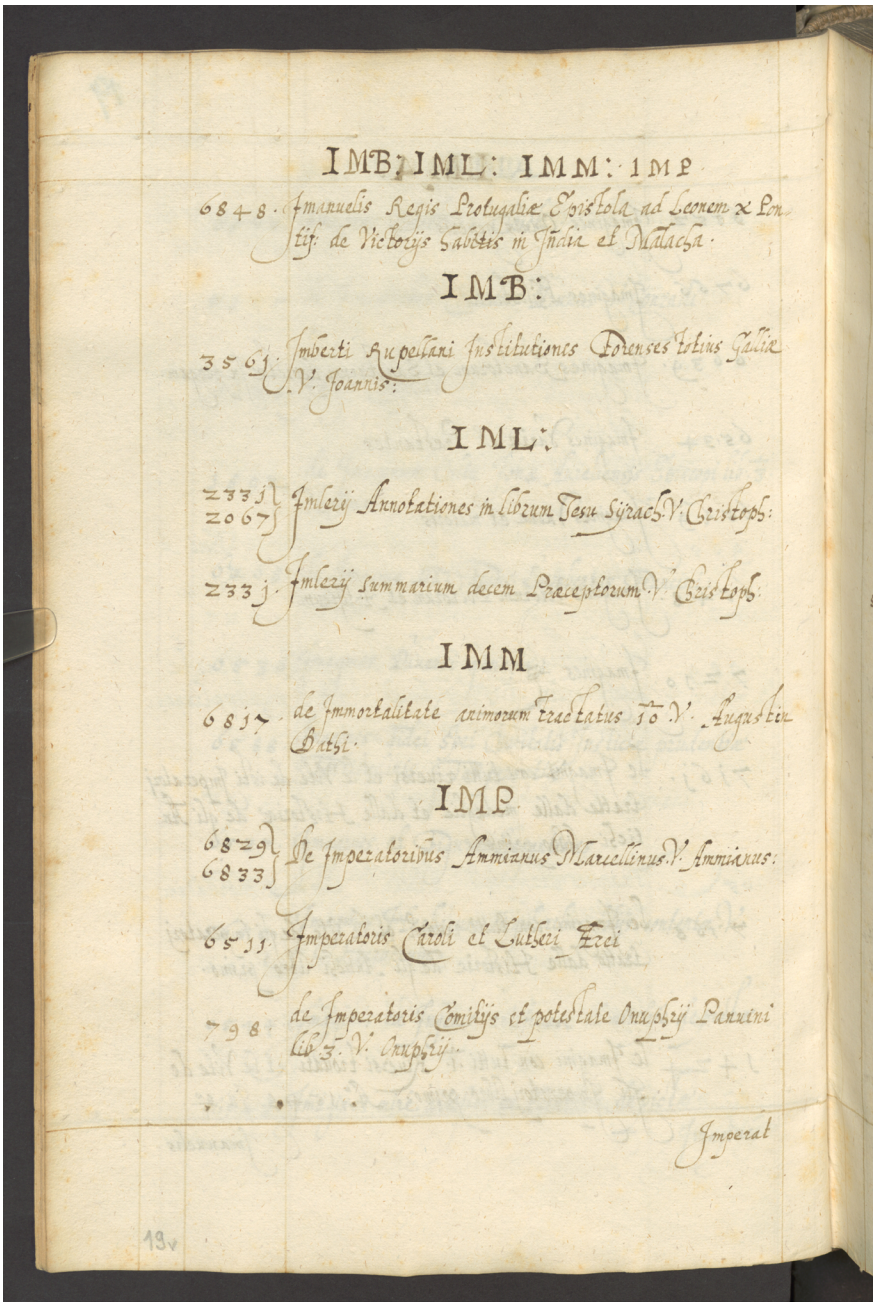

FIGURE 6.3 ÖNB, Cod. 13548, fol. 19v

page.[55] Lambeck returns to this point in his *Commentarii*, where he describes exactly what he is referring to when writing that the library contains 80,000 volumes: a volume, he clarifies, means an *integrum codicem*, print or manuscript, comprised in a binding. It can be one book or more books, written by the same author or many authors, about one or many topics, in one or many languages. The volume can encompass more editions, namely more books published in different places and times: in a word, Lambeck writes, a volume is what in German is called *ein Stück* or *ein Band*.[56] What Tengnagel did first for prints and then for manuscripts was to detect all books hidden in the volumes and provide search tools capable of guiding the reader in finding these books from within or from outside the library.

However, the most important objects preserved in the imperial library at the time of Tengnagel were not prints but manuscripts. The new catalogue of Greek and Latin manuscripts was apparently even less spectacular than that of prints, but was the true achievement of Tengnagel as a librarian for the years to come. Between the death of Blotius and the first move of the library in 1623, all manuscripts were separated from prints, divided in Latin and Greek, and assigned a subject: Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine (only for the Greek material), History, and Humanities (see fig. 6.4).[57] According to the librarian's estimation, the two catalogues contain the entirety of 2,330 *codices*. Here, again, their particularity relies on the fact that the young librarian had carefully dissected each single volume and annotated all the works preserved in each manuscript book with the quick author-title string system.

In this way, he was unveiling to the world of learning the richness of the imperial collection (see again below, entry nr. 7). Furthermore, the manuscripts were placed in a new, separate location and were thus given a new ascending call number. Providing books with completely new call numbers makes of a cataloguing enterprise a point of reference and departure for future catalogues. Lambeck himself started to reorganise the manuscripts from where Tengnagel had left it.

Such a detailed work on the manuscripts and printed books had repercussions for the activity of Tengnagel as a librarian, not only because this

55 On this relationship see D. McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge, 2003) and F. Bouza Alvárez, *Del escribano a la biblioteca* (Madrid, 1992).

56 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, p. 71.

57 ÖNB, Cod. 9479, *Index in codices graecos bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis: Fragmentum* (Sebastian Tengnagel, ca. 1600–1609) http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13955980 and Cod. 9531, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum latinorum Caesareae bibliothecae Vindobonensis* (Sebastian Tengnagel, ca. 1600–1609) http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13960488.

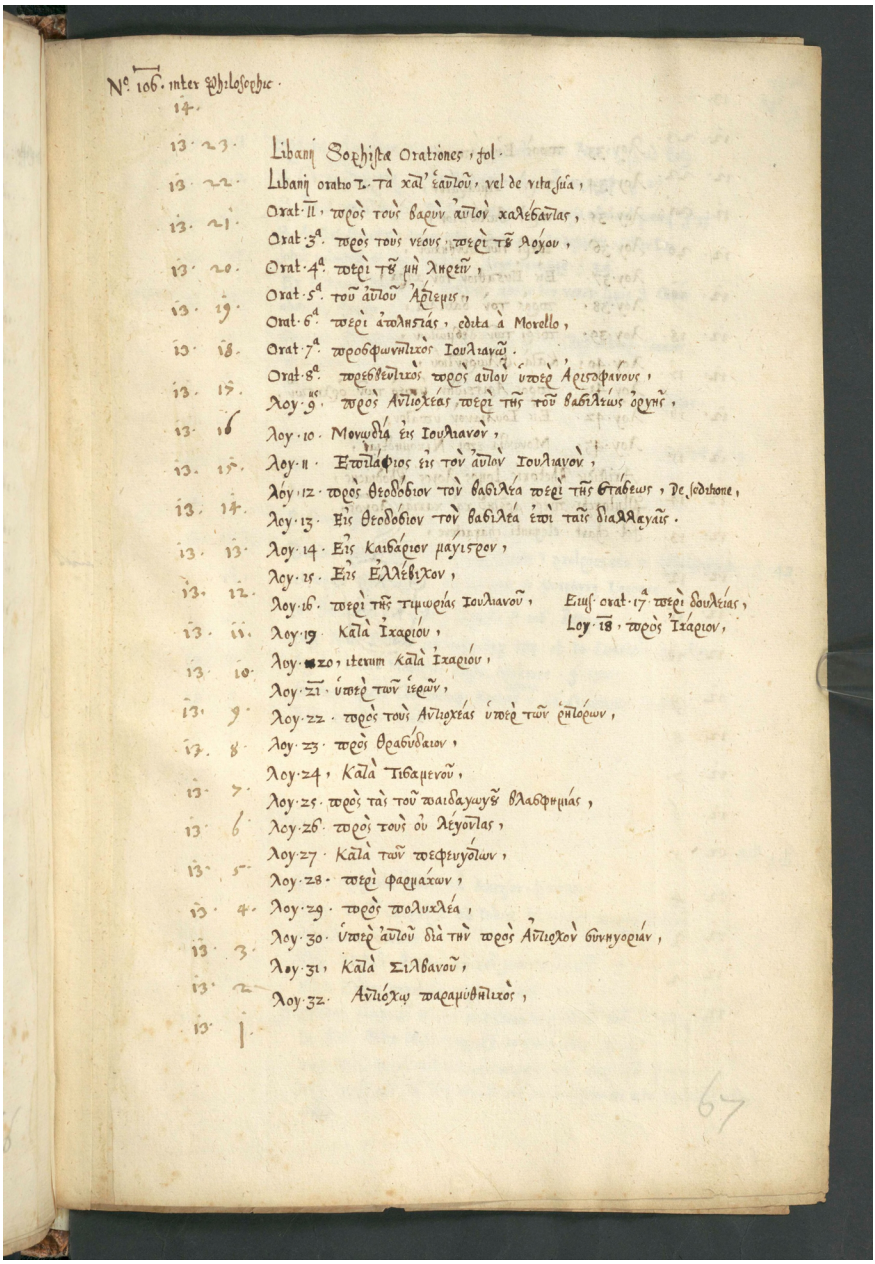

FIGURE 6.4 ÖNB, Cod. 9479, fol. 67r, Dissection of the Manuscript nr. 106

compilation, for the most part carried out in the dark, cold rooms of the Convent of the Friars Minor, compromised his sight and his health for the years to come, but also because, by dissecting each single manuscript and printed volume of the library, he became acquainted with the collection and this helped him to master it.[58]

It was while drawing up these catalogues that Tengnagel realised that many of the books were missing from the shelves – either because they had been sent to the emperor in Prague, or because they had been lent out and never returned, as stated in the mentioned *monitum* added most probably ex-post in the first page of the author catalogue.[59] Furthermore, after he had separated the prints from the manuscripts, some *loci* had remained free in the shelves. He thus returned to the problem of providing a census rather than a description of the library holding. This operation was also necessary for organising the first and second moves properly. Here again he used the short entry author-title system to draw up a shelf catalogue of the printed holdings for 652 folii.[60] This enterprise was begun in 1610, after Tengnagel's return from Italy and his marriage with Blotius's widow, Ursula Ungelter, but was kept and updated when the library was moved – first in 1623 and then in 1630 in the *Harrachsches Haus*. This is evident in his notes, with the denomination of the different rooms scattered throughout the pages of the catalogue: for instance, on fol. 11r (fig. 6.5) is the entry: 'The entrance of the library is in the inner room, in the direction of the house *Harachianam*' ('Initium Bibliothecae est in hypocausto interiori versus domum Harachianam.') This refers to the location of the first library rooms in 1623, while most of the later references to the spaces hint at the new location in the *Harrachsches Haus*, as indicated in a note on fol. 369r, which says: 'the library has been moved on the day of the wedding of our king', referring to the marriage of the later emperor Ferdinand III on 22 February 1631. An interesting note on fol. 403v, referring to old and unbound books from number 3679 to 4825, informs the reader that Tengnagel was working at home, 'because [he was] ill', which allows us to date this comment after his marriage and his move in a different apartment than the one next to the library. In the same comment, he mentioned that in the library these old books were placed in a smaller

58 See Thomas Wallnig's chapter 1 and Chiara Petrolini's chapter 3 in this volume.

59 ÖNB, Cod. 13546, *incipit*. See also a 1609 letter to David Hoeschel (STR0077) in which he complains about missing books and the disorder among Blotius's papers, also quoted in Lambeck, *Commentarii*, pp. 46–7.

60 ÖNB, Cod. 13541, *Catalogus omnium librorum in bibliotheca Caesarea exstantium a. 1609 et 1610*, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13948071.

room in front of the *Camera Austriaca*, that contained also the manuscripts.[61] The Austrian Chamber was placed in front of both locations, the one of 1623 and the new one in 1631, so the comment is in this case not enough to determine if manuscripts were placed in this separate room already after the first move, but is enough to clarify that this operation of taking the book at home and the cataloguing of the bunch of old books happened for sure not in 1609–1610, namely when the catalogue is supposed to have been drawn up, but at least in 1623. Taken all together, these marginal notes challenge the apparent fixity of this catalogue, which purports to be a snapshot of one specific library, but in fact applied, spatially, to at least three different libraries.

Other notes among the pages of the catalogue indicate more precisely how these three libraries were organised over the years. Each page is squared and has a subject heading, but Tengnagel clarifies in a comment on the first page that he is writing on old "recycled" paper, already squared and prepared for the catalogues designed with Blotius.[62] The reader should not be distracted by all this obsolete information but should focus, instead, on the small numbers at the side of each page.

These numbers are 7379 call marks referring to the physical spaces corresponding to the shelves of the library in the Convent of the Friars Minor, and later rearranged in the new locations. Some of the "places" are empty, because the books were missing (for instance those delivered to Prague and never returned), or were previously assigned to manuscripts that had been moved to a different room and which had now new call marks; this catalogue also describes every single work in miscellaneous volumes, even if they are all collected under the number assigned to the volume itself. Consequently, it was conceived as being in dialogue with the alphabetic catalogue, not only because it indicates the call mark of a single bound book and then its position on the shelves, but also because the material unity of the book – discomposed in the alphabetic catalogue of author and works – is in fact recomposed.

In order to understand how Tengnagel tried to get a sense of the losses, and replace what was missing in this catalogue, and also to visualise how the

61 ÖNB, Cod. 13541, fol. 403v: "Nota bene: libri hi sequentes, usque ad numerum forte 4825, (domi enim haec scribo aeger) quia antiqui et male compacti rudesque sunt, non sequuntur ordine, quo deberent, in hypocausto maiori, sed translati sunt in cubiculum, versus Cameram Austriacam, quo etiam Manuscripti continentur." There has been a debate among historians of the Austrian library about the interpretations of Tengnagel's *marginalia* in this catalogue and thus on the exact placement of the books. Menhardt, 'Das älteste Handschriftenverzeichnis', pp. 5–11 provided an interpretation that was later convincingly challenged and corrected by Unterkircher, 'Hugo Blotius', pp. 103–5, 135–6.

62 ÖNB, Cod. 13541, fol. 11r.

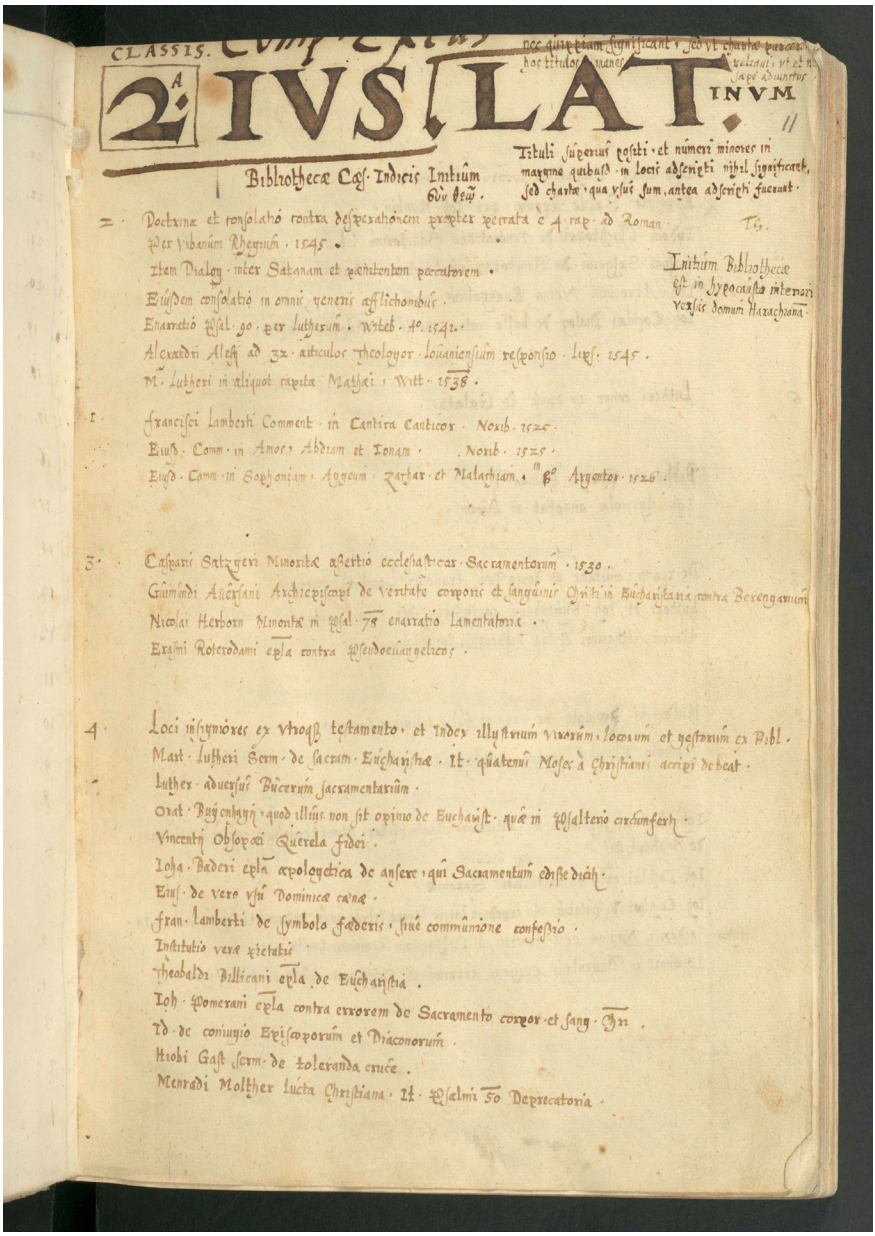

FIGURE 6.5 ÖNB, Cod. 13541, fol. 11r

author-subject index and the shelf catalogue communicate, it may be useful to compare some entries: first, for how they were described in the original, general catalogue made by Blotius in 1575–6 (13525-Blotius-Katalog 1575), and second, if they are manuscripts, in the second manuscript catalogue in 1597 (Cod. Ser. Nov. 4451), and later in the two catalogues written by Tengnagel (shelf catalogue Cod. 13541 or author-subject index 13546–13550).

1) A Manuscript placed in a new room with a new call mark and replaced in the Tengnagel shelf catalogue with a print:
[13525-Blotius-Katalog 1575] fol. 2v
A255 Magnus liber manuscriptus in Pergamena in folio
[Cod. Ser. Nov. 4451, 1597] fol. 50r (48r old signature)
A 255 Magicus liber manuscriptus in pergamena. In fo. [Missing because it was sent to Prague]
[Cod. 13541, shelf catalogue 1609–1630's] fol. 22v.
255 Machinae Bellicae Maximiliani I Imp. et Sigismundi Archiducis depictae. fol.

2) A printed book "dissected" in the Tengnagel shelf catalogue:
[13525-Blotius-Katalog 1575] fol. 83r
A 207 Philippi Melanchtonis responsio ad articulos Bavaricae inquisitionis. Cum aliis. Uuittembergae a. 1559. In octavo
[Cod. 13541, shelf catalogue 1609–1630's] fol. 20r
207 Phil. Melanthon. respons. ad articulos inquisitionis Bavaricae
Eiusd. in epist. Pauli ad Coloßens. praelection. A. 1556
Georgii Maioris vita S. Pauli Apost.
Germaniae ad Angliam de restituta Evang. Lucae gratulatio.
Laurentij Humfredi de religionis conservat (sic!): reformatione et Primatu Regum, ut Christi vicariorum.
Lucae Backmeysteri formae precationum ex Melanthone collectae.
Papae et Christi Antithesis.
David Georgij Haeresiarchae vita.

3) The correlation between the three catalogues:
[13525-Blotius-Katalog 1575] fol. 53r
K3526 Nicolai Vigelii Methodus Iuris Civilis. Basileae Oporinus. 1557 in 8. iunctis alijs tribus libris.
[13549-Tengnagel Alphabetic catalogue 1602–1605], fol. 20r NIC
3526 Nicolai Vigelii Methodus Iuris Civilis Basileae Oporinus 1557 in 8. iunctis 3 alijs lib.
[Cod. 13541, shelf catalogue 1609–1630's] fol. 384v

3526 Nicolai Vigelii Methodus Dialectica de Legatis et fideicommissis. Bas. 1557
Iuris Civilis compendium instar Institutionum. Lovan. 1552
Ioan. Apelli Dialog. in Institutiones Iustiniani
Christoph. Hegendorphini Exegesis Titul. Codicis. Col. 1556

4) A correction undertaken by Tengnagel:
[13525 Blotius-Katalog 1575] fol. 15v
O 4255 De Tribus Magis liber in folio. In membrana scriptus
[13543 Alphabetic catalogue 1602–1605]
O 4255 De magis liber in folio, in membrana scriptus. Hinc constat quantum scribae et amanuensis erroris, sua insipientia, adferant; nam cum hic liber videatur Magicus aut Necromanticus non est, sed Theologicus, enim historicus. tractat enim historiam Deum Regum.

As demonstrated by examples 1 and 4 the librarian took an authorial role in the writing of a catalogue, intervening and correcting data, such as the word *Magnus* changed into *Magicus* and the observation on the scribe's mistakes. However, as examples 1–3 clearly demonstrate, he had to act within the trail of a longer tradition to which he was also contributing with his enterprise.

This catalogue, and that of the manuscripts, might very soon have become completely obsolete, given the two relocations of the library. However, as seen in the shelf catalogue, and as underlined by Tengnagel in the marginal notes with the descriptions of the rooms,[63] he succeeded in what his predecessors in Vienna and elsewhere had so desired to do. By omitting the letters indicating the shelves in Blotius's old system, he disentangled the call mark from the physical position of the book in the library room. He thus transformed the alpha-numeric call mark corresponding to the shelves of the library in the room of the convent (as for instance A255, and Fig. 6.6) into anonymous numeric call marks that could now indicate the position of the book in a shelf as *numerus currens*. Furthermore, because the new library rooms had greater capacity than the room in the convent, for filling the gaps in the catalogue left by the manuscripts and missing books, he was able to add new locations for recent acquisitions and simply place them in the remaining shelves. It was a very practical solution that allowed him to organise two relocations without re-marking the collection or feeling the need to leave any trace of this move behind, other than a simple check symbol like #.

63 See Cod. 13541, fol. 369r: "N.B. Hi Iureconsulti in nova Bibliotheca collocati sunt in atrio *oder Furhaus* ad sinistram, in ipso ingressu in Bibliothecam. Quibus etiam adiuncti sunt novi Iureconsulti, quorum singularis Catalogus etiam extat." See also fol. 570r.

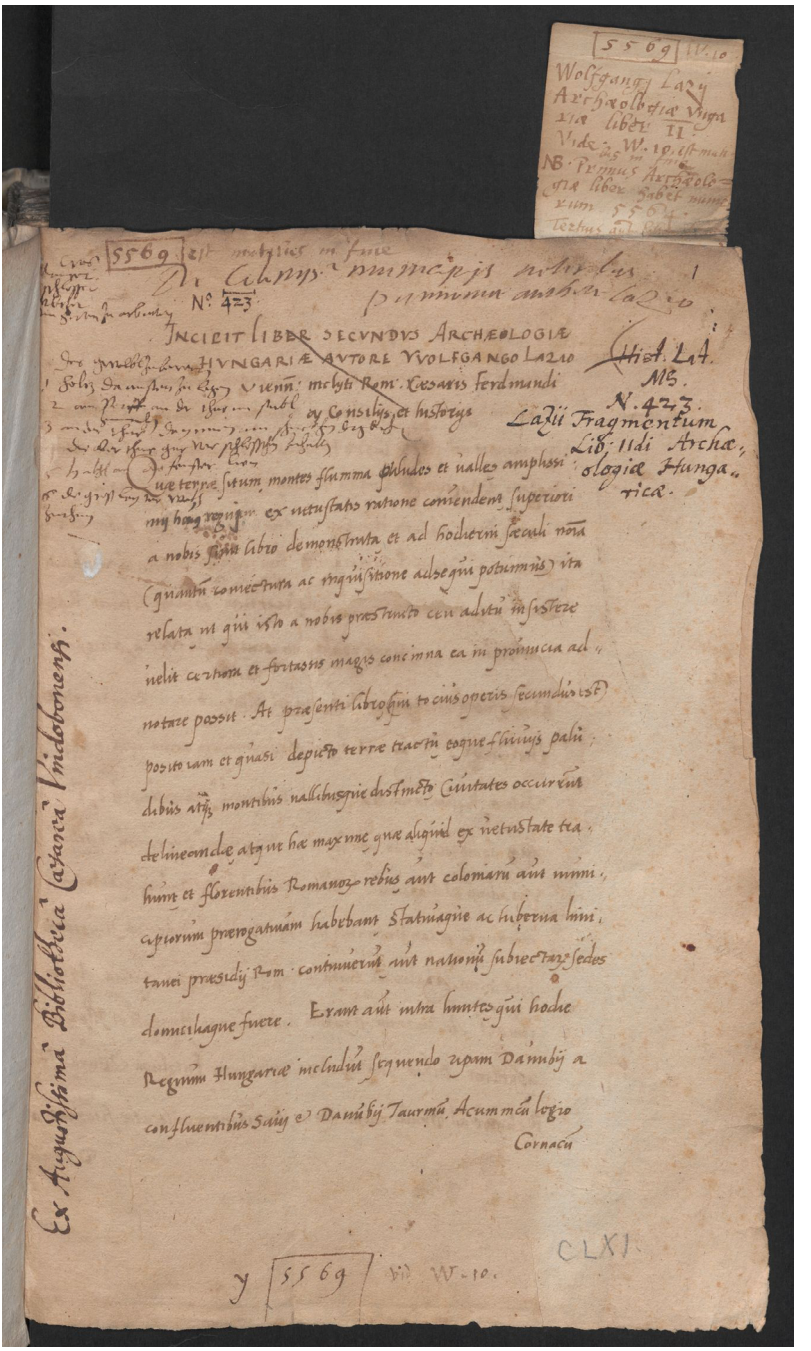

FIGURE 6.6 ÖNB, Cod. 7961, f. 1r, Example of a Blotius' paper-slip and callmark (left, Y5569) erased and modified by Tengnagel because it was a manuscript, then nr. 423. Call mark confirmed by Lambeck (third hand)

This system provided the library with consistent call marks over the years and allowed Lambeck to restore a proper organisation of rooms and shelves according to disciplines 30 years later. At first glance, the papers left by Blotius, with the conception of a universal library organised according to language and disciplines, and the *Diagramma Synopticum* inserted by Lambeck in his *Commentarii*, describing the actual disposition of the books in each room shortly before 1665, may look similar: they are similarly ideal, and similarly engaged in a tension between encyclopedism and spatial constraints. However, between the two projects, the library had been put in order by Tengnagel, "dissected" and transformed into a complex, consistent numeric system.

Given that catalogues are works of fiction, there is no catalogue that is truly faithful to the real situation in the collection. Indeed, every description contains incorrect numbers and objects that are listed but are in fact no longer retrievable; but more importantly, there are many objects present in the library room that, for a variety of reasons, are not listed in the document. Also, the dates of compilation have a certain fictional character: they can refer to the point at which such an endeavour was begun or finished, but generally the book-catalogue remained valid until the next catalogue was produced, even for decades. It is therefore necessary to set the date not so much at the start of the compilation, but over the duration of the continued use of the catalogue.[64] Tengnagel's shelf catalogue, as we have seen, was started as early as 1609, but was finished after 1630 and used until Lambeck revised it. This seems to suggest that in Vienna the overall fiction was fairly simple: catalogues were mirrors of the books placed on the shelves – wherever these shelves actually were – at the moment in which the entry was written. Therefore, in order to answer the second question at the beginning of this paragraph (why new acquisitions were not immediately assigned a place in the catalogues by Tengnagel), we could now answer that every book still requiring a place on the shelf could not be listed in the catalogue, hence the importance placed

64 On inventories and catalogues and their fictions also beyond the case of libraries, see M. Walsby, 'Book Lists and Their Meanings', in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, ed. M. Walsby and N. Constantinidou (Leiden, 2013), pp. 1–24, L. C. Orlin, 'Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate Inventory' in *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, ed. H. S. Turner (New York, 2002), pp. 51–83. G. Riello, 'Things Seen and Unseen: The Material Culture of Early Modern Inventories and Their Representation of Domestic Interiors', in *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500–1800*, ed. P. Findlen (New York, 2013), pp. 125–150.

by Tengnagel on acquiring new library spaces and on fabricating catalogues always capable of registering new entries.

6.2 Using the Diffused Library of Vienna

One of the first questions arising from the previous pages is how, by whom, and for what purpose the catalogues of the imperial library were used. Secondly, if we read the previous pages in the light of chapters 1–5 of this book, we might also wonder whether all the scholars who contacted Tengnagel from afar for the purpose of acquiring information on books did so on account of his position as an Oriental scholar or as imperial librarian, and if they were able to distinguish between his own collection and the imperial collection – on the move or already located in the *Harrachsches Haus*. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, providing users with the books they requested was, during Tengnagel's time, hardly ever the primary task of the librarian: it was only in conjunction with his scholarly interests, and with the position of the library and that of its owner, that scholars were attracted by the catalogues and the books.[65] Instead, Tengnagel had been first employed with almost the opposite task: that of writing the catalogues in order to put the library in order, possibly in a new location and, most importantly, putting an end to long- and short-distance loans, in line with most European institutional libraries of the time.[66]

Indeed, we could say that the audience and uses of the imperial library under the prefecture of Tengnagel expanded both in their geographical scope and in their scholarly variety, thanks to the concomitant growth of the collection, the precise registration of information in the catalogues, and its "diffused" character, resulting from the many moves and the constant transfer from Tengnagel's house (to which he sometimes took the books for writing the catalogues). Here is where the letters preserved in Sebastian Tengnagel's archive are of more help, because, under the prefecture both of Blotius and Tengnagel, the imperial library did not have books to register the transactions of loans. Traditionally, librarians added notes on loans on the *verso* of the letter

65 Brilliant accounts of the task of the librarian, based on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century treatises, are in A. Serrai, *Storia della bibliografia*, v, *Trattatistica biblioteconomica*, a cura di Margherita Palumbo (Rome, 1993). For the previous periods see also P. Molino, 'Il mestiere dei libri nel tardo Rinascimento', *Bibliothecae.it* 2 (2013), 23–79.

66 As in note 14. For the loan policies of other European libraries, between the sixteenth century and the time of Tengnagel see Molino, *L'Impero di carta*, pp. 234–6.



FIGURE 6.7 ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fol. 78v, *verso* of a letter written by Petrus Kirstenius and used by Tengnagel as a *Syngrapha*

of the person acquiring a book, a single title if this was the case, or a list in which the entry was crossed out when each book was returned. In this way, the collection of letters became an important part of the library archive even after the death of the librarian (Fig. 6.7).[67]

The letters also reveal particular stories, such as when the only existing copy of the Greek manuscript of Nikephoros Kallistos was shipped to the historian and President of the French Parliament Jacques-Auguste de Thou in Paris, in 1615, and received back in 1627, a story illustrated in Chiara Petrolini's chapter 3 in this volume; or when the *Epistolae Pontificum ad Pipinum et Carolum Magnum* were sent to the Jesuit Jakob Gretser in Ingolstadt, in 1613, which he would eventually publish.[68] Both transactions had already been evoked by

67 See, for example, the *Syngrapha* of Petrus Kirstenius and the story of the loan of a book on the reverse of his letter in STR0053 (as in Fig. 6.7): 'Petri Kirstenij Syngrapha, qua fatetur, se accepisse utendos a me Avicennae Canonem Simplicium Arabice Manuscriptum, item 4. Evangelistas, qui nondum redditi fuere Aº 1609, 7 Septemb[ris] cum iter in Italiam ingrederer, repetantur ergo Vratislavia, si quid mihi humanitus acciderit, nam mihi instar thesauri Arabici cari gratique sunt, et donentur Biblioth[ecae] Regiae Caes[areae] Scripsi Aº 1609, 8 Septemb'. The *verso* of the letters received by Jan Gruter from Heidelberg provide insights into the delivery of important books to Vienna, in between the prefecture of Blotius and Tengnagel, including the important *Taqwīm al-Buldān* of Abū l-Fidā.

68 STR0173.

Lambeck to emphasise the generosity of his predecessor, thus confirming that such a service was not perceived at the time as the librarian's duty, but was instead the result of his attitude towards learning.[69]

Several notes in the letters show that specific manuscripts in the imperial library were known to scholars thanks to transcriptions of the catalogues, in particular Latin and Greek manuscripts, as in the case of the Altdorfer Physician Caspar Hofman, who contacted the librarian in 1620 to request the loan of a Greek-Latin manuscript of Galen and four other titles that he knew were in Vienna, because he had seen a transcription of the catalogue from Johannes Remus Quietanus from Nuremberg.[70] In a letter dated 20 December 1620 from Ingolstadt, Jacob Gretser underlines the importance that catalogues had assumed in recent years and mentions the project carried out by Maximilian I of Bavaria to collect catalogues and lists of books from each monastery and prelature of his territories, in order to accumulate, at the ducal library, historical sources regarding the history of Bavaria.[71]

As has emerged from the previous chapters, Tengnagel also used the imperial collection and its catalogues in a very practical way: he asked his friends to check for Arabic, Hebrew, or Turkish codices in their own libraries or in the library of the institutions in which they were active, offering, in return, to search the imperial library and make documents available.

Under the prefecture of Tengnagel the use of the library was strictly connected to the political situation of Vienna and the *Erblande* (hereditary lands) from the death of Emperor Rudolf II (1612) until the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, the Battle of the White Mountain (1620), and the return of the court of Emperor Ferdinand II from Prague to Vienna. After this return, Vienna became the political centre of an agglomerate of Central European states, which largely, but not entirely, were part of the Holy Roman Empire. Only in the nineteenth century would this agglomerate be called an Austrian Empire, while until then, the Habsburg regulations had a double role: that determined by the elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (who, after 1648, would be the warrantor of a pluri-confessional legal framework); and that determined by a dynastic ruler of the "hereditary lands" in which the regulations imposed a focused and uncompromising policy of re-catholicisation. In this context, the

69 Lambeck, *Commentarii*, 62–63.

70 See STS0138. A further example is Jodocus Coccius, who, in an undated letter, requested a 'Life of Charles V', in STT0179.

71 See STS0148. For the project see A. Kaindl, 'Die Bibliothekskataloge bayerischer Klöster als Instrumente der Wissenspolitik Herzog Maximilians I.', in *Die Hofbibliothek zu München unter den Herzögen Wilhelm V. und Maximilian I*, ed. A. Schmid (Munich, 2015), pp. 199–222.

status of the imperial library also changed, its uses revealing different degrees of being "imperial" in the time considered.[72]

The start of Tengnagel's career as an imperial servant is characterised by a natural continuity with that of his predecessor Blotius, suffering from the distance and the lack of interest of the court in Prague and trying to solve long-lasting problems, such as that of a new location. However, soon after the death of Blotius in 1608, the library assumed a different connotation within both the local and transregional community: it began to be perceived and used differently and, thanks to the librarian's scholarly initiatives, it became a centre of learning that was also relevant to the crown when the court returned to Vienna in the 1620's. There are two exchanges of correspondence that attest to this transition: one with Johannes Pistorius in Prague and the other with Jan Gruter in Heidelberg.

At the time in which he exchanged letters with the young Tengnagel, Johannes Pistorius was the confessor of Emperor Rudolf II and a man of power. He also had an interesting past somehow intertwined with the history of the library.[73] After being a Magister in Wittenberg, he studied medicine at Padua, Paris and Marburg, and began to work as physician and historian at the court of Charles II of Baden-Durlach. There, he also became a historian with a special focus on the controversies between Lutherans and Calvinists, based on the documents that he had inherited from his father, which were preserved in his personal library and archives, and which contained original documents of the first reformers, including a manuscript for a history of the Reformation. It was considering these partially secret materials that he first turned to Calvinism and then finally to Catholicism. As a priest, he was active first in Konstanz and then in Prague. When he contacted Tengnagel to borrow books, he must have known that the library contained personal writings of Caspar von Niedbruck and a selection of books already borrowed by Flacius Illyricus, when he was writing the Magdeburg Centuries – another crucial historical archive of the Reformation.[74] The first letter signed by him and addressed to Tengnagel bears

72 See Thomas Wallnig's chapter 1 in this volume for a general overview and more historiographical information.

73 Letters addressed by Pistorius to Tengnagel are preserved mainly in ÖNB, Cod. 9737r (STR). On Pistorius see H. J. Günther, 'Pistorius', *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 8 (1999), 319 and F. Lauchert, 'Johann Pistorius', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1911.

74 On this see H. Bollbuck, *Wahrheitszeugnis, Gottes Auftrag und Zeitkritik. Die Kirchengeschichte der Magdeburger Zenturien und ihre Arbeitstechniken* (Wiesbaden, 2014) and more specifically on Niedbruck see Bibl V., 'Nidbruck und Tanner. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien und zur Charakteristik König Maximilians II.', *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 85 (1898), 379–430.

the date 21 May 1603[75] and is typical of a patron-scholar exchange, according to which Pistorius uses and borrows books from the library and in return supports the desire of the young scholar to travel to Italy in order to acquire a doctorate. Pistorius borrowed theological books from the library and was interested in acquiring documents written by Wolfgang Lazius, which were dispersed in the city of Vienna. With the support of the powerful Secretary Johann Anton Barvitius, he wished to provide Tengnagel with a letter of recommendation written by the emperor for a visit to Rome.[76] However, it was not by chance that three years after this first contact, on 3 December 1606, Pistorius wrote a letter from Freiburg addressed to the Jesuit Jacob Gretser in Ingolstadt.[77] The likely reason why this letter is preserved among Tengnagel's papers is because it was forwarded to the Jesuits in Munich, along with a letter from the librarian.[78] Even if the letter only mentions Henry Savile's edition of Chrysostom, we are aware that Gretser was told by Pistorius that among Niedbruck's papers in Vienna was the manuscript of the *Epistolas Pontificum ad Pipinum et Carolum Magnum*, which he would eventually edit. Gretser was apparently Tengnagel's first contact with Bavaria. On 13 April 1605, and through Gretser, he also contacted the patron of the famous astronomer Johannes Kepler, who was also Head of the ducal library, Herwart von Hohenburg, from whom he was hoping to obtain the catalogue of Oriental manuscripts preserved in the collection.[79] As it was, he would ultimately receive it along with one of the Oriental books compiled by the Maronites in Rome, collected by Markus Welser and today in the Austrian National Library within Cod. 8997.[80] In Munich a team of librarians and archivists, including Johann Lieb and Christoph Gewold, also opened up a new path to Augsburg, and in particular to the city librarian David Hoeschel and the patrician Markus Welser. In chapter 3, Chiara Petrolini illustrates the exchange between Tengnagel and Hoeschel, while we know from a letter that Lieb sent his son to Vienna and was personally in touch with the whole Tengnagel family.[81] We are also aware that he was the mediator with the Munich Library after the librarian Johann Prigglmayer was accused of stealing books, drinking too much, and had revealed his inability to manage the collection.[82] As chapters 1–5 in this volume clearly show, Tengnagel had an

75 STR0007.

76 STR008, STR0012, STR0013.

77 STR0032.

78 More on Gretser in Thomas Wallnig's chapter 1 in this volume.

79 STR0020 (ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fols. 28r–28v).

80 See Hülya Çelik's chapter in this volume.

81 STR0107 and STR0112.

82 STR170. On Johann Prigglmayer and the ducal library at the time under consideration see Hacker, 'Die Münchner Hofbibliothek unter Maximilian I.' and L. Horsch,

extremely rich network of correspondents who not only contributed to turning his personal library into the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* in Central Europe, but also, when necessary, used the books of the imperial. However, the examples above are of a special kind: Hoeschel, Herwart and Leib were at the head of institutional libraries and part of their proximity, trust and interest for Tengnagel depended on the potential for reciprocity that their common position offered. Their friendship opened for Tengnagel the possibility virtually to access further, larger, collections. The same can be said for his friendship with Jan Gruter, the librarian of the Palatine Library in Heidelberg.[83]

Gruter had first contacted Blotius to find out more about Henry Savile's edition of Chrysostom. In his first letter from Heidelberg, addressed to both on 24 January 1605, he explicitly asked which writings of Chrysostom were kept in the imperial library and mentioned the significant enterprise of Savile.[84] Soon after, however, Tengnagel asked to borrow a copy of the Arabic manuscript of Abū' l-Fidā' and, after a first denial, Gruter agreed to send a copy to Vienna and sought a safe way to do so.[85] The letter in which he announced the transfer of the Arabic manuscript is also relevant because it is one of the first examples in which we find the trace of a practice that was to increase greatly in the years to come, namely, signing a *syngrapha* in which the manuscript is described and the receiver of the manuscript (in this case Tengnagel) confirms receipt of it and promises to return it in a year's time. Whereas on the Heidelberg side both Gruter's letter and the *syngrapha* mention the prince elector and the *Bibliotheca Electorali Palatina*, on the Vienna side the loan is addressed to Blotius and Tengnagel only, as scholars.[86] In the aforementioned letter from Gruter we also learn about the trajectory of the Arabic manuscript from Heidelberg to the Frankfurt Book Fair and from there, most probably through the imperial delegates, to Vienna. In January 1607, Gruter sends a list of nine titles of Arabic manuscripts preserved in the Palatine Library in Heidelberg, all originating from the personal collection of Guillaume Postel, given as collateral to the prince elector and never claimed back by his heirs.[87]

'Die bibliothec gehört nit für Diener'. Unordnung, Verbote und Personalwandel in der Bibliothek Maximilians I. von Bayern', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 125.2 (2017), 340–361.

83 See also Chiara Petrolini's chapter 3 in this volume.

84 STR0016 (ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fols. 21r–21v).

85 For this anecdote see Chiara Petrolini's chapter 3 in this volume.

86 'Quo fateamini recepiße ex Bibliotheca Electorali Palatina dictum Abilfedeam, cum tabulis in folio grandi, foliis omnino constantem 171, polliceaminique insuper eumdem intra annum vertentem plus minus restituturum eidem librariae bona fide, sartum tectum cum gratis gratijs' cit. STR0030 (ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fol. 42r) (Heidelberg 07-11-1606).

87 STR0034–0035 is the transcription by Tengnagel.

As noted by Chiara Petrolini, the earlier letters between Tengnagel and Gruter, which we only know through the latter's voice, unveil the important position of the Palatine Library in Heidelberg in the most important scholarly debates of the time, including that concerning the origins of Arabic as a language,[88] the edition of the *Pentateuchus Palatinus*, and the Pauline epistles in Arabic.[89] Gruter also sent further manuscripts preserved in the Heidelberg Library, such as the Arabic edition of Antony of Antioch and John of Damascus.[90] Tengnagel also mentioned his connection and work on manuscripts from Heidelberg in an important letter addressed to the imperial ambassador in Constantinople, Michael Startzer, in September 1611, in which he asked him to provide for the library several different typologies of manuscripts from Constantinople, as well as a specific Arabic cosmography that he had received from Heidelberg and on which he was already working.[91] It was also Gruter who introduced Tengnagel to Daniel Heinsius, the librarian of the Leiden University Library, in 1613.[92] His first letters deal with a *Lexicon Persico Turcicum* that he has found in Leiden Library.[93] It was in a letter to him that Tengnagel defined Gruter as a sort of "ambassador" in the Protestant scholarly world, along with Casaubon, Christmann, and Kirstenius, allowing him to forward his requests of Arabic and Persian manuscripts 'over the iron curtain'. What he could offer in exchange was 'whatever they needed from the imperial library'.[94]

The friendship with Gruter remained crucial until the start of the Thirty Years' War, and in particular the years 1621–22, when the Palatine Library was confiscated by the troops of the Catholic League. Given Tengnagel's knowledge of this collection and his frequent correspondence with Gruter, it is not surprising that he tried to persuade the emperor to acquire it himself. Also, the Bavarian Duke Maximilian (later Prince Elector) would have loved to acquire the richest collection of the Protestant world in exchange for his faithful service during the war, but under the supervision of Leone Allacci, librarian of the Vatican Library, the Palatine Library was transferred in about 200 cases and sent to Rome.[95] This is a story that is well known in the history of European scholarship. What is less known is that the personal library of Gruter was

88 STR0158.

89 STR0144.

90 STR0165, STR0181.

91 STR0126.

92 See STR0172.

93 See STR0178.

94 STR0130.

95 Tengnagel's letter to the Emperor is published in J. Chmel, *Die Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek in Wien im Interesse der Geschichte, besonders der österreichischen*, vol. 2. (Vienna, 1841), p. 662. *See also* L. Olschki, 'Istruzione a Leone Allacci per il trasporto della

first thrown out of the window by mercenaries and then plundered.[96] With these two collections, the important "ambassador" and bridge between two confessional worlds was dismantled. Meanwhile, something also happened on the imperial side in Prague. Having counted on other crucial figures in Prague besides Pistorius, such as the secretary of the Spanish ambassador, Robert de Scheilder, Tengnagel was affected along with many other courtiers by the dramatic changes occurred after the Battle of the White Mountain and Ferdinand II's decision to remove the imperial court to Vienna.[97] As stated eloquently in a letter addressed to Tengnagel by the Postmaster Octavio de Tassis on 12 September 1618, things had changed so rapidly that letters were still being erroneously sent to Prague and 'have been kept and opened by the rebels' (dalli ribelli sono state aperte e trattenute').[98] The collections of Emperor Rudolf II were eventually condemned to a destiny similar to the Heidelberger one. The Rudolphine collection was first transported to Stockholm and later, in part, to Rome, after the conversion of Queen Christina of Sweden.[99] If the imperial books once sent to Prague could thus be considered lost forever, leaving "empty spaces" in the Tengnagel catalogue, the return of the court also opened new possibilities. Some requests could be addressed in a more concrete manner, such as that of a relocation of the library. Moreover, the new proximity of the court and the library finally resolved the critical problem of the shipping of books from Frankfurt and made Tengnagel an essential actor in such crucial circumstances.

6.3 The Books 'Dahin Zu Geben': the Court in Vienna, the Imperial Privileges and the Legal Deposit

In the aforementioned document of 1603, in which the Aulic Chamber summarised the contents of an imperial instruction sent to the Archduke Matthias

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Biblioteca Palatina di Heidelberg a Roma', *La Bibliofilía* 2.3/5 (1900), pp. 140–146 and C. F. Bähr, *Die Entführung der Heidelberger Bibliothek nach Rom im Jahre 1623* (Leipzig, 1845).

96 J.-U. Fechner, 'Das Schicksal einer Heidelberger Professorenbibliothek: Jan Gruters Sammlung und ihr Verbleib', *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 11 (1967), 98–117.

97 See Thomas Wallnig's chapter 1 in this volume.

98 STS0105.

99 On the Inventories of the Prager collection see https://www.inventariarudolphina.com/, which has now also encompassed the famous "Documenta Rudolphina". See also C. Callmer, *Königin Christina, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften* (Stockholm, 1977) and C. Callmer, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Holmiensis C, Annum MDCL ductu et auspicio Isaac Vossii conscriptus* (Stockholm, 1971).

regarding Tengnagel's appointment as vice-librarian, there is a mention of, 'gedruckhte exemplaria' that had apparently remained in the chancellery for 30 years and which eventually needed to be bound and sent to the library.[100] The document referred to the privileged books sent from the Frankfurt Book Fair to the imperial court. Stated clearly among his duties, the acquisition of these privileged books became an important task for Sebastian Tengnagel.[101] However, it would be wrong to assume that this question did not exist before him or that it would be solved after him, as we see in the example of Mauchter at the start of this chapter.

The Frankfurt Book Fair was still the fundamental meeting point for printers and publishers between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, even if the confessional conflicts within the empire made it difficult for Protestant and Catholic printers to find a common ground.[102] The interests of the emperor, and in particular the respect of the imperial laws on books (*kaiserliche Bücherregal*), which first pertained to the City Council of Frankfurt, had been assured from the late sixteenth century by the establishment of a *kaiserliche Bücherkommission* (imperial book commission), subordinate to the *Reichshofrat* (imperial aulic council) in Vienna.[103] Although the specific tasks of the commission remained unclear, the general idea was to ensure, through regular controls, that books published in the Holy Roman Empire and which came to the fair to be sold and dispersed in other territories would follow censorship regulations. Even if there is no evidence of territorial princes using the *Bücherregal* for themselves, after 1555 control over doctrinal conformity of printed matter became the responsibility of the individual princes, who were the guarantors of the faith professed in their own territories. A preventative censorship of all written or printed texts deemed to be contrary to the two main confessions – Catholic and Lutheran – was theoretically in force, but this was a very broad-brush affair and the effective level of tolerance in book production in practice depended on the whim of the local ruler. To reinforce the control of local authorities over

100 HHStA, FHKA, Hfp. Band 561-R (1603), fol. 451r, quoted here in n. 14.

101 See also his notebook in ÖNB, Cod. 9690, in which he listed books with an imperial privilege, as for instance on fols. 8r and ff. Created as a sort of *Album Amicorum* by his predecessor, it is telling that it became for Tengnagel an *Album Librorum*, in which he noted many different book lists.

102 See Benz, *Zwischen Tradition und Kritik*, pp. 591–602 for a synthesis of the German printing world in the 16th–17th century. See also Ian Maclean, *Episodes in the Life of the Eearly Modern Learned Book*, Brill, Leiden Boston, 2021.

103 U. Eisenhardt, *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Presse im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation (1496–1806). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bücher- und Pressezensur* (Karlsruhe, 1970), in particular pp. 64 and ff.

printing and publishing, it was decided in 1570 (*Reichsabschied*) to allow book printing only in the *Reichsstädte* (imperial cities), in the *Residenzstädte* (cities in which a ruler resided temporarily or permanently) and in the university towns. However, in 1577 Rudolph II declared, with a *Reichspolizeiordnung*, that imperial authority would impose central censorship on printers, authors, and booksellers where the territorial princes were seen to be neglectful. The official, central organ of censorship was the *Reichshofrat* in Vienna through the agency of two *Bücherkommissare*.[104] Initially their activity was confined to the duration of the book fair; from 1597, however, their presence became permanent. In Frankfurt, the *Bücherkommissare* had to implement a sort of "Messepolizei" through regular inspections: they had to check the book stalls during the fair, to collect the catalogues (Indices) of printed books, and the authenticity of the imperial privileges. In principle the privileges had nothing to do with the content of the book: they were granted to single printers, authors, or even specific groups – such as religious orders – with the aim of avoiding all possible abuses or damages to printers and authors, including the reprinting of a publication without permission. A privilege could be inherited and was associated with different typologies of publications, including printed newsletters, calendars, and images. In general terms, the members of the commission were permitted to inquire with the printers and book sellers regarding the presence of any content in the book that might contravene the laws of the Holy Roman Empire. In this way, they enforced a sort of ex-post censorship. The responsibility to grant privileges, and the drawing up of the letter stating the specific rule of a privilege, belonged to the *Fiskalen* (emperor's legal representatives) in the *Reichskammergericht* (imperial chamber of justice) in Speyer and in the *Reichshofrat*. However, the privilege was considered valid only when the *Kaiserliche Bücherkommissare* in Frankfurt announced it publicly twice a year at the book fair.[105]

A additional task of the *Bücherkommissare*, implemented from the end of the 16th century, was to ensure that one or three (later five) copies of a privileged book reached the *Reichshofrat* and the Chancellery in Vienna or Prague, with the aim of checking their content but also to enrich the imperial library.[106]

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104 U. Eisenhardt, 'Staatliche und kirchliche Einflußnahmen auf den deutschen Buchhandel im 16. Jahrhundert', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buchwesens im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, ed. H. Göpfert, P. Vodosek, E. Weyrauch (Wiesbaden, 1985), pp. 295–313, here pp. 299ff.

105 Eisenhardt, *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht*, pp. 7–19. Hans-Joachim Koppitz, *Die kaiserlichen Druckprivilegien im Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien: Verzeichnis der Akten vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende des Deutschen Reichs (1806)*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008, pp. IX–XVII.

106 Eisenhardt, *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht*, pp. 7–19.

This kind of legal deposit already existed in general terms when Blotius took up his position in 1575 and its concrete power to enlarge the library holding without expenses was confirmed again by him in a *Consilium* directed to Rudolf II in 1579. However, it was during the prefecture of Tengnagel, and in particular after the return of the court to Vienna, that Emperor Ferdinand II issued a *Mandat* (28 August 1624) which explicitly stated that one of the volumes sent to the *Reichshofkanzelei* (imperial chancellery) had also to be delivered to the imperial library.[107] A similar obligation preceded this *Mandat*, as described in the *Instruktion an die Frankfurter Bücher Kommission* dated 15 March 1608,[108] and as attested in letters from Tengnagel imploring the shipment of books, preserved in the *Bücherkommission im Reich* folder of the Haus- Hof- Staatsarchiv in Vienna. The first is dated December 1614, and the obligation is also attested in his correspondence with the *Bücherkommissar* Valentin Leucht and then with his *adjunctor* and successor Johann Ludwig von Hagen, one of Tengnagel's most frequent correspondents in his later years.[109] Although in the 1608 *Mandat* Rudolf II had deemed that not only the privileged but also the unprivileged books sold in Frankfurt should be sent to the *Reichshofkanzelei* as *Pflichtexemplare*, Tengnagel only referred to the first ones in the letters.[110]

In 1597 Rudolph II nominated Valentin Leucht, *Domprediger* of St. Bartholomew's Church in Frankfurt and a fervent Catholic, as new *Bücherkommissar*. He would remain in office until 1619: from then on two imperial representatives would remain active in the same role – the actual *Bücherkommissar* and a member of the *Reichskammergericht*.[111] Their powers of supervision would become permanent, rather than being limited to the duration of the book fairs, and would focus on ensuring conformity with censorship and, if necessary, the confiscation of offending books, with the

107 G. Pum, Bibliothekskataloge als Geschichtsquellen. Studien zum Buchbesitz Kaiser Ferdinands II.; ein Beitrag zur Bibliotheksgeschichte und Literatursoziologie', PhD diss. (University of Vienna, 1992), pp. 22–3.

108 J. Franke, *Die Abgabe der Pflichtexemplare von Druckzeugnissen* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 16–7.

109 Letters from Leucht dealing with the delivery of books are STR0186, STR0195, STR0211. Von Hagen's letters are mainly preserved in ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, four letters are in 9737s. See Thomas Wallnig's chapter 2 in this volume.

110 König, 'Lambeck', p. 158.

111 W. Brückner, 'Die Gegenreformation im Kampf um die Buchmessen', *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst* 48 (1962), 67–86, here 74–79. On Valentin Leucht see also W. Brückner, 'Der kaiserliche Bücherkommissar Valentin Leucht', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 3 (1961), 97–180; U. Eisenhardt, 'Staatliche und kirchliche Einflußnahmen', pp. 307–309, and H. Raab, 'Apostolische Bücherkommissare in Frankfurt am Main', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 87 (1967), 326–354, especially on Leucht, 331–333.

assistance of the local authorities. A systematic inspection of all the documents in the Apostolic Secret Archive pertaining to the Frankfurt Book Fair, conducted by the German legal historian Ulrich Eisenhardt, has revealed that nearly all the imperial commissioners operating at the fair from 1579 onwards (excluding employees of the *Reichskammergericht*) were simultaneously working for the emperor and for the Roman curia, and were therefore in effect Apostolic Commissioners, even if not all of them bore the double title.[112] Paul Raab and Rotraud Becker have attempted to demonstrate the strong connection of Leucht and later von Hagen with the nuncios in Cologne, Vienna and Prague.[113] Becker, in particular, has investigated von Hagen's activities in the years in which he was more frequently in contact with Tengnagel in Vienna, to find out whether his activity was in any way directed from Rome. This direction can only be loosely demonstrated for some cases, but according to Eisenhardt, the Rome connection influenced the imperial commission in Frankfurt in a pro-Catholic direction for the next two centuries.[114] Starting from the end of the 17th century it was even suggested in the *Kaiserliche Wahlkapitulationen*, the "contracts" stipulated between each new emperor and the elective bodies, that the *Bücherkommissare* should attain equality in matters of censorship and privileges.[115] As for von Hagen, according to Becker's investigation his main task with the Roman Curia, or at least the one he pursued with the greatest diligence, was twice a year (at the end of each fair) to send to Rome the catalogues of the book fair along with lists of books and newsletters. He also used to send a specific catalogue of Catholic books and authors, an enterprise started by Leucht and mainly used in Rome to check that printers returning from Frankfurt did not bring any forbidden books. In 1624 only von Hagen sent to Rome 12 items from this *Index librorum catholicorum*.[116] What is easy to detect in the letters addressed by von Hagen to members of the court in Vienna, including Sebastian Tengnagel, is his defensive tone, with emphasis on the difficulties of his task in such a hostile situation, and also his attention

112 Eisenhardt, *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht*, pp. 82ff.

113 Raab, 'Apostolische Bücherkommissare', 326ff. R. Becker, 'Die Berichte des kaiserlichen und apostolischen Bücherkommissars Johann Ludwig von Hagen an die römische Kurie (1623–1649)', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 51 (1971), 422–65.

114 Eisenhardt, 'Staatliche und kirchliche Einflußnahmen', pp. 308–10.

115 W. Burgdorf (ed.), *Die Wahlkapitulationen der römisch-deutschen Könige und Kaiser 1519–1792* (Munich, 2015), p. 234.

116 A member of the Roma Curia wrote in a letter from Von Hagen as follows 'Il rivedere gli autori che vanno in fiera et il ridurre in indice separato li catolici si fa, accioché li librari non facciano venire in Italia gli heretici, e gl'inquisitori ne sieno avvertiti, perché sotto spetiosi titoli si contengono le più volte pessime dottrine, e i nomi degli autori non son conosciuti per heretici', in BAV, Barb. Lat. 7058, fol. 60bis.

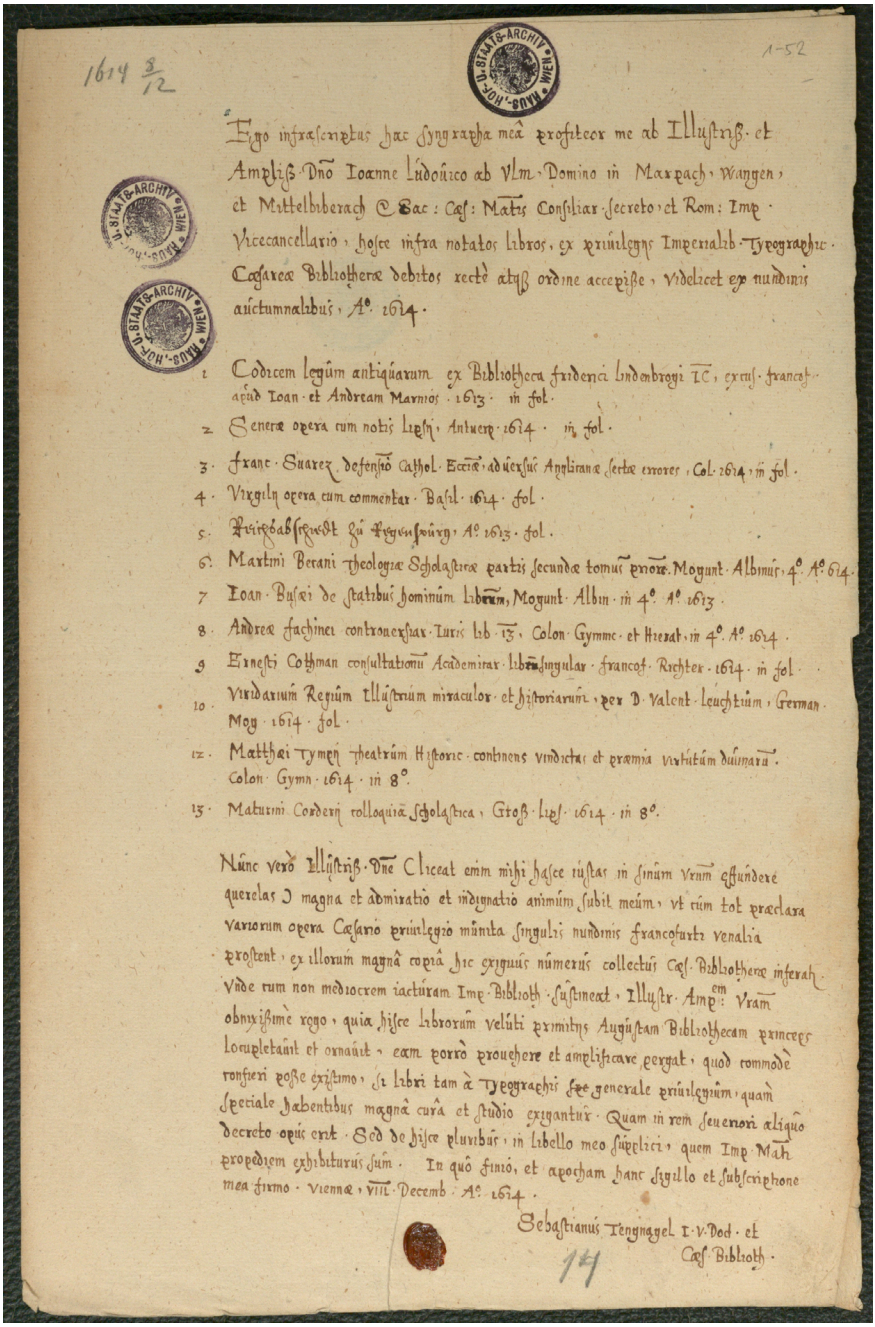
to the political and confessional questions regarding the power of the emperor and the balance within the empire. In a letter addressed to the *Reichshofrat* Hermann von Questenberg after the spring fair of 1626, von Hagen explicitly mentions direct accusations he has received from the court regarding the 'health' of the Book Commission and his commitment to the Emperor in collecting the books. This letter also starts with excuses for failing to send books after the last fair: again and again the booksellers were either absent or negligent and many were asking for more time until the next fair.[117]

Tengnagel's commitment to the retrieval of books from Frankfurt started as early as 1613. He worked for the imperial library in Vienna in the same way as von Hagen and the members of the Curia: they inspected the catalogue of the last book fair, and in Tengnagel's case he checked all the books that had obtained a privilege, wrote a list, and sent this list to the *Bücherkommissar* to ensure that all the listed books were sent first to Prague and then to Vienna. In a letter to Tengnagel (1613), who had apparently already complained about the scarcity of books sent to the library, Leucht claimed to have worked 'in re libraria commissione Caesareae' for some 20 years – therefore from well before his official appointment – and during that period to have served the Vienna Library by forwarding many titles by distinguished authors.[118] It is likely, though, that these volumes got no further than the chancery in Prague. However, there were also instances in which the books did manage to reach the library. For example, after the autumn book fair of 1614, Tengnagel compiled a *syngrapha* of the receipt of 13 books from the vice-chancellor Ludwig von Ulm, including a collection of old laws, an edition of the works of Seneca annotated by Justus Lipsius, a defence of the Catholic faith against the Anglicans by Francisco Suárez, and the *Theologia Scholastica* by Martin Becanus (Fig. 6.8). However, at the end of the list, Tengnagel expressed his surprise at the incredibly low number of books to have reached the library, compared to the richness of privileged titles to be read in the catalogue of the book fair, and he requested a stricter decree to force printers and typographers to hand in their copies. In his letter Tengnagel indirectly referred to the responsibility of the *Bücherkommissar*, when he wrote that the imperial library could certainly be enriched by many more books, if the books were collected with more *cura et studio*. He also promised to write a *libellus supplex* to the emperor explaining his proposal in greater detail.[119]

117 HHStA, Reichshofrat (RHR), Bücherkommission im Reich (BK) 1, 1–51, fols. 100r–101v.

118 STR0186.

119 HHStA, RHR, BK 1, 1–52, 1614 8/12, fol. 14r. 'Apocha quorumd. Librorum receptorum nomine in Bibliothecam Caesar. 8. Decem. A. 1614'.



1614 8/12

1-52

Ego infrascriptus hac syngrapha meâ profiteor me ab Illustriss. et Ampliss. Dno Ioanne Ludouico ab Vlm, Domino in Marpach, Wangen, et Mittelbiberach & Sac: Cæs: Matis Consiliar. secreto, et Rom: Imp. Vicecancellario, hosce infra notatos libros, ex priuilegijs Imperialib. Typographic. Cæsareæ Bibliothecæ debitos rectè atqß ordine accepisse, videlicet ex nundinis auctumnalibus, Aº. 1614.

1 Codicem legum antiquarum ex Bibliotheca friderici Lindenbrogi IC, excus. francof. apud Ioan. et Andream Marnios. 1613. in fol.
2 Senecæ opera cum notis Lipsij, Antuerp. 1614. in fol.
3. Franc. Suarez defensio Cathol. Eccliæ, aduersus Anglicanæ sectæ errores, Col. 1614, in fol.
4. Virgilij opera cum commentar. Basil. 1614. fol.
5. Reichsabschiedt zu Regenspurg, Aº. 1613. fol.
6. Martini Becani theologiæ Scholasticæ partis secundæ tomus prior. Mogunt. Albinus, 4º. Aº. 614.
7 Ioan. Busæi de statibus hominum libr. Mogunt. Albin. in 4º. Aº. 1613.
8. Andreæ Fachinei controuersiar. Iuris lib. 13, Colon. Gymnic. et Hierat. in 4º. Aº. 1614.
9 Ernesti Cothman consultationum Academicar. libr. singular. francof. Richter. 1614. in fol.
10. Viridarium Regium Illustrium miraculor. et historiarum, per D. Valent. Leuchtium, German. Mog. 1614. fol.
12. Matthæi Tymp. theatrum Historic. continens vindictas et præmia virtutum diuinarum. Colon. Gymn. 1614. in 8º.
13. Maturini Corderij colloquia Scholastica, Groß. Lips. 1614. in 8º.

Nunc verò Illustriss. Dne Cliceat enim mihi hasce iustas in sinum Vrum effundere querelas ꝯ magna et admiratio et indignatio animum subit meum, vt cum tot præclara variorum opera Cæsario priuilegio munita singulis nundinis francofurti venalia prostent, ex illorum magnâ copiâ hic exiguus numerus collectus Cæs. Bibliothecæ inferatur. Vnde cum non mediocrem iacturam Imp. Biblioth. sustineat, Illustr. Amp.em Vram obnixissimè rogo, quia hisce librorum veluti primitijs Augustam Bibliothecam princeps locupletauit et ornauit, eam porrò prouehere et amplificare pergat, quod commodè confieri posse existimo, si libri tam à Typographis sæ generale priuilegium, quam speciale habentibus magnâ curâ et studio exigantur. Quam in rem seueriori aliquo decreto opus erit. Sed de hisce pluribus, in libello meo supplici, quem Imp. Mati propediem exhibiturus sum. In quo finio, et apocham hanc sigillo et subscriptione mea firmo. Viennæ, VIII. Decemb. Aº. 1614.

Sebastianus Tengnagel I. V. Doct. et Cæs. Biblioth.

14

FIGURE 6.8 HHStA, RHR, BK 1, 1–52, 1614 8/12, fol. 14r

The following year Tengnagel sent the vice-chancellor Ludwig von Ulm in Prague an even more agitated letter, having inspected the catalogue of the last book fair:[120] There were at least eight titles of different printers, including Bellarmino's *Opera Omnia*, published by Hierat in Cologne, and an epitome of Cesare Baronio's *Annali* published by Bötzer, which he was sure had obtained a privilege. In some cases, he had even seen the privilege with his own eyes, but not a single copy had reached the library. He could have added many more examples but he 'retained the pen' to prevent himself from getting even angrier. He thus proposed that the Frankfurt printer Sigismund Latomus, who was in charge of printing the catalogues for the book fair, would complete each title of privileged books with the simple sentence 'printed with imperial privilege': in this way any fraud will be easily unmasked! Of course, it would then be necessary to ensure that printers in Cologne, Mainz and the other places did not hide their titles with privileges or advertise less than required. A secretary of the vice-chancellor had diligently listed all the titles in a note attached to the letter and had added a comment on the *verso* indicating that a decree should be issued to all printers and sellers requiring them to send the books to the *Commissarius* von Hagen – and in particular those indicated in the attached list and all those that had remained in the Chancellery.[121] Of the eight editions mentioned only two are still preserved in the National Library, but they clearly have different origins: one (Farinacci's *De Criminalibus*) came from the old city library and the other (the *Evangelicarum Dilucidationum Libri VIII* by the Jesuit Vincentius Regius) came from Ferdinand II's personal library preserved in the Schlossbibliothek in Graz. Tengnagel again beseeched the vice-chancellor in 1617 to act before the *Commissarii* and the printers, whispering in his ear (in aurem dico) that if the emperor did not act immediately, he would risk being cheated by his functionaries in Frankfurt. Only a stricter decree could help, as apparently three commissars were not enough to defend the interests of the emperor in Frankfurt. He then accused the imperial delegates of hiding the books, sending them to somebody else, or forcing him to buy books for the library.[122] According to Smital, historian of the imperial library, this request of Tengnagel led to the emperor issuing a further decree in 1617 for the delivery of privileged books to Prague.[123] Apparently von Hagen endorsed this proposal,

120 Ibid., fols. 40r–42v.

121 Ibid., fol. 42v.

122 Ibid., fols. 66r–v (01.04.1617) a copy also in 9737q, fol. 50r. A copy of the *Libellus Supplex* addressed to the Emperor on 15 February 1617 is preserved in ÖNB, Cod. 9737s, fol. 103r.

123 O. Smital, 'Die Hofbibliothek', in *Die beiden Hofmuseen und die Hofbibliothek. Der Werdegang der Sammlungen, ihre Eigenart und Bedeutung*, ed. H. Zimmermann, A. Handlirsch and O. Smital (Vienna-Leipzig, 1920), pp. 47–108, here 95.

partly out of for his personal interest. In a letter to vice-chancellor von Ulm in August 1621, he mentioned the necessity of a *Decretum contra negligentes aut repugnantes*, namely printers who refused to give him the books because he was considered an undesirable guest, and who boycotted the imperial delegates who went to collect the books.[124] In these cases the books remained in Frankfurt 'more solito sub custodia eiusdem designatio Privilegiatorum librorum', who would then give them back to the delegate after the end of the book fair.[125] Von Hagen wrote to Tengnagel requesting his support in persuading the court to pay the *Fiskal* from Speyer and charging him with collecting the books, otherwise he (von Hagen) would be obliged to pay somebody himself.

From the start of the 1620s Tengnagel, in his role of imperial librarian and member of the city Senate, also became a powerful point of reference for von Hagen in granting privileges and censorship, and he contacted him about various cases that were common in Frankfurt and had previously referred to other influential members of the court. For instance, in 1621, he sent a letter saying he had heard a book was in the process of being printed which claimed that the Prince from the Palatinate was the King of Bohemia.[126] A different case, also involving Tengnagel, concerns the German edition of the *Historia sui temporis*, originally written in Latin by the historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou. If we believe von Hagen, Tengnagel was the first person to whom he recounted this 'res gravis', which he would then repeat in similar words to the Curia in Rome and to the *Reichshofrat* and future *Reichsvizekanzler* Peter Heinrich von Strahlendorf.[127] The original Latin edition of de Thou's *Historia* was published in Frankfurt by Peter Kopf and prohibited in 1609. De Thou died in 1617, which means the new German edition was supposed to be posthumous. However, as von Hagen claimed in a letter to Tengnagel at the end of December 1624, and repeated in a letter to Rome in January 1625, both the original and the new German versions contained many passages against the papacy and Emperor Charles V.[128] Von Hagen first explored with Tengnagel the possibility of releasing a decree against this German publication, further seeking the support of the influential Strahlendorf. As has been accurately reconstructed in Chapter 3 of this volume by Chiara Petrolini, Tengnagel had been in touch with de Thou for several years. He had guaranteed the safe shipping to Paris of the precious Viennese manuscript for the edition of Nikephoros Kallistos's Ecclesiastical

124 HHStA, RHR, BK 1, 1–51, 1621 4/8, fols. 45r–46v.
125 HHStA, RHR, BK 1, 1–51, 1621 4/8, fol. 45r.
126 HHStA, RHR, BK 1, 1–51, 1621 4/8, fols. 45r–46v.
127 HHStA, RHR, BK 1, 1–51, 1624, 24/12, fols. 95r–96v.
128 Ibid., and R. Becker, 'Die Berichte', pp. 445 and ff.

History, which would be published in Paris (in Greek and Latin) by the Jesuit Fronton du Duc in 1630. However, Tengnagel had also petitioned de Thou in the past to help him obtain Luis del Mármol Carvajal's three-volume treatise on Africa (then kept in his library under the call number 1062 and the note 'rarus lib'); likewise, they had discussed the involvement of Tengnagel in several projects. Tengnagel possessed in his private library a Latin edition of the forbidden Latin *Historia* and (as with de Thou before his death in 1617) had claimed not to be interested in the translation of the work into German for his own studies.[129] However, the fact that the letter from von Hagen is preserved in the archive of the Chancellery – and not in the library along with the other 40 letters from the period 1622–1628 sent to him by the *Bücherkommissar* – shows that Tengnagel, in his position as librarian, proceeded officially to forbid the translation. At the end of January, the court in Vienna had already issued a *Verbotmandat* addressed to the printer, Kopf. However, when this *Mandat* reached the City Council of Frankfurt, their delegates rightly pointed out that the translation had already been in circulation for many months, as stated by von Hagen in a letter to the librarian in March 1625.[130] In view of the letter from Tengnagel to de Thou many years earlier, in which he claimed to have no interest in the German translation, we can assume that Tengnagel was aware of the disconnection between the imperial court and the publishing world.

As these examples show, until the return of the court from Prague, the main problem had been related to the fact that books were lost in transit from Frankfurt to Prague (the imperial chancellery) and Vienna (the other imperial chancellery and the library) or that, under the circumstances of confessional and political tensions with the emperor, many printers refused to consign copies of privileged (let alone unprivileged) books to the imperial delegates. In this framework, the return of the court from Prague to Vienna modified at least two circumstances: first the shipping of the books was only to be from Frankfurt to Vienna, and second, Tengnagel imposed his position on the delegates, including a proposal endorsed by von Hagen to appoint a new member of the Commission to be responsible for collecting the books from the individual printers during the book fair and for organising their delivery to Vienna. This proposal was formulated immediately after Ferdinand had issued his *Patent* and was also related to the critical economic situation of von Hagen.[131] In a letter addressed to the Librarian in September 1624, from which the frequency of their exchanges is evident, he explained the difficulties in collecting

129 See Chiara Petrolini's chapter 3 in this book.

130 ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, fols. 13r–14v.

131 HHStA, RHR, BK 1, 1–52, fols. 94r–94v, 24/10/1624.

the books from the printers: Tengnagel was asking for three exemplars of each book, whereas it was difficult even to get one. Von Hagen himself paid a *collector*, as the *Fiskal* from Speyer did not show up that year, and he was forced to work in very hostile and poor conditions. In the letter he begged for the support of Tengnagel, at that time probably considered an influential member of the City Council and in contact with important members of the court (all named at the end of the letter), to help him to obtain a further *beneficium*, such as a restituted Catholic Abbey. Of course, we must consider the war conditions when reading his letters. However, from the perspective of the role of Tengnagel as librarian (and member of the City Council), the letters written by von Hagen confirm how the return of the court to Prague consolidated his role as librarian and courtier, thus also amplifying the value of the library in the contexts of the city and the court. The prestige of Tengnagel at the end of his career must have been so high that, in the 1630s, he was even considering recommending the Orientalist and Protestant Schickard as his successor as imperial librarian, or at least this is what Peiresc was gossiping about in a letter to Lucas Holstenius …[132]

6.4 Private or Public?

Martin Zeiller in his *Itinerarium Germaniae nov-antiquae* (1632) is most precise. When he visited the city of Vienna in 1628, the librarian Sebastian Tengnagel showed him first the imperial library with his earlier and more recent highlights, including of course the old *Dioscoridis* that once belonged to Suleyman 'placed in the third room' and a French copy of the *Forteresse des la foy* with an autograph of Charles of Burgundy, and books from the dispersed libraries of

132 L. Holstenius, *Epistolae ad diversos*, ed. Jean-François Boissonade (Paris, 1817), pp. 187–8: 'Tengnagelius versatissimus est in linguis Orientalibus, quarum exactissima cognitione puto ipsum omnes superare quotquot hoc tempore inter christianos Europaeos, illud scientiae genus profitentur, et lautissima instructus est librorum copia, quos magno sumptu a legatis Caesaris Byzantii sibi coemi curavit. Omnes codices legit, expendit et notavit diligentissime; sed ob senectutem ingruentem, et vertiginis morbum quo affligitur, nihil ipse publico parare potest. Id sedulo allaborat, ut Schickardum, professorem Tubingensem, ad Caesaris aulam pertrahat, cuius librum de Jure Regni apud Hebraeos, et Genealogiam Regum Persiae te vidisse non dubito. Plurima habet historica de rebus Persicis, Saracenis et Turcicis, longe, ut affirmabat ipse, praestantiora iis commentariis quos Leunclavius et Erpenius publicarunt. Dignus ille in primis est quicum amicitia tibi intercedat, et me πρόξενον ac conciliatorem offero. Poterit ille plurima tibi respondere de Bibliis Samaritanis, quorum et ipse exemplar in Caesaris bibliotheca habet' (21 June 1630).

Matthias Corvinus and Jacopo Strada.[133] Furthermore, Tengnagel had been so kind as to invite him to his house at the *Siebenbücher* ('To the Seven Books'!), where he showed him his incredibly precious library, with many Arabic and rare manuscripts, highly priced and difficult to find, including a Genealogy of the Turkish Emperor.[134] In the eyes of Zeiller, these were two different collections: one belonged to the emperor and the other to the librarian. As we know, the latter would be transferred to the imperial library after Tengnagel's death in 1636, in accordance with his last will and testament.[135] However, as I will show in these concluding pages, the trajectories of the two libraries were far more intricate than might be suggested by their separate locations. For instance, the famous letter written by Tengnagel to the emperor on 1 May 1613 (quoted above by Chiara Petrolini), in which he requests a special salary for the Turkish prisoner İbrāhīm, to allow him to copy manuscripts at his home 'at his own risk', shows how nuanced the borders between the two libraries had been from the start:

> I had lately insisted that Your Majesty should procure for me a certain Turk, a slave of Baron Sigfried Preiner [Breuner], to copy the Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts which I had specially sent, at my own expense and risk, from various libraries in Europe for the use and adornment of your imperial library. Your Majesty immediately granted my request with great generosity, and condescended to place the services of this Turk at my disposal for copying and teaching. I therefore declare myself Your Majesty's eternally grateful servant. There remains, however, but one obstacle and one scruple to the imperial generosity, and that concerns a convenient and suitable place of work where he can write, and it remains for me in like manner to recommend him to your care, protection and expense. And indeed, some of your council have thought that it would be more useful to the library if the Turk entrusted to my jurisdiction could live in my house.[136]

The reason for the proposal was simple: the Turkish, Arabic and Persian manuscripts were at his house, so there was no reason why the scribe should work in the imperial library. However, the Oriental manuscripts were in good company. As shown in Hülya Çelik's chapter in this volume, two catalogues of Tengnagel's

133 M. Zeiller, *Itinerarium Germaniae nov-antiquae* (Straßburg, 1632), p. 300.
134 Ibid.
135 See Thomas Wallnig's chapter 1 of this volume.
136 Quoted from Chiara Petrolini's chapter 5 in this volume.

private library are still preserved in the Austrian National Library. The first of these catalogues, bearing the call mark 9539, was drawn up by Tengnagel in 1613.[137] After his marriage in 1610, and as heir to Blotius, Tengnagel had integrated Blotius's private library into his own. The 1613 catalogue is therefore the result of the two merged libraries – the already rich collection of Tengnagel and part of Blotius's, as testified, for instance, by the exemplar of the volume *Placitorum summae apud Gallos curiae libri XII*, written by Jean Du-Luc (published in Paris in 1559), that contains ownership notes of both librarians.[138] The 1613 catalogue includes 785 titles, organised according to the format of the books: 50 titles of books in folio, 91 in quarto, 198 in octavo, a second list of 83 books in Hebrew, handwritten and printed, 96 titles of "oriental books", followed by the books in sextodecimo and duodecimo, after which the list starts again with books in folio, quarto and octavo. Each book has a price, normally in florins and *Kreuzer*, sometimes also in ducats. It is difficult to say whether these figures were the prices paid by Tengnagel when he bought his books or his estimate of their market value when he was writing the catalogue. Most probably both options apply and depended on the origins and the time of purchase of the books, as per their entry into the catalogue. For instance, the two listed volumes of Cesare Campana's *Delle Historie del mondo* (Venice, 1599 and 1597), still preserved in the National Library similarly to many other books in the same collection, bear (an early) ownership note of Tengnagel and the frontispiece notes the same sum as in the catalogue: 'emit. 2 floren.' for the first,[139] and 'empt. 2 flor. 30' for the second.[140] However, in other cases, such as that of manuscripts *in folio*, including a catalogue of newsletters from Poland drawn up by Tengnagel and Blotius, the price was probably set by Tengnagel and is often 3 florins. Tengnagel's decision to indicate all prices of his books and write, *de facto*, a priced catalogue that resembles that of a bookseller probably depended on the aim of selling or exchanging some of the volumes inherited,

137 S. Tengnagel, *Catalogus librorum suorum a. 1613* in ÖNB, Cod. 9539: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13953342.

138 Ibid., fol. 7v. Du-Luc, J. J., *Placitorum summae apud Gallos curiae libri XII multis, a II ed., placitis insignibus adaucti* (Paris, 1559) in ÖNB, 37.A.26 ALT PRUNK, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10082959.

139 Campana, C., *Delle Historie Del Mondo, Volume Primo, Che contiene Libri Dieci: Ne' quali diffusamente si narrano le cose auuenute dall'Anno 1570. fino al 1580. Nouuamente Stampate, con gli Argomenti à ciascun Libro* (Venice: 1599), ÖNB, *48.S.56 (Vol.1) ALT PRUNK, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC11063318.

140 Campana, C., *Delle Historie Del Mondo, Volume Secondo, Che contiene Libri Sedici: Ne' quali diffusamente si narrano le cose auuenute dall'Anno 1580, fino al 1596. Nouuamente Stampate, con gli Argomenti à ciascun Libro* (Venice: 1597), ÖNB, *48.S.56 (Vol.2) ALT PRUNK http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC11063321.

or at least to appraise their value himself. We should also remember Thomas Wallnig's biographical chapter in this volume, which describes how Tengnagel tried, in 1612, to change his career path, hoping to become a Secretary instead of directing the imperial library; and that during the same period he also had commitments in Munich. In a time of professional uncertainty, he gathered a rich and rare collection of books, which he could eventually sell to start a new life somewhere else.

It is equally hard to determine the chronological and bibliographical relationship between this catalogue and a second one (Cod. 12650)[141] – again listing the titles of Tengnagel's private library and again written by him, but in his later years, and continued until his death, as testified by the fragile script of the librarian when noting his last entries. A note of Peter Lambeck on the verso of the cover reprimands the person who has apparently cancelled Tengnagel's name and his ownership note on the booklet, namely his successor Mauchter, who simply noted at the top of the first folio: 'Catalogues of the books in quarto of the imperial library'. This could be either a posthumous inscription, when these books were moved to the library, or more simply a mistake. This second catalogue is a less accurate shelf index, which provides a snapshot of the actual book collection preserved at the Blotius-Tengnagel house at the time of Tengnagel's death, and which was transferred to the imperial library. It contains 1,896 titles, 1,526 of which are numbered. The descriptions of the books already listed in the older catalogue are shorter but there is a clear indication of the format, to allow cross-referencing with the previous one. The librarian wrote this catalogue in constant dialogue with another individual, most likely his helper Metzler, who wrote some of the entries, and, according to Lambeck, was his right-hand man and the person who actually moved the library after 1636.[142]

According to my hypothesis these two catalogues were conceived with two different goals. Tengnagel first drew up the priced book list bearing the date 1613 and included in it the list of Oriental manuscripts, which was updated in this book until 1625. The description of the *Annales rerum à Muhammede, eiusque successoribus* … ends with a personal note saying 'curavi eum describi ex antigrapho Dervisi Begi Legati Turcici ad Imperatorem nostrum Matthiam,

141 ÖNB, Cod. 12650, catalogued as *Catalogus librorum suorum*, and available at http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13961124 (pictures of both catalogues are in Hülya Çelik's chapter in this volume, Fig. 4.1 and 4.2).

142 See, for instance, ÖNB, Cod. 12650, fol. 41r, where Tengnagel indicates that two titles had been moved to his room or at fol. 42r: 'transpositus inter Graecos Manuscript'.

P.F.A. A. 1615, nisi me fallit memoria'.[143] The wording means that this entry was written some time after 1615. Furthermore, the books in sextodecimo and duedecimo, along with the new acquisitions in folio, quarto, and octavo, were registered at least until 1618, which was the date of the most recently registered western book. A note on the final page, referring to the acquisition of the last five volumes of Arabic manuscripts, together with the date 22 June 1625, may indicate its latest completion. If this catalogue was first conceived with the aim of pricing the books, the second catalogue was begun after the first relocation of the imperial library in 1623, with the intention of registering the move of books between the private library and the imperial one, and to painstakingly organise the definite transfer of all volumes. The catalogue under consideration hides certain indications of this daily mobility. For instance, entry 705 is at some point crossed out and replaced with a new title: a *marginalia* 'Biblioth.' might suggest that the book had already been moved to the library. The marginal word 'translatus', which we find next to some titles, should probably be interpreted in the same way, as an alternative to 'transpositus' – the first meaning being carried to the imperial library and the second indicating a new position within his house. Another note, 'retinendis', might refer to books that Tengnagel wanted to keep longer at home. Of course, in this constant mobility between the streets of Vienna, and also considering the loans to people who visited the house, some books went missing or stolen: 'deest, ut puto, furto sublatus' noted a desolate Tengnagel next to the title of a book that he could not find.[144] In any case, this mobility was in both directions: it is clear that if the imperial library was in the process of being relocated twice, and the books still had to be catalogued, the librarian needed a different place to work, receive his guests, and preserve valuable books that might otherwise be stolen.

In the librarian's later years a further element emerged, namely the incorporation of Tengnagel's own house into that of the Order of the Discalced Carmelites. As noted by Zeiller and then by Lambeck, in the topography of the city of Vienna of the seventeenth century Tengnagel's house belonged to a larger building near the *Salzgriess* that was donated by Emperor Ferdinand II to the Jewish community of Vienna to build a synagogue, between the 1620s' Patent that reintegrated the community in Vienna and 1624, the point at which its members were assigned a quarter on the other side of the present *Donaukanal*.[145]

143 ÖNB, Cod. 9539, fol. 49v.

144 ÖNB, Cod. 12650, fol. 47v.

145 M. Eisterer, 'Regesten zur Geschichte des Klosters der unbeschuhten Karmeliterinnen oder "Siebenbüchnerinnen" in Wien', *Wiener Diözesanblatt* 17 (1887), 193–194 and 18, 205–209. See also https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Siebenb%C3%BCchnerinnenkloster#tab=null.

The building contained two houses: one was demolished in 1623 to leave room for the synagogue and the other had been the house of the Blotiuses, and later the Tengnagels. Ursula died in 1628 leaving Sebastian there alone with his servants and his books. Soon after, however, the Empress Eleonora requested this area to build a monastery for the new order of the Discalced Carmelites. As a result, the permission of the synagogue was first delayed and then the area was confiscated. Meanwhile, the construction of the monastery was begun in the property next to the house and later the two complexes were united. At the time of Tengnagel's death, the Blotius-Tengnagel house seems to have been in the process of being integrated into the 'Siebenbüchnerinnenkloster': this is the main reason why Tengnagel proposes, in his testament, that the empress should donate 1,500 gulden to the Carmelites as compensation for the library bequeathed in their new house. Tengnagel had expressed his intention to leave his Oriental collection of books to the emperor as early as 1609, in a letter to Peter Kirstenius. Over the years his career orientations changed; war broke out in 1618, thus precipitating a decrease in book prices and a reduction in the value of book collections. Lambeck himself, when describing the value of the Fugger Library before and after the war, refers to a decrease of book values of 50%.[146] Tengnagel kept his position as imperial librarian during these troubled years, remained in Vienna, and made his library a monument to his learning in constant dialogue with the imperial collection. In these unstable times, however, if the prices assigned to Western books seem to have decreased to the extent that they ceased to be the instruments of a possible departure from Vienna, the Oriental books became a source of incredible "capital". While the value of his 95 Oriental books was 336 florins and 22 *Kreuzer* in 1613, between 1625 and 1633, 105 items were valued by Tengnagel as approximately 1,030 florins, a sum not too far from the 1,500 he mentioned in his testament for the compensation of his library.

The house of Tengnagel before his death appears through the catalogues as a house full of books, whose numbers increased in the yeas. If we trust the description of this house from the *Hofquartieramt*, and if we cross-check it with the description of the rooms provided by Tengnagel in the shelf catalogue, the house probably consisted of two floors, each with three rooms.[147] On the ground floor there was probably a large room (*Catalogus librorum in*

146 Lambeck, *Commentariorum*, p. 67: 'constat, eam ante gravissimum hujus seculi bellum Germanicum (80,000) octoginta millibus florenorum, et post illud (40,000) quadraginta florenorum millibus potuisse divendi'.

147 ÖstA, Hofkammer- und Finanzarchiv, Alte Hofkammer, Hofquartierbücher: Bücher und Protokolle der kaiserlichen Hofquartiermeister, nr. 5, nr. 8 e 10 (1565–1586).

hypocausto meo magno)[148] with plenty of shelves, each with a capacity of about 50 volumes, then two further rooms, a smaller one facing the river and another on the other side.[149] Books were organised in the rooms according to their format, with folio volumes at the bottom, then the quartos, and the octavos along with sextodecimos and dudecesimos. In a wardrobe in the small room, *in VI statione*, were the Arabic, Persian and Turkish books. The smaller room, *versus Danubium*, contained the French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese books. In the same room were also, unmarked, some of the printed books sold from Johannes Sambucus's heirs to the library, followed by a group of 142 books still waiting to be bound (with some only lately bound) without numbers, 83 Greek manuscripts, and a very recent list of 40 books only lately acquired in the library. Their titles are written in an old, shaky hand that was still recognisable as Tengnagel's. As most of the titles included in the first catalogue are indicated in the last catalogue in a short version, it is only through later acquisitions in this list (most of the books numbered between 333 and 689) that we can determine the very last acquisitions and date them with a group of books published between 1625 and 1628.

The two catalogues combined present the image of an incredibly rich, trans-regional, and updated book collection, with the most important editions of Tengnagel's time, ranging from geographical discoveries, history, theology, controversies, travel accounts and descriptions to handwritten and printed newsletters from Europe, Asia and America, works on science and medicine, and of course the 100 Oriental titles – a true treasure for the time. Among the "Western" printed books, most editions were from Venice, followed by Paris, Frankfurt, Geneva, Lyon, and Augsburg. The Oriental books were of course mainly handwritten. However, it is possible to detect differences between the *Hebraici* (50% handwritten) printed mainly in Venice, Krakow, Basel, and Trent and the *Arabici, Turcici …* (almost 75% handwritten), with the printed versions produced in Rome, Lleida, Venice or Cologne. Among the Italian, Portuguese and Spanish books there were some rare and valuable volumes, such as an edition of the *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João das Índias* in folio (nr. 1059) – Tengnagel notes it as 'rara historia' – and a Spanish edition of the description of Africa by Luis del Mármol Carvajal (1062), requested by Tengnagel from de Thou and finally provided by the Cologne bookseller Anton Hierat, in 1612. Here again he writes 'rarius lib.' It is my intention to conduct a detailed collation of all the titles included in the two catalogues and make a systematic comparison with the volumes that are still preserved in the

148 ÖNB, Cod. 12650, fol. 31r.
149 As indicated in ibid., fol. 41r.

Austrian National Library and bear the 'ST ex libris'. However, it cannot be assumed that exemplars preserved in the National Library and which correspond to the catalogue description without his *ex libris* were not actually part of Tengnagels' library: he may simply have added the ownership note to a certain date, or some books may have been bound together with others during his time but were then separated in the nineteenth century. One such example is the *Histoire orientale des Grans Progres de l'Eglise Catholique. ... en la Reduction des Anciens Chrestiens* ... (Antwerpen, 1609), at the time bound together with the *Relaciones De Pedro Teixeira D'el Origen Descendencia Y Svccession de los Reyes de Persia* (Antwerpen, 1610), which was bought by Tengnagel for 2 florins and was bound together then, but is now in two separate books.[150] The second volume has no ownership note but a page completely written by Tengnagel and containing a transcription of Thomas Erpenius's catalogue of Oriental manuscripts and his marginalia to different passages.

What we can say now, by cross-referencing the information from the catalogues with that from his letters and notebooks, is that Tengnagel put a great deal of effort and money into gathering all types of books (not just Oriental ones) from the start of his career, but that he might have found at his home many books already deposited there from the times of his predecessor. These were both Blotius' books and also books from the imperial library that could not find a place in the shelves. However, with time, and after his definitive decision to leave his entire library to the emperor, the material and intellectual borders between the two libraries became even more blurred. Not only did the acquisition of many books within Tengnagel's private library result from the network and legacy he had inherited or could enjoy as imperial librarian, and from his position both within the city of Vienna and within the Republic of Letters, but also, and more concretely, the library at his house occasionally served the goals and functions of the imperial library. In practice it could hardly be otherwise, if we reconsider what was described in the first paragraph of this chapter: the lack of space at the convent of the Friars Minor, the two moves of the imperial library, the need to take books home to provide catalogue descriptions in winter, or when in search of a more comfortable place during his frequent illness for his own studies and professional needs. In one way

150 ÖNB, Cod. 9539, fol. 24r. A. Govea, *Histoire orientale des grans progres de l'eglise cathol. ... en la reduction des anciens Chrestiens* (Antwerpen, 1609), ÖNB, 43.Z.47 ALT PRUNK, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09909717 and P. Teixeira, *Relaciones De Pedro Teixeira D'el Origen Descendencia Y Svccession de los reyes de Persia, y de Harmuz Y De Vn Viage Hecho Por El Mismo Avtor dende la India Oriental hasta Italia por tierra* (Antwerpen, 1610), ÖNB, 43.Z.46 ALT PRUNK http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10369641.

or another, the two librarians, Blotius and Tengnagel, had accommodated, in about 50 years, a huge collection of books in the rooms of their house, making *de facto* their library a "branch" of the imperial library. It is hard to determine at this stage of research how "imperial" or how "private" this branch actually was, but it was surely the most updated part, the one not pictured in the official catalogues of the library, ready to join the rest of the collection after the death of Tengnagel and the extinction of the family. If the donation of Tengnagel's Oriental manuscripts was an incredibly generous gesture, and was also constituted a programme with a huge impact on the future of the imperial collection, for the rest of the library the donation seems to have become an almost "legal obligation", because the energies and money of the imperial librarian had been invested there, and because books had been transferred from one library to the other on a regular basis. The mobility of the books – especially those belonging to the imperial library – had been a widespread, daily operation that Tengnagel inherited along with the house and library. But, as many operations occurred under Blotius' prefecture, they were not registered. Tengnagel inverted this tendency in both the imperial and the private library and left, with his two catalogues, a testimony of the impact of private collections, their organisation and their uses on the creation of larger, institutional libraries.[151]

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151 On this point see also A. der Weduwen and A. Pettegree, *The Library: A Fragile History* (London, 2021) and, even if for a later time, R. Jagersma, H. Blom and E. Chayes, *Private Libraries and their Documentation, 1665–1830. Studying and Interpreting Sources* (Leiden, 2023).

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Final Note: Twenty-Five/Thirty Years with Sebastian Tengnagel: from an Ottomanist's View to a Broader Perspective

Claudia Römer

A letter from İbrāhīm Dervīş to Tengnagel was previously known as a single sheet in cod. ÖNB A.F. 32, a collection of original Ottoman letters and documents. I was aware of this document from around 1990 but was only able to identify its addressee – Zibāstyān – as Sebastian Tengnagel with the help of Paul Wittek and Friedrich Kraelitz-Greifenhorst's 1921 introduction to vol. 1 of *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*.[1]

Subsequently, I read Tengnagel's letter collections, book catalogues, and many of his marginal notes in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts he used. For me as an Ottomanist, two aspects were particularly striking. On the one hand, İbrāhīm Dervīş was interesting as a 16th-century subject of the Ottoman sultan who had been taken prisoner in one of the Ottoman-Habsburg wars. On the other, Tengnagel was an appealing person as well, a subject of the Holy Roman Emperor, a passionate philologist and collector of manuscripts, who was part of a vast network of similarly oriented scholars. The intellectual interplay between these two men, as it gradually emerged from the manuscripts and letters, was fascinating.

Yet, when collecting information on Tengnagel's correspondents, I became aware that his and their letters addressed religious, philological, and historical questions, as well as the later Heidelberg Library catastrophe and the ongoing Thirty Years' War. However, as the internet had only just begun to emerge in the 1990s, I had somehow missed the PhD dissertation of Robert Jones,[2] which was not published until 2020. His unpublished dissertation included a short chapter on İbrāhīm Dervīş, which he then expanded in his book, but he had not seen this letter to Tengnagel.

1 Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, F. and P. Wittek, 'Einleitung', *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* 1 (1921), p. 2, note 4.

2 Jones, Robert, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)*. (Leiden-Boston, 2020).

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The present book sums up the results of several years of studying three distinct sets of sources – Tengnagel's correspondence, his book catalogues, and the Arabic, Persian and Ottoman manuscripts he had purchased.

In contrast with previous scholarship, the book has produced the following new insights:

– Even if his early years remain somewhat unclear, we now know much more about Tengnagel's life, apart from his studies, which one could call his formative period. The greater part of his life was spent in Vienna, a city he rarely left. In contrast with Della Valle, Sebastian Tengnagel was no traveller, but through his vast network of contacts in Europe and the Ottoman Empire he ordered books and manuscripts he was interested in. He also met scholars who passed through Vienna. The letters and his book catalogues reveal his extensive knowledge of languages and his manifold interests beyond them. Through his family connections he was in touch with prominent astronomers, above all with Tycho Brahe, whose son-in-law was Franz Gansneb Tengnagel.
– From all the available handwritten sources, the letters, the book catalogues he put together, and the manuscripts he annotated, we get a much more vivid picture of Tengnagel set against the background of the multi-layered and multifaceted political and religious situation in his day. One aspect that we must keep in mind is that all the interconnected activities of the members of the Republic of Letters continued throughout the Thirty Years' War, with letters being sent and delivered, and manuscripts being dispatched and received from one end of Europe to the other.
– Regarding religion, Tengnagel's entanglement with the Jesuits, especially his contacts with Gretser, represent one aspect of his life, which has hitherto been less known. These connections also become clear from the fact that they apparently tried to make İbrāhīm Dervīş convert, as Tengnagel mentions in a letter. Tengnagel was a Catholic subject of the Catholic emperor, and his salaried servant. Nevertheless, he had intense intellectual exchanges with Protestants like Gruter and Enenkel. This multi-confessional dimension is crucial to Tengnagel's work.

Learning Arabic (and Hebrew, Syriac, Ge'ez) was important for several purposes: for understanding the Bible, for helping Christians under Ottoman rule, and for reading the Qur'an not so much to refute it, as in previous centuries, but to find out more about the common elements of the three monotheistic religions, and even more so to show that Catholicism was rooted in older religions.

– Tengnagel was disgusted by contemporary events, such as the Thirty Years' War and its cruelty, yet he was interested in history. He began to learn

Ottoman Turkish to understand the history of the Ottoman Empire, as well as to understand why the Ottomans (and the Europeans) saw the Ottoman state in decline. He was perhaps a very early scholar who pondered on the question of the Ottoman decline paradigm, which only began to be questioned by historians in the latter part of the twentieth century and was gradually replaced by a transformation paradigm.

– Tengnagel learned Persian to understand what happened during the reign of Abbas II. His contacts with Della Valle in this regard are a precious source and in his endeavours the question of empires comes to the fore.
– Tengnagel had many more interests in other fields, such as geography, medicine and lexicography. These have little to do with Islam, except perhaps medicine, the reason for being a physician being rooted in God reprimanding Muhammad for not taking measures against illness.
– Apart from their contents the letters and manuscripts have provided the opportunity to make various uses of Digital Humanities, such as network analysis, which shows a variety of features of the letters, including their subject matter, the correspondents and their place of residence, and the timeframe of Tengnagel's correspondence.

  Tengnagel's role as a librarian is discussed against the background of the idea of the library as a space. Within this space Tengnagel moved the books to better places, drew up catalogues as a reflection of the library, and installed shelves and shelf marks. The question remains whether the 'Hofbibliothek' was an imperial library, a dynastic library or a "hinterlassene" library. A distinction should also be made between Tengnagel's private library and the court library.
– Finally, an important result of the book for Ottoman studies must be noted: the dictionaries that Tengnagel used and his annotations in the manuscripts have been analysed; the fact that he used Turkish prisoners of war as scribes has been corroborated; and further details about Tengnagel's work with these prisoners, especially İbrāhīm Dervīş, were brought to light.

In conclusion, Tengnagel was an outstanding person in some ways but not in others. He shared several interests and concerns with the other citizens of the Republic of Letters, suffered from wartime difficulties, and was caught between Christian denominations. Yet he may have been different – shaped by the multitude of languages he learned, and by not travelling but staying at home and obtaining information and material through his network and "his" scribes. He may have been outstanding as a librarian, by his arrangement of the books and by writing separate catalogues for printed books and manuscripts. We will

only know if he was indeed outstanding when we have more works on other individual scholars of the time.

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APPENDIX

Table of Sebastian Tengnagel's Correspondence

Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STQ0001	9737q	10r–11r	Jacob Gretser	Georg Sturn	1608-09-04	s.l.
STQ0002	9737q	12r–12v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Johann Georg Herwart von Hohenburg	1611-09-01	Vienna
STQ0003	9737q	12v–13r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Christoph Gewold	1611-09-01	Vienna
STQ0004	9737q	13r–13v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Georg Sturn	1611-08-17	Vienna
STQ0005	9737q	13v–14r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jacob Gretser	1611-08-17	Vienna
STQ0006	9737q	14r–15r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jacob Gretser	1611-09-01	Vienna
STQ0007	9737q	15r–15v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Cornelis van der Myle	s.d.	Vienna
STQ0008	9737q	15v–16r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Henry Savile	s.d.	Vienna
STQ0009	9737q	20r–20v	Pongrác Sennyey	Zsigmond Sarmasághy	1612-06-22	Szakmár
STQ0010	9737q	21r–21r	Pongrác Sennyey	Zsigmond Sarmasághy	1612-07-06	Szakmár
STQ0011	9737q	21v–21v	Pierre Coton	s.n.	1612-10-29	Paris
STQ0012	9737q	22r–22r	Philipp II	s.n.	1613-01-09	Szczecin
STQ0013	9737q	27v–27v	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.n.	1611-08-27	Vienna
STQ0014	9737q	28r–29r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jan Gruter	1608-08-14	Vienna
STQ0015	9737q	29r–30r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Bonaventura Vulcanius	1608-08-23	Vienna
STQ0016	9737q	30v–31r	Sebastian Tengnagel	David Hoeschel	s.d.	Vienna
STQ0017	9737q	31v–31v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Marcus Welser	1608-11-22	Vienna

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(*cont.*)

Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STQ0018	9737q	31v–32v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Samuel Slade	s.d.	Vienna
STQ0019	9737q	33r–33v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	1611-03-22	Vienna
STQ0020	9737q	34r–34r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jan Gruter	1609-02-18	Vienna
STQ0021	9737q	36r–36v	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.n.	s.d.	Vienna
STQ0022	9737q	37r–37r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Johann Georg Herwart von Hohenburg	1609-04-08	Vienna
STQ0023	9737q	38r–38r	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-04-05	Frankfurt am Main
STQ0024	9737q	38v–39r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Petrus Kirstenius	1611-08-01	Vienna
STQ0025	9737q	40r–40v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Matthias	1611-12-27	Vienna
STQ0026	9737q	40v–41r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Johann Georg Herwart von Hohenburg	1612-02-17	Vienna
STQ0027	9737q	41v–42r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Christoph Gewold	1612-02-17	Vienna
STQ0028	9737q	42r–42v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Johann Prigglmayer	1612-01-01	Vienna
STQ0029	9737q	42v–43v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Matthias	s.d.	Vienna
STQ0030	9737q	44v–45r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Daniel Heinsius	1612-08-30	Vienna
STQ0031	9737q	45r–45v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Victor Scialac	1613-01-08	Vienna
STQ0032	9737q	46r–46v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Christoph Gewold	1614-12-14	Vienna
STQ0033	9737q	46v–47v	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.n.	1615-12-14	Vienna
STQ0034	9737q	47v–48r	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.n.	1615-12-14	Vienna

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STQ0035	9737q	50r–50r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Hans Ludwig von Ulm	1617-04-01	Vienna
STQ0036	9737q	50v–50v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Hans Ludwig von Ulm	1617-06-24	Vienna
STR0001	9737r	1r–1v	Pierre Cavellat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1604-03-22	Paris
STR0002	9737r	2r–2v	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	Heinrich Rantzau	1597-06-18	Rostock
STR0003	9737r	3r–4v	David Hoeschel	Johann Matthäus Wacker von Wackenfels	1600-01-30	s.l.
STR0004	9737r	5r–5v	David Hoeschel	Johann Matthäus Wacker von Wackenfels	1600-02-10	Augsburg
STR0005	9737r	6r–6v	Christophorus Colerus	Johann Matthäus Wacker von Wackenfels	1602-12-29	"Lucianicum Zelenii"
STR0006	9737r	7r–7v	Pierre Cavellat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1603-02-12	Paris
STR0007	9737r	10r–10v	Johannes Pistorius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1603-05-21	Prague
STR0008	9737r	11r–11v	Johannes Pistorius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1603-07-14	Prague
STR0009	9737r	12r–12v	Pierre Cavellat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1603-09-01	Paris
STR0010	9737r	13r–13v	Guillaume Cavellat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1604-03-30	Paris
STR0011	9737r	14r–14v	Pierre Cavellat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1604-06-04	Paris
STR0012	9737r	15r–15v	Johannes Pistorius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1604-06-23	Prague
STR0013	9737r	16r–16v	Johannes Pistorius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1604-07-03	Prague

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0014	9737r	17r–18v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1604-11-17	Wrocław
STR0015	9737r	19r–20v	Pierre Cavellat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1604-12-01	Lyon
STR0016	9737r	21r–21v	Jan Gruter	Hugo Blotius, Sebastian Tengnagel	1605-01-24	Heidelberg
STR0017	9737r	22r–23v	Hieronymus Arnold Rath	Sebastian Tengnagel	1605-02-22	Munich
STR0018	9737r	24r–25v	Martino Bonacina	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-03-09	Milan
STR0019	9737r	26r–26v	Nicolaus Serarius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1605-04-03	Mainz
STR0020	9737r	28r–28v	Johann Georg Herwart von Hohenburg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1605-04-13	Munich
STR0021	9737r	30r–31v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1605-09-01	Wrocław
STR0022	9737r	32r–32v	Nicolaus Serarius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1605-09-27	Mainz
STR0023	9737r	32a-r–32a-v	Franciscus von Meulen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1605-10-19	Prague
STR0024	9737r	33r–33v	Philippus Rinaldius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1606-02-25	Rome
STR0025	9737r	34r–35v	Philippus Rinaldius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1606-03-04	Rome
STR0026	9737r	36r–37v	Johannes Pistorius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1606-05-05	Prague
STR0027	9737r	38r–38v	Johannes Pistorius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1606-09-06	Freiburg im Breisgau
STR0028	9737r	39r–40v	Jan Gruter	Hugo Blotius, Sebastian Tengnagel	1606-09-18	Heidelberg
STR0029	9737r	41r–41v	Gabriel de Buenaventura	Sebastian Tengnagel	1606-10-14	Venice

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0030	9737r	42r–42v	Jan Gruter	Hugo Blotius, Sebastian Tengnagel	1606-11-07	Heidelberg
STR0031	9737r	43r–44v	Johannes Pistorius	Jacob Gretser	1606-12-03	Freiburg im Breisgau
STR0032	9737r	45r–45v	Johannes Pistorius	Johannes Zehender	1606-12-03	Freiburg im Breisgau
STR0033	9737r	46r–47v	Johannes Pistorius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1606-12-03	Freiburg im Breisgau
STR0034	9737r	48r–48v	Jan Gruter	Hugo Blotius, Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-01-07	Heidelberg
STR0035	9737r	49r–50v	Jan Gruter	Hugo Blotius, Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-01-07	Heidelberg
STR0036	9737r	51r–53v	Isaac Casaubon	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-03-18	Paris
STR0037	9737r	54r–54v	Nicolaus Serarius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-04-08	Mainz
STR0038	9737r	55r–56v	Hermann von Questenberg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-07-02	s.l.
STR0039	9737r	57r–57v	Jacobus Darimplius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-07-07	London
STR0040	9737r	58r–59v	Hermann von Questenberg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-08-04	Prague
STR0041	9737r	60r–60v	Friedrich Taubmann	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-08-14	Wittenberg
STR0042	9737r	61r–61v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Isaac Casaubon	1607-08-22	Vienna
STR0043	9737r	62r–63v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-08-26	Ingolstadt
STR0044	9737r	64r–64v	Christophorus Crinesius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-10-18	Wittenberg
STR0045	9737r	65r–66v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-10-23	Ingolstadt

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0046	9737r	67r–67v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-11-07	s.l.
STR0047	9737r	68r–68v	Friedrich Taubmann	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-11-13	s.l.
STR0048	9737r	69r–69v	Philippus Rinaldius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1607-11-16	Rome
STR0049	9737r	71r–72v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-01-09	s.l.
STR0050	9737r	73r–73v	Christophorus Crinesius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-01-20	Wittenberg
STR0051	9737r	74r–74v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-01-30	Heidelberg
STR0052	9737r	75r–76v	Hermann von Questenberg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-02-06	Prague
STR0053	9737r	77r–78v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-02-07	Wrocław
STR0054	9737r	79r–79v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608–02-13	Augsburg
STR0055	9737r	80r–81v	Friedrich Taubmann	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-02-23	Wittenberg
STR0056	9737r	82r–83v	Christophorus Crinesius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-02-24	Wittenberg
STR0057	9737r	84r–85v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-03-15	Ingolstadt
STR0058	9737r	86r–86r	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.n.	1608-03-24	Vienna
STR0059	9737r	86v–86v	Johannes Faber	s.n.	1529-10-08	Ingolstadt
STR0060	9737r	87r–87v	Konrad Rittershausen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-03-26	Regensburg
STR0061	9737r	88r–88v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-04-05	s.l.
STR0062	9737r	89r–89v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-04-06	Frankfurt am Main
STR0063	9737r	90r–91v	Philippus Rinaldius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-05-03	Rome

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0064	9737r	92r–92v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-05-27	Ingolstadt
STR0065	9737r	94r–95v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-07-19	Wrocław
STR0066	9737r	96r–97v	Samuel Slade	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-08-01	Venice
STR0067	9737r	98r–99v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-08-05	Wrocław
STR0068	9737r	100r–101v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-08-05	Wrocław
STR0069	9737r	102r–102v	Christophorus Crinesius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-08-08	Wittenberg
STR0070	9737r	103r–103v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-09-26	s.l.
STR0071	9737r	104r–105v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-11-17	Ingolstadt
STR0072	9737r	106r–107v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-11-26	Prague
STR0073	9737r	108r–108v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-12-13	Augsburg
STR0074	9737r	109r–109v	Marquard Freher	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-12-13	Augsburg
STR0075	9737r	110r–110v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Robert de Scheilder	1608-12-25	Vienna
STR0076	9737r	112r–113v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-01-09	Wrocław
STR0077	9737r	114r–114v	Sebastian Tengnagel	David Hoeschel	1609-02-28	Vienna
STR0078	9737r	115r–116v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-03-05	Wrocław
STR0079	9737r	117r–117v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-03-05	Ingolstadt
STR0080	9737r	118r–118v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-03-13	Augsburg
STR0081	9737r	119r–120v	Konrad Rittershausen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-03-18	Altdorf

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0082	9737r	121r–122v	Christoph Donauer	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-03-21	Regensburg
STR0083	9737r	123r–124v	Heribert Rosweyde	Sebastian Tengnagel	1608-03-31	Antwerp
STR0084	9737r	125r–125v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-04-19	Heidelberg
STR0085	9737r	126r–126v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-05-01	Vienna
STR0086	9737r	127r–127v	Heribert Rosweyde	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-05-18	Antwerp
STR0087	9737r	128r–128v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-06-05	Augsburg
STR0088	9737r	129r–130v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-06-04	Ingolstadt
STR0089	9737r	131r–131v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-07-03	Augsburg
STR0090	9737r	132r–132v	Vincenzo Riccardi	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-08-01	Rome
STR0091	9737r	133r–133v	Christophorus Crinesius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-08-27	Wittenberg
STR0092	9737r	134r–135v	John Harington	Henry Wotton	1609-09-04	Vienna
STR0093	9737r	136r–136v	John Harington	William Bedell	1609-09-04	Vienna
STR0094	9737r	137r–137v	Georg Sturn	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-12-16	Prague
STR0095	9737r	138r–139v	Karl von Liechtenstein	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-10-19	Lednice
STR0096	9737r	140r–141v	Christophorus Crinesius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1609-10-09	Wittenberg
STR0097	9737r	142r–142v	Georg Sturn	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-02-03	Prague
STR0098	9737r	143r–144v	Henry Savile	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-02-03	London
STR0099	9737r	145r–146v	Guillaume Le Bé	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-03-20	Paris

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0100	9737r	147r–147v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1604-04-10	Frankfurt am Main
STR0101	9737r	148r–148v	Georg Remus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-04-11	Nuremberg
STR0102	9737r	149r–150v	Jordanus Louffius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-04-27	s.l.
STR0103	9737r	151r–151v	Henry Savile	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-08-01	London
STR0104	9737r	152r–153v	Johann Lieb	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-08-02	Munich
STR0105	9737r	154r–154v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	Wrocław
STR0106	9737r	155r–155v	Konrad Rittershausen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-09-27	Altdorf
STR0107	9737r	156r–157v	Johann Lieb	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-10-16	Munich
STR0108	9737r	158r–159v	Albert von Schilling	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-10-16	Regensburg
STR0109	9737r	160r–160r	Jakob Christmann	Jan Gruter	s.d.	Heidelberg
STR0110	9737r	160v–161r	Jan Gruter	Redzenberger	1610-10-20	Heidelberg
STR0111	9737r	162r–162v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-10-27	Augsburg
STR0112	9737r	163r–164v	Johann Lieb	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-11-15	Munich
STR0113	9737r	165r–165v	Christophorus Crinesius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-11-19	Wittenberg
STR0114	9737r	166r–166r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Konrad Rittershausen	1610-11-19	Vienna
STR0115	9737r	166v–166v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jacob Gretser	1610-11-20	Vienna
STR0116	9737r	167r–167r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Georg Sturn	1610-11-20	Vienna
STR0117	9737r	167v–167v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jordanus Louffius	1610-11-01	Vienna
STR0118	9737r	168r–168r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Petrus Kirstenius	1610-11-21	Vienna

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0119	9737r	168v–168v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Baldassare Bolognetti	1610-11-26	Vienna
STR0120	9737r	169r–169r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Petrus Kirstenius	1611-01-10	Vienna
STR0121	9737r	169v–169v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Johann van Giffen	s.d.	Vienna
STR0122	9737r	170r–171v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Isaac Casaubon	1610-11-27	Vienna
STR0123	9737r	172r–172r	Georg Sturn	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-12-01	Prague
STR0124	9737r	173r–173r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Georg von Geisberg	1610-12-08	Vienna
STR0125	9737r	173v–174r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Heribert Rosweyde	1611-02-12	Vienna
STR0126	9737r	174v–174v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Michael Starzer	1611-09-27	Vienna
STR0127	9737r	175r–175v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-01-13	Augsburg
STR0128	9737r	176r–176v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-01-27	Wrocław
STR0129	9737r	177r–177r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Bartholomäus Immendorf	1611-01-29	Vienna
STR0130	9737r	177r–177v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Daniel Heinsius	1611-02-02	Vienna
STR0131	9737r	178r–178v	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.n.	1611-02-05	Vienna
STR0132	9737r	179r–181v	Johann Lieb	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-02-08	Munich
STR0133	9737r	182r–182v	Georg Sturn	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-02-11	Prague
STR0134	9737r	183r–184v	John Harington	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-02-12	London
STR0135	9737r	185r–185r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Daniel Heinsius	1611-02-28	Vienna
STR0136	9737r	185v–185v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Guillaume Le Bé	1611-02-28	Vienna
STR0137	9737r	186r–186r	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.n.	1611-02-28	Vienna

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0138	9737r	186v–186v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Marquard Freher	1611-02-28	Vienna
STR0139	9737r	187r–187v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jakob Christmann	1611-02-28	Vienna
STR0140	9737r	187v–187v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jan Gruter	1611-02-28	Vienna
STR0141	9737r	188r–188r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Pierre Cavellat	1611-02-28	Vienna
STR0142	9737r	188r–188v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Karl von Liechtenstein	1611-03-21	Vienna
STR0143	9737r	189r–189*v	Jordanus Louffius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-03-14	s.l.
STR0144	9737r	190r–190v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-04-05	Frankfurt am Main
STR0145	9737r	191r–192v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-05-12	Ingolstadt
STR0146	9737r	193r–193v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-07-14	Ingolstadt
STR0147	9737r	194r–194v	Conradus Gaag	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-07-28	Prague
STR0148	9737r	195r–196v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Melchior Khlesl	1611-08-13	Vienna
STR0149	9737r	197r–197v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-08-24	Ingolstadt
STR0150	9737r	198r–198v	Georg Sturn	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-08-27	Prague
STR0151	9737r	199r–199v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-08-31	Augsburg
STR0152	9737r	200r–200v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-09-11	Ingolstadt
STR0153	9737r	202r–202v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-09-21	Wrocław
STR0154	9737r	203r–203v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-09-26	Ingolstadt
STR0155	9737r	204r–204v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-09-27	Heidelberg
STR0156	9737r	205r–205v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-10-28	Wrocław

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0157	9737r	206r–206v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-11-15	Wrocław
STR0158	9737r	207r–207v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-11-23	Heidelberg
STR0159	9737r	208r–208v	Jakob Christmann	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-04-29	Heidelberg
STR0160	9737r	209r–209v	Henry Savile	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-12-18	London
STR0161	9737r	210r–210v	Elias Opala	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-12-01	Wrocław
STR0162	9737r	211r–211v	Elias Opala	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611-12-01	Wrocław
STR0163	9737r	212r–212v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1612-03-14	Ingolstadt
STR0164	9737r	213r–213v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1612-03-31	Wrocław
STR0165	9737r	214r–214v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1612-04-14	Frankfurt am Main
STR0166	9737r	215r–216v	John Harington	Sebastian Tengnagel	1612-05-01	s.l.
STR0167	9737r	217r–218v	Johann Lieb	Sebastian Tengnagel	1612-05-10	Munich
STR0168	9737r	219r–219v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1612-09-17	Heidelberg
STR0169	9737r	220r–220v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1612-10-01	Wrocław
STR0170	9737r	221r–223v	Johann Lieb	Sebastian Tengnagel	1612-12-12	Munich
STR0171	9737r	225r–226v, 224r	Christoph Helvig	Sebastian Tengnagel	1612-12-15	Giessen
STR0172	9737r	227r–227v	Daniel Heinsius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-01-15	Leiden
STR0173	9737r	228r–228v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-01-22	Ingolstadt
STR0174	9737r	229r–229v	Henry Savile	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-01-22	London
STR0175	9737r	230r–230v	Konrad Rittershausen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-01-31	Altdorf

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0176	9737r	231r–231v	Pedro Teixeira	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-02-06	Hamburg
STR0177	9737r	232r–232v	Daniel Heinsius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-02-13	s.l.
STR0178	9737r	233r–234v	Daniel Heinsius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-03-08	Leiden
STR0179	9737r	235r–235v	Daniel Heinsius	Arnold Willelms	1613-03-08	Leiden
STR0180	9737r	236r–236v	Georgius Garnefelt	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-03-23	Cologne
STR0181	9737r	237r–237v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-04-03	s.l.
STR0182	9737r	238r–239v	Johannes Decker	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-05-09	Graz
STR0183	9737r	240r–241v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Matthias	1613-05-01	Vienna
STR0184	9737r	242r–243v	Martin Ressler	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-07-13	Bratislava
STR0185	9737r	244r–245v	Péter Pázmány	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-09-09	Szerdahely
STR0186	9737r	246r–247v	Valentinus Leuchtius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-09-18	Frankfurt am Main
STR0187	9737r	248r–249v	Reinprecht von Polheim	Sebastian Tengnagel	1613-12-02	Hochosterwitz
STR0188	9737r	250r–250v	Matthias	s.n.	1614-01-20	Linz
STR0189	9737r	251r–252v	Caspar Dornau	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-02-14	Görlitz
STR0190	9737r	253r–253v	Georg Remus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-03-05	Nuremberg
STR0191	9737r	254r–254v	Jordanus Louffius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-04-06	s.l.
STR0192	9737r	255r–255v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-04-19	Augsburg
STR0193	9737r	256r–257v	Hermann von Questenberg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-04-19	Wels
STR0194	9737r	258r–259v	Hermannus Ytterius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-05-12	Linz

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0195	9737r	260r–261v	Valentinus Leuchtius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-05-13	Frankfurt am Main
STR0196	9737r	262r–263v	Georg Remus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-06-21	Nuremberg
STR0197	9737r	264r–265v	Jacques-Auguste de Thou	Robert de Scheilder	1614-07-22	Paris
STR0198	9737r	266r–267v	Christoph Gewold	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-08-13	Munich
STR0199	9737r	268r–268v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-08-16	Linz
STR0199	9737r	269r–269v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Thomas Erpenius	1614-08-23	Vienna
STR0200	9737r	269v–270v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Daniel Heinsius	1614-08-23	Vienna
STR0201	9737r	271r–271v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Thomas Erpenius	1614-08-23	Vienna
STR0202	9737r	272r–274v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Daniel Heinsius	1614-08-23	Vienna
STR0203	9737r	275r–275v	Arnold Willelms	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-08-23	Linz
STR0204	9737r	276r–277v	Karl von Liechtenstein	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-08-26	Linz
STR0205	9737r	278r–278v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-09-06	Linz
STR0206	9737r	279r–280v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-09-06	Linz
STR0207	9737r	281r–281v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jacques-Auguste de Thou	1614-09-08	Vienna
STR0208	9737r	281v–282v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Fronton du Duc	1614-09-08	Vienna
STR0209	9737r	283r–284v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jacques-Auguste de Thou	1614-09-08	Vienna
STR0210	9737r	285r–286v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Fronton du Duc	1614-09-08	Vienna

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STR0211	9737r	287r–288v	Valentinus Leuchtius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-10-06	Frankfurt am Main
STR0212	9737r	289r–290v	Johannes Decker	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-11-13	Graz
STR0213	9737r	291r–292v	Thomas Erpenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-11-20	Leiden
STR0214	9737r	293r–294v	Christoph Gewold	Sebastian Tengnagel	1614-11-26	Munich
STR0215	9737r	295r–295r	Seyfried Christoph von Breuner	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STS0001	9737s	1r–2v	Caspar Dornau	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-01-12	Görlitz
STS0002	9737s	3r–3v	Georg Remus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-01-12	Nuremberg
STS0003	9737s	4r–4v	Johannes Cellarius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-01-13	Nuremberg
STS0004	9737s	5r–5v	Johann Prigglmayer	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-01-14	Munich
STS0005	9737s	6r–7v	Christoph Gewold	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-01-16	Munich
STS0006	9737s	8r–8v	Balthasar Exner	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-02-22	Bytom
STS0007	9737s	9r–9v	Georg Remus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-03-31	Nuremberg
STS0008	9737s	10r–10v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-03-04	Wrocław
STS0009	9737s	11r–11v	Le Hove	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-04-04	Brussels
STS0010	9737s	12r–13v	Valentinus Leuchtius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-04-27	Frankfurt am Main
STS0011	9737s	14r–15v	Jacques-Auguste de Thou	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-04-05	Villebon
STS0012	9737s	16r–16v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-05-18	Augsburg

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0013	9737s	17r–17v	Peter Bloem, Arnold Willelms	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-05-31	Vienna
STS0014	9737s	18r–19v	F. Christophorus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-04-06	Scheibbs
STS0015	9737s	20r–21v	Caspar Dornau	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-06-27	Görlitz
STS0016	9737s	22r–22v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-06-20	Prague
STS0017	9737s	23r–24v	Valentinus Leuchtius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-06-28	Frankfurt am Main
STS0018	9737s	25r–26v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-06-07	Prague
STS0019	9737s	27r–28v	Johann Georg Herwart von Hohenburg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-07-29	Munich
STS0020	9737s	29r–29v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-08-15	Ingolstadt
STS0021	9737s	30r–31v	Martin Mager von Schönberg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-09-20	Comburg
STS0022	9737s	32r–33v	Martin Mager von Schönberg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-09-20	Comburg
STS0023	9737s	34r–35v	Valentinus Leuchtius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-09-28	Frankfurt am Main
STS0024	9737s	36r–36v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-10-30	Ingolstadt
STS0025	9737s	37r–38v	Christoph Gewold	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-11-30	Ingolstadt
STS0026	9737s	39r–39v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-02-12	Prague
STS0027	9737s	40r–40v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Martin Mager von Schönberg	1615-12-12	Vienna
STS0028	9737s	41r–41v	Jordanus Louffius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-03-29	s.l.
STS0029	9737s	42r–42v	Aegidius de Rasyr	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-01-28	Prague
STS0030	9737s	43r–44v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-01-29	Ingolstadt

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0031	9737s	45r–45v	Anton Hierat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-02-05	Cologne
STS0032	9737s	46r–46v	Simon Hieronymus Graf von Sprinzenstein	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-02-07	Cologne
STS0033	9737s	47r–47v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-07-03	Augsburg
STS0034	9737s	48r–48v	Le Hove	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-03-20	Brussels
STS0035	9737s	49r–50v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-02-04	Prague
STS0036	9737s	51r–51v	Marquard Freher	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-04-06	Frankfurt am Main
STS0037	9737s	52r–53v	Valentinus Leuchtius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-04-16	Frankfurt am Main
STS0038	9737s	54r–55v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-08-05	Ingolstadt
STS0039	9737s	56r–57v	Isaac Analus	Arnold Willelms	1616-05-17	The Hague
STS0040	9737s	58r–58v	Georg Sturn	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-05-28	Prague
STS0041	9737s	59r–60v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-01-06	Wrocław
STS0042	9737s	61r–61v	Caspar Dornau	Sebastian Tengnagel	16-06-1616	Bytom
STS0043	9737s	62r–63v	Guilielmus Portugal	Sebastian Tengnagel	25-07-1616	Prague
STS0044	9737s	64r–64v	s.n.	s.n.	1616-07-05	s.l.
STS0045	9737s	65r–65v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-07-13	Ingolstadt
STS0046	9737s	66r–69v	Johannes Decker	Fronton du Duc	1616-07-17	Graz
STS0047	9737s	70r–71v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-08-10	Prague
STS0048	9737s	72r–72v	Johann Kruger	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-08-24	Linz

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0049	9737S	73r–75v	s.n.	Arnoldus Geidlenus	1616-08-31	s.l.
STS0050	9737S	76r–76v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-05-09	Ingolstadt
STS0051	9737S	77r–77v	Georg Sturn	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-10-09	Prague
STS0052	9737S	78r–78v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-10-09	Prague
STS0053	9737S	79r–80v	Gundaker von Liechtenstein	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-09-17	Prague
STS0054	9737S	81r–81v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-09-30	Augsburg
STS0055	9737S	82r–83v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-01-10	s.l.
STS0056	9737S	84r–84v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Henricus van den Hofen	1616-10-05	Vienna
STS0057	9737S	85r–86v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-10-29	Prague
STS0058	9737S	87r–88v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-10-01	Prague
STS0059	9737S	89r–89v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-01-11	Wrocław
STS0060	9737S	90r–91v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-11-11	Prague
STS0061	9737S	92r–92v	Anton Hierat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-11-20	Cologne
STS0062	9737S	93r–93v	Caspar Dornau	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-11-29	Bytom
STS0063	9737S	94r–95v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1616-07-12	Prague
STS0064	9737S	96r–97v	Christophorus Crinesius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-01-15	Neuhof
STS0065	9737S	98r–99v	Thomas Segeth	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-02-17	Lednice
STS0066	9737S	100r–101v	Thomas Erpenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-05-02	Leiden

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0067	9737s	102r–102v	Wenzel Wilhelm Popel von Lobkowitz	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-02-06	s.l.
STS0068	9737s	103r–104v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Matthias	1617-02-15	Vienna
STS0069	9737s	105r–105v	David Hoeschel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-02-18	Augsburg
STS0070	9737s	106r–107v	Johann Lieb	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-03-01	Mikulov
STS0071	9737s	108r–108v	Wenzel Wilhelm Popel von Lobkowitz	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-03-10	Mikulov
STS0072	9737s	109r–109v	Johannes Kinckius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-03-25	Cologne
STS0073	9737s	110r–110v	Franciscus Szegi	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-03-28	Český Krumlov
STS0074	9737s	111r–112v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-08-04	Brussels
STS0075	9737s	113r–114v	Gerhard von Questenberg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-11-03	Bratislava
STS0076	9737s	115r–116v	Johannes Faber	s.n.	1617-03-21	Nuremberg
STS0077	9737s	117r–117v	Anton Hierat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-03-06	Cologne
STS0078	9737s	118r–119v	Hermann von Questenberg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-06-17	Prague
STS0079	9737s	120r–120v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-06-20	Amsterdam
STS0080	9737s	121r–121v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-06-22	Wrocław
STS0081	9737s	122r–122v	Georg Sturn	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-01-07	Prague
STS0082	9737s	123r–124v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-02-07	Amsterdam
STS0083	9737s	125r–126v	Hermann von Questenberg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-07-15	Prague

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0084	9737S	127r–130v	Hans Ludwig von Ulm	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-07-15	Prague
STS0085	9737S	131r–131v	Georg Sturn	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-07-27	Prague
STS0086	9737S	132r–132v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-07-18	Amsterdam
STS0087	9737S	133r–133v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-07-01	Amsterdam
STS0088	9737S	134r–134v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-01-08	Amsterdam
STS0089	9737S	135r–135v	Johannes Kinckius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-05-08	Cologne
STS0090	9737S	136r–136v	Anton Hierat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-08-20	Cologne
STS0091	9737S	137r–137v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-08-28	Amsterdam
STS0092	9737S	138r–138v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-05-09	Amsterdam
STS0093	9737S	139r–139v	Thomas Erpenius	Josephus Abudacnus	1617-09-15	Leiden
STS0094	9737S	140r–141v	Hans Ludwig von Ulm	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-09-30	Prague
STS0095	9737S	142r–142v	Anton Hierat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-10-14	Cologne
STS0096	9737S	143r–144v	Thomas Segeth	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-11-19	Vlasatice
STS0097	9737S	145r–145v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-12-18	Amsterdam
STS0098	9737S	146r–146v	Anton Hierat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1617-12-24	Cologne
STS0099	9737S	147r–147v	Franciscus Szegi	Sebastian Tengnagel	1618-05-02	Tyrnau
STS0100	9737S	148r–149v	Hans Ludwig von Ulm	Sebastian Tengnagel	1618-03-24	Bratislava
STS0101	9737S	150r–150v	Jordanus Louffius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1618-05-27	s.l.
STS0102	9737S	151r–151v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1618-05-06	Amsterdam

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0103	9737s	152r–153v	Marcellus Franckheim	s.n.	1618-07-01	Bratislava
STS0104	9737s	154r–155v	Maternus Heyder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1618-09-12	Cambrai
STS0105	9737s	156r–156v	Octavio de Tassis	s.n.	1618-09-12	Augsburg
STS0106	9737s	157r–157v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1618-09-25	Amsterdam
STS0107	9737s	158r–158v	s.n.	s.n.	1618-10-08	s.l.
STS0108	9737s	159r–159v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1618-11-17	Ingolstadt
STS0109	9737s	160r–161v	Johann Georg Herwart von Hohenburg	Sebastian Tengnagel	1618-12-12	Munich
STS0110	9737s	162r–163v	Christoph Gewold	Sebastian Tengnagel	1618-12-16	Ingolstadt
STS0111	9737s	164r–164v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-08-01	Amsterdam
STS0112	9737s	165r–165v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-01-18	Vienna
STS0113	9737s	166r–166v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-02-23	Vienna
STS0114	9737s	167r–168v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-06-03	Madrid
STS0115	9737s	169r–169v	Vincent Noguera	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-06-03	s.l.
STS0116	9737s	170r–170v	Melchior Trevinnius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-03-15	Vienna
STS0117	9737s	171r–171v	Friedrich Hermann	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-06-08	Bratislava
STS0118	9737s	172r–173v	Péter Pázmány	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-04-07	Bratislava
STS0119	9737s	174r–175v	Péter Pázmány	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-07-23	Bratislava
STS0120	9737s	176r–177v	Leopold v	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-08-21	Vienna
STS0121	9737s	178r–179v	Péter Pázmány	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-01-09	Bratislava

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0122	9737S	180r–181v	Balthasar Moretus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-06-09	Antwerp
STS0123	9737S	182r–183v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-09-16	Amsterdam
STS0124	9737S	184r–184v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-09-17	Amsterdam
STS0125	9737S	185r–186v	Marcellus Franckheim	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	1619-10-03	Caramanzel
STS0126	9737S	187r–187v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-07-10	The Hague
STS0127	9737S	188r–188v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-09-15	Amsterdam
STS0128	9737S	189r–190v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1619-03-12	Amsterdam
STS0129	9737S	191r–191v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-10-03	Amsterdam
STS0130	9737S	192r–192v	Marcellus Franckheim	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	1620-12-03	Mainz
STS0131	9737S	193r–193v	Marcellus Franckheim	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-12-03	Mainz
STS0132	9737S	194r–194v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-03-13	Amsterdam
STS0133	9737S	196r–197v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-07-04	Amsterdam
STS0134	9737S	198r–199v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1610-04-23	Ingolstadt
STS0135	9737S	200r–200v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-12-05	Amsterdam
STS0136	9737S	201r–201v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-05-13	Cambrai
STS0137	9737S	202r–202v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-06-16	Amsterdam
STS0138	9737S	203r–203v	Caspar Hofman	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-07-16	Altdorf
STS0139	9737S	204r–205v	Caspar Hofman	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-07-16	Altdorf
STS0140	9737S	206r–206v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-07-21	Amsterdam

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0141	9737s	207r–207v	Johannes Remus Quietanus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1615-03-22	Nuremberg
STS0142	9737s	208r–208v	Johannes Remus Quietanus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-07-22	Nuremberg
STS0143	9737s	209r–210v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-08-18	Amsterdam
STS0144	9737s	211r–211v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-06-10	Amsterdam
STS0145	9737s	213r–213v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-10-13	Amsterdam
STS0146	9737s	214r–215v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-10-20	Arras
STS0147	9737s	216r–216v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-11-26	Prague
STS0148	9737s	217r–217v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1620-12-20	Ingolstadt
STS0149	9737s	218r–219v	Hollant	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-08-01	Passau
STS0150	9737s	220r–221v	Thomas Erpenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-01-02	Leiden
STS0151	9737s	222r–223v	Johann Seyfried	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-11-02	Zwettl
STS0152	9737s	224r–225v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Vincent Noguera	1621-03-13	Vienna
STS0153	9737s	226r–226v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-09-03	Amsterdam
STS0154	9737s	227r–227v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-03-23	Amsterdam
STS0155	9737s	228r–229v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Vincent Noguera	1621-04-24	Vienna
STS0156	9737s	230r–230v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-04-27	Amsterdam
STS0157	9737s	231r–232v	Hermannus Ytterius	Wratislav von Fürstenberg	1621-04-29	Antwerp
STS0158	9737s	233r–234v	Pierre Cavellat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-05-29	Lyon

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0159	9737S	235r–235v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-05-30	Bretten
STS0160	9737S	236r–237v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-08-06	Amsterdam
STS0161	9737S	238r–240v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-06-15	Amsterdam
STS0162	9737S	241r–242v	Johann Küttner von Künitz	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-11-08	Brussels
STS0163	9737S	243r–246v	Johann Seyfried	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-08-30	Zwettl
STS0164	9737S	247r–248v	Bartholomäus Klimannus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-08-09	Zwettl
STS0165	9737S	249r–249v	Johann Küttner von Künitz	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	Madrid
STS0166	9737S	250r–250v	Johann Küttner von Künitz	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-10-15	Madrid
STS0167	9737S	251r–251v	Jacob Gretser	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-10-16	Ingolstadt
STS0168	9737S	252r–253v	Johann Seyfried	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-10-18	Zwettl
STS0169	9737S	254r–254v	Matthäus Rader	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-11-01	Munich
STS0170	9737S	255r–256v	Robert de Scheilder	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-11-12	Cambrai
STS0171	9737S	257r–258v	Hollant	Sebastian Tengnagel	1621-12-25	Passau
STS0172	9737S	259r–259v	Elias Opala	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-01-21	Wrocław
STS0173	9737S	260r–260v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-01-29	s.l.
STS0174	9737S	261r–261v	Nicolae Patrascu	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-02-15	s.l.
STS0175	9737S	262r–262v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-02-18	s.l.

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0176	9737s	263r–264v	Jordanus Louffius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-03-17	Passau
STS0177	9737s	265r–265v	Thomas Erpenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-08-04	Leiden
STS0178	9737s	266r–266v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-04-19	Amsterdam
STS0179	9737s	267r–268v	Johann Seyfried	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-04-20	Zwettl
STS0180	9737s	269r–270v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-05-25	Frankfurt am Main
STS0181	9737s	271r–272v	Michel D'Asquier	Anton Berasius	1622-06-06	Buda
STS0182	9737s	273r–273v	Galen notarius publicus	s.n.	1622-06-15	Utrecht
STS0183	9737s	274r–274v	Matthias Geiger	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-07-08	Graz
STS0184	9737s	275r–276v	Johann Seyfried	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-09-28	Zwettl
STS0185	9737s	277r–278v	Johann Seyfried	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-11-16	Zwettl
STS0186	9737s	279r–281v	Johann Seyfried	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-04-12	Zwettl
STS0187	9737s	282r–282v	Johann Seyfried	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-10-12	Zwettl
STS0188	9737s	283r–284v	Hollant	Sebastian Tengnagel	1623-09-02	Passau
STS0189	9737s	285r–285v	Marcus Antonius Panthera	Sebastian Tengnagel	1623-02-15	Cologne
STS0190	9737s	286r–289v	Hollant	Sebastian Tengnagel	1623-03-03	s.l.
STS0191	9737s	290r–290v	Friedrich Monau	Sebastian Tengnagel	1623-05-12	Wrocław
STS0192	9737s	291r–292v	Friedrich Monau	Sebastian Tengnagel	1623-05-12	Wrocław
STS0193	9737s	293r–294v	Lower-Austrian Government	Sebastian Tengnagel	1623-12-22	Vienna

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0194	9737s	295r–296v	Gundaker von Liechtenstein	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-01-20	Wilfersdorf
STS0195	9737s	297r–298v	Gundaker von Liechtenstein	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-03-02	Wilfersdorf
STS0196	9737s	299r–300v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-05-03	Frankfurt am Main
STS0197	9737s	301r–301v	Philippus Divinar	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-03-24	Prague
STS0198	9737s	302r–302v	Friedrich Monau	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-05-21	Wrocław
STS0199	9737s	303r–304v	Friedrich Monau	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-05-21	Wrocław
STS0200	9737s	305r–306v	Aulic Chamber	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-05-25	Vienna
STS0201	9737s	307r–307v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-06-19	Tübingen
STS0202	9737s	308r–308v	Anton Hierat	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-06-22	Cologne
STS0203	9737s	309r–310v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-09-09	Wrocław
STS0204	9737s	311r–311v	Esaias Leuker	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-09-18	Munich
STS0205	9737s	312r–312v	Jacobus de Huter	Anton Hierat	1624-09-13	Utrecht
STS0206	9737s	313r–314v	Michel D'Asquier	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-06-09	Buda
STS0207	9737s	315r–316v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-05-10	Frankfurt am Main
STS0208	9737s	317r–318v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-10-15	Frankfurt am Main
STS0209	9737s	319r–320v	Jan van Wyningen the Younger	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-10-29	Amsterdam
STS0210	9737s	321r–321v	Paulus Conopeus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-03-11	Prague
STS0211	9737s	322r–322v	Margareta van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-11-27	Bruges

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STS0212	9737s	323r–323v	s.n.	Hieronymus Rayd	s.d.	s.l.
STS0213	9737s	324v–324v	Matthäus Rader	Esaias Leuker	1624-06-12	s.l.
STS0214	9737s	325r–326v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-09-12	Amsterdam
STS0215	9737s	327r–328v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-12-21	Wrocław
STS0216	9737s	329r–330v	s.n.	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-12-23	Vienna
STS0217	9737s	331r–332v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-12-31	Amsterdam
STS0218	9737s	333r–333v	Paulus Conopeus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1624-12-01	Prague
STS0219	9737s	334r–332v	Elias Opala	Sebastian Tengnagel	1622-12-21	s.l.
STS0220	9737s	335r–335v	Jean-Baptiste Gramaye	s.n.	1624-07-08	Vienna
STT0001	9737t	1r–2v	Josephus Abudacnus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-01-03	Istanbul
STT0002	9737t	3r–4v	Jacob Wolff	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-01-19	Vienna
STT0003	9737t	5r–5v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-01-30	Wrocław
STT0004	9737t	6r–6v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-02-11	Amsterdam
STT0005	9737t	7r–7v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-02-17	Amsterdam
STT0006	9737t	8r–9v	Von Ense	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-02-22	Prague
STT0007	9737t	10r–11v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-02-28	Frankfurt am Main
STT0008	9737t	12r–12v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-03-06	Wrocław
STT0009	9737t	13r–14v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-03-11	Frankfurt am Main
STT0010	9737t	15r–16v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-03-25	Frankfurt am Main

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STT0011	9737t	17r–18v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-01-04	Frankfurt am Main
STT0012	9737t	19r–21v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-04-04	Wrocław
STT0013	9737t	22r–23v	Michel D'Asquier	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-04-04	Komárom
STT0014	9737t	24r–25v	Bernardus Paludanus	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-04-07	Amsterdam
STT0015	9737t	26r–27v	Johann Ludwig Von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-04-08	Frankfurt am Main
STT0016	9737t	28r–29v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-04-15	Frankfurt am Main
STT0017	9737t	30r–30v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-04-18	Amsterdam
STT0018	9737t	31r–32v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-04-22	Frankfurt am Main
STT0019	9737t	33r–34v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-04-29	Frankfurt am Main
STT0020	9737t	35r–36v	Michel D'Asquier	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-05-02	Segin
STT0021	9737t	37r–37v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-05-27	Wrocław
STT0022	9737t	38r–38v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-06-07	Frankfurt am Main
STT0023	9737t	39r–40v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-08-11	Frankfurt am Main
STT0024	9737t	41r–43v	Peter Sutter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-03-07	Prague
STT0025	9737t	44r–45v	Christoph Haffner	Ferdinand II	1625-07-22	s.l.
STT0026	9737t	46r–47v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-09-09	Frankfurt am Main
STT0027	9737t	48r–49v	Philipp Melchior Wolffhardt	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-09-19	Vienna
STT0028	9737t	50r–50v	Jan van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-09-11	Prague

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STT0029	9737t	51r–52v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-09-16	Frankfurt am Main
STT0030	9737t	53r–53v	Lambertus Naverius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-09-17	Prague
STT0031	9737t	54r–55v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-09-27	Bretten
STT0032	9737t	56r–57v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-09-30	Frankfurt am Main
STT0033	9737t	58r–59v	Elias Ehinger	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-10-05	Augsburg
STT0034	9737t	60r–63v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-10-06	Frankfurt am Main
STT0035	9737t	64r–65v	Johann Heins	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-10-06	Ulm
STT0036	9737t	66r–67v	Geronimo Marescalchi	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-10-20	Rome
STT0037	9737t	68r–69r	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Nicolaus Deurin	1625-10-21	Frankfurt am Main
STT0038	9737t	70r–70v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-10-21	Frankfurt am Main
STT0039	9737t	71r–72v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-10-27	Frankfurt am Main
STT0040	9737t	73r–74v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-11-20	Amsterdam
STT0041	9737t	75r–75v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-11-20	s.l.
STT0042	9737t	76r–77v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-12-02	Frankfurt am Main
STT0043	9737t	78r–78v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-12-23	Frankfurt am Main
STT0044	9737t	79r–79v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-12-02	Frankfurt am Main
STT0045	9737t	80r–80v	Lambertus Naverius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-01-03	Prague
STT0046	9737t	81r–82v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-01-05	Frankfurt am Main
STT0047	9737t	83r–83v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-01-05	Amsterdam

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STT0048	9737t	84r–84v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-01-19	Amsterdam
STT0049	9737t	85r–85v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1625-01-27	Frankfurt am Main
STT0050	9737t	86r–87v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Ferdinand II	1626-02-02	Frankfurt am Main
STT0051	9737t	88r–89r	Sibrandus Van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-02-06	Amsterdam
STT0052	9737t	90r–91v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-02-09	Frankfurt am Main
STT0053	9737t	92r–93v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-02-12	Frankfurt am Main
STT0054	9737t	94r–95v	Nicolae Patrascu	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-02-12	Bretten
STT0055	9737t	96r–96v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-09-17	Frankfurt am Main
STT0056	9737t	97r–98v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-03-09	Frankfurt am Main
STT0057	9737t	99r–100v	Lambertus Naverius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-03-11	Prague
STT0058	9737t	101r–101v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-03-17	Frankfurt am Main
STT0059	9737t	102r–102v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-03-24	Frankfurt am Main
STT0060	9737t	103r–104v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-03-31	Bretten
STT0061	9737t	105r–106v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-04-07	Frankfurt am Main
STT0062	9737t	107r–107v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-04-14	Frankfurt am Main
STT0063	9737t	108r–108v	Lambertus Naverius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-04-16	Prague
STT0064	9737t	109r–109v	Cornelius a Lapide	Petrus Lansselius	1626-04-24	Rome
STT0065	9737t	110r–111v	Jan Gruter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-04-22	Bretten
STT0066	9737t	112r–112v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-05-05	Amsterdam

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STT0067	9737t	113r–114v	Ferdinand II	s.n.	1626-05-08	Prague
STT0068	9737t	115r–116v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-05-12	Frankfurt am Main
STT0069	9737t	117r–117v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-05-26	Amsterdam
STT0070	9737t	118r–118v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jan Gruter	1626-06-02	Vienna
STT0071	9737t	119r–119v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-06-09	Frankfurt am Main
STT0072	9737t	120r–120v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-06-29	Amsterdam
STT0073	9737t	121r–122v	Martin II Günter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-06-29	Zwettl
STT0074	9737t	123r–123v	Eva van Opmeer	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-06-30	Amsterdam
STT0075	9737t	124r–124v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-07-14	Amsterdam
STT0076	9737t	125r–126v	M. de Vertematis	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-08-21	Paris
STT0077	9737t	127r–127v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-07-14	Amsterdam
STT0078	9737t	128r–129v	Jacques Sirmond	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-09-03	Paris
STT0079	9737t	130r–131v	Jacobus ab Hove	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-08-08	Utrecht
STT0080	9737t	132r–132v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-10-06	Amsterdam
STT0081	9737t	133r–133v	Petrus Lansselius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-10-07	Prague
STT0082	9737t	134r–134v	Lambertus Naverius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-11-07	Prague
STT0083	9737t	135r–136v	Sebastiano Forteguerra	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-11-28	Rome
STT0084	9737t	137r–137v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1626-12-01	Amsterdam
STT0085	9737t	138r–138v	Petrus Lansselius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-01-01	Antwerp
STT0086	9737t	139r–140v	Martin Hefner	s.n.	1627-01-02	Enns

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STT0087	9737t	141r–141v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-01-12	Amsterdam
STT0088	9737t	142r–142v	Petrus Lansselius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-02-20	Antwerp
STT0089	9737t	143r–144v	Sebastiano Forteguerra	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-02-27	Pistoia
STT0090	9737t	145r–145v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-03-02	Amsterdam
STT0091	9737t	146r–146v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-04-15	Bretten
STT0092	9737t	147r–147v	Tycho Brahe's heirs	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-05-18	Prague
STT0093	9737t	148r–148v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-05-18	Amsterdam
STT0094	9737t	149r–149v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-06-29	Wrocław
STT0095	9737t	150r–151v	Petrus Lansselius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-07-29	Antwerp
STT0096	9737t	153r–153v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-08-03	Amsterdam
STT0097	9737t	154r–157v	Ferdinand II	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-08-17	Vienna
STT0098	9737t	158r–158v	Gundaker von Liechtenstein	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-08-30	Wilfersdorf
STT0099	9737t	159r–160v	Veit von Marchtaler	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-10-28	Ulm
STT0100	9737t	161r–162v	Wilhelm Schickard	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-12-18	Tübingen
STT0101	9737t	163r–164v	Veit von Marchtaler	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-12-22	Ulm
STT0102	9737t	165r–166v	Lower-Austrian Government	Sebastian Tengnagel	1627-12-23	Vienna
STT0103	9737t	167r–168v	Michel D'Asquier	s.n.	1627-01-01	s.l.
STT0104	9737t	169r–170v	Michel D'Asquier	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-02-09	Prague

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Letter ID	Cod.	Fol.	Sender	Recipient	Date	Place
STT0105	9737t	171r–172v	Pietro Della Valle	Scipione Sgambati	1628-02-06	Rome
STT0106	9737t	173r–173v	Veit von Marchtaler	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-03-07	Ulm
STT0107	9737t	174r–176v	Veit von Marchtaler	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-03-12	Ulm
STT0108	9737t	177r–177v	Wilhelm Schickard	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-03-25	Tübingen
STT0109	9737t	178r–179v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-04-11	Frankfurt am Main
STT0110	9737t	180r–180v	Wilhelm Schickard	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-04-09	Tübingen
STT0111	9737t	181r–181v	Marcus Antonius Panthera	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-05-24	Prague
STT0112	9737t	182r–182v	Marcus Antonius Panthera	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-06-17	Cologne
STT0113	9737t	183r–187v	Pietro Della Valle	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-06-30	Rome
STT0114	9737t	188r–188v	Andreas Schott	Balthasar Cordier	1628-07-28	Antwerp
STT0115	9737t	189r–190v	Cyprianus Vermilius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-08-01	Haarlem
STT0116	9737t	191r–191v	Wilhelm Schickard	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-08-12	Tübingen
STT0117	9737t	192r–192v	Wilhelm Schickard	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-08-12	Tübingen
STT0118	9737t	193r–193v	Wilhelm Schickard	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-08-14	Tübingen
STT0119	9737t	194r–195v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Wratislav von Fürstenberg	1628-08-14	Frankfurt am Main
STT0120	9737t	196r–197v	Johann Ludwig von Hagen	Ferdinand II	1628-08-15	Frankfurt am Main
STT0121	9737t	198r–198v	Johannes Hemelarius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-09-14	Antwerp
STT0122	9737t	199r–200v	Johannes Hemelarius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-09-14	Antwerp

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STT0123	9737t	201r–201v	Valentinus Leuchtius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1628-10-09	Frankfurt am Main
STT0124	9737t	202r–202v	Petrus Lansselius	Francesco Nigroni	1628-10-20	Antwerp
STT0125	9737t	203r–203v	Petrus Lansselius	Francesco Nigroni	1628-12-01	Antwerp
STT0126	9737t	204r–205v	Lower-Austrian Government	s. n.	1628-12-22	Vienna
STT0127	9737t	206r–207v	Oswald Smend	Sebastian Tengnagel	1629-01-09	Gochsheim
STT0128	9737t	208r–209v	Melchior Goldast	Sebastian Tengnagel	1629-01-19	Frankfurt am Main
STT0129	9737t	210r–212v	Oswald Smend	Ferdinand II	1629-02-01	Gochsheim
STT0130	9737t	213r–214v	Oswald Smend	Sebastian Tengnagel	1629-02-01	Gochsheim
STT0131	9737t	215r–215v	Wilhelm Schickard	Sebastian Tengnagel	1629-02-01	Tübingen
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STT0133	9737t	217r–217v	Ferdinand II	Sebastian Tengnagel	1629-07-04	s.l.
STT0134	9737t	219r–219v	Wilhelm Schickard	Sebastian Tengnagel	1629-06-11	Tübingen
STT0135	9737t	220r–220v	Cornelius Curtius	Nicolaus Crusenius	1629-08-04	Brussels
STT0136	9737t	221r–222v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Pietro Della Valle	1629-09-08	Vienna
STT0137	9737t	223r–224v	Pietro Della Valle	Scipione Sgambati	1629-10-27	Rome
STT0138	9737t	225r–226v	Ferdinand II	s.n.	1639-01-19	Vienna
STT0139	9737t	227r–227v	Albert von Schilling	Sebastian Tengnagel	1630-01-19	Regensburg
STT0140	9737t	228r–229v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Ferdinand II	1630-01-01	Vienna
STT0141	9737t	230r–231v	Claude Chifflet	Jean-Jacques Chifflet	1630-02-13	Brussels

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STT0142	9737t	232r–232v	Cornelius Curtius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1630-02-16	Brussels
STT0143	9737t	234r–234v	Wilhelm Schickard	Sebastian Tengnagel	1631-05-02	Tübingen
STT0144	9737t	235r–236v	Claude Chifflet	Sebastian Tengnagel	1630-04-05	Brussels
STT0145	9737t	237r–237v	Petrus Kirstenius	Sebastian Tengnagel	1631-03-26	Gdańsk
STT0146	9737t	238r–239v	Wilhelm Schickard	Sebastian Tengnagel	1631-07-25	Tübingen
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STT0148	9737t	243r–244v	Pietro Della Valle	Sebastian Tengnagel	1634-07-16	Rome
STT0149	9737t	245r–246v	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.n.	1635-04-09	Vienna
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STT0151	9737t	249r–250v	Sibrandus van Wyningen	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0152	9737t	251r–252v	s.n.	s.n.	s.d.	s.l.
STT0153	9737t	253r–254v	s.n.	s.n.	s.d.	s.l.
STT0154	9737t	255r–255v	Hollant	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
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STT0157	9737t	261r–261v	Jakob Christmann	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0158	9737t	262r–262v	Jakob Christmann	Sebastian Tengnagel	1611	s.l.
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STT0160	9737t	265r–265v	Johann Theobald Schönwetter	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.

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STT0161	9737t	266r–266v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0162	9737t	267r–267v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0163	9737t	268r–268v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0164	9737t	269r–269v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0165	9737t	270r–270v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0166	9737t	271r–271v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0167	9737t	272r–272v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0168	9737t	273r–273v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0169	9737t	274r–274v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0170	9737t	275r–275v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0171	9737t	276r–276v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0172	9737t	277r–277v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0173	9737t	278r–278v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0174	9737t	279r–279v	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	Vienna
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STT0176	9737t	281r–281v	Peter Bloem	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
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STT0178	9737t	286r–286v	Michel D'Asquier	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0179	9737t	287r–287v	Jodocus Coccius	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.

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STT0183	9737t	292r–293v	Jacob van Zill	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	Utrecht
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STT0185	9737t	295r–295v	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.n.	s.d.	s.l.
STT0186	9737t	296r–297v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Maximilian I	1612	Vienna
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STT0189	9737t	300r–301v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jan Gruter	1607-02-23	Vienna
STT0190	9737t	302r–302v	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.n.	s.d.	s.l.
STT0191	9737t	304r–304v	Avraham ben Efrayim Schlüter	Sebastian Tengnagel	1603-07-09	Vienna
STT0192	9737t	305r–305v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Rabbi Ya'aqov Ashkenazi	s.d.	Vienna
STT0193	9737t	306r, 303r–306v	Leo Lucerna	Samuel Archevolti	s.d.	Vienna
STT0194	9737t	307r–307v	s.n.	s.n.	s.d.	s.l
STT0195	9737t	308r–308v	s.n.	s.n.	s.d.	s.l
STT0196	9737t	309r–309v	s.n.	s.n.	s.d.	s.l.
STT0197	9737t	310r–310v	Vincent Noguera	Robert de Scheilder	s.d.	s.l.
STT0198	9737t	311r–311v	Fridericus Pluenis	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	Mannersdorf
STT0199	9737t	312r–312v	Gundaker von Liechtenstein	s.n.	s.d	s.l.

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STT0200	9737t	313r–313v	Reinprecht von Polheim	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
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STT0202	9737t	320r–320v	Elias Opala	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0203	9737t	321r–322v	Christophorus Colerus	Johann Matthäus Wacker von Wackenfels		Zielona Góra
STT0204	9737t	323r–323v	s.n.	s.n.	s.d.	s.l.
STT0205	9737t	324r–324v	Balthasar Moretus	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0206	9737t	325r–325r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Jan Gruter	1608-01-01	s.l.
STT0207	9737t	325v–325v	s.n.	s.n.	s.d.	s.l.
STT0208	9737t	326r–326r	Sebastian Tengnagel	Ferdinand II	s.d.	Vienna
STT0209	9737t	326v–326v	Sebastian Tengnagel	Lower-Austrian Government	1629-01-01	Vienna
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STT0211	9737t	328r–329v	s.n.	s.n.	s.d.	s.l.
STT0212	9737t	330r–331v	Johannes Khattes	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	Trnava
STT0213	9737t	332r–333v	Jacques-Auguste de Thou	Robert de Scheilder	s.d.	Paris
STT0214	9737t	334r–334v	Nicolae Patrascu	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0215	9737t	335r–335v	Nicolae Patrascu	Sebastian Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0216	9737t	335ar–335av	Sebastian Tengnagel	Job Hartmann von Enenkel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0217	9737t	335br–335bv	Marquard Freher	Jan Gruter	s.d.	Vienna
STT0218	9737t	336r–337v	Leopold V	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	1621-10-17	Innsbruck

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STT0219	9737t	338r–339v	Leopold V	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	1621-11-26	Innsbruck
STT0220	9737t	341r–343v	Leopold V	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	1621-01-10	Innsbruck
STT0221	9737t	344r–345v	Leopold V	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	s.d.	s.l.
STT0222	9737t	346r–347v	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	Leopold V	1621-12-12	Passau
STT0223	9737t	348r–348v	Leopold V	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	1621-10-17	Innsbruck
STT0224	9737t	349r–349r	Christoph Scheiner	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	1621-11-04	Vienna
STT0225	9737t	349v–350r	Ferdinand II	s.n.	1621-11-05	Vienna
STT0226	9737t	350v–350v	John Frederick	s.n.	1621-11-19	Stuttgart
STT0227	9737t	351r–351v	Leopold V	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	1621-11-22	Innsbruck
STT0228	9737t	352r–354r	Gottfried Tampach	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	1628-04-07	s.l.
STT0229	9737t	353r–353r	Gottfried Tampach	Frans Gansneb Tengnagel	1609-12-21	Prague

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This book follows the life of Sebastian Tengnagel, the imperial librarian who built Vienna's first major collection of Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Hebrew manuscripts. Through his correspondence and exchanges with individuals from Europe and the Ottoman Empire, it examines the intellectual networks that shaped his work and the circulation of knowledge across empires. By exploring his collection alongside his political and religious affiliations, the book offers fresh perspectives on seventeenth-century Vienna as a hub for the knowledge on the Ottoman and Islamic world.

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