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Captive Books, Captive Teachers. Spoils of the Long Turkish Wars in 17th-century Vienna

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Abstract

This article follows the journey of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian manuscripts – seized as spoils of war during the Long Turkish Wars – from the battlefields to the library collections of a Protestant baron and a Catholic librarian in Vienna. It examines ownership records and marginalia, shedding light on how these ‘oriental’ texts were decoded and sometimes misinterpreted by a diverse group of non-Ottoman actors, including soldiers, bibliophiles, and scholars. It contributes to understanding the reading habits of Ottoman soldiers, enabling comparisons with those of their Christian counterparts. In addition, this article follows the story of Derviş İbrâhîm, a Muslim prisoner of war, who worked for Sebastian Tenggengel. Interweaving objects, books, and people, it underscores the entangled threads of violence and knowledge in a period marked by profound religious and social change.

Keywords

İbrâhîm Dervîş – Sebastian Tenggengel – Long Turkish War – Muslim prisoners of war – *Türkenbeute* – oriental manuscripts – Vienna – Religious studies

Sebastian Tenggengel (1573–1636), an imperial librarian, adviser to three emperors, scholar, and collector of Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Hebrew manuscripts, was asked in 1610 to write the official history of the Long Turkish War, 1593–1606. He declined, citing poor health, not because he lacked knowledge

about the events, but to avoid what he believed to be a risky task. Though the proposal had come directly from the Royal Council, Tegnagel, in a letter to a friend from his hometown of Geldern, expressed a preference for the ‘sweet truth’ over the reputation the work would bring. Telling the truth about the war, he wrote, could get him into trouble. Despite the displeasure his refusal caused the Secret Council, he remained resolute.

Tegnagel’s letter is characteristically cautious and reticent, and it is difficult to say what exactly the librarian was alluding to. The wars in Hungary, he wrote, resembled ‘the wound of Chiron’ – a persistent injury that would never truly heal, even after peace had been signed. It was wiser to stay away, and the insinuation of danger hints at a tense situation in Vienna.¹

Tegnagel had arrived in Vienna from Geldern in 1599 and began working as an assistant to the court librarian Hugo Blotius, succeeding him in 1608, when relations between the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire were undergoing significant shifts. Hostilities had ceased, and there was a pressing

¹ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Cod. 9737r, fol. 167v, Tegnagel to Jordanus Louffius: “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 praeiudicium contrectanda essent. Valetudinis itaque imbecillitatem obtendi, et manum ad hoc, ut ita dicam, Chironico vulnere abstinere prudentiorum suasu decrevi (...) sed dulcis super omnia Veritas, cui litare diis primum aestimo (...)”. This refusal is also mentioned in a letter written by Tegnagel to the Jesuit Georg Sturn in Prague, also dated 1610 (ibid., fol. 167r): “Τὸ ἱστοριογραφὸν munus hic mihi oblatum quod utpote anceps et periculo obnoxium, non absque offensa repudiavi, de quo quid censeas, amando tuo iudicio explorari et certificari cuperem” (Sturn disapproved). Tegnagel’s expertise in Hungarian history and Ottoman wars is evidenced by the 1619 request from Péter Pázmány, Archbishop of Esztergom, for him to review and write a foreword for Miklós Istvánffy’s *Historia Hungarica*, and to seek a publisher for it (subsequently published in 1622 with Pázmány’s preface). Cf. ÖNB, Cod. 9737s fols. 172r–175v; 178r–179v. On Sebastian Tegnagel, see Chiara Petrolini, Hülya Çelik, Paola Molino, Thomas Wallnig, *The Oriental Outpost of the Republic of Letters. Sebastian Tegnagel (d. 1636), Vienna and the Court Library*, forthcoming (Leiden: Brill, 2024); Franz Unterkircher, “Sebastian Tegnagel”, in Josef Stummvoll, ed., *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Wien, 1968), vol. 4, 129–45; Alfons Lhotsky, “Die Wiener Palatina und die Geschichtsforschung unter Sebastian Tegnagel”, in Josef Stummvoll, ed., *Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Festschrift Bick* (Wien, 1948); Hülya Çelik, Chiara Petrolini, “Establishing an ‘Orientalium linguarum Bibliotheca’ in 17th-century Vienna: Sebastian Tegnagel and the trajectories of his manuscripts”, *Bibliothecae*, 10/1 (2021), 175–231.

need to maintain peace, to rethink relationships by building new diplomatic networks, and to manage border territories.²

Despite his reticence, Tengnagel was well-informed about the conflict. He had access to War Council documents and was in contact with imperial dragomans, whom he consulted for his research into Eastern books. While Tengnagel detested war – a sentiment he consistently expressed in his letters through an attitude that can be described as Erasmian³ – he derived, as we will see, considerable benefits from the Long Turkish War in his scholarly pursuits.

Tengnagel was recruited in Vienna specifically for his fluency in Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, given the rising importance of *Turcica* – documents concerning the Ottoman Empire. However, it was only in Vienna, and because of Vienna, that he truly flourished, emerging as one of the preeminent experts on the Turkish language among European scholars, a status acknowledged by Wilhelm Schickard, among others.⁴ Indeed, this expertise was a direct result of the Turkish wars. Even from a simple material perspective, many 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,

2 For an analysis of the treaty (ratified only in 1612), cf. Arno Strohmeier, “Der Friede von Zsitvatorok 1606 und die Friedensschlüsse der ‘Türkenkriege’”, in Irene Dingel, Michael Rohrschneider, Inken Schmidt-Voges, Siegrid Westphal, and Joachim Whaley, eds., *Handbuch Frieden im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit / Handbook of Peace in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin-Boston, 2021), 969–84. On the different versions of the Treaty (in Hungarian, Turkish, and Latin) and the errors made in the translation of the peace negotiations, see Karl Nehring, *Adam Freiherrn zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel: ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606)* (Munich, 1983); Gustav Bayerle, “The compromise at Zsitvatorok”, *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 6 (1980), 5–53; and Dennis Dierks, “Übersetzungsleistungen und kommunikative Funktionen osmanisch-europäischer Friedensverträge im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert”, in Martin Espenhorst, ed., *Frieden durch Sprache? Studien zum kommunikativen Umgang mit Konflikten und Konfliktlösungen* (Göttingen, 2012), 133–174, here 134–6.

3 Tengnagel was well-versed in Erasmus's works, frequently citing them in his letters and owning several of his texts. He also had a manuscript biography of Erasmus in Dutch (ÖNB Cod. 9058) and a copy of Erasmus's letter to Pelican (Er. Op. III 966 D), expressing distance from protestant faiths. Tengnagel claimed to have transcribed this letter directly from Erasmus's own handwriting, as found in the album amicorum of Nicolaus Engelhartus (ÖNB Autogr. 13/53-4: “Ex albo amicorum Nicolai Engelharti Argentorat. cui haec scheda manu Erasmi exarata, inserta fuit. [...] Album hoc nunc est Philippi Strauß. 1621”).

4 On Hugo Blotius's catalogue (*Librorum et orationum de Turcis et contra Turcas scriptarum catalogus*) and on its meanings, cf. Paola Molino, *L'Impero di carta. Storia di una biblioteca e di un bibliotecario. Vienna 1575–1608* (Rome, 2017), 101–26. Regarding Schickard's praise for Tengnagel, see Schickard's correspondence edited by Friedrich Seck, Wilhelm Schickard, *Briefwechsel* (Stuttgart, 2020), and the references toward the end of this article.

books from battlefields and plundered libraries – but also from a ‘living and speaking teacher’, the Muslim Ībrāhīm Dervīş, a prisoner of war from the siege of the fortress of Győr in 1598.

In the context of this looting, more than seven Qur’ans and many Muslim prayer books found their way into Viennese collections. It was one of the most substantial transfers of Qur’ans and religious texts until the late seventeenth century and is a well-documented instance of manuscript acquisition during the Long Turkish War. Delving into Tegnagel’s network provides a glimpse into the mechanisms of looting and the circulation of these manuscripts, both on the battleground and in the scholarly circles of orientalists. The movement of objects, books, and people from the eastern front to Vienna – considered here through two Viennese library collections, those of the Protestant Baron Job Hartmann von Enenkel and the Catholic librarian Sebastian Tegnagel – reveals a rich world of exchanges, shifts in ownership, misunderstandings, and recognitions, beyond pure erudition. It not only sheds light on the profound influence of the Hungarian wars on the trajectory of a distinguished orientalist like Tegnagel but also emphasizes the interactions between Catholics and Protestants, the nuances of ‘high’ versus ‘popular’ culture, and the behaviour of soldiers and officers during a moment of crucial religious transformation in Vienna. Furthermore, a closer look at ownership annotations and glosses in Latin, German, and Italian in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian manuscripts reveals the multiple meanings that one object – a book written in an ‘oriental’ language – could assume, depending on whether its possessor was a Protestant or Catholic soldier or officer, a noble, a bibliophile, or a specialist in oriental studies.

The circulation of these manuscripts fits within our growing understanding of the theatre of war as a place of reading. Though few, these books – mostly acquired during the siege of Esztergom (Gran, Strigonia, Estergon) in the summer of 1595, and likely looted, based on inscriptions and battle chronicles, from an Ottoman army camp – offer deeper insights into the kind of texts that Ottoman officers and ordinary soldiers carried with them. Early modern soldiers, both Muslim and Christian, were known to read and exchange books. War was also a space of cross-religious and cross-confessional encounter. It was not unusual for Catholic soldiers to come across Protestant writings, and vice versa; some even re-evaluated their religious beliefs based on these readings.⁵ Books, like weapons and armour, were perceived as active agents in

5 See, for example, the inquisitorial trials in the fortress of Palmanova, where Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim soldiers were held; cf. Giuseppina Minchella, *Porre un soldato all’Inquisitione. I processi del Sant’Ufficio nella fortezza di Palmanova, 1595–1669* (Trieste,

warfare. Both Christians and Muslims carried book-amulets and prayer scrolls for protection. They also relied on magical formulas to heal their wounds and those of their animals.⁶ And we know that written notes, rolled up and attached to arrows, occasionally crossed opposing camps, carrying threats, appeals, and proposals, and that among Catholics the dissemination of books in Arabic and Turkish was part of a strategy to impede the expansion of the Ottoman Empire by sowing doubt and fostering divisions.⁷

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- 2009), CCVIII–CCXV. On the books that circulated in Catholic armies, on catechisms for soldiers, and on Antonio Possevino's plan to "disseminate various booklets printed in Arabic" in the Ottoman Empire through soldiers, cf. Vincenzo Lavenia, *Dio in uniforme. Cappellani, catechesi cattolica e soldati in età moderna* (Bologna, 2018), 101–29.
- 6 On *ḥamā'il* and portable Korans among Ottoman Soldiers, cf. A. Tunç 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", *Acta'ib: Occasional papers on the Ottoman perceptions of the supernatural*, 2 (2021), 77–106; on pendant Qur'ans, see Cornelius Berthold, *Forms and Functions of Pendant Koran Manuscripts* (Wiesbaden, 2021); on the use of talismanic objects in battle, cf. Maryam Ekhtiar and Rachel Parikh, "Power and Piety: Islamic Talismans on the Battlefield", in Liana Saif, Francesca Leoni, Matthew Melvin-Koushki, and Farouk Yahya, eds., *Islamicate Occult Sciences in Theory and Practice* (Leiden, 2021), 420–53; see also Tobias Nünlist, "Entzauberte Amulettrollen Hinweise zu einer typologischen Gliederung", in Sebastian Günther and Dorothee Pielow, eds., *Die Geheimnisse der oberen und der unteren Welt: Magie im Islam zwischen Glaube und Wissenschaft* (Leiden, 2019), 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 pratique spirituelle du soldat chrestien* (Antwerp, 1590), page 126: "les oraisons, desquelles on dict, que quiconque les porte au col, ne mourra de mort soudaine" (this primarily refers to the orations of Saint Martha). For more on Sailly's treatise, cf. Lavenia, *Dio in uniforme*, 132–42.
- 7 For example, during the War of Candia, Catholic sources report the case of notes written in Turkish by Father Domenico Ottomano and 'sent flying' into the Ottoman camps. Similarly, there were notes written by the Grand Vizier that were 'tied to arrows' and sent into the besieged city to persuade the defenders to surrender. Cf. Chiara Petrolini, "Sultano (presunto) e frate: la storia di Domenico Ottomano", in Chiara Petrolini, Sabina Pavone, and Vincenzo Lavenia, eds., *Sacre Metamorfosi. Racconti di conversione tra Roma e il mondo in età moderna* (Rome, 2022), 116. Consider also what Ottavio Pallavicino writes in his treatise dedicated to Pope Paul v, "De Republica Christiana" (ca 1605): "Mi paria conveniente che da pertutto dove arrivassero questi eserciti si scrivesse in certe bandiere nelle Chiese o Tempii di quei luoghi, in lingua a loro intelligibile, queste o simili parole: *Libertas, Pax, Iustitia*, e spesso si facessero pubblicare con le trombe, per ilché intenderebbero che s'apporta le suddette cose de quali hoggi n'hanno tanta carestia, e così prenderebbono maggior confidenza et servirano poi in qualch'opera manuale alli nostri esserciti" (Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Fondo Borghese, I, 262, fol. 35v). On the circulation of books as a way to weaken the Ottoman Empire, cf. Vincenzo Lavenia, "I libri, le armi e le missioni. Conversione e guerra antiottomana in un testo di Lazzaro Soranzo", in Vincenzo Lavenia and Sabina Pavone, eds., *Missioni, saperi e adattamento tra Europa e imperi non cristiani* (Macerata, 2018), 165–202.

Soldiers looted the bodies of the dead and the homes and libraries of the cities they conquered. Today, it is often impossible to distinguish the variety of war loot, to differentiate between a Qur'an carried into battle and one looted from a nearby home. However, looking at contemporary notes we catch glimpses of this world at moments when books circulated, moving between hands and places.

The Qur'an in two volumes in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 246, 247) illustrates the circulation of these manuscripts across the war zone. On the front flyleaf of the first of these volumes (A. F. 246) (Figure 1), which contains the 16th *juz'* (Surah 18, verse 74 to the end of Surah 20), an inscription in Latin by the Austrian Protestant baron, Job Hartmann von Enenkel informs us that the book was part of the spoils from the siege of Esztergom in 1595: "Strigonio Capto An. 1595. Liber hic a Iob Hartmanno Barone Enenkelio inter spolia castror. turcicor. expugnator. acquisitus et Bibliothecae

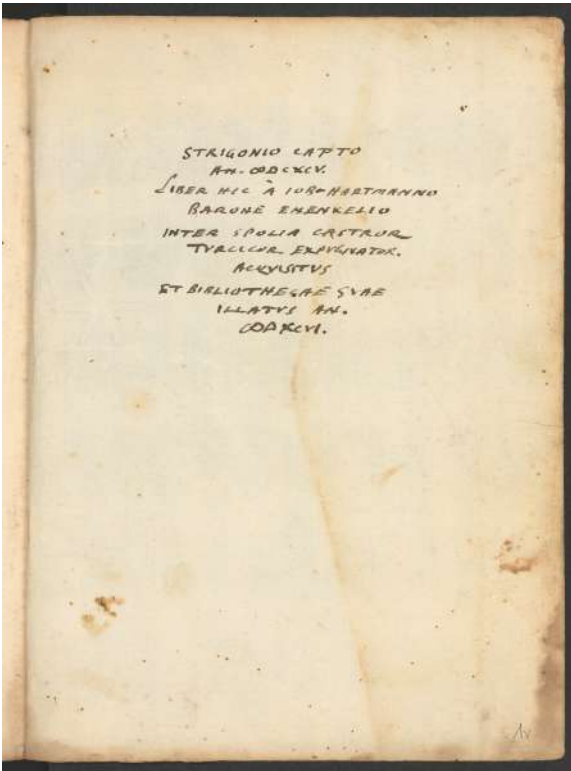


FIGURE 1 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 246, fol. iv

suae illatus an. 1596” (“After the conquest of Esztergom in 1595. This book was acquired by Baron Job Hartmann von Enenkel among the other spoils of the conquered Turkish camps, and carried to his library in 1596”).⁸

In the second volume (A. F. 247, Figure 2), which contains the 13th Qur’anic part (Surah 12, verse 53 to the end of Surah 14), we find on the back paste-down endpaper a German inscription by a soldier named Paul N. who took part in the Hungarian campaigns. He acquired the manuscript and cursed anyone who would dare to steal it: “Soli Deo gloria. Anno Domini 1602. Paullus N. des edellen gestrengen herrn Haniball Cratzen von Scharpffenstein [Hannibal Cratz 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”.⁹

Finally, we find at the beginning of the same volume the ownership note of Sebastian Tegnagel: “Ex libris Sebastiani Tegnagel Caes. et Reg. Maiestatis Bibliothecari. A° 1617. Pars XIII capitulor. ex Alcorano” (Figure 3). In one of his



FIGURE 2 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 247, inside rear cover

8 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 246, fol. iv.

9 “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”. Transcription and translation provided by Thomas Wallnig. On the recruitment and living conditions of soldiers during the Hungarian campaigns, cf. Zoltán Péter Bagi, “The Life of Soldiers during the Long Turkish War (1593–1606)”, *The Hungarian Historical Review*, 4/2 (2015), 384–417.



FIGURE 3 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 247. fol. 2v

two catalogues of his manuscripts, Tengnagel specified that it was a gift from the baron.¹⁰

These inscriptions reveal distinct approaches – by a soldier, an educated nobleman, and an orientalist, respectively – to the Islamic manuscripts acquired during the Turkish wars. For the educated nobleman, the book represented a status symbol, a treasured yet unintelligible item to be safeguarded from the chaos of war. For the soldier, the book was a war trophy, and perhaps an object to be sold for profit. Lastly, for Tengnagel, the book became, for the first time, a Qur’an, a work to be studied and a unique addition to a library.

Moreover, these inscriptions delineate four interrelated spaces. The first of these is the battlefield in Esztergom. Esztergom, situated on the Danube, had a complex urban layout consisting of a fortress, a walled city, and an array of structures along the river. Along with its military importance – Esztergom

10 ÖNB, Cod. 12650, fol. 20v: “Alcoranum Arabicum elegantissima manu exaratum, ex dono Eruditiß. et Generos. Baronis Enenkeli, in 8°”.

controlled the main route to Vienna – it held symbolic and religious significance as the capital of Hungarian Catholicism and the seat of Hungarian primates.

Suleiman the Magnificent conquered Esztergom in 1543. In 1594, the Habsburg army made six unsuccessful attempts to capture the town, resulting in heavy casualties for both sides, including the death of the Hungarian poet Bálint Balassi. But the Christian forces regrouped and prepared for a renewed campaign led by Karl Mansfeld, commanding an army of approximately 35,000 soldiers. On July 1, 1595, they began their siege, and for 62 days the city endured bombardment, epidemics, and assaults. On September 2, after prolonged resistance, the city and its castle, under the leadership of Sokolluzade Lala Mehmed Pasha, negotiated a surrender to the Habsburg troops. The victory was short-lived, however, as the Grand Vizier himself recaptured the city on October 3, 1605, and Esztergom remained under Ottoman rule until 1683. Despite its transient nature, the Christian victory was widely celebrated throughout Europe, especially in Rome. Broadsheets were printed that described the siege with crusade rhetoric. The sculptor Camillo Mariani created a monument in the Pauline Chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore, honouring Pope Clement VIII and depicting the 'Capture of Esztergom'. The Pope who had dispatched troops and supplies during the final phase of the siege (which arrived on August 22, 1595), congratulated Archduke Matthias on this military success.¹¹

The books were likely looted earlier in the siege, not from the city itself, but from the Ottoman relief army which fought the besieging forces on August 4, 1595. After the Christian victory, the entire Ottoman camp was plundered. Troops of different backgrounds and confessions participated in the looting, seizing 1,500 Ottoman tents, 39 pieces of artillery, 100 camels, 27 banners, tents, and carpets, as well as numerous captives.¹² Although looted books

11 Clement VIII's letter is in Vienna, OeStA/HHStA HausA Familienkorrespondenz B 24-3-1. On the participation of the pope in the Hungarian wars, cf. Giampiero Brunelli, *La santa impresa. Le crociate del Papa in Ungheria (1595–1601)* (Rome, 2018). A (very partial) list of flyers in Italian on the taking of Esztergom: Bernardino Beccari, *Auisi nuoui d'Vngaria per li quali s'intende la presa di due forti di Strigonia. All'vltimo di giugno per il sereniss. arciduca Matthias* (Rome, 1595); Girolamo Accolti, *Auuiso della presa della città di Strigonia. Et la rotta data all'essercito turchesco dal serenissimo Matthia* (Rome, 1595); *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, & prigionieri 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* (Rome – Padua, 1595); Giovanni Battista Gelmini, *Noui auisi della gran vittoria, & acquisto fatto della città de Strigonia* (Trento, 1595).

12 The list and extent of spoils varies depending on the sources. Those given here are taken from Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, *Annales Ferdinandeae von Anfang des 1593. biß zu End des 1597* (Leipzig, 1721), 1390. See, for instance, *Veri avisi d'Ungheria: dove s'intende quello*

are not specifically mentioned in accounts of the event, it is not unlikely that manuscripts were also among the spoils. There was also looting after the fortress itself was taken, leading to tensions. Jesuit and Dominican chaplains accused Protestant soldiers of destroying or vandalizing holy images in the city's cathedral of Saint Adalberto, which had previously been untouched by the Ottomans.¹³

Based on details in the ownership inscriptions and considering the historical background of Esztergom, we can summarize what these two volumes reveal about their circulation. Both manuscripts, ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 246 and ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 247, originate from the same set: they have identical bindings, the same scribal hand, and the same layout. We know that both came from Esztergom via Enenkel to Vienna. The notes suggest that the two manuscripts may have come

ch'è seguito nuovamente sotto Strigonia (Ferrara, 1595): "Di Venetia alli 19 stante si è inteso di Vienna che nella fattione seguita sotto Strigonia, vi sia restato il Bassà di Buda prigionie, con quello di Giaverino, et morto il Sangiaco di Vesprino, et sei altri fatti prigionii, con molti altri Turchi principali, et acquisto di 36. pezzi d'artiglieria, 26. bandiere, et 3 mila Camelli, carichi di diverse provigioni per il campo"; Nicolaus Reussner, *Rerum Memorabilium in Pannonia sub Turcarum imperatoribus a capta Constantinopoli usque ad hanc aetatem, bello militiae gestarum* (Frankfurt, 1603), 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 magne auctoritatis viri, cum universa supellectile castrensis, tentoriisque innumeris, victoribus cessere". An anonymous manuscript chronicle reads as follows: "Quatuor millia hostium uno fere momento ac loco caesa sunt capti duo Begorum, et alii magni nominis, praeter octodecim tormenta. Magna copia equorum, Camelorum commeatus et bellici instrumenti intercepta. Tanta vero erat inter Turcos trepidatio [...] et quingentos currus in hostium castra mitti, deserta quidem, sed commeatu, apparatu bellico instructissima, tentoriis vestimentis atque impedimentis omnis generis plena. Addebat praedae precium, pocula deaurata atque argentea, auleorum atque tapetium peristomatumque copia magna, pecuniae vis ingens, quae omnia quadrigis imposita, in castra nostra devecta, Mansfeldius inter socios victoriae dispersit" (ÖNB Cod. 8464, *Historia Hungarica* ab a. 1572 usque ad a. 1606, fols. 64r-v). On the uses of the spoils of Turkish Wars in the Habsburg Monarchy, see Barbara Karl, "Ottoman Objects in the Habsburg Networks of Gift-Giving in the Sixteenth Century", in Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen, and Giorgio Riello, eds., *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2017), 119–49.

- 13 Cf. ARSI Germ. 175 fols. 109r–110r quoted in Brunelli, *La santa impresa*. Also see Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, grossentheils aus bisher unbenützten Handschriften und Archiven, durch Joseph von Hammer. Vierter Band: Vom Regierungsantritte Murad des Dritten bis zur zweyten Enthronung Mustafâ's I., 1574–1623*, 253, footnote: "Turcae antiquitates omnes quas olim ibi invenerunt, religiosissime servarunt, nec non imagines pulcherrimas intactas, quas Germani misere et turpiter primo ingressu spoliarunt" (quoted from *Diarium rerum in Hungaria gestarum ab Austriacis*, ÖNB, Cod. 7302, fols. 5–27: 19). Additionally, cf. Sertorio Casoni, *Canzone sopra l'atto empio di colui che nella presa di Strigonia cavò gli occhi ad una imagine di Nostro Signore* (Venice, 1596).

to Enenkel via different routes during the looting: one appears to have been directly acquired on the battlefield by Enenkel himself, while the other was passed on to Enenkel by a soldier named Paul N. Moreover, the distinct nature of these manuscripts, being sections of the Qur'an and part of a collective set of thirty, implies that they likely originated not from the personal belongings of individual soldiers but rather from a kind of religious library that travelled with the troops during military campaigns (if, indeed, they were taken from the encampment of the relief army). Tegnagel also had a number of other Qur'an sections, which were almost certainly looted: ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 243, 244, 248, and 250, which all appear to be from the same set (though they are without *Türkenbeute* inscriptions), and ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 245, 249, and 288, each of which is apparently from a different set (245 has an Enenkel inscription from Esztergom). Finally, one of the volumes, 250, contains a note by Tegnagel describing it as the second part of "excerptarum zurethin ex Alcorano ut in eorum templis solent". This suggests that he was aware of the practice of dividing the Qur'an into thirty parts for ritual recitation.

That these books eventually found their way into major European libraries is not surprising. A significant portion of the early oriental collections in European libraries originated from looting or piracy. In at least one instance, attempts were made to exchange war prisoners with confiscated books.¹⁴ Research by Robert Jones, Boris Liebreuz, Paul Babinski, and Tilman Seidensticker has shed light on the transfer of books from Habsburg-Ottoman conflict zones to German libraries.¹⁵ However, preserving looted books was not necessarily the norm. For instance, there are accounts of Catholic pirates in Malta discarding or destroying books found in the possession of Muslim prisoners, either out of

14 Robert Jones, "Piracy, war and the acquisition of Arabic manuscripts in Renaissance Europe", in *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 2 (1987), 96–110. On the request of the Moroccan ruler Mulay Isma'il for an exchange of Christian prisoners of war and Arabic manuscripts that had ended up in Spanish libraries, cf. Nabil Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity through Arab Eyes, 1517–1798* (Leiden, 2021), 225.

15 For a detailed overview of the books that passed from Hungary to the libraries of Vienna and Germany during the Turkish Wars, including references to some of the texts mentioned here, cf. Robert Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)* (Leiden, 2020), 35–42; on German libraries, cf. Paul Babinski, "The Formation of German Islamic Manuscript Collections in the 17th Century", in Sabine Mangold-Will, Christoph Rauch, and Siegfried Schmitt, eds., *Sammler-Bibliothekare-Forscher: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (Frankfurt-Main: Klostermann, 2022), 19–44; Tilman Seidensticker, "How Arabic Manuscripts Moved to German Libraries", *Manuscript Cultures*, 10 (2017), 73–83; Boris Liebreuz, *Arabische, persische und türkische Handschriften in Leipzig: Geschichte ihrer Sammlung und Erschließung von ihren Anfängen bis zu Karl Vollers* (Leipzig, 2008).

disinterest or due to fears of their perceived magical power to bring misfortune and storms.¹⁶

The inscriptions on Qur'anic manuscripts not only shed light on their journey from the battlefield of Esztergom, but also reveal three significant spaces in Vienna. The first is the private library of the Protestant Austrian Baron Job Hartmann von Enenkel, renowned for its vast collection. The second is another private library, that of the Catholic orientalist and imperial librarian Sebastian Tengenagel. The third location is the Court Library in Vienna, where the two collections, or parts of them, were brought together and where they remain today.

Türkenbeute in the Collection of Job Hartmann von Enenkel

This study delineates how looted manuscripts circulated between the theatre of war and the domain of learning. The case of Baron Enenkel nicely illustrates the nexus between warfare and scholarship. As a young man involved in warfare, Enenkel looted books directly from the battlefield, and although he was not an expert in oriental languages, he eventually incorporated these books into his large library. The trajectory of these manuscripts, from Protestant (Enenkel) to Catholic (Tengenagel) hands, highlights the intertwining of these religious worlds at the time.

Baron Job Hartmann von Enenkel (1576–1627) was a typical member of the early modern Protestant nobility in Austria. Born in the castle at Albrechtsberg an der Pielach, he was educated in Upper Austria and Moravia. He enrolled at the University of Jena and continued his studies in Padua, Bologna, and Siena. During his time in Italy, he collected coins, maps, and drawings, and developed a passion for genealogy, geography, and historical studies, which he pursued throughout his life.

Upon his return from Jena and before his departure for Italy, Enenkel participated in the Turkish wars, following in the footsteps of his father, Albrecht, who fought against the Ottomans during Suleiman's last campaign in 1566. Evidence suggests it was during this time that Enenkel personally looted manuscripts in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. He acquired further manuscripts

16 Cf. A. Tunç Şen, "Manuscripts on the battlefields", p. 83. The Vatican Library preserves at least 15 manuscripts found on Muslims captured by the Knights of Malta around 1609. This was an exception made at the request of Scipione Borghese, as the common practice was to destroy or completely disregard these books. I am currently working to further clarify this matter. Cf. Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican, 1939), 260–3.

that had been plundered by other soldiers and officers. After completing his law studies and returning to Austria, he engaged in several diplomatic missions and served as a school inspector in Linz, where he befriended Johannes Kepler.¹⁷ In 1614, he moved to Vienna and was appointed as a councillor and regent of the Lower Austrian estates. In 1624, at the request of Emperor Ferdinand II, Enenkel played a significant role in a major revision of the Viennese property system and participated in urban redesign efforts (he also created a remarkable map of the city). He died in Vienna in 1627, after spending his last two years attempting unsuccessfully to mitigate the emperor's increasing measures to impose confessional conformity throughout Habsburg lands. It was in 1627 that a *Generalmandat* was issued, forcing even the loyal non-Catholic nobility of Upper Austria to choose between conversion and exile. Despite these tensions and conflicts, Enenkel maintained a friendship with Tengnagel, largely based on their shared love of books. Indeed, over the years, Enenkel built up one of the most remarkable libraries in Austria, comprising around 8,000 volumes.¹⁸ He never pursued Arabic studies, and a preliminary examination of a catalogue compiled by Enenkel himself in 1624 did not turn up mention of the Arabic manuscripts acquired or obtained during the capture of Esztergom. The dispersion of his library among various institutions, such as the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, the Schlüsselberger Archiv des Oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs in Linz, and the library of the

17 On Enenkel, see Anna von Coreth, "Job Hartmann von Enenkel: Ein Gelehrter der Spätrenaissance in Österreich", *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Mitteilungen* 55 (1944), 247–302; Ferdinand Oppl and Martin Scheutz, *Leben und Sammlungen des Job Hartmann von Enenkel* (Vienna, 2014). In 1619 Enenkel asked Kepler to make a horoscope for his daughter from his second marriage, Judith-Elizabeth, cf. Johannes Kepler, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Max Caspar (Munich, 1938–), vol. 17, 361f. (letter 844). Enenkel enrolled at the University of Padua on 21 November 1596, in Bologna and Siena in 1599. A miscellaneous manuscript that bears Enenkel's name and his motto, οἰστέον καὶ ἐλπιστέον (One must endure and hope), contains material concerning the wars in Hungary (ÖNB, Cod. Ser. no. 30557).

18 A manuscript catalogue compiled by Enenkel in 1624 is now in Linz, Schlüsselberg Archiv 169: "Catalogus omnium facultatum librorum qui continebantur anno MDCXXIV in bibliotheca Job-Hartmanni Baronis Enekelij" (730 fols.). The library was arranged in 13 *repositoria*, divided into individual compartments (*loculi*). The catalogue compiled in 1614 has been lost. On the history of these collections, see Andrea Brandtner, "Habent sua fata libelli – Bausteine zur Erforschung der Enenkel-Bibliothek", *Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines* (2000), 145–52; Klaus Rumpler, "Job Hartmann von Enenkel und die Stiftsbibliothek Schlierbach", in *650 Jahre Stift Schlierbach* (Schlierbach, 2005), 11–18. The library increased through his marriage to Marusch (Margarethe) von Lappitz, who had previously been married to the poet Christoph von Schallenberg (1561–1597), whose collection was incorporated into Enenkel's library. Enenkel's *album amicorum* is also preserved in the Linz archive.

Cistercian Abbey of Schlierbach, makes it challenging to determine the total number of books he acquired during the Turkish wars. Ownership inscriptions allow us to identify some volumes from his library, but we cannot exclude the possibility that he owned other manuscripts without any inscription. In total, seven looted manuscripts from the Turkish wars, bearing his ex-libris, are now housed in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Of these, four are Qur'ans, either complete or partial, including the aforementioned copy. It is worth taking a closer look at them because each bears a Latin inscription by Enenkel that sometimes offers differing perspectives on the looting at Esztergom (ÖNB, Cod. 184; 245; 246–247; 424).

The codex A. F. 424, a complete Qur'an consisting of 319 pages, was a gift from Chief Commander Bernhard Leo Gall, as indicated by Enenkel's inscription: "STRIGONIO CAPTO AN. 1595. Hic Liber Turcicus bibliothecae Enenkelianae ab Austriacae Militiae Summo praefecto D. Bernardo Leone Gallo donatus fuit" ("After the capture of Strigonia in 1595, this Turkish book was donated to the Enenkelian library by Bernhard Leo Gall, Chief Commander of the Austrian militia").¹⁹

The codex A. F. 184, a complete Qur'an consisting of 285 folios, was also donated to Enenkel by an officer, this time Wolf Dietrich Althan, a Protestant noble and relative of Enenkel. The inscription on the book reads: "STRIGONIO A CHRISTIANIS CAPTO SUB AUSPICIIS RODOLPHI II IMP. CAES. AUG. AN. 1595 LIBER HIC TURCICUS IOB. HARTMANNO BARONI ENEKELIO DONATUS AN. SEQUENTE A DN. WOLFACACIO BARONE DE ALTHAN EQUIT. CCC GERM. DUCTORE COGNATO SUO" ("After the capture of Strigonia by the Christians, under the auspices of Emperor Rudolf II, in the year 1595, this Turkish book was donated in the following year to Baron Job Hartmann von Enenkel by Lord Baron Wolfgang von Althan, his relative and commander of 300 German cavalry").²⁰

19 Bernhard Leo Gall, Baron of Losdorf, signed the *album amicorum* of Johann Gallus Fayg von Anhausen in 1598, during the Hungarian campaigns (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms Add 2103, fol. 20r). In 1597 he had fallen ill as a result of an epidemic caused by the flooding of the Danube, and in 1604 he had to face a troop of mutinous soldiers.

20 The inscription is on fol. 286v. *Rittmeister* Wolf Dietrich Althan (1575–1636) was elevated in 1604 to Chamberlain by Matthias, but Ferdinand did not confirm the title. The Althan family is an example of the complexity of confessional attitudes and their consequences, even within a single family. Cf. Thomas Winkelbauer, *Fürst und Fürstendiener. Gundaker von Liechtenstein, ein österreichischer Aristokrat des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Vienna-Munich, 1999), 78.

Enenkel purchased from a common soldier Cod. A. F. 245 (20 folios), which contains the 19th part of the Qur'an (from Surah 25, verse 23, to Surah 27, verse 56): "Capto a Christianis STRIGONIO an. 1595. Liber hic Turcicus inter praedam emptus a milite per Job Hartmannum Baronem Enenkelium" ("After the capture of Esztergom in 1595 by the Christians. This Turkish book was purchased from a soldier amidst the booty by Job Hartmann, Baron of Enenkel"). Beneath Enenkel's inscription, there is another ownership note, written by Christoph Adam Fernberger von Egerberg, a writer and collector of ancient and exotic objects who was a personal friend of Enenkel, and the older brother of the renowned traveller Christoph Carl Fernberger: "Vanitas. Christoph Adam Fernberger von Ehrenberg v. Dobersberg Erb Chammerer in österrich ob der Enss".²¹

Among the books acquired by Enenkel at Esztergom is a miscellany (Cod. A. F. 474) containing prayers, invocations, and apotropaic formulas in Turkish and Arabic. It 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*), we find the signature of someone named Farruḥ (although it does not appear to be the scribe) and the date August 15, 1531. On fol. 4v, there is an inscription in Latin by Enenkel: "DEO CONSERVATORI. CUIUS FAVORE AUXILIOQUE DN RODOLPHUS AUSTR. IMP. SEMPER AUGUSTUS, ITALICUS, HISPANICUS, PANNONICUS, TURCICUS, DACICUS. ANNO IHV ICCICXCV ARCES STRIGONIAS RECEPIT. HEIC FELICITER EXPUGNATIS CAPITISQ. HOSTIUM CASTRIS IOBUS HARTMANNUS ENENKEL LIBER BARO AUSTR. HUNC LIBRUM BIBLIOTHECAE SUAE A MILITARI VIOLENTIA VINDICAVIT" ("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, Job Hartmann Enenkel, a nobleman of Austria, triumphantly claimed this book from the clutches of military violence for his personal library").

Enenkel's inscriptions provide more than a mere record; they offer insight into the nature of his bibliophilia. These notes suggest that he held a special regard for books and felt he was 'saving' them from other looters, who might have seen them as worthless or sacrilegious. Notably, the Arabic script of these manuscripts seems to have heightened his interest in them. Furthermore, it

21 ÖNB Cod. A. F. 245, fol. 20v. La ÖNB holds 22 manuscripts of Christoph Adam Fernberger von Ehrenberg, including his library catalogue (Cod. 13290).

appears that Enenkel both bought books from soldiers and received them as gifts after the siege. That is, the circulation of *Türkenbeute* manuscripts seems to have relied on non-orientalist bibliophiles, and at least one of them, Enenkel, seems to have taken considerable care in commemorating his little collection.

Türkenbeute in the Collection of Sebastian Tengnagel

The last two manuscripts that can be traced back to Enenkel's Esztergom booty were later purchased by Tengnagel. One is a 114-page Persian manuscript, an incomplete copy of the *Bustān*, which Tengnagel bought for 4 florins. Tengnagel deciphered the story titles given throughout the manuscript, adding glosses in Latin.²²

The other, Cod. A. F. 175, comprises 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 and the price he paid for the dictionary (1 florin and 30 crucifers), we find Enenkel's inscription: "PER DOMINUM NOSTRUM RODOLPHUM RECEPTO STRIGONIO 1595 IOBUS HARTMANNI ENENKEL LIBER BARO HUNC LIBRUM AB INTERITO VINDICAVIT" ("Esztergom having been reconquered thanks to our Lord Rudolf in 1595, Job Hartmann Enenkel, a Free Baron, salvaged this book from destruction"). An in-depth examination of Tengnagel's translations and glosses in this and other dictionaries, as Hülya Çelik's research shows, uncovers an intriguing process of language learning and textual study, shedding light on the learning practices of early modern orientalists.²³

Relations between Enenkel and Tengnagel occurred mainly in person, as they both lived in Vienna, and 20 letters preserved among Tengnagel's correspondence prove that the two made their libraries available to each

22 ÖNB, A. F. 404. The faded Enenkel inscription is now quite illegible. But according to Flügel's description, Tengnagel bought it from a soldier. The manuscript is dated 12 April 1575. Cf. Gustav Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, (Vienna, 1865), vol. 1, 532. Written by Tengnagel is "Poemata lingua Persica initio defect. No. 73, 4 flor.". To give just one example among many glosses: "Ria, atheus, Deum verum non colens" (fol. 71v); "Barbut. instrumentum musicum" (fol. 64v).

23 See Hülya Çelik, "Court librarian Sebastian Tengnagel's collection of and work with Arabic, Persian and Turkish dictionaries", in Philip Bockholt, Hülya Çelik, Ludwig Paul, and Ani Sargsyan, eds., *Translation and Transfer in a Transottoman Perspective*, forthcoming.

other. Enenkel invited Tengenagel to his home to take the books he wanted, and Tengenagel noted down the loans made to the baron, including both books from the imperial library and those from his private collection. They exchanged books extensively, mostly on antiquarianism and geography, but also Greek editions of the New Testament, books by the Spanish Jesuit Juan Maldonado, Benito Arias Montano, and Guillaume Postel, and accounts of journeys to the Holy Land. Enenkel was evidently aware of Tengenagel's interest in the East. In addition to gifting or selling some of the manuscripts looted at Esztergom, he introduced Tengenagel to another orientalist, Johannes Melchior Mader. Born in Carinthia, Mader studied in Tübingen and eventually became a pupil of Erpenius and a friend of Petrus Kirstenius and Hieronymus Megiser (of whom he later became a harsh critic). He attempted to establish a 'collegium arabicum' in Linz. Mader published a pamphlet there in 1618 promoting his school and praising the study of Arabic; its usefulness, he wrote, was as obvious as the midday light.²⁴

Enenkel's books were not the only of Tengenagel's manuscripts to come from Hungary and the Balkans. For example, a book of invocations, prayers, and amulets in Turkish and Arabic (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 501, 156 folios) bears a German inscription by a soldier testifying that the manuscript was taken during the siege of Novigrad in 1594: "Nichts ohn Vrsach. Diess Piechl hab I 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 a reason. I received this little book when we took Novigrad from the Turks, which happened on 9 March 1594. May God continue to give us good fortune and salvation"). An almost faded Latin inscription by Tengenagel testifies that the booklet found its way into the Jesuit College in Cesky Krumlov (Liber collegii Crumloviensis) before ending up in the Vienna library.²⁵

Tengenagel had also purchased, for 10 florins, a Turkish manuscript containing the annals of the Ottoman rulers up to 1471 (*Tevārīh-i Āl-i 'Osmān*). The manuscript contains inscriptions from two Italian soldiers, Piero da Cividale of Friuli and Francesco da Vicenza of Veneto. Both were taken prisoner in Buda in

24 Johann Melchior Mader, *Collegium Arabicvm, in Quo Oratio pro Lingua Arabica; Specimen trimestris institutionis; Oratio de Numero Ternario; Anarithmoglottia seu Abyssus Linguarum* (Linz, 1618); he also published *Grammatica Arabica selecta* (Augsburg, 1617). On him and his accusations of plagiarism against Megiser, cf. Nil Ö. Palabıyık, *Silent Teachers Turkish Books and Oriental Learning in Early Modern Europe, 1544–1669* (London, 2023), 97–106.

25 Cf. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, 158. The Jesuit College in Český Krumlov was founded in 1584.

1553, along with Chief Sergeant Sforza Pallavicini, who was then in command of 3,000 soldiers in Hungary.²⁶

The list could go on: for example, Tegnagel's library also contained a slim book of Islamic prayers, a gift from Cardinal Péter Pázmány from a small Hungarian village in 1613, during an outbreak of the plague.²⁷ In a letter, Pázmány informed Tegnagel that he was sending him two 'Turkish' booklets as gifts. To date, only one of these has been identified. The context remains obscure: how the cardinal came to possess the book, where it came from, and whether it was a discarded item salvaged by a peddler or perhaps a piece of loot from a soldier. Nevertheless, the fact that someone in a small Hungarian village presented the cardinal with an Ottoman book suggests a gradual circulation of these books from conquered territories, being passed on as gifts or treasured objects. It is also noteworthy that Pázmány, as a key figure in the Counter-Reformation in Hungary, looked favourably upon Tegnagel's oriental studies and sought to contribute to his collection of texts.

In Tegnagel's collection, an extraordinary manuscript stands out as evidence of the linguistic and religious diversity of Ottoman Hungary. It is a *mecmua* – a collection of miscellaneous texts compiled primarily for private use – thought to have been written in Hungary around 1590. The anthology contains over

26 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 251, *Tārīḫ-i Āl-i 'Osmān*; on fol. 1v, Tegnagel writes: "Historia a condito imperio Othomano, usque ad annum Hegirae sive aerae Muhammedanae octingentissimum septuagesimum sextum. Conscripta lingua turcica N. 23"; on fol. 143v: "Piero da Civalda 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 Pallavicini]". For the description of the ms., see G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften*, 207. The codex could be one of those brought from Constantinople by Antonius Verantius and used by Johannes Leunclavius for his *Ottoman Histories*. On Verantius, see Éva Gyulai, "Antonius Verantius", in David Thomas and John Chesworth, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500–1900*, vol. 7, 362–71. Pallavicini was the perpetrator of the sensational murder in the castle at Alvinc del Cardinal Martinuzzi (György Fráter), Archbishop of Esztergom, Voivode and Governor of Transylvania and Primate, charged with being too close to the Ottomans. On this episode see Viktor Kanász, "The Anatomy of a Political Assassination: The Assassination of Cardinal György Fráter (Martinuzzi) and its Consequences", *Folia Historica Cracoviensia*, 25 (2019), 83–109.

27 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 525, *Kitāb alsala*, fol. 1r: "R. et eruditiss. P. S. I. Petrus Pasmannus Hung. dono mihi misit, 4^o Octob. A^o 1613. Et nunc archiepiscop. Strigoniens. et Cardinalis Eminentiss. 1634"; fol. 1v: "Ex libris Sebastiani Tegnagel L.V.D. et Caes. Biblioth". The ms. contains Suras 6, 36, 55, 67, 78, 93–5, 97, and 102–114, some Arabic prayers with Turkish characters, and some amulets. The cardinal announces the dispatch of this and another 'little Turkish book' in a letter of 9 September 1613 from Szerdahely and regrets not being able to find anything else. On Pázmány, cf. Paul Shore and Péter Tusor, "Péter Pázmány: Cardinal, Archbishop of Esztergom, Primate of Hungary", *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 7/4 (2020), 526–44.

300 texts in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Hungarian, Latin, German, and Croatian, with the Romance language sections using Arabic script. It contains key tenets of Christianity and Judaism, including the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostolic Creed in their Lutheran versions. It also contains fourteen love and mystical poems in different languages (German, Hungarian, Ottoman Turkish), some of which even integrate Ottoman Turkish with Hungarian elements. Given its composition, scholars hypothesize that its author may have been a Hungarian Protestant from a trilingual environment who later converted to Islam.²⁸

While the identity of the *mecmua's* compiler remains enigmatic, we have precise knowledge about the scribe of another manuscript from Ottoman Hungary, potentially also plundered during wars. It is a small Turkish book on geomancy, alchemy, and divination (*Kitāb-i Reml*), written by Muḥammad Bin Ibrāhīm Ḳālī in Esztergom on October 27, 1580. Tegnagel acquired this manuscript for 2 florins, but the circumstances of its acquisition—its time and source—remain unknown.²⁹

Finally, there is another text from Tegnagel that originated from Esztergom: a magnificent Ottoman Qur'an, copied in Esztergom on December 16, 1555, by ʿĪsā b. Shāhīn (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 6). Beyond its size (392 × 262 mm) and beauty, this manuscript has a feature that makes it special: it contains an interlinear translation in Turkish. Tegnagel, in a letter to Della Valle, referred to it as the 'most precious gem' of his collection.³⁰ It remains unclear how this Qur'an made the journey from Esztergom to Vienna. It is unlikely to have been in the possession of the relief army, so its presence in Vienna might suggest

28 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 437. On fol. 2r, Tegnagel wrote: "Miscellanea varia. Colloquium Persico-Turcicum. Professio fidei Turcicae". On this manuscript, see Claudia Römer, "Cultural Assimilation of a 16th-Century New Muslim – the *mecmua* ÖNB A. F. 437", in İlhan Şahin, ed., *CIÉPO 19*, (Istanbul, 2014), 607–20; Claudia Römer, "A late 16th-century Persian-Turkish phrase book", in Heidi Stein, ed., *Turkic language in Iran – past and present* (Wiesbaden, 2014), 183–202; Branka Ivušić, "Developing Consistency in the Absence of Standards – A Manuscript as a Melting-Pot of Languages, Religions and Writing Systems", in Dmitry Bondarev, Alessandro Gori, and Lameen Souag, eds., *Creating Standards: Interactions with Arabic script in 12 manuscript cultures* (Berlin – Boston, 2019), 147–76.

29 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 176 (کتاب رمل, *Kitāb-i Reml*). On fol. 69v there is the signature of the scribe (Muḥammad Bin Ibrāhīm Ḳālī in Usturgun 18. Ramaḍān 988); on fol. 1v, in Tegnagel's hand: 'Liber De Geomantia'.

30 On the correspondence between Tegnagel and Della Valle, see Chiara Petrolini, "Roma, Vienna e l'Oriente. Le lettere di Sebastian Tegnagel e Pietro Della Valle", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 100/1 (2020), 349–73.

the looting of a mosque or a personal library within the city. Tengenagel's annotations merely add the number of the surahs in the margins and, at the beginning, indicate the high price paid: 100 thalers. We do not even know who added the interlinear transcription; the manuscript probably came to Tengenagel already equipped with it, contrary to the speculations of Daniel De Nessel and Franciscus à Mesgnien Meninski.³¹ They attributed it to İbrāhīm Dervīş, a war prisoner and scribe of Tengenagel, who is the main focus of the concluding section of this contribution.

In the realm of scholarship, *Türkenbeute* encompasses not only manuscripts but also learned captives who served as informants for scholars. Tengenagel's archive, with its books, notes, and letters, provides an exceptional illustration of the dual nature of the *Türkenbeute*, consisting of both inanimate objects and human beings.

İbrāhīm Dervīş

Unlike Esztergom, the 1598 siege of the fortress of Győr (Raab, Javorinum, Giavarino, or Yanikkale), under Ottoman control since 1594, was short. Over the course of a single night, around 1,800 infantry and 700 cavalry, commanded by Miklós Pálffy and Adolph von Schwarzenberg, stormed the fortress, defended by a garrison of 2,500 to 3,000 men, and killed some 1,700 soldiers and almost as many civilians. A handwritten anonymous Latin chronicle vividly describes the carnage, the blood-soaked streets, the cries of children (who were not spared), and the wailing of women.³²

³¹ Daniel de Nessel, *Catalogus sive Recensio Specialis omnium codicum manuscriptorum graecorum, nec non linguarum orientalium, Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesariae Vindobonensis* (Vienna, 1690), pars VII, 147 (n. 4).

³² ÖNB Cod. 8464, *Historia Hungarica ab a. 1572 usque ad a. 1606*, fol. 107r: "Hinc nostri pugnantes caedere, fugientibusque instare, non sexui, non aetati parcere, puerorum eiulatibus, mulierum lamentis, morientium gemitibus omnia publica privataque circumsonare. Omnibus plateis atque angulis sternebantur Turcae, caede promiscua. Multum locis omnibus effunditur sanguinis. [...] Copiosa spolia fuere, auro, argento, preciosa veste, anulis gemmatis. Equi Thracii generosi plurimi: opes Turcarum longo tempore rapinis accumulatae, atque ex Asia gremio allatae: plurima bellica instrumenta, et commeatus ingens, majora tormenta centum, Christiani captivi trecenti liberati sunt". For an accurate reconstruction of the events, see Pálffy Géza: A császárváros védelmében a győri főkapitányság története 1526–1598: a győri vár törektől való visszafoglalása 400. Évfordulójának emlékére (Győr, 1999); Bagi Zoltán Péter, Azmikor az vaspléhből csinált torony tetejére helyeztetett kakas megszólalna", *Győri Tanulmányok*, 37 (2016), 5–20. For

The victory was celebrated in Rome, Vienna, Venice, and Madrid: Emperor Rudolf II had a *Te Deum* sung and trumpets sounded in Prague Castle. Rudolf also ordered the construction of several votive shrines, the so-called *Raaberkreuze*, throughout Lower Austria. Győr had once again become the ‘totius christianitatis propugnaculum’ (‘the bulwark of all Christendom’), as well as a buffer between the Ottoman threat and Vienna and Lower Austria.

The spoils of war were abundant: gold, textiles, horses, and more than a hundred catapults and weapons. Three hundred Christian prisoners were freed, while 300–500 Ottomans were captured and enslaved. Some reports mention (in addition to other depredations) that the soldiers beat and killed prisoners.³³ Among the prisoners was Derviş İbrâhîm b. Muḥammed Şikârî Şâ’irî (or Şâkirî) al-Abşalüyî / İbşalüyî, who had served Ḥayder Muḥibb Qannabî in the castle of Győr and later worked as a copyist and teacher for Tengenagel.

The story of Derviş İbrâhîm is one of the best-documented cases of interaction between a Muslim prisoner of war and a late Catholic humanist. Letters, manuscripts, and marginalia, in Latin, German, Italian, and Ottoman Turkish offer a fragmentary view from both sides: Sebastian’s and İbrâhîm’s. These sources also shed light on the living conditions of prisoners during the Long Turkish War and the role that writing and scribal activities played in the social relations of Ottoman prisoners.

The case of İbrâhîm is exceptional, but not unique, when we consider figures such as Paul Willich, Hüseyin of Buda, or, many years later, Osman of Timișoara. What makes İbrâhîm’s story special is the possibility of ‘hearing’ his voice and reconstructing his partnership with the librarian Tengenagel, which provides an insight into the living conditions of Ottoman prisoners. In this light, it may be useful to draw parallels with the experiences of Ottomans imprisoned in different geographical contexts, such as Rome, Messina, and Malta. These include Hindî Mahmud, who was captured at the Battle of Lepanto and later held in both Rome and Messina, and Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi, an Ottoman judge from Cyprus who was seized by Catholic pirates in 1597 and held in Malta.³⁴ The memoirs written by these two men provide details of the

an Ottoman perspective on the siege of Győr in 1594, see Christine Woodhead, *Ta’lîkî-zâde’s Şehnâme-i hümayûn: a history of the Ottoman campaign into Hungary, 1593–94* (Berlin, 1983), 291–302.

33 Cf. Cod. 8971, fols. 192r–193r.

34 Cf. Emine Nurefşan Dinç, “Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi” in David Thomas and John Chesworth, eds., *Christian–Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 10 Ottoman and Safavid Empires (1600–1700)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 90–3; the memorial has been translated into French, see Hayri Göksin Özkoray, *Le Captif de Malte. Récit autobiographique d’un cadi ottoman* (Toulouse, 2019). On the ransom of prisoners on the

prisoners' daily lives, their access to books, paper and ink, and the possibility of practicing Islam while in captivity. Regarding Győr, it is unfortunately not known whether Muslim prisoners were allowed to keep or reproduce their books or to observe Islamic rituals. It is known, however, that İbrāhīm began his service as a scribe for Tengenagel while imprisoned in Győr as the 'slave' of Baron Seyfried Christoph von Breuner. Later, at Tengenagel's behest, he was transferred to Karl of Liechtenstein and eventually relocated to Vienna.

Tengenagel often mentions in his correspondence this 'signor turco-persiano', as Samuel Slade called İbrāhīm in a letter from Venice.³⁵ For instance, to Jakob Christmann – who asked for the scribe's opinion on his approximate knowledge of Turkish – Tengenagel said that although İbrāhīm presented himself as Persian, he thought he was Turkish. He also mentioned that he was a painter, was an excellent poet, and, despite his statements, seemed to have little inclination to convert to Catholicism. He also spoke about him to Isaac Casaubon (who alluded to a small market in Vienna for prisoners of war who could read and write), to Petrus Kirstenius, who asked Tengenagel to find an educated Ottoman prisoner to employ in Breslau, and to Daniel Heinsius and Jan Gruter, to persuade them to lend him some valuable Arabic and Turkish manuscripts preserved in Heidelberg and Leiden.³⁶

But there was also direct communication between the two men. While it is obviously impossible to reconstruct their oral exchanges, their joint work on certain manuscripts provides an insight. For instance, on the flyleaf of a Viennese copy of a Persian–Turkish dictionary from Scaliger's collection, which Daniel Heinsius had lent to him, Tengenagel notes that he had appended Latin translations with the assistance of İbrāhīm. He describes working intensively with his 'interpreter,' who had minimal knowledge of Latin. A closer look at the codex suggests that İbrāhīm occasionally guided his employer and pupil

Ottoman border, see Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, eds., *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders (Early Fifteenth–Early Eighteenth Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). On Hüseyin of Buda and Paul Willich, see Robert Jones, *Learning Arabic*, 54–56; 92–94. As for Osman of Timișoara, see Giancarlo Casale ed., *Prisoner of the Infidels. The Memoir of an Ottoman Muslim in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oakland, 2021).

35 öNB, Cod. 9737r, fols. 96r–v (1 August 1608). Slade, the agent sent by Henry Savile to the continent in search of Chrysostom manuscripts, wrote to Tengenagel from Venice, where he was guest at the English embassy, while awaiting his departure for Greece and Istanbul. Further information about Slade can be found in Jean-Louis Quantin, "Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec. Une histoire européenne", in Martin Wallraff and Rudolf Brändle, eds., *Chrysostomosbilder in 1600 Jahren Facetten der Wirkungsgeschichte eines Kirchenvaters* (Berlin – New York, 2008), 267–346.

36 On some of these letters and on the figure of Ibrahim, cf. Robert Jones, *Learning Arabic*, 55–66.

by drawing the meaning of words, bridging linguistic gaps with sketches.³⁷ It is noteworthy that Scaliger never published his dictionaries, largely because he lacked a Turkish interpreter to assist him. In contrast, Étienne Hubert described to Scaliger his own successful and fruitful collaboration with Hüseyn of Buda (Vāfir Hüseyn) in compiling a dictionary. This parallel case provides an illuminating point of comparison with İbrāhīm's story.³⁸

Tengnagel's notebooks are also a treasure trove of information. Hülya Çelik has unearthed two short poems by İbrāhīm Dervīş about war, love for a young man with a 'rosebud mouth', and the melancholy of a life spent in exile. Particularly relevant to this study is the poem in which İbrāhīm celebrates the life of a warrior in the service of the Sultan, engaged in *gāzā* – the holy war. He speaks of the 'sorrows of a campaign's adventure', so vast and varied that they defy description. Such discoveries highlight the crucial importance of annotations, glosses, and personal notes in the early European study of Islamic literature. These seemingly minor notes provide invaluable insights into the heart of intellectual dialogue and personal and emotive exchange that took place during this chapter of Oriental studies.³⁹

Traces of their written correspondence also survive. According to Nessel's catalogue, at least two letters from İbrāhīm Dervīş to Tengnagel were included in Oriental manuscripts but later removed. In 1998, Claudia Römer found and examined one of these letters, which had been hidden in a miscellany. In my discussion, I draw on Römer's translation and analysis, which provide valuable insights into the communication with Tengnagel and into the life of

37 "Lexicon Persicum Turcica lingua explicatum. Auctore Mir Husein Aiassi, ex apographo Illustr. et doctissimi viri Iosephi Scaligeri Iuli Caesaris Scaligeri Comitis a Burden fili descriptum, atque a cv Daniele Heynsio Gandavensi Graecar. litterarum atque historiarum in Academia Lugduno-Batava professore mihi singulari ex amicitia utendum datum, atque a me, quantum per interpretem licuit mei idiomatis quasi ignarum, subito atque festinante calamo intra XIV plus minus dies latine versum. A° restitutae a Christo D.N. salutis 1614. Sebastianus Tengnagel 1c et August. Biblioth. Pr. haec in usum et propagationem Reipub. Litterariae I.M. elaborabat." (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 26, *Luġāt-i Emīr Hüseyn el-Ayāsī*).

38 On Hubert's letter describing Vāfir Hüseyn to Scaliger, see Nil Ö. Palabıyık, "The Last Letter from Étienne Hubert to Joseph Scaliger: Oriental Languages and Scholarly Collaboration in Seventeenth-Century Europe", *Lias: Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and Its Sources*, 45 (2018), 115–46.

39 On the methodological importance of the 'margins' in the history of proto-Orientalism, see John-Paul Ghobrial, "The Archive of Orientalism and its Keepers: Re-Imagining the Histories of Arabic Manuscripts in Early Modern Europe", *Past & Present*, 230, 1/11 (2016), 90–111.

an Ottoman prisoner in Hungary.⁴⁰ Writing from the fortress of Győr on 20 May 1610, İbrāhīm congratulated Sebastian on his marriage to Ursula Ungelter and implored 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 of being allowed some freedom during the day, but being confined to damp and uncomfortable underground chambers with little access to poor quality food. It remains unclear whether he was allowed to practise his faith, but he asked that greetings be sent to a certain ‘Father Jonas’ (Pāṭır Yūnus), who apparently sought to catechise and convert him.

Before İbrāhīm signed off as ‘the poor prisoner’, his appeal to Sebastian took on a pragmatic tone, highlighting the adverse working conditions that hindered his task as a scribe. He emphasized that a change in his circumstances would greatly improve the quality of the transcribed manuscripts, as Tegnagel himself had previously criticized Dervīş’s errors. In closing, İbrāhīm made a note about the book he was working on, promising that it would surpass his previous efforts due to its unique nature. It was ‘different from all other books’, as it conveyed ‘another kind of knowledge’. Perhaps he was referring to the text of Bukhārī, which was one of the five manuscripts he copied for Tegnagel; all have been closely analyzed by Hūlya Çelik.⁴¹

Tegnagel’s response, if any, remains unknown. However, we do have a letter dated May 1, 1613, in which the librarian asked Emperor Matthias for an increase in his salary of 100 florins per year to cover the cost of maintaining İbrāhīm Dervīş. He also sought permission to transfer him to his own home, placing him under his jurisdiction. This arrangement would relieve İbrāhīm of the burdens imposed by his current owner.⁴² Tegnagel promised to take full responsibility, closely monitoring any potential escape, overseeing his daily work, and facilitating İbrāhīm’s potential conversion to Catholicism, which had previously been nothing more than a vague promise. In return, Tegnagel would gain not just an amanuensis but, after many ‘silent mentors’ in the form of books, a ‘living and speaking teacher’.

40 Claudia Römer, “An Ottoman Copyist Working for Sebastian Tegnagel, Librarian at the Vienna Hofbibliothek, 1608–1636”, *Archiv orientální, Supplementa*, VIII, 1998, 330–49. The letter is now in ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 32, fol. 76r. Tegnagel writes on the back (fol. 76v): “Litterae Abrahami sive Ibrahim Persae dervisci, sive Monachi apud Turcas Iavarino ad me datae A° 1610, 20 Maj”.

41 ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 31, Şaḥīḥu l-Bukhārī/ Ğāmi‘aş-şāḥīḥ (40 fols). Cf. Hūlya Çelik, “Sebastian Tegnagel as a Pioneer of Oriental Studies”, in Chiara Petrolini, Hūlya Çelik, Paola Molino, Thomas Wallnig, and Claudia Römer eds., *The Oriental Outpost of the Republic of Letters: Sebastian Tegnagel (d. 1636), the Imperial Library in Vienna, and Knowledge of the Orient*, forthcoming.

42 ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fol. 240r.

To persuade the emperor to grant his request, Tengenagel enumerated the benefits that the library would enjoy, enhancing its prestige. İbrāhīm's productivity and quality of work would significantly improve. Recognizing that bibliophilic reasons alone might not suffice, Tengenagel presented an additional advantage tied to politics and diplomacy: İbrāhīm possessed a superior command of Ottoman Turkish compared to the interpreters serving the War Council, and, under Tengenagel's guidance, he would prove to be a strategic asset in translating the Sultan's dispatches and confidential letters – a task of utmost importance and responsibility. In 1613, seven years had passed since the Zsitvatorok Peace Treaty between Ahmed I and Rudolf II. This period saw the need to effectively manage and maintain peace, while also mitigating the risks of misunderstandings and translation errors that had complicated the 1606 negotiations. Consequently, trans-imperial diplomacy experienced a rapid expansion and grew in significance, with interpreters playing a pivotal role in facilitating communication and ensuring successful diplomatic relations.

Captured during the Long Turkish War, İbrāhīm Derviş became a prisoner and consequently entered the service of Tengenagel. In this new role, he embarked on philological studies that were closely tied to the legacy of the wars themselves. İbrāhīm, along with others in similar circumstances, played a pivotal role in facilitating the circulation and accessibility of books, thereby shaping the intellectual endeavor of Oriental studies.

Conclusion

Türkenbeute lies at the confluence of multiple spaces and actors, including scholars such as Tengenagel, soldiers, officers, non-orientalist bibliophiles such as Enenkel, cardinals, the emperor, and prisoners of war. The forced collaboration between İbrāhīm Derviş and Sebastian Tengenagel was the result of a complex interplay of many factors. In addition to the scribe's expertise and the orientalist's intention to use his skills, certain logistical complications had to be coordinated – and not just logistical, as there was also pressure on İbrāhīm to abandon Islam and convert to Catholicism. The presence – and indeed the absence – of individuals such as İbrāhīm had a significant impact on the progress, delay, or halting of certain scholarly endeavors. İbrāhīm's transcriptions for Sebastian were vital in advancing the librarian's research and in laying the ground for several editorial projects which, for various reasons not relevant to this discourse, were never realized. The critical role of a native scribe and tutor is underscored once again in the final case study briefly presented here, which returns to the context of the Long Turkish War

and involves both Sebastian Tegnagel and Derviş İbrāhīm, albeit in a more indirect way.

In 1627, Tegnagel received a letter in German from the historian and polymath Veit Marchtaler in Ulm,⁴³ asking Tegnagel's help in finding someone who could translate from Turkish into Hungarian, German, Latin, or Italian. Marchtaler was aware that these professionals charged high rates and that – he added ambiguously – they were often not welcome in homes, especially those inhabited by women. These difficulties led him to Tegnagel, whom he considered an expert in the field of Oriental studies. The urgency of his request stemmed from Marchtaler's recent collaboration with Wilhelm Schickard, professor in Tübingen, who expressed a willingness to work with a Turkish manuscript scroll that Marchtaler had preserved for 30 years, since the time of the wars in Hungary. This text was the *Tārīḥ Beni Ādem*, encompassing the lineage of prophets and rulers from Adam to Murad III. Marchtaler told Tegnagel how he had discovered it 'in the castle church' amidst the pillage following the Siege of Filek (Filakovo, Slovakia) in November 1593, commanded by Christoph von Teuffenbach.⁴⁴ In a different version, he recounted taking it 'in direptione Templi Muhammedani, Mesgidam vocant' during the sacking of Filek's mosque.⁴⁵

Tegnagel showed great interest in the scroll, but complained that there were no competent Turkish translators in Vienna, and that those who were present (probably alluding to the dragomans) lacked historical knowledge, making them unsuitable for the task. Nevertheless, he added, he was willing

43 ÖNB, Cod. 9737, fols. 159r-160v. The letter has been published in Friedrich Seck, ed., *Wilhelm Schickard: Briefwechsel* (Stuttgart, 2002), 199.

44 On the siege, cf. "De expugnatione Flleci incerti Auctoris", in Nicolaus Reusner, *Rerum memorabilium in Pannonia* (Frankfurt, 1603), 203–10; Sándor László Tóth, "Az 1593. évi felvidéki hadjárat és a füleki-romhányi csata", *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, 1 (1999), 5–73. The scroll is now in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 111 Aug. 4°. Cf. Otto v. Heinemann, *Die Augusteischen Handschriften 5. Cod. Guelf. 34.1 Aug. 4° – 117 Aug. 4° und Anhang: Handschriften in Sammelbänden* (Frankfurt, 1966 – Nachdruck d. Ausg. 1903), 195–6.

45 Wilhelm Schickard, *Tarich h. e. Series Regum Persiae ab Ardschir-Babekan usque ad Jazdirgerdem ab Chaliphis expulsus 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: "Debuissem tunc quoque, fateor, exhibere volumen Genealogicum Turc-Arabicum, quod biennio ante, cum famosissimum illud Ungariae Castellum Villek expugnaremus, in direptione Templi Muhammedi (Mesgidam vocant) propitio Deo nactus sum, elegantissime scriptum, ac propter immanem longitudinem convolutum in spiras". On Schickard's limited knowledge of Turkish and his reliance mainly on Jewish sources, see Palabiyik, *Silent Teachers*, 112–116.

to share with Marchtaler and Schickard insights and information from his collection of Oriental texts.⁴⁶ Schickard expressed immense gratitude and acknowledged Tegnagel in the 1628 edition of his *Tarich*, the fruit of his study of the scroll. In his personal copy, which Schickard had sent him as a gift, Tegnagel noted some information he had received from a Capuchin on the death of Shah Abbas and the siege of Baghdad, showing that he continued the habit of taking notes on his books, both printed and manuscript. Meanwhile, Europe had plunged into the chaos of the Thirty Years' War, which dramatically slowed Tegnagel's oriental studies. Schickard, in one of his last letters to Tegnagel, anxiously reported that during the siege of Tübingen in 1631 he had to bury his manuscripts and books in a crypt under the cellar to save them from the fury of the war. Now it was another war that was raging – this time exclusively among Christians – with its own threats to men and books, and they needed another way to survive the catastrophe.

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46 Seck, ed., *Wilhelm Schickard: Briefwechsel*, 348.