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*Establishing an «Orientalium linguarum Bibliotheca»
in 17th-century Vienna: Sebastian Tengenel and
the trajectories of his manuscripts*

1. *«Insatiabilis cupiditas»: fragments of an apprenticeship*

In January 1630, Lucas Holstenius was on his way to Poland, where Cardinal Francesco Barberini had sent him to negotiate with King Sigismund and bring the red hat to Monsignore Santacroce, the papal nuncio in Warsaw. Stopping in Vienna, Holstenius had a long

* Sections 1 and 2 of this contribution are written by Chiara Petrolini and 3 and 4 by Hülya Çelik.

This article stems from the research project The Oriental Outpost of the Republic of Letters. Sebastian Tengenel (d. 1636), the Imperial Library in Vienna and Knowledge about the Orient, carried out by Hülya Çelik, Paola Molino, Chiara Petrolini, Claudia Römer, Thomas Wallnig, and funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF P-30511 – running from January 2018 to the end of 2021), see Oorpl 2018. The outcomes of the research will be extensively presented in a book currently in preparation by the project team members, to be titled: Court Librarian Sebastian Tengenel, Central European Christianity and Knowledge about the Orient, 1600–1640. A first version of this paper was presented at the conference Was wäre die Bibliothek ohne Bibliothekare? Die Wiener Hofbibliothek im Spannungsfeld von Macht und Öffentlichkeit, held by the Institute for Austrian Historical Research on 19–20 November 2018 in Vienna.

conversation with Emperor Ferdinand and then visited the Imperial Library. There he met Sebastian Tengnagel, its custodian since 1608, who was then 57 years old. A few months later, Holstenius told Nicholas Claude Fabri de Peiresc about the hardships and discomforts of that awful trip to Poland, but he recalled with pleasure his meeting with Tengnagel, urging his French friend to get in touch with him to obtain information about the Samaritan Bibles.¹ Tengnagel, he said, had all the qualities of the ideal librarian: humble and ready to share books and knowledge. Moreover, in the opinion of Holstenius, who had already met Thomas Erpenius in Leiden, Tengnagel was the greatest connoisseur of Oriental languages in Europe. It was a pity, Holstenius added, that due to his health problems, particularly severe headaches and migraines, the erudite librarian had not published anything. But Tengnagel, he continued, had spent a long time working on the codices he had collected over the years: he owned some very rare texts on the history of Persia and the Ottoman Empire, and he was trying

¹ Boissonade 1817, p. 187-188: «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» (Holstenius to Peiresc, 21 June 1630). I wish to thank Lara Nicolini for taking the trouble to check the Latin transcription and translation in this article. On the encounter between Tengnagel and Holstenius and on the letter dated 31 August 1608 from Holstenius to Tengnagel, with a list of Oriental books published in Rome, see Serrai 2001, p. 25-28; On Holstenius' journey to Poland, see Nuntiaturberichte 2009, p. 36-42; Rietbergen 2006, p. 267-268.

to bring from Tübingen to Vienna the astronomer and orientalist Wilhelm Schickard, whom he had helped to prepare the edition of *Tarich, hoc est series Regum Persiae*, an historical work on the first six Muslim dynasties.² Once in Rome, Holstenius received a rich 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. Apologizing for his many questions, 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 Although stereo-

² Schickard 1628 (Tengnagel's copy with *ex libris* in ÖNB, 65.F.11). On Tengnagel and Schickard, see Witte 1677, p. 376; Lambeck, 1766, p. 278-282. The letters between them have been published in Seck 2002. Schickard included in his text excerpts and comments from Abū l-Fidā's treatise on geography provided by Tengnagel.

On Holstenius' *album amicorum* there is a dedication (in Hebrew, Arabic and Latin) by Erpenius: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (= ÖNB), Cod. 9960, c. 85 (19 March 1619).

³ Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (= BAV), Barb. Lat. 2181, c. 101r-102v. One of the texts Tengnagel sought was Torquemada's treatise against the Qur'an republished in Rome: Torquemada 1606. On this book see Martín 2007.

⁴ Expressions of this kind recur in countless letters. Tengnagel was of course aware of the long tradition by which food and books were associated; in a letter to the Emperor Matthias he calls himself «helluo librorum», repeating the words used by Cicero to describe Cato; see ÖNB, Cod. 9737q, c. 43r. One of many examples of Tengnagel's use of these metaphors is in a letter to Pietro Della Valle: «Quantopere prima illa Tuarum Orientalium cupediarum promulsis palato meo melli atque volupiae fuerit, vix verbis assequor, ideoque orexim meam primo hoc missu

typical, it is an insightful self-representation that captures the breadth and insatiability of his intellectual curiosity, which drove him to build up one of the most important collections of books about the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East in Europe.

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 Habsburg 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 16th 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 laws at the University of Bologna.⁶

Tengnagel was a supremely cultured man, able to engage in philological textual criticism in both Latin and Greek; he was well-versed in patristic literature as well as classical poetry and medieval history.⁷ He worked devotedly to bring to light and protect the library's manuscripts, and to shield them from «the inauspicious fate that often meant that the most precious codices either ended up in oblivion, in

nimum quantum proritatam, secundis tuis ferculis uti assatim expleas, etiam atque etiam, VC obnixè rogo», Rome, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (= AAP), Fondo Della Valle-Del Bufalo, 52, c. 101r.

⁵ On Blotius, see Molino 2017. On Blotius, Tengnagel and Lambeck, see Serrai 1993; Molino 2017, p. 79, 159. We do not yet know very much about Tengnagel's family and religious background. On his life, see: Unterkircher 1968; Lhotsky 1948; Wallnig 2020. For relevant considerations on Vienna's library as a place of knowledge production see Molino 2019. Ursula was the daughter of Christoph Ungelter, an imperial officer. By marrying her, Tengnagel gained access to a number of privileges that would otherwise have been denied to him as a foreigner. See Molino 2017, p. 150.

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

⁷ Gastgeber 2014. See also Zurli 2010 and Vecce 2014.

the hands of greedy men or were used as fish paper».⁸ Yet he seems to have been possessed by a single passion that shaped his entire life: the study of the Near East and its languages, Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Holstenius was not alone in his judgement and praise. When Tengnagel was appointed as Court librarian in 1608, the Lutheran Syriac scholar Christophorus Crinesius praised his genius for languages in a number of printed verses, calling him the «Viennae ocellus».⁹ His fame grew over the years, he was considered by his contemporaries a leading light in Oriental studies, a «mystagogue of the arcana of the east». Even in the early modern Habsburg territories, where multilingualism was the norm, Tengnagel's mastery of languages was exceptional: as his epitaph at the St. Stephen's Cathedral says, he was fluent in 15 languages, among which were Arabic, Turkish, Syriac, Persian, Hebrew and Ethiopic. He was therefore part of what Alastair Hamilton called «a cluster of pioneers». Despite constant exchanges between the West and the East, in the early 17th 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 the 17th century. Eventually, knowledge of the Islamic world and the creation of special collections in European libraries became an integral part of state-building, as Alessandro Bevilacqua in his recent book has shown.¹⁰ But back then, 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, motivation and approaches, who greatly increased both the quality and quantity of knowledge in

⁸ ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, c. 186r

⁹ Crinesius 1608. Crinesius (1584-1629) taught Oriental languages at the University of Wittenberg and Altdorf. On his contribution to Syriac studies, see Wilkinson 2016, p. 245-49.

¹⁰ Bevilacqua 2018, p. 30.

this domain. And these learned ‘explorers’ soon came to see Tengnagel as one of the most promising scholars in their field.

Tengnagel’s hallmark was elusiveness. He did not write much, and he published almost nothing, and nothing connected to his Oriental studies. His masterpiece was his collection of Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts: a private collection, paid for not from imperial funds but out of his own pocket, and then, only on his death, donated to the Imperial Library in his will. Vienna’s National Library holds not only this collection of Tengnagel’s Oriental books but also a significant corpus of manuscript letters (mostly in Latin, but with frequent interpolations of words in Greek, Arabic, Turkish and Hebrew)¹¹ describing at the same time his work as a Catholic Orientalist and as a court librarian.

This article presents the two corpora, taking their inherent logic into account. In the research project carried out in Vienna at the Department of Near East Studies and the Institute of Austrian Historical Research underpinning this project we envisaged symbiotic work between members of our group and complementary sources of knowledge and expertise, in order to combine the philological and the historical approaches. Through careful reading, analysis and cataloguing of all the documents – the letters, the *marginalia* in the handwritten books and the books themselves – we have attempted to shed new light on the history of scholarship and the Oriental languages as transmitted through the Imperial Library. Of this complex work, we present here a selective overview of correspondence that illustrates the scholarly framework in which Tengnagel’s collection of Oriental manuscripts was built up, and an outline of some of the books that he and his peers were actually discussing.

The letters cover 30 years and provide a key to map the «lust for

¹¹ In some cases, as for instance in a letter from Elias Opala, a polyglot from Poland, a single page could contain six different alphabets (ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, c. 320r).

knowing»¹² the East from Vienna's perspective. In recent times, the history of European interest in the Arabic-speaking world has attracted ever-growing attention, even beyond the field of Oriental studies. Historians of early modern scholarship, as well as social scientists and historians of ideas, are increasingly interested in understanding where, how and when this knowledge took shape, but Vienna and the Habsburg Empire seem to have been rather neglected in this wave of interest.¹³ However, there are at least two reasons why Vienna in the 16th century is especially important to the history of early Orientalism. The first, of course, is its vicinity to the border with the Ottoman Empire: Vienna as *porta Orientis*. The second is that, as the seat of the Imperial Court, the Aulic Council and the highest imperial offices, Vienna provides an opportunity to explore the nexus of power-knowledge, the connection between political and commercial power and knowledge of the Orient before the establishment of Western nation-state imperialism.

Interpreters from all over Europe were attracted to Vienna by its geographical and strategic position for trade routes along the Danube and the presence of the War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*), which was in charge of controlling the borders with the Ottoman countries (in a situation of semi-permanent war). But they came from outside; they were not educated in the city. Unlike Rome, Paris, Venice or Leiden, Vienna was slow to set up a school of Oriental languages. The *Orientalische Akademie* was not founded until 1754,¹⁴ and there was a scarcity of available tools: grammars, dictionaries, teachers, printing houses. «Mutual support groups», as Mordechai Feingold called them in his essay on learning Arabic in Early Modern England,¹⁵ were

¹² Irwin 2006. The title comes from the poem *The Golden Journey to Samarkand* by James Elroy Flecker.

¹³ Of course, there are exceptions, such as the Transottomanica research project. On German Orientalism in the 19th Century, see Marchand 2009.

¹⁴ Petritsch 2004, p. 47-64; Do Paço 2019, p. 48-61; Do Paço 2013, p. 59-78.

¹⁵ Feingold 2018, p. 50.

therefore crucial, especially for Tengenagel, who was working in this vibrant but resource-poor landscape. The communication between the happy few who shared knowledge and tools from afar travelled at horse's pace, through letters. Reading them, we can follow the path of this effort, at once solitary and collective. The correspondence speaks with many different voices and sees the participation of key personalities of the Republic of Letters alongside other ghostly figures. We find the 'giants': renowned philologists like Jan Gruter, Isaac Casaubon, Thomas Erpenius, Jacques-Auguste De Thou and Henry Savile. But we also find 'hybrid', mist-shrouded figures from a shifting ecosystem: travellers, adventurers, missionaries, dragomans, converts, merchants. In short, a multi-coloured *tableau vivant*. The sophisticated world of the Republic of Arabic Letters, which was absorbed in linguistic and philological problems, was immersed in a reality that consisted of slavery, more-or-less forced conversions, military incursions, diplomatic missions and missionary campaigns. It was from this entanglement of conflicting tensions, ambiguous alliances, curiosity, hatred, desire for peace, social blending and devotion to learning that the knowledge of Islam emerged.

In Tengenagel's case, we are not faced with a complete work, but with a conglomeration of fragments: letters, notebooks, the collection of Oriental and non-Oriental manuscripts, the work on these same manuscripts documented by *marginalia*, summaries, partial translations; the writing and criteria adopted in preparing the catalogues of the Imperial Library and of his personal collection. Peter Miller's remark about Peiresc is undoubtedly also valid for Tengenagel: «The building of an archive could be considered a practice of writing as well as of thinking».¹⁶ One could even argue that it is precisely this unfinished and unconfined nature of the materials that allows us to better understand the extent and intent of the intellectual effort of Tengenagel's generation of Orientalists, without necessarily drawing a final image

¹⁶ Miller 2012, p.11.

of him, as a man and scholar. These fragments *per se* are inert; they hardly ever contained any statement of intent, or of a more general nature. But they suddenly cease to be inert once they are crossed and linked together. They need to be studied together, because each sheds light on the other. Only by setting them side by side and examining how and where the sources intersect can we understand how it was possible to build a shared body of knowledge through the circulation of information and manuscripts, the exchange of opinions on different translations and editions, or word-of-mouth references to teachers and scribes. Then this material enables us to understand concretely some much broader phenomena and patterns: the link between the crisis of European Christianity and Oriental studies; how those texts sometimes provide fuel for the fiercest religious, intellectual and political disputes; a method that avoided any kind of systematisation and preferred to accumulate facts and information without showing any inclination to synthesise; the interaction of this knowledge with religious and political power; libraries as a place of knowledge production; changing views on the rapidly changing geopolitical situation; the devastating impact of war on this intellectual endeavour; violence as a ubiquitous element in this history of knowledge. Moreover, through these papers it is possible to follow the training and activities of an Orientalist in almost all aspects: the finding of manuscripts, their purchase or loan through specific and extremely heterogeneous networking, the copying entrusted to hard-to-find scribes; the work on the texts – collation, translation, annotation – and the composition of notebooks, highly important tools of knowledge; and the dialogue with other scholars.

1.1. «Mute teachers» and «deaf typographers»

Two crucial moments in Sebastian Tegnagel's biography, however, remain in partial obscurity: the first steps of his apprenticeship – how

and where he learned the first rudiments of Arabic – and the publication of the manuscripts he had studied, considered by many scholars within the Republic of Letters as the acme of an Orientalist's career. Tengenagel has always been curious about how his correspondents learned Arabic, and who had been their first teachers were. Unfortunately, to this day we have no letters or notes in which he himself recounts his first training.

Once settled in Vienna, he sought not only scribes capable of copying the manuscripts he borrowed from other collections, but also teachers and native speakers. Such is the case with the extraordinary story of İbrāhīm Dervīş, who worked as a copyist for Tengenagel. This man – a poet and a painter – was taken prisoner during the so-called Long Turkish War (1593-1606), locked up in Yañıq Györ Castle in Hungary, and then bought by the Austrian Baron Siegfried Preiner.¹⁷ So it should not have been an uncommon arrangement. Indeed, Tengenagel told Casaubon that in Vienna it was not too difficult to find an educated slave who could be employed to copy Oriental manuscripts.

Tengenagel speaks several times about İbrāhīm Dervīş, and the Austrian National Library holds a truly exceptional document found and studied by Claudia Römer: the letter in Ottoman Turkish that İbrāhīm Dervīş wrote to the librarian in 1610, begging for help and to be taken away from his prison, where he lived «in perpetual pain». It was probably after reading this appeal that Tengenagel asked the emperor for a special salary to keep the prisoner at his home «at his own risk». Ibrahim was already collaborating with him, but as an enslaved man he was worn out by his long imprisonment and advancing age. In Tengenagel's letter to the emperor, the emphasis was not on the man's awful living conditions, but on their consequences for his work. According to the librarian, İbrāhīm Dervīş was working badly; transfer-

¹⁷ Römer 1998. There are still few studies on the conditions of Muslim prisoners of war in Vienna in the 17th century; cf. Quakatz 2015. For an extraordinary account of a Turkish prisoner in Habsburg territories in the late 17th century, cf. Casale 2021.

ring him would allow him to work better, and the library would gain from this. Moreover, from this letter it seems that Ibrahim was not only an amanuensis but also a teacher («describendo et docendo»), and Tengnagel was happy to finally have a living and speaking tutor, after so many years spent with «mute teachers», that is, books.¹⁸

Tengnagel's story is mainly a story of encounters: encounters with books, the «mute teachers» and «mute friends»; encounters with friends, agents and teachers with a body and a voice; encounters with the past – a past perceived to be deeply linked to the present of the divided European Christianity; and encounters with the political, confessional and military current affairs of that troubled time that was the 16th century in Central Europe. To improve his knowledge of Arabic, Tengnagel had to «implore the help of scholars everywhere», he writes in a letter asking Robert Scheilder, the secretary of the Spanish ambassador in Prague Baltasar de Zúñiga, to find him a *morisco* who would be willing to move to Vienna to help him study.¹⁹

After such great efforts of concentration, time, money and networking, why is it that Tengnagel did not publish any of the texts he so carefully prepared? Was it by choice, chance or failure? The great traveller and orientalist Pietro Della Valle attributed it to a too-hesitant and doubtful character; Holstenius, to Tengnagel's illness. Both of them were probably right, but there were other reasons. 1618 was in some ways Tengnagel's *anno horribilis*, because his illness overlapped with the war. His health had been declining for years, which he ascribed to the nature and conditions of his work, somewhat in line with a common complaint of librarians: he worked all day in an unhealthy, damp, mouldy, bug-ridden, dimly lit room. His work as an Orientalist was an addition to this. The leitmotiv of the letters is the difficulty of learning Oriental languages: they are «obscure»; they «stop you sleeping and damage your eyes». They required tremendous determination and commitment. In a letter from Breslau (the present Wrocław), the phy-

¹⁸ ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, c. 240r-241v.

¹⁹ ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, c. 110r-v (Tengnagel to Robert de Scheilder, 25.12.1608).

sician and orientalist Peter Kirstenius invented a baroque metaphor to describe their common efforts to Tengnagel. Anyone who studies these languages, he said, is like a mule forced to work in a labyrinthine mill – a mule which, instead of moving in a circular path, as mules normally do in a mill, has to follow a path full of twists and turns and thus involving much more effort.²⁰

Whatever the origin of the illness, Tengnagel's condition worsened around 1618-1619 and tormented him the rest of his life. Kirstenius sent him a cephalic water (a remedy made from herbs and flowers) in 1625, but it had no effect. Tengnagel shared his experiences of physical pains with Gruter, writing that they were «two old nags tried by fate»; he felt «the weight of Etna» on his shoulders and was forced, because of his pains, to deprive himself of the only food that nourished his soul, namely his studies. Gruter advised him to eat a diet of capers, olives and chicory and, in turn, was distressed by the loss of his library and new persecutions – and it was from Tengnagel that he sought legal advice.²¹ Tengnagel's illness was thus overlaid by the outbreak of revolts and the catastrophe of war. The *corpus* of his letters allows us to take the pulse of the crisis into which Europe was sinking. His early letters seem almost detached from their times. As the years passed, however, the world – and especially the war – increasingly penetrated these pages, which came more and more to reflect the tensions, the fears and the dangers of the era. Yet this darker mood in no way undermined Tengnagel's obsession with books and far-off lands. Occasionally the turmoil prevailed and he was disheartened by

²⁰ ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, c. 17r (Kirstenius to Tengnagel, 17.11.1604).

²¹ ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, c. 118r-v (Tengnagel to Gruter, 02.06.1626): «Capitis mei valetudo etiamnum vacillat, eidemque veluti Aetnaeum onus graviter incumbens me ab omni lectione scriptioneve longiori, seu iniecta manu avocat. Gratissimum itaque animi mei pabulum id est studia mea intermittere volens nolensque cogor. [...] Vetulus cantherius, et planta annosa, nosti caetera». The letters from Kirstenius concerning Tengnagel's illness and remedies are ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, c. 19r-21v; 37r-37v (04.04.1624 and 27.05.1625).

the «storm» and felt nauseous about study, but Oriental studies were nearly always his happy place, his port of refuge, a raft to grasp in the aftermath of the wreck of the State.²² Rather than diminishing, his curiosity grew and expanded. He «devoured» the annual letters sent by the Jesuits from the Philippines and Japan; he asked for news from Tibet; he wanted to find out more about the Moghul Empire.

For one reason or another, by some point around 1617, Tengnagel had given up the idea of publishing at least four already planned books. In his letters we read that this was firstly because of his work as a librarian, which took up a considerable amount of his time, and secondly because he had been unable to find a worthy sponsor to finance the enterprise and a typographer in the Holy Roman Empire capable of printing in Arabic and Turkish characters. At least this is what we can infer from three letters of the summer of 1614 to Thomas Erpenius and Daniel Heinsius in Leiden and to Jacques Auguste De Thou in Paris, which are worth looking at more closely, albeit briefly. In the first document, Tengnagel announced to Erpenius (who, however, was not in Leiden and replied to Tengnagel years too late) that he intended to publish two manuscripts, one in Turkish and one in Arabic, on the history of the Ottomans, from the origins of Islam to the various dynasties that followed, the wars, and the events in that part of the world. He also wanted to publish the famous work written in Arabic by the great geographer and historian Abū l-Fidā, which he had obtained through Jan Gruter from the library in Heidelberg, and which he had had copied by İbrāhīm Dervīş.²³ To the French his-

²² For instance, ÖNB, Cod. 9737s, c. 224r: «Nunc vero rebus felicius et ex voto fluentibus paulatim a continentibus hoc decumanorum fluctum aestu, respiramus, emergimus, atque in quietum fidamus studiorum nostrorum portum nos postlimino recipimus, maerorem tot Reipub. naufragis malis contractum abstinemus».

²³ Cod. 9737r, c. 269r. On Erpenius, see Hamilton 1986; Jones 2020, 144-165; Vrolijk 2010; Vrolijk 2018. Tengnagel bought some Hebrew manuscripts that belonged to Erpenius. On Erpenius as a Hebraist, cf. Weinberg and Vrolijk (2020). We are preparing an analysis of the letters between Erpenius and Tengnagel preserved in Vienna. Erpenius himself owned a copy of the Heidelberg Abū l-Fidā's manuscript (previously in

torian and President of the Parliament of Paris De Thou, Tengnagel explained that he would prefer not to be involved in the Nicephorus Callistus edition (based on the codex preserved in Vienna, and sent by Tengnagel to France) because he was too busy with other studies, namely the preparation of the Turkish manuscript on the history of the Ottomans mentioned to Erpenius. He said he also intended to write a life of Tamerlane translated from Turkish and Persian.²⁴ Finally, in his letter to the great classical philologist Heinsius, Tengnagel was more explicit.²⁵ First, among his planned publications, he included a Turkish-Persian lexicon which was in Scaliger's library, to which Tengnagel added a Latin translation. He was able to obtain it after many attempts thanks to Heinsius, and translated it together with his copyist in a 14-day tour de force.²⁶ He then mentioned the other projects, all publications that would have finally brought those Oriental regions out of obscurity, but the printers he contacted were deaf to his requests to establish a printing house in Arabic characters. Oriental studies were his delight and consolation compared to his public duties as a librarian, but he was resigned to «singing to myself and the Muses» until, he concluded, quoting Virgil, a Maecenas arose in these «sterile arenas» of the Holy Roman Empire who could help him in his endeavour. Since there was nothing on the horizon, he asked Heinsius and Erpenius to explore the availability of Raphelengius's Oriental printing house in Leiden which, after being founded in 1592 by Franciscus, son-in-law of Christophe Plantin, was continued by his

the hands of Postel) and he too intended to publish it. Still on the subject of manuscripts 'on the move', we know that Tengnagel sent his newly completed Abū l-Fidā's copy to Karl I, Prince of Liechtenstein, perhaps to show him the quality of İbrāhīm Dervīş's work. See ÖNB cod. S.N. 284, c. 12.

²⁴ ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, c. 281r-v. Tengnagel asks De Thou to help him obtain a work which he had been seeking for in vain for years, namely Luis del Mármol Carvajal's three-volume treatise on Africa (Mármol Carvajal 1573-1599).

²⁵ ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, c. 269v-270v.

²⁶ Luġāt-i Emīr Hüseyin el-Ayāsī (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 26). On the loan of the Scaliger manuscript and on the Vienna copy, cf. section 3 of this article.

sons Justus, Christophorus and Franciscus, but which ended the activity exactly in those years.²⁷ Eventually Josephus Barbatus – whom Kepler introduced to Tengenagel – tried to establish an Oriental printing house in Vienna, but failed.

2. *Travelling books, travelling men*

Tengenagel did not achieve any of his intended publications. The only printed books of which he was co-author are bitterly polemical, confessionally charged texts from the workshop of the Jesuits in Ingolstadt – the most hardline German Counter-Reformation, since he helped their leader, the controversialist Jesuit Jakob Gretser, to write his vitriolic pamphlet against Melchior Goldast.²⁸ He therefore took part in one of those episodes which Martin Mulsow employed to illustrate the process of politicizing the past by an «unanständige Gelehrtenrepublik» characterised by antagonism rather than concord.²⁹ Yet among his correspondents we find Lutherans, Anglicans, Jews, Gallicans, Maronites and Muslims. There is no space here to detail the rather irregular traits of Tengenagel's religious profile and to show how he professed a dispassionate Catholicism and at the same time adapted to the deep morphological change that occurred in the religious landscape of the Habsburg territories in the first half of the

²⁷ On Justus Raphelengius and his intended publication of Turkish manuscripts, see Palabiyik 2019. On Franciscus Raphelengius the Elder and his typography, see Hamilton 1989.

²⁸ Gretser 1612. The book was dedicated to Cardinal Klesl. In *Ad lectorem*, Gretser highlighted Tengenagel's contribution: «Alteram huius Operis partem debes, mi lector, clarissimo J. V. Doctori, Domino Sebastiano Tengenagel, Caesareae Bibliothecae, quae Viennae est, Praefecto, viro non tantum Latine, sed Graece, Hebraice, Chaldaice, & Arabice doctissimo, & antiquitatis Ecclesiasticae studiosissimo» (unnumbered pages).

²⁹ Mulsow 2007, p. 143-190. But see also Benz 2003.

17th century.³⁰ But this short and partial *enumeratio chaotica* will give a sense of its complexity and elusiveness: Tengnagel venerated the genius of Protestants such as Gruter, Heinsius, Hoeschel and Casaubon; he was close to the Jesuits in Ingolstadt and Antwerp; he had friendly meetings with a rabbi from Vienna and asked to be introduced in the Jewish Community of Padua; he participated in at least two episodes of anti-Jewish censorship; he asked and got books of Islamic prayers from a Cardinal in Hungary; he lent books on magic to an orthodox prince of Wallachia; he was Ferdinand II's advisor but had friendly dinner with Count Palatine's secretary; he was involved in negotiations with the Emperor to promote an alliance of the Holy Roman Empire with the Shah of Persia against the Ottomans; he was interested in how the different articulations of Islam were mirrored in the three great Islamic empires: the Ottoman, Persian and Mughal; and he dreamed for years to go to Rome.

Between cosmopolitanism and censorship, between open-mindedness and doctrinal tightening, between friendship and persecution: it is in this narrow space that Tengnagel's career was played out. When it came to obtaining manuscripts and books, however, 'openness' always prevailed. In 1613, for instance, he wrote to the dragoman Paolo Albanus in Constantinople to seek out books not just by searching in the bookshops but also by enquiring among all the educated men living in that city, whether Muslims, Christians or Jews. He looked for books on philosophy (in Greek, Hebrew and Arabic) and geography (in Arabic); he asked for Maimonides' commentary on the *Mishna* and the *Guide to the Perplexed* in Arabic and then the earliest printed Judeo-Arabic text, the precious and rare polyglot Pentateuch published in Constantinople in 1546-1547 by Eleazar Gershom Soncino.³¹ Similar requests are found in an undated letter, in Hebrew and Yiddish, which Tengnagel sent to Jacob Ashkenazi of Vienna, a Jew residing in

³⁰ See Evans 1979; Louthan 1997; Mout 1976.

³¹ See Vollandt 2015, p. 115-118. The list of books requested to Albanus is in Cod. 8997, c. 52r-53r.

Hebron.³²

He also sent requests for books and information to Samuel Slade, who, as a young man, was sent by Henry Savile on a tour of European and then Greek and Turkish libraries in search of Chrysostom's texts and who met Tegnagel in Vienna. Once in Venice, Slade wrote to Tegnagel one playful, lively and cheerful missive, with learned quotations and references to wine. Slade pokes affectionate fun at his friend's passion for books and salutes the copyist İbrāhīm Dervīş, «il signor Turco-persiano», urging him to finish the translation that Sebastian so much desired. Slade was impatient, he said, to set sail for Istanbul, where he would find his friend all the books that he could wish for. Meanwhile, he sent him some of the books the librarian had commissioned and, as his personal gift for Tegnagel, a book by rabbi Leone Modena, from whom Slade was taking lessons in Hebrew while he was in Venice.³³

³² Cod. 9737t, c. 305r-v. I am very grateful to Giacomo Corazzol for translating the letter, and to Joanna Weinberg for her invaluable help in contextualising this and other documents on Tegnagel's interests in Judaism. The letter was published in Hebrew by Schwarz 1917. Tegnagel asks again for *The Guide for the Perplexed* in Arabic and Maimonides' commentary on the *Mishna*; he then asks Saadiah Gaon's translation of the Torah in Judeo-Arabic; and «the Pentateuch of the Samaritans in Samaritan letters, or a Samaritan prayerbook, or other books of the Cutheans [...] Muslim or Christian or Syrian chronicles in Arabic, or other books in this language, or in Turkish».

³³ Cod. 9737r, c. 96r-v (1. 8. 1608): «Havria risposto immediatamente dopo, s'io havessi allora trovato tutti i libri compresi nel nostro memoriale, li quali io mi sono andato domandando et cercando, in tutte le botteghe di Vinetia et Padua nondimeno non poteva trovarne più di questi, ch'io ho in presenza mandato in verità dunque mi rincresce molto, che non havea potuto incontrare a gli altri, ma invece di loro, voglio per amore vostro mandarvi alcuni altri, se vi piace scrivere a me i nomi di quelli che voi desiderate. Sappia vost. Signor (se non l'habbia saputo inanzi) che a Roma in Typographia medicea sono stampate nella lingua arabica tutte le opere d'Avicenna, gli Elementi d'Euclide, una Cosmographia universale intitolata, Hortulus cultissimus mire orbis regiones, i quattro Evangeliste due volte, nella Arabicolatino, et Arabico solamente. Tutti questi libri si vendono

Each book in Tengenel's Oriental collection has an adventurous tale of travel that can often be reconstructed. Not infrequently it is a violent story. He possessed prayer books and Qur'ans taken from Ottoman soldiers who had carried them into battle and died. He possessed books from libraries looted during sieges, including a number of gifts from the large collection gathered by Baron Job Hartmann von Enenkel after the conquest of Esztergom in 1596.³⁴ He owned books bought from Jewish families in Venice by his friend and agent, the rabbi and doctor Leo Lucerna. These families had emigrated to the Ottoman Empire or to Venice after being forced to leave the Apulia region, expelled from the Kingdom of Naples in 1510.³⁵ Once these

in Vinetia. Ci sono entandio da vender a Padua dui grammatici Arabi, Caffia et Giarumia, chiamati (se ben me ne ricordo) et sono di quella medesima stampa. In quanto al viaggio mio verso l'oriente [...] se vada io (come espero) sarò il vostro servitore da comprarvi tanti libri, quanti volete! [...] Comandatemi liberamente se sia qualche altra che volete io farollo bene [...] Saluti V.S. di gratia nel nome mio, 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. Anco saluti il Sig. Turco-Persiano, a chi mi raccomando con questa conditione, si egli habbia del tutto descritto voglio dire insun al fine, il vostro esemplare Arabico. Vivete felice [...] I nomi de gli Authori che dovete ricevere: Historia di Portogallo; Le historie del sig. Alfonso Ulloa; Historia di Gio. Thomaso Minadoi da Rovigo; Delle cose notabili di Vinetia; Alphabetico Arabico; Discorso Hebraico, il quale il maestro mio nella lingua hebraica ha fatto, et dato mi liberalmente. Il suo nome è Rabbi Juda, et volgarmente egli è chiamato Rab. Leone». Modena 1601/02 is a collection of 21 sermons: the copy at the ÖNB (20.G.58) shows on the title page Tengenel ex libris (fig. 1). On Slade, see Quantin 2008, p. 319-322; Greenslade 1966.

³⁴ Lambeck and Nessel 1712; on the involvement of the papal army in the siege of Esztergom, cf. Brunelli 2019 and Shore-Tusor 2020. On Enenkel, cf. Oppl and Scheutz 2014. We are currently carrying out a study of this collection.

³⁵ Fabrizio Lelli is working on this corpus of Hebrew manuscripts from Apulia in Tengenel's collection. Of particular note is the richly illustrated manuscript *Efer Ha-Hefez Ha-Shalem - Vienna Albucasis* (ÖNB Cod. Hebr. 30), from Specchia, in Salento, Apulia. Tengenel writes on the frontispiece that this is a «liber rarissimus et inventu difficilissimus [...] Emptus VIII thaleris et 50 cruciferis». He also

manuscripts had arrived in Vienna, they might depart again when lent to other scholars. This applies both to Tengenagel's personal collection and to the imperial collection. This is the case, for example, with the manuscript of Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus' *Ecclesiastical History*. Part of Matthias Corvinus's collection, it was stolen by a soldier during the Ottoman siege of Buda and taken to Constantinople, where it came fortuitously into the possession of some Christians and through them reached Vienna. Tengenagel agreed to lend it to the Jesuit Fronton Du Duc and, after endless complications, it was published in Paris in luxurious *in folio* in 1630.³⁶

Nearly all of Tengenagel's letters contain references to books to seek out, to borrow or to lend. When the librarian re-organised his correspondence, he noted on the back of the letters the manuscripts that he had lent out, with the date of their return to the library. Sometimes the requests were based only on vague information. One example was when Jakob Christmann, professor of Hebrew and Arabic at Heidelberg University from 1608, asked Tengenagel to find a manuscript that he had the opportunity to read during his visit to the library in 1581. It was a *Dialogue between a Turk and a Christian* brought to Vienna from Constantinople by the famous Flemish diplomat Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, and was written in Arabic and Latin. He told Tengenagel that the book was a small one; he described the first page to help him find it, and said it was in a basket of books which Blotius had allowed him to look at.³⁷

owned a Latin edition of Albucahis printed in Habsburg in 1519 (at Grimm's), and he wrote on the frontispiece: «Hanc Alharavi 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, cf. Steimann-Sternthal 2013.

³⁶ *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ÖNB, Cod. Hist. gr. 8). On this manuscript, see Gastgeber 2014. On the Parisian edition, see Mormando 2007.

³⁷ ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, c. 262r (s.d.): «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 Graecos ab Augerio Busbekio Con-

These movements created a complex geometry that went from Paris to Buda, Madrid to Frankfurt, Rome to Prague. Two examples can provide a more concrete glimpse into these trajectories. The first example concerns Petrus Kirstenius, and the second Pietro Della Valle.

As mentioned earlier, the lack of basic materials for study (grammars and dictionaries), as well as the lack of printers able to produce texts in Arabic, Ottoman and Persian scripts, were the two main obstacles to studying Oriental languages. Jan Gruter, Isaac Casaubon and other scholars insisted that Tengnagel should himself write an Arabic and Turkish grammar. He did not, but he made the books in the Imperial Library and in his personal collection available so that other scholars might do so. Among them was Petrus Kirstenius, who, in 1608 in Breslau, Silesia, published an Arabic grammar. Kirstenius had managed, on his own, to create an Arabic printing press that he then had to dismantle when war broke out in 1618; he was forced to go to Prussia and then to Sweden, where he became physician to Queen Christina. He had previously travelled to Greece and Turkey and planned to go to Africa as well; he had alchemical interests and had read the Bible sixteen times in its entirety. His story and very special personality attracted the attention of Bayle, who dedicated an entry to him in his dictionary.³⁸ The correspondence between Tengna-

stantinopoli 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». On Christmann (1554-1613), see Roth 1901; Toomer 1996, p. 37-38; Burnett 2020, p. 62-66.

³⁸ Bayle 1697. See also, for his connection to Scaliger and Adriaen Willemsz, Hamilton 2011, p. 2-3.

gel and Kirstenius is one of the most significant and long-lived in the collection. There is no space here to analyse it in detail; only a few bibliographical exchanges between the two friends will be considered. In the preface of his grammar, Kirstenius warmly thanks Tengnagel³⁹ for lending him the manuscripts of the Gospels in Arabic and the II book of Avicenna's Canon, and for sending him a copy (made by İbrāhīm Dervīş) of the Arabic names of the plants contained in the famous *Vienna Dioscorides* manuscript.⁴⁰ He had been granted the privilege

³⁹ Kirstenius 1608b, p. 15: «Nuper vero insigni humanitate, et summo erga liberalia studia favore, motus, vir Clarissimus ac Humanissimus, Dn Sebastianus Tengnagel Buranus Sycamber, Bibliothecae Caesariae, quae est Viennae in Austria, curator, non solum nomina Herbarum, ex manuscripto exemplari Caesario, Dioscoridis, pervetusto, arabica, ad marginem annotata, per Turcam quendam exscripta, liberalissime communicavit, sed eidem Bibliothecae, a se datos et legatos duos codices, altero quatuor Evangelistarum, altero secundi libri Canonis Avicennae, manuscriptos antiquissimos, transmisit. Huius ad exemplum, si alii viri clari, quorum in amplissimis Bibliothecis, similes turpi situ canescentes, saepe abjecti, atque ita inutiles, latent libri, nos, in hoc nostro proposito, juvent, aut ipsi publico usui et commodis, non inviderent, sed eruerent, communicarentque, nae hisce nostris conatibus, tanquam accensae lucernae, oleum affunderent». The frontispiece (fig. 2) shows, in two squares at the top, the tower of Babel and the Ur-language, which all creatures understood. In the preface Kirstenius mentions a statement by Scaliger on the importance of knowing Arabic for the medical profession: «verus medicus potius linguam Latinam carere posset, quam vel Arabicam, vel Graecam».

⁴⁰ Kirstenius asked for the transcription of the names of plants written in Arabic in the *Dioscorides* (ÖNB, Cod. med. gr. 1) in 1604: «In quo proposito me sumopere iuvare posset P.T. si me sua amicitia dignum iudicaret, ac modum communicaret, quo e vetustissimo Dioscoridis exemplari, quod in Bibliotheca Vestra, cuius Praefectum dignissimum P. T. esse nuper intellexi, nomina Arabica plantarum in margine posita, cum Graecis habere possem» (Cod. 9737r, c. 17r dated 17. 11. 1604). He ends the letter by quoting in Arabic, a «pious saying of the impious Muhammad»: «God does what he wants» («dictum illud pium impiii Mahumet شى ام ل عفى دلل (Allāhu yaf' alu mā yašā) satis probavit, quod cuidam libro insertum vidimus, unde & nos tantum animi sumsimus»). [Hülya Çelik's translation]. Kirstenius had also asked Casaubon to provide him with a copy of the Arabic names of the *Dioscorides* copy in Paris (ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, c. 30r-31v). *Quatuor Evangelia MSS arabice*, (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 97) (fig. 3-4) On both manu-

of borrowing from the Imperial Library a number of Arabic medical manuscripts, but his interests and demands went beyond the disciplinary boundaries of medicine.⁴¹

«Quid me laetius beatiusve est?» Kirstenius exclaimed in a warm and informative letter after receiving the manuscripts from Vienna. These texts were very welcome guests, like gentlemen whom he would treat with every consideration, despite his busy schedule as a doctor. Perfectly aware of the scale of his undertaking, Kirstenius presented himself as an explorer, a navigator in the sea of Arabic literature who together with Tengnagel sought to break the ice of a largely unknown sea. Tengnagel helped Kirstenius in every possible way: he even sent him the manuscript of the Spanish-Arabic lexicon of Pedro de Alcalà, from Granada, which he had procured with immense effort (receiving in exchange a French-Arabic lexicon on loan). The two friends discussed the opportunity of printing the Qur'an, which they considered essential tool for learning Arabic; they collated the Gospels in Arabic; and they shared the frustration of working without any significant financial or political support. Kirstenius worked all day as a physician, sacrificing his nights to study: he needed help and asked Tengnagel to find a prisoner of war in Vienna who could, like İbrāhīm Dervīş, read and write Arabic.⁴² On the basis of the manuscript from Vienna, in 1608 Kirstenius published *Vitae Evangelistarum Quatuor* and, in 1609, the second book of Avicenna's *Canon*, with translation and

scripts Tengnagel wrote that, in the event of his death, they should be donated to the Imperial Library: «si quid mihi fatale evenierit, Caes. Bibliothecae do lego»; Avicenna, *al-Qānūn fī ṭ-ṭibb, Librum Secundum Canonis Avicennae mss Arabico*, (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 61, c. 1: «Hunc Eben Sinae, sive Avicennae Canonem, si quid mihi humanitus contigerit, Caes. Biblioth, do lego»).

⁴¹ Austrian State Archives, HHStA RHRR Impressoria 36-3 (1608).

⁴² ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, c. 77r-78v. In his letter Kirstenius included the singraph for the books received on loan from Tengnagel. Paola Molino is working on Tengnagel's lending practices. On Alcalá, cf. Zwartjes 2015; Garcia-Arenal 2009, p. 502-503.

comment in Latin.⁴³

Kirstenius's work met with harsh criticism from Erpenius, who in 1613 was the first European to publish a well-grounded Arabic grammar: according to him, Kirstenius had only an approximate knowledge of Arabic, his grammar was useless and he was not able to translate the Qur'an properly (Kirstenius had published *Al-Fātihah* in his type specimen).⁴⁴ The physician and Orientalist, as well as Pietro Della Valle's close friend and correspondent Mario Schipani, who was taking Arabic lessons in Naples, judged Kirstenius' grammar to be «confuse più dell'istessa confusion».⁴⁵ Tegnagel was more sympathetic and praised his friend's erudition and courage, but he too had

⁴³ Kirstenius1608c. The book was dedicated to Rudolph II, and the author thanked Tegnagel for his help (p. 5). For the context of this edition, see Vollandt 2015; Kirstenius 1609 (fig. 5).

⁴⁴ Botley-Vince 2018, I, 501-509 (Erpenius to Casaubon, 28.09.1611). Kirstenius 1608a. The year is written by Kirstenius as follows: «GerManI ArabIae StVDIa Captent».

⁴⁵ AAV, Fondo Della Valle-Del Bufalo, c. 142v: «Quanto tocca alli miei studi non mi lascio passar di diligenza, massime per quel che s'aspetta alla lingua. Attendo con gran diligenza all'arabica sotto la guida d'un spagnolo chiamato Diego d'Urrea, per prima calabrese d'origine, e quest'uomo è intenditissimo di tal lingua per haver atteso forse trent'anni parte in Africa, parte nel Cairo, e Costantinopoli, e la insegna con regole molto generali. Havemo sin adesso tradutto in latino tutta la grammatica chiamata Giuncomia, se ben questa non contiene se non quella parte di grammatica che noi chiamiamo *Syntaxa*, havemo anco scorse cose attinenti a nomi, che sono poco, e le coniugazioni de verbi, e adesso [...] gli evangelii Arabici stampati in Roma non havendo qui altri libri. La difficoltà di questa lingua consiste in non esservi grammatica regolata conforme e nostre latine e greche, et un lexicon buono; a pena è comparso qui un lexicon arabico latino stampato da Francesco Rafalengio in Anversa però poco fedele, per quanto mi dice il mio maestro, et una gramatica fatta da un tal Pietro Kirstenio Tedesco, ancor essa confusa più dell'istessa confusione. M'occorre supplicar Vostra Signoria ardentemente per adempimento di questo mio desiderio che tornandosi in Costantinopoli dove sono molte botteghe e fondachi di libri venali, voglia fare diligenza per questi libri, e spender a nome mio quel che vi sarà di bisogno, in primis un ditionario chiamato Mircat, che costerà due scudi conforme mi vien detto [...] Napoli, 30 aprile 1615».

reservations about the results. He acknowledged, for example, that the Arabic typefaces of the *Typographia Medicea* in Rome, or those of the French printer Guillaume Le Bé (another of his correspondents), were much more elegant.⁴⁶

Bibliophilia was almost an obsession for Tengnagel, but his fevered hunting for rare texts did not mean he had no interest in contemporary events; the same letter could contain lists of manuscripts together with political comments, requests for grammatical explanations, and military news. Tengnagel's attitude has little to do with 'exoticism': information about the political situation in the Ottoman Empire, in Persia or in Ethiopia was seen not as a matter of 'curiosities' but as an integral part of current reality. His combination of erudition, love of the past and attention to the present is perfectly visible in the correspondence with Pietro Della Valle *il pellegrino*, for whom the stay-at-home Tengnagel felt enormous admiration.⁴⁷ The two men compared their respective collections of Persian, Arabic and Turkish books. Tengnagel asked Della Valle for several manuscripts (including the profession of faith of the Sunnis). But what is of interest here is the movement of one printed book.

During his stay in Isfahan, Della Valle became an habitué of the court of Shah Abbas. Once back in Europe, he wrote a lively and enjoyable description of the king, *Delle conditioni di Abbas re di Persia* (fig. 6) which was published in Venice in 1628 by Francesco Baba. Although Della Valle was well liked in Barberini's circle (and indeed the work is dedicated to Cardinal Barberini), it would have been impossible to get it published in Rome, because it praised a Muslim king. The work ended up on the Index, but was circulated widely, and in

⁴⁶ Tengnagel to Casaubon, ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, c. 170v (27.11.1610), in which Tengnagel also claims that the edition of the Gospels made by Kirstenius contains errors and *lacunae*.

⁴⁷ On this correspondence, see Petrolini 2020. Angelo Michele Piemontese has identified the Oriental manuscripts mentioned in Della Valle's letters (now at the BAV): Piemontese 2017, p. 16-18, 238, 245-246.

1631 it was translated into French by Jean Baudoin. Della Valle sent the book to Tengnagel, whom it impressed greatly.⁴⁸ He disseminated it in Vienna, and according to another letter from the Jesuit Scipione Sgambati, the members of the Viennese court snatched it from each other's hands to read it. Among its readers were Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg, Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein, the nuncio Giovanni Battista Maria Pallotta, Bishop Péter Pázmány and Francisco de Moncada. Not only did Tengnagel commend the book, he asked its author to write one like it about the Moghul, and then one about the new Shah (Abbas had just died). His praise was unbounded: he begged Della Valle to publish all the historical works he had written, adding: «if there is anything among these that might be in danger from the Roman censors, I will try my utmost to get it published in Germany».⁴⁹

Circulating a book always means circulating ideas, in this case specific political ideas. During his stay in Isfahan, Della Valle conceived an ambitious political-cum-religious plan. He wanted to make the city into a new Rome, and to this end he asked for a model of St Peter's and of the Campidoglio so that they could be copied. Della Valle failed to persuade the Pope, but he did not give up: he asked Tengnagel to approach Emperor Ferdinand II and urged him not to undervalue the friendship of the King of Persia, because the Persians «will for ever be hostile to the Turks [...] for reasons to do with their policy and dominion, as well as with the differences in spirit and religion between the two countries».⁵⁰ We do not know how Tengnagel reacted or what his answer was. He probably considered Della Valle's proposal to be out of time and out of place.

⁴⁸ Della Valle 1628. Tengnagel's exemplar (ÖNB, 65.F.23), bears the following ownership note: «Ex libris Sebastiani Tengnagelii I.V.D., Caes. Consiliari et Bibliothec. Ex dono Nobilissimi et linguarum Orientalium peritissimi Domini Auctoris».

⁴⁹ ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, c. 222r. See Petrolini 2020, p. 364.

⁵⁰ ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, c. 185r-v.

The two men never met. Della Valle never went to Vienna, and Tegnagel never went to Rome, although he sent his assistant Michael Metzger to Italy, and Metzger finally managed to meet both Della Valle and Holstenius.

The last letter we have from Tegnagel is to an anonymous recipient and shows his intellectual curiosity unchanged. He wrote that he would like to obtain an Armenian lexicon and an Arabic dictionary in Milan (where he had contacts with the Ambrosiana); he declared himself ready to pay any price to have a book translated from Persian into French; he asked for the catalogue of the library of the Capuchin Gilles de Losche and that of Peiresc; and he declared that he would love to read the Poems of al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī and the Sayings of Ali, cousin, son-in-law and companion of prophet Muhammad. All were things that – the recurring metaphor – «make his mouth water». His hunger for knowledge was not yet satisfied.

3. Tegnagel's collection of Oriental manuscripts

According to his successor, Peter Lambeck,⁵¹ Tegnagel had truly been a man of the Republic of Letters. He had strengthened relationships in order to obtain original books or copies. Thus in 1665, when Lambeck began his career, the imperial library possessed a wealth of manuscripts in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopic. Furthermore, Tegnagel had collected for the imperial library several catalogues written by other librarians, in particular, more than 30 inventories of Oriental books, making the Viennese library a veritable *Orientalium linguarum Bibliotheca*.⁵² He listed the Oriental manuscripts held at that time by the

⁵¹ Strebl 1968.

⁵² The most important codex in this regard is the *Catalogus librorum suorum a. 1613*, today ÖNB, Cod. 9539, which is accessible at <https://onb.digital/result/10A99453> [05. 04. 2021].

court library in Munich and the Vatican library.⁵³ He also asked the librarian Jan Gruter about Arabic manuscripts in the library in Heidelberg.⁵⁴ Tegnagel's correspondence, part of which he copied into his notebooks, indicates that he solicited members of his network to acquire works mentioned in the sources he had read.⁵⁵ Tegnagel also left several manuscripts with information about his own studies of Oriental languages⁵⁶ as well as catalogues of Oriental manuscript collections.

In Vienna, Tegnagel tried to establish a physical and virtual *Bibliotheca Arabica*, of which he would be the primary user, while at the same time making it accessible to a (learned) public. Tegnagel's private collection of Oriental manuscripts, which became the library's property after his death, indicates that his main interests were lexicography, religion in a broader sense, history, and poetry. We identified in his collection at least 16 manuscripts that are mainly dictionaries in the three languages – Arabic, Persian and Turkish – including some glossaries written for works largely of Persian poetry. Five manuscripts preserved in the Austrian National Library today are works of grammar.⁵⁷

Under the topic of «religion», Tegnagel's collection includes 14

⁵³ Unterkircher 1968, p. 138; ÖNB, Cod. 8997, c. 50r and 51r.

⁵⁴ Unterkircher 1968, p. 138; ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, c. 48r-48v.

⁵⁵ A list with of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian works sent to the dragoman Johannes Paulus Albanus in 1613 and 1617 is especially interesting and will be the focus of an article to be published; ÖNB, Cod. 8997, c. 52r-53r. (See also Unterkircher 1968, p. 138: «Dem kaiserlichen Dragoman oder Dolmetscher bei der Pforte, Johannes Paulus Albanus, schickte er 1613 und 1617 ein Verzeichnis von arabischen und türkischen Büchern mit der Bitte, sie für ihn in Konstantinopel aufzutreiben.») Cf. Barbarics-Hermanik 2016, p. 121f.

⁵⁶ For example, in one of his notebooks he recorded latinised conjugations of Turkish verbs, ÖNB, Cod. 15160, c. 3r.

⁵⁷ These are ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 151, Cod. A. F. 177, Cod. A. F. 186, Cod. A. F. 394, and Cod. A. F. 48. The first two codices are miscellaneous manuscripts, only parts of which contain grammatical issues.

Qur'ans, 11 large works and smaller treatises about religion, and 5 prayer books. He also had a formidable collection of at least 9 historical works, including universal history, Arabic-Islamic history, Ottoman history, and Persian history. The manuscripts of his private library also included important works on geography, cosmography, literature, superstition, and astronomy and astrology.⁵⁸

To give an idea of Tegnagel's multifaceted interest in «Oriental» manuscripts, which seems to have exceeded that of many of the librarians before and after him, we will consider some examples from his collection on the subject of «lexicography». This subject seems to have been of particular relevance to him. For one thing, Tegnagel commissioned a copy of the Persian-Turkish dictionary of Ni'metullāh (d. 1561-2),⁵⁹ which, for some reason, he called «The Dictionary of Emīr Hüseyn el-Ayāsī» (today Cod. A. F. 26: see the second list below). The following Arabic, Persian, and Turkish dictionaries and/or glossaries were part of his private library:⁶⁰

(1) «The Language Ladder» *Mirqāt al-Lughat* (Cod. A. F. 39),⁶¹ which is an Arabic-Turkish dictionary of 254 folios.

(2) A lexicographic collection comprising two small glossaries (Cod. A. F. 175) totaling 41 folios in Arabic-Turkish, the first including Tegnagel's own Latin translations of the entries.⁶²

(3) «The Dictionary of Ahterī» *Lugat-i Ahterī* (Cod. A. F. 209),⁶³ an

⁵⁸ Medicine, collections of letters, logic, and ethics are also represented in his collection of manuscripts. He also owned at least three mixed miscellanies (Arabic-Persian-Turkish).

⁵⁹ Cf. Berthels 1995.

⁶⁰ For the transcription of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish titles and names, I have used the «IJMES Transliteration System».

⁶¹ Flügel 1865-1867, vol. I, p. 118f. (no. 113 = no. in Flügel's catalogue).

⁶² Flügel 1865-7, vol. I, p. 115f. (no. 108).

⁶³ Flügel 1865-7, vol. I, p. 120 (no. 115); cf. Turan 2017 and Kırkkılıç and Sancak 2009. Ahterī (d. 1560-61 or 1578-9) was also known as *Ḳaraḥiṣārī*, because he was born in *Ḳaraḥiṣār* (today Afyonkarahisar in Turkey) and his dictionary is also

Arabic-Turkish dictionary of 358 folios.

(4) «The Dictionary of Ḥalīmī» *Lughat-i Ḥalīmī* (Cod. A. F. 208),⁶⁴ a Persian-Turkish dictionary of 141 folios composed by Luṭfullāh Ḥalīmī (d. end of the 15th/start of the 16th century).

(5) «The Dictionary of the *Maṣnavī*»⁶⁵ *Lughat-i Maṣnavī* (Cod. A. F. 320a).⁶⁶ This is an Arabic-Persian-Turkish dictionary of 44 folios. *Maṣnavī* refers to the Persian didactic work in double verses *Maṣnavī-yi ma'navī*, composed by the Persian poet and mystic Jalāladdīn Rūmī (aka Mavlānā/Mevlānā; d. 1273).

(6) «The Dictionary of *Marāḥ*»⁶⁷ *Lughat-i Marāḥ* (Cod. A. F. 320b).⁶⁸ *Marāḥ* («Resting Place») refers to the Arabic grammatical treatise *Jumlat aṣ-ṣarf* in five parts, one of which is the *Marāḥ*. Tengnagel had two copies of this in his library. This copy is an Arabic-Turkish glossary of 10 folios.

(7) «The Dictionary of the Rosarium» *Lughat-i Gulistān* (Cod. A. F. 320c),⁶⁹ a Persian-Arabic dictionary of 24 folios, including vocabulary from the work of the renowned Persian poet Sa'dī (d.1292), the *Gulistān* («Rosarium»), which contained moralizing anecdotes in verse.

In addition to the seven titles listed above, Tengnagel had at least

known as *Ahterī-yi Kebīr* («The Great Ahterī»).

⁶⁴ Flügel 1865-7, vol. I, p. 129f. (no. 125); cf. Erkan 1997. Ḥalīmī also authored a rhymed dictionary titled *Baḥru l-gharā'ib* («The Sea of Curiosities»). Cf. Uzun 2013.

⁶⁵ Ritter and Bausani 1991.

⁶⁶ Flügel 1865-7, vol. I, p. 106 (no. 94). As Flügel notes, the codices A. F. 330a, b, and c were formerly one codex and in Tengnagel's private Oriental library they had one shelfmark, no. 29: «die Abschrift wurde zugleich mit den beiden folgenden Nr. 95 und 96, mit denen das Glossar früher einen Band ausmachte, von demselben Copisten in demselben Jahre vollendet.»

⁶⁷ ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 186 and Cod. A. F. 481.

⁶⁸ Flügel 1865-7, vol. I, p. 107 (no. 95).

⁶⁹ Flügel 1865-7, vol. I, p. 107f. (no. 96); cf. Davis 1995.

eight more manuscripts that can also be categorized in some way as glossaries/dictionaries.⁷⁰

However, Tegnagel not only collected Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts, but actively worked with them. This is clear from his annotations in the manuscripts,⁷¹ which included transcriptions, translations, explanations, references to other works (for example Biblical translations), and corrections. The latter, in particular, show Tegnagel's philological expertise, as he seemed to be able to recognize mistakes made in the manuscript by his copyists.⁷² To date, we have been able to identify five Viennese manuscripts that must have been copied under the aegis of Tegnagel:

(1) Cod. A. F. 5: *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, («The Position of the Lands»): a descriptive geography in Arabic written by Abū l-Fidā (d. 1331)⁷³ – date of the copy: Sept./Oct. 1610. Notes by Tegnagel can be found on almost every page of the 40+117 folio codex.

(2) Cod. A. F. 12: *Tārīhü l-Cennābī/Cenābī*, («The History of Cenābī»): a history of all Muslim dynasties up to and including the Ottomans⁷⁴ – date of the copy: probably after 1614. The manuscript shows

⁷⁰ These are the codices A. F. 461 (which is the same in content as the second part of A. F. 175; see no. (2) of the list), A. F. 426 (the first part in content the same as A. F. 208; see no. (4) of the list), A. F. 466a, c and d, A. F. 478a and c).

⁷¹ Tegnagel's accumulation of knowledge regarding the «Orient» needs to be investigated in the context of «knowledge as/and power», but this part of the contribution considers Tegnagel's scholarly practices more from a purely philological perspective. Another context that is of interest, but which cannot be considered here, is religion/theology vs humanism. See, for example, Marchand 2009.

⁷² That Tegnagel was in contact with more than one scribe/copyist is obvious from his personal notebooks. Whether and who was involved in the copying process other than the slave İbrāhīm Dervīş will be one of the topics of the forthcoming project book.

⁷³ Flügel 1865-7, vol. II, p. 418f. (no. 1265); Römer 1998, p. 334. For Abū l-Fidā (d. 1331) cf. Gibb 1986.

⁷⁴ Flügel 1865-7, vol. II, p. 85-7 (no. 853); Römer 1998, p. 342 and 345; for the author el-Cennābī (d. 1590), who wrote his history first in Arabic cf. Rosenthal

addenda (interlinear Latin translations, notes in the margins, corrections of the Turkish text written by the captive İbrāhīm Dervīş) of Tengnagel on almost every page.

(3) Cod. A. F. 26: *Lughāt-i Emīr Hüseyin el-Ayāsī*, («The Dictionary of Emīr Hüseyin el-Ayāsī»): a Persian-Turkish dictionary⁷⁵ – date of the copy: June 1614. As Römer points out, this manuscript is also interesting, because «the ms. it was copied from was lent to him by Scaliger»,⁷⁶ which clearly illustrates the breadth of Tengnagel's scholarly network.⁷⁷

(4) Cod. A. F. 31: *Şahīḥ al-Bukhārī* («The [collection of] authentic [traditions] of Bukhārī») – a collection of prophetic traditions written by the famous Muslim scholar Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. 870)⁷⁸ – there is no date of the copy. Although only some pages of this Arabic manuscript of 40 folios contain notes by Tengnagel, it is noteworthy for the corrections in it.

(5) Cod. A. F. 53: *Tārīkh* («Annals»): a history of the «Saracens»⁷⁹ in Arabic from the time of the prophet Muḥammad up to 1259, written by Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 1273)⁸⁰ – there is no date of the copy. Ibn al-ʿAmīd was an «Arabic-speaking Coptic historian whose History, covering the period from the creation of the world to the year 658/1260, was one of the very first medieval oriental chronicles to

1991.

⁷⁵ Flügel 1865-7, vol. I, p. 146f. (no. 144). The codex is fully digitised; see <https://onb.digital/result/10B822D3> [05.04.2021].

⁷⁶ Römer 1998, p. 340f. As noted above, it is not clear why Tengnagel called this dictionary «The Dictionary of el-Ayāsī», as its content is identical to that of the well-known dictionary of Niʿmetullāh; the copy of this dictionary and Tengnagel's scholarly work with it will be topic of a separate study.

⁷⁷ For Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) see, for example, Grafton 1983-1993.

⁷⁸ Flügel 1865-1867, vol. III, p. 84f. (no. 1647); cf. Robson 1986.

⁷⁹ Shahid and Bosworth 1997, p. 27: «a vague term used in the West for the Arabs and, eventually, other Islamic peoples of the Near East, in both pre-Islamic and medieval times».

⁸⁰ Flügel 1865-7, vol. II, p. 113f. (no. 884); Römer 1998, p. 341f.

become known in Europe and consequently played a significant role in the early researches of modern Islamic scholars».⁸¹

Having surveyed the results of Tegnagel's collecting efforts, we now consider his methods of collection by means of a letter from Tegnagel to Pietro Della Valle,⁸² the traveler mentioned earlier in this article. The letter dates from April 29 1628,⁸³ in which Tegnagel praises a small catalogue of Oriental books which Della Valle must have previously sent. He then mentions a Persian work recommended by Della Valle, the «Universal History of Mīrkhvānd» (d. 1498),⁸⁴ of which Tegnagel owned three volumes in 1628. After providing short summaries of the seven volumes of the work, Tegnagel requests his correspondent to ask his friends in Constantinople to purchase the missing volumes for him, and adds that it does not matter if it is written in elegant or cursive script. This «Mirchondi Historia», as Tegnagel would call it, is now in the Austrian National Library, at shelfmarks Cod. A. F. 11⁸⁵ (volumes 1 and 2 written by Mīrkhvānd) and Cod. A. F. 21⁸⁶ (volume 7 written by Mīrkhvānd's grandson Khvāndamir d. 1534-5).

In addition to the missing volumes of the «History of Mīrkhvānd», Tegnagel asks Della Valle for the following Persian works:

(1) The «Medulla delle historie» – «The Essence of the History», which is *Lubbu t-Tawārīkh* written by the Shii scholar Qazvīnī (d. 1552-1553). Today the Austrian National Library holds a miscellany

⁸¹ Cahen and Coquin 1991.

⁸² See Piemontese 2017 and note 48 of this article. For an up-to-date bibliography on Pietro Della Valle, see Petrolini 2020.

⁸³ AAP, Fondo Della Valle-Del Bufalo, 52, c. 101r-102v.

⁸⁴ This is *Rawḍat aṣ-ṣafā'* fī sīrat al-anbiyā' *wa-l-mulūk wa-l-khulafā'* written by the Tīmūrid historian Muḥammad bin Ḥvāndshāh b. Maḥmūd aka Mīrkhvānd, cf. Beveridge - Manz 1993 and Bockholt 2020.

⁸⁵ Flügel 1865-7, vol. II, p. 67f. (no. 831).

⁸⁶ Flügel 1865-7, vol. II, p. 68-70 (no. 834).

(*majmū‘a*) Cod. A. F. 137,⁸⁷ which includes a copy of this work but does not seem to have any connection with Tegnagel.

(2) «The Roads and the Provinces» – *Masālik wa Mamālik*⁸⁸ (9th/10th century) – a geographical work. Tegnagel especially asks about its continuation.⁸⁹

(3) A work entitled «The Profession of Islamic Faith According to the Opinions of Turks and Persians».

(4) The Jesuit Christian Doctrine in Lahore, with the dictionary in Persian.⁹⁰

(5) The prevailing war of Hormuz in Persian.⁹¹

(6) The dictionary of Old Persian («Vocabulario delle voci Persiane antiche») *Fursu s-Surūrī*, which is «The Persian of Surūrī». A copy of this work is now held in the Austrian National Library, but does not seem to be connected with Tegnagel.⁹² It is a Persian-to-Persian dic-

⁸⁷ Flügel 1865-7, vol. II, p. 71 (no. 836): «Das Mark der Geschichten, ein historisches Handbuch von Emīr Jahjâ Bin ‘Abdallaṭīf al-Ḳazwīnī, einem Anhänger der Schiiten, welcher das Werk unter der Regierung des Ṣafawiden Schâh Ismâ‘îl I. im J. 948 (beg. 27. April 1541) vollendete und im J. 960 (beg. 18. Dec. 1552) starb. [...] Die Abschrift wurde 10. Dschumâdâ II 1021 (8. Aug. 1612) vollendet». This again shows that Tegnagel was interested in works written by Shii scholars of the time.

⁸⁸ Pellat 1991. Because the title of this text can also refer to a «genre» of geographical works, and Tegnagel does not mention the name of an author, we cannot yet determine its authorship. It is very likely that Tegnagel had read this title earlier in another geographical work – perhaps Abū l-Fidā’s *Taqwīm al-Buldān* (see second list above), which was part of his private library.

⁸⁹ However, this work should not be confused with Cod. A. F. 48, which was also in Tegnagel’s private library and has a similar short title (*Ṭabaḳātü l-Memālik ve Derecātü l-Mesālik* – «The Layers of the States and the Levels of the Principles»), but is a history of Sultan Süleymān’s (1520-1566) reign up to 1556 and written in Turkish: cf. Flügel 1865-7, vol. II, p. 232f. (no. 1011).

⁹⁰ «It. Dottrina Christiana di P. Giesuiti in Lahor con il vocabulario Persiano.»

⁹¹ Lockhart 1986. «Guerra moderna de Hormuz», by which Tegnagel must be referring to the then recent conflicts between the Portuguese and the English, Dutch, and Persians.

⁹² Cod. Mxt. 396 a b c, Flügel 1865-7, vol. I, p. 101f. (no. 90): *Lughat-i Surūrī*

tionary, also known as *Farhang-i Surūrī*, and «must have been composed not later than 1018/1609-1610» by Muḥammad Qāsim b. Ḥājji Muḥammad Kāshānī Surūrī, d. 1626-1627.⁹³ The date of composition is a further indication of the up-to-dateness of Tengenagel's knowledge of recent works produced in the «Orient».

(7) The history of Timur written by Mīr 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī (d. 1501)⁹⁴ – *Tārīkh-i Mulūk-i 'Ajam* (composed after 1485).⁹⁵ This is actually written in Chagatai.

(8) A history of the old Persian kings and «Saracen Califs» written by a Sunni.⁹⁶

(9) A letter written by Pietro Della Valle to a noble Persian, and the response.

After the mentioned Persian titles, Tengenagel continues with the heading «Arabi» and lists Arabic manuscripts or books he wishes to purchase:

(1) *Al-Qāmūs* – «The Alcamus», a «rich» dictionary of Arabic: this is very probably the work of al-Fīrūzābādī, who died in 1415.⁹⁷

(«The Dictionary of Surūrī»).

⁹³ Cf. Rahman 1997, p. 897 about Surūrī: «He chose to reside in Işfahān, and there he is reported to have met the traveller Pietro de la Valle, who visited the city in 1032/1622-3». So, it is very likely that Tengenagel was informed by Pietro Della Valle before 1628 about the existence of Surūrī's work.

⁹⁴ Subtelny 1993.

⁹⁵ Kut 1989. See also Altun 2011. This title can also refer to 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī's *Zubdatu t-Tawārīkh*, which is mentioned in the sources but unknown today. According to Zekī Velidī Togan, this work was a history of the Timurid Dynasty; cf. Togan 1978 and Abik 1996. However, because Tengenagel explicitly writes *Historia di Temurlench*, Togan's belief that 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī wrote a history about Timur/the Timurid Dynasty seems correct.

⁹⁶ If we contrast this title/work with no. (1) in the list, we discern a clear awareness by Tengenagel of the difference between Shii and Sunni authors.

⁹⁷ Fleisch 1991, p. 926: «Al-Fīrūzābādī is «the author of the *Qāmūs*»; his name remains connected with this famous book. The work is preeminently a compilation

(2) Al-Jawharī's *Kanz al-lughat* – «The Treasure of Lexicons», a dictionary of Arabic with Persian explications.⁹⁸

(3) The Pentateuch in Samaritan.

(4) A chronicle of the Samaritans from the death of Moses to the Emperor Hadrian – «They call this the book of Giosué».⁹⁹

(5) Other small prayer books.

(6) *Ta'rifu s-Suyūṭī* – «The Description of Suyūṭī». It is very likely that Tegnagel intends «Suyūṭī» to refer to the famous Egyptian scholar Abū l-Faḍl 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr (d. 1505).¹⁰⁰

The two lists have more Persian than Arabic titles. The titles also indicate that Tegnagel was anxious to broaden the variety of his own collection of Oriental manuscripts, especially in historical, religious/theological, and lexicographical works. The religious titles reveal both an awareness of the distinction between Shii/Persian and Sunni/Turkish Islam, and a keen interest in such diverse religious groups as the Jesuits and the Samaritans.

Towards the end of his letter, Tegnagel writes about his private library which, according to his own statement, comprised 100 Arabic, Persian, and Turkish books in 1628. He then singles out several manuscripts from his private library, which he describes as «eminent». These are:

(1) A Quran with interlinear translations in Turkish. This must be Cod. A. F. 6,¹⁰¹ which had been purchased in Constantinople for 100

of the *Muḥkam* of Ibn Sīda and of the ' *Uḍāb* of al-Ṣaghānī.»

⁹⁸ Al-Jawharī died at the start of the 11th century and was «a celebrated Arabic lexicographer of Turkish origin»; cf. Kopf 1991, p. 495.

⁹⁹ «Extat etiam Samaritanorum Chronicon apud Christianos nonnullos, incipit a morte Mosis usque ad Adrianum Imperatorem ac vocatur ab illis liber Iosue».

¹⁰⁰ After this title, which Tegnagel wrote in Arabic, he continues: «puto esse Nomenclaturam variorum Auctorum et librorum Arabicorum Persar. et Turchor. saepe citatur in libris meis Arabic.» For Suyūṭī see Geoffroy 1997.

¹⁰¹ Flügel 1865-7, vol. III, p. 39 (no. 1579); Römer 1998, p. 342.

Thaler, though we do not know through whom Tengnagel purchased it.¹⁰² Tengnagel then asks Della Valle if it is possible to procure a Persian copy of the Quran. Because we know that Tengnagel had several copies of the complete Quran, and some fragments with particular chapters from it, we can deduce that he had a special interest in copies of the Quran with interlinear translations into Persian and Turkish.

(2) Tengnagel then mentions the History of Mīrkhvānd again, and, without being specific, some «elegant letters».

(3) Tengnagel then cites his manuscript of «Ebu fada Ismaeli Cosmographia luculenta», which is Cod. A. F. 5, the *Taqwīm al-Buldān* (see second list above), one of the manuscripts copied by the scribe İbrāhīm Dervīş. This manuscript is of special interest because it is full of comments by Tengnagel, with reference to other works. It also demonstrates his expertise as a philologist, through his written corrections to the transcript of his Turkish scribe.

(4) The Annals of the Muslims from the beginnings up to the Ottoman Sultan Murād III (r. 1574-1595).

(5) The chronicle of the Caliphate from the birth of Muḥammad up to 658 of the Hijra (1259-60). This is probably Cod. A. F. 53 (see second list above), the history of the «Saracens» by Ibn al-‘Amīd (d. 1273).

(6) Histories of the Ottoman Dynasty.¹⁰³

(8) Three Persian dictionaries (these may be the above-mentioned codices Cod. A. F. 320a, b, and c¹⁰⁴).

The Arabic-Turkish lexicons of (9) Ahterī and (10) Ḥalīmī (see first

¹⁰² Jones 2020, p. 24f.: «From Vienna Sebastian Tengnagel, who never left Europe, kept in touch with the Imperial dragomans at Istanbul: Johannes Paulus Albanus, in the second decade of the seventeenth century; and Michele d’Asquier in the mid-sixteen twenties».

¹⁰³ In addition to the already mentioned ones, at least four more manuscripts in Tengnagel’s private library (today ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 48, Cod. A. F. 223, Cod. A. F. 251, and Cod. A. F. 445) were histories about the Ottomans.

¹⁰⁴ Flügel 1865-7, vol. I, p. 106-8 (nos. 94-6).

list above).

(11) Persian, Arabic, and Turkish poets and philosophers.

(12) Medical treatises by Avicenna and Averroes. The Avicenna manuscript could be Cod. A. F. 61,¹⁰⁵ *Kitāb ath-thānī min funūn al-qānūn* («The Second Book of the Sciences of the Canon [of Medicine]»), which is a fragment of Avicenna's (Ibn Sinā, d. 1037) «Canon of Medicine» (*Qānūn fī ṭ-ṭibb*). This codex also contains notes made by Tegnagel.

4. Conclusion

To sum up, Sebastian Tegnagel was not only a scholar and librarian, but a great bibliophile, all three features being evident in his correspondence and in his collection and handling of Oriental manuscripts. Tegnagel's love for books and manuscripts was vigorously expressed in a letter to Daniel Heinsius, written only two years after the start of the former's service in the library, 1611: «With an unbelievable eagerness I have become excited about the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages and I am trying to find ways to further my education in these [languages]». ¹⁰⁶ And, even in 1609, just a year after starting his service at the library, Tegnagel noted, on the reverse of a letter sent by Kirstenius (d. 1640), that Kirstenius had not yet returned some Arabic manuscripts that he had lent him, and that if something were to happen to him, Tegnagel, on his journey to Italy, he would need to get the manuscripts back again, because he «love[d] the Arabic books [and] they [were] valuable like a real treasure and they then should be

¹⁰⁵ Flügel 1865-7, vol. II, p. 522f. (no. 1456).

¹⁰⁶ My translation; quoted after Unterkircher 1968, p. 138: «Mit unglaublichem Eifer bin ich für die arabische, persische und türkische Sprache entflammt und ich versuche mir von überallher die Hilfsmittel für meine weitere Ausbildung darin zu verschaffen».

gifted to the Imperial library».¹⁰⁷

This treasure of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts and printed books, and its variety of subjects, is a measure of Sebastian Tengenagel's diverse and complex interests. One can presume that Tengenagel was aware of the complexity of the Ottoman Turkish language. As Christine Woodhead observes, by about 1600, written Ottoman had become a «prestige language» containing a significant amount of Persian and Arabic elements.¹⁰⁸ One question that remains open is which of the three languages Tengenagel learned first. But, given his intentions and interests in the context of the political and religious conditions of his time, one is inclined to think that his initial interest was in an «enemy», but that this was gradually superseded by scholarly curiosity for the Ottoman world and its three cultural heritages. In 1628, when Tengenagel composed his letter to Pietro Della Valle, an Ottoman-Safavid war had been waging for five years and would continue for a further ten. Given the specific ambitions of Della Valle, and the particular Persian titles desired by Tengenagel, the interest of the latter in the cultural complexity and nature of the Islam of his time is striking and needs further interdisciplinary research.

¹⁰⁷ My translation; quoted after Unterkircher 1968, p. 132: «denn die arabischen Bücher sind mir lieb und teuer wie ein wahrer Schatz und sie sollen dann der kaiserlichen Bibliothek geschenkt werden».

¹⁰⁸ Woodhead 2012, p. 143.

IMMAGINI



Fig. 1. Leon Modena's *Midbar Yehudah*, Venice, 1602.
Courtesy of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB, 20.G.58)

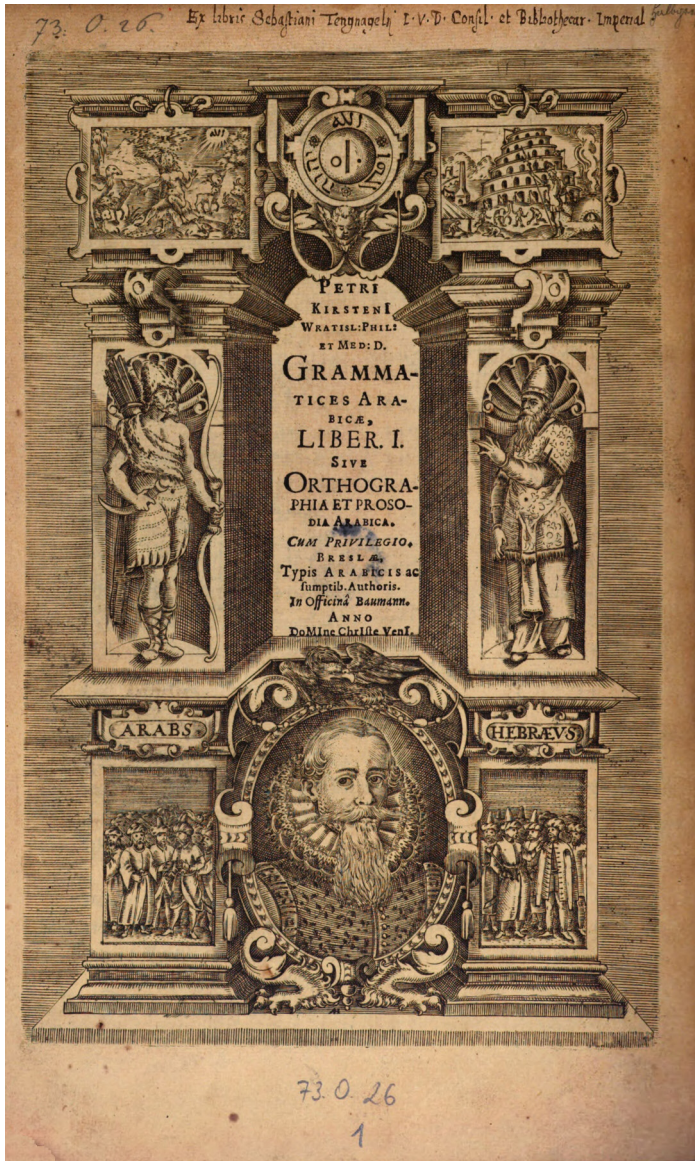


Fig. 2. Petrus Kirstenius, *Grammatices Arabicae Liber I*, Breslau, Baumann, 1608.

Courtesy of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB, 73.O.26)



Fig. 3. *Quatuor Evangelia MSS arabice.*

Courtesy of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 97)

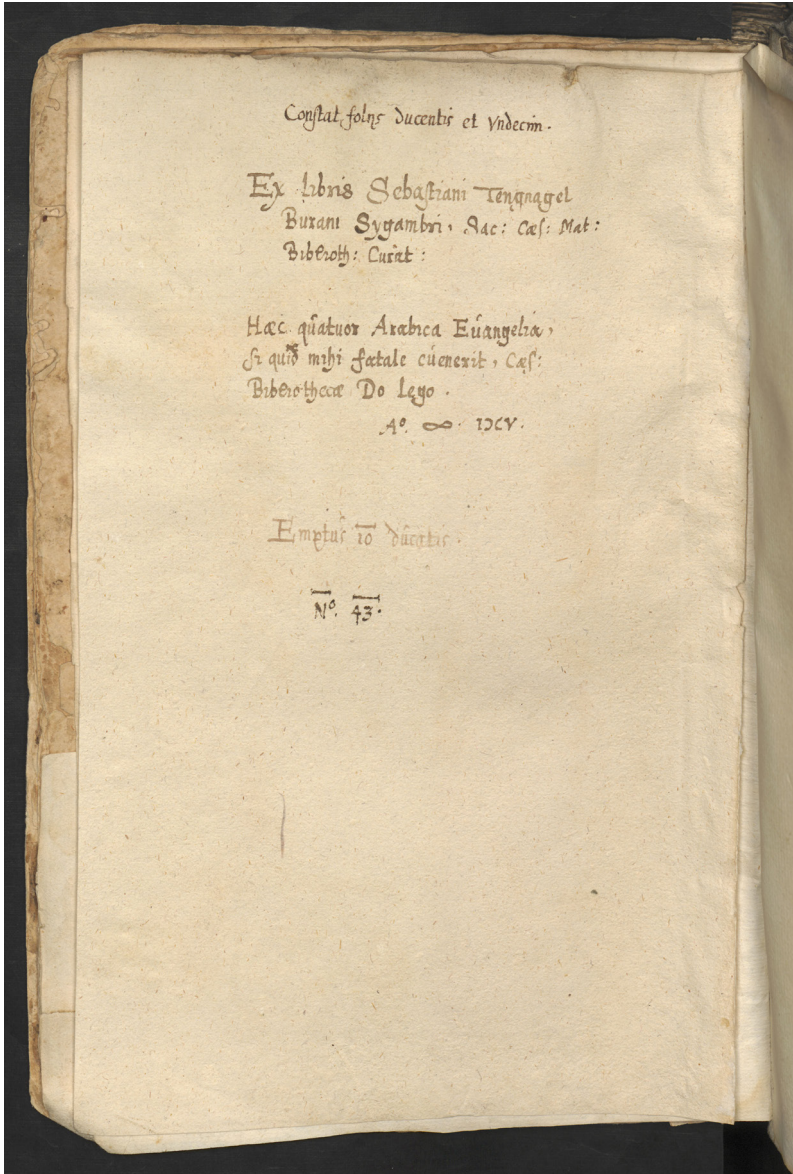


Fig. 4. *Quatuor Evangelia MSS arabice.*
Courtesy of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB, Cod. A. F. 97)

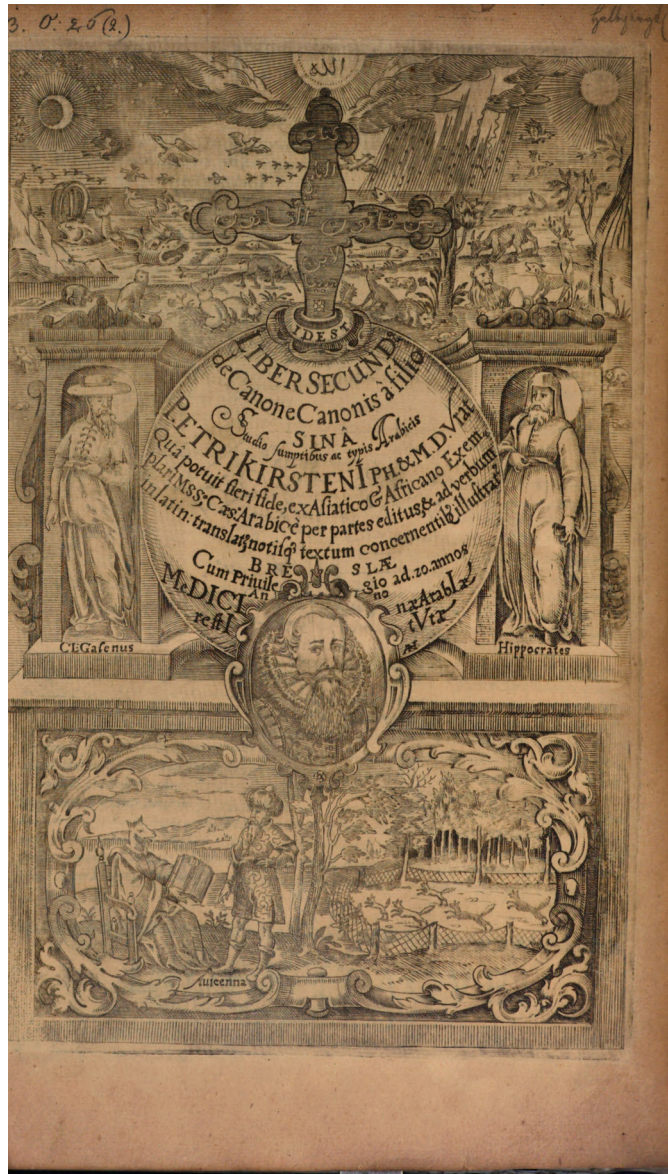


Fig. 5. Petrus Kirstenius, *Kitāb at-tānī min qānūn al-qānūn li-Ibn-Sīnā. Id Est Liber Secund[us] de Canone Canonis a filio Sinā*, Breslau, 1609.
Courtesy of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB 73.O.26(2))

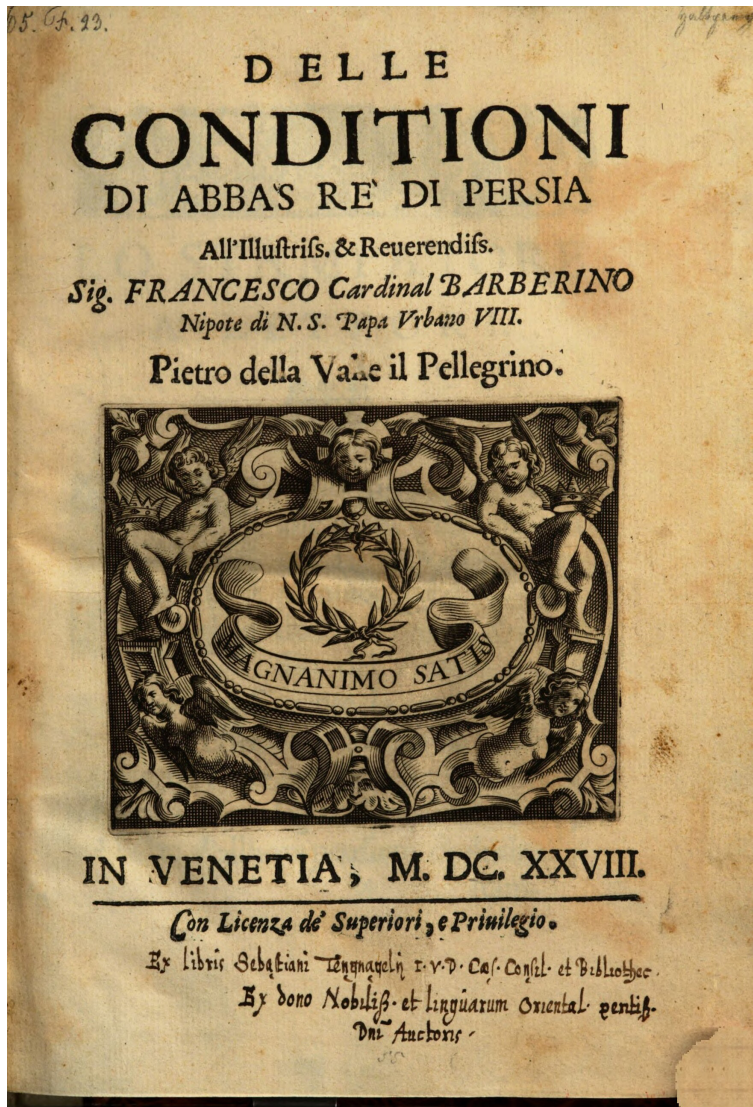


Fig. 6. Pietro Della Valle, *Delle condizioni di Abbas Re di Persia*, Venezia, Francesco Baba, 1628.

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Saggi

Hülya Çelik - Chiara Petrolini
*Establishing an «Orientalium linguarum Bibliotheca»
in 17th-century Vienna*

Zwartjes 2015 = Otto Zwartjes, Pedro de Alcalá, in *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500-1900*, edited by David Thomas and John A. Chesworth, vol. VI, p. 75-78.

Abstract

Sebastian Tengenagel was the court librarian of the Imperial Library in Vienna from 1608 until his death in 1636. At the same time, he was an active member of the Republic of Arabic Letters, the circle of European scholars devoted to acquiring and disseminating knowledge of the Orient in early modern Europe. The Austrian National Library holds two groups of texts that can help us understand the complexity of his intellectual endeavours: the corpus of manuscript letters describing his work as an Orientalist and as a librarian, and the collection of Oriental manuscripts built up by Tengenagel. The two sources must be studied together, because each sheds light on the other. Only by interlinking them can we attempt to answer the crucial questions: how and why, in early 17th-century Vienna, did one become an Orientalist? What were the ‘tools of the trade’? This paper is a survey of this material, based upon the interdisciplinary project *The Oriental Outpost of the Republic of Letters. Sebastian Tengenagel (d. 1636), the Imperial Library in Vienna, and Knowledge of the Orient* carried out at the University of Vienna at the Department of Near East Studies and the Institute for Austrian Historical Research. Through specific case studies it shows how it is possible to reconstruct both the provenance and trajectories of certain books, and the stories of those who carried or studied them.

Sebastian Tengenagel; Early Orientalism; Vienna; History of Scholarship; Ottoman Studies; Austrian National Library

Sebastian Tengenagel fu bibliotecario imperiale a Vienna (dal 1608 fino alla sua morte nel 1636) ed esponente di spicco della cosiddetta Repubblica delle Lettere Arabe, l'élite di dotti europei che si votò allo studio della storia e delle lingue dei paesi del Medio Oriente e dell'Asia centrale. La Biblioteca Nazionale d'Austria conserva due collezioni preziose per comprendere l'entità di

questa impresa: le lettere manoscritte, che raccontano l'attività di Tegnagel come orientalista e come bibliotecario, e la sua raccolta di manoscritti arabi, turchi, persiani ed ebraici. Dallo studio incrociato di queste due diverse fonti è possibile capire come e perché si diventasse orientalisti a Vienna all'inizio del Seicento e quali fossero i ferri del mestiere così difficili da reperire. Questo lavoro nasce all'interno del progetto interdisciplinare The Oriental Outpost of the Republic of Letters. Sebastian Tegnagel (d. 1636), the Imperial Library in Vienna, and Knowledge of the Orient, condotto all'Università di Vienna (presso il Dipartimento di studi sul Vicino Oriente e l'Istituto austriaco di ricerche storiche) e presenta una rassegna dei materiali e insieme l'analisi di alcuni casi specifici, al fine di ricostruire le traiettorie percorse dai libri confluiti nella biblioteca di Tegnagel e le storie e i viaggi di coloro che quei libri trasportarono, copiarono e studiarono.

Sebastian Tegnagel; Orientalismo; Vienna; Storia della conoscenza; Studi turchi e ottomani; Biblioteca nazionale austriaca