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Ottoman Language Learning in Early Modern Germany

Stefan Hanß

Abstract. This article presents new evidence on the authorship and readership of the earliest printed Ottoman language materials that details the extent to which sixteenth- and seventeenth-century inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire actively engaged in learning Ottoman. Such findings open up a new field of inquiry evaluating the Ottoman impact on the German-speaking lands reaching beyond the so-called "Turkish menace." Presenting the variety of Ottoman language students, teachers, and materials in central Europe, as well as their connections with the oral world(s) of linguistic fieldwork in the Habsburg-Ottoman contact zone, this article argues that Ottoman language learning is an important but thus far neglected element in understanding the cultural and intellectual landscape of early modern central Europe. What may appear to be experiments with linguistic riddles on first glimpse was in fact grounded in deep enthusiasm and fascination for Ottoman language learning shared among a community of Protestant semi-scholarly aficionados.

Fear and Fascination

An Ottoman poem and its Latin translation feature prominently in a collection of notes written by a thirteen-year-old schoolboy in the small central German city of Quedlinburg in 1596.

Birichen bes on eiledum derdumi
Out of my one tribulation, I made five or ten.
Iaradandan istemiscem iardumi
I asked for the creator's help.
Terch eiledum zahmanumi gurdumi
I left my patria, my home.
Ne ileim ein iemezum gunglumi
What shall I do? I cannot vanquish my mind [sic, for heart].[1]

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[1]Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 906, fol. 90^{r}; Wilhelm Heffening, *Die türkischen Transkriptionstexte des Bartholomaeus Georgievits aus den Jahren 1544–1548. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1942), 31, 38 with translation.

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This surprising archival finding appears to be unique. This is because traditionally researchers have emphasized that the Ottomans were a "threat," the "terror of Europe," instilling fear in central Europeans.[2] Recently, historians questioned this discourse's underlying dichotomous, simplistic, and moral implications regarding the legitimacy of power and conquests. "Where can the Ottomans be found that allegedly threatened 'the entirety of Europe' except in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean," Almut Höfert asks. "Where is the maritime power that attacks England, and that is then heading off for Scandinavia? Where are the Ottoman armies that threaten Paris, Rome, Cologne, or Prague?"[3] In light of such questions, historians have become aware of issues of scaling and turned to uncover the cross-cultural and global dimensions of early modern German history.[4] Habsburg-Ottoman interactions then are not to be limited to military rivalry, but were parts of broader Eurasian interactions: cross-cultural experiences and multi-dimensional translational ventures in response to the increasing mobility of people, artifacts, and ideas across the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier, which impacted broader cultural landscapes.[5] Treating such phenomena "as translations places," as Alexander Bevilacqua and Helen Pfeifer argue, "them at the heart of the process whereby early modern Europeans came to understand Ottoman culture."[6] Aligning with such succinct analysis, recent work has shown the extent to which the "Turkish menace," a still well-established trope, often builds in unreflective ways on current political ideas on a supposed "clash of civilizations," as well as on the rhetoric established in early modern prints on the Ottomans.[7] At least 2,500 of these *turcica* were published in sixteenth-century Europe alone.[8] Even the "first product of the printing press …was not the Bible," as is widely assumed, "but a *turcicum*."[9] Given the sheer quantity of central European prints on the Ottomans, the existence of linguistic exchanges—so long silenced by dominant dichotomous narratives of the "Turkish menace"—should no longer be surprising. In fact, what should be asked instead is why the inhabitants of early modern Germany would *not* have been interested in Ottoman culture and language given that prints informing about the Ottomans circulated widely in response to the Habsburg-Ottoman military rivalry.[10]

[2]Stephen A. Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism, 1521–1555* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959); Winfried Schulze, *Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert. Studien zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer äußerlichen Bedrohung* (Munich: Beck, 1978); James D. Tracy, "The Habsburg Monarchy in Conflict with the Ottoman Empire, 1527–1593: A Clash of Civilizations," *Austrian History Yearbook* 46 (2015): 1–26.

[3]Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanischen Reich, 1450–1600* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verlag, 2003), 55.

[4]Renate Dürr, Ronnie Hsia, Carina Johnson, Ulrike Strasser, and Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "Forum: Globalizing Early Modern German History," *German History* 31 (2013): 366–82.

[5]Carina Johnson, *Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Ottomans and Mexicans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Alexander Bevilacqua and Helen Pfeifer, "Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650–1750," *Past & Present* 221 (2013): 75–118.

[6]Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, "Turquerie," 76.

[7]Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, 51–88; Stefan Hanß, *Lepanto als Ereignis. Dezentrierende Geschichte(n) der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht unipress, 2017), 27–42.

[8]Carl Göllner, *Tvrcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Koerner, 1961–1978); Stefan Hanß, *Die materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571). Materialität, Medialität und die historische Produktion eines Ereignisses*, vol. 1 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2017), 149–69.

[9]Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben*, 25f., 58.

[10]Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik, "Books as a Means of Transcultural Exchange between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans," in *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World*, ed. Matthew McLean and Sara K. Barker (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 105–23.

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In this article, I present new evidence from archives, libraries, private collections, and booksellers that details the extent to which sixteenth- and seventeenth-century inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire actively engaged in learning the Ottoman language. Among them are findings that shed a different light on the authorship of the very first printed Ottoman grammar ever. Such evidence on Ottoman language teachers, speakers, and students opens up a new field of inquiry that has the potential to reconsider the impact of the Ottoman language on the German-speaking lands in relation to—but in fact reaching far beyond—the traditionally known story of military conflicts, religious juxtaposition, and diplomatic exchanges encapsulated in the notion of "the Turkish menace."[11] Ottoman language learning took place in different spaces: at universities and schools, in homes, in people's cabinets, on the streets, and in the tents of military camps. Such engagement with the Ottoman language never became a mass phenomenon in early modern Germany. By presenting the variety of biographies of some of those who did learn Ottoman, or at least tried to do so—pupils, theologians, professors, noblemen, imperial and diplomatic agents—this article shows that early Ottoman language studies are an important but thus far neglected element in understanding the cultural and intellectual landscape of central Europe during the early modern period.

Just as "Arabic was studied more widely in the Protestant areas of Germany than in any other European country,"[12] so was the Ottoman language. Examining the relationships between Ottoman as well as Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek studies, this article argues, firstly, that some early modern Germans indeed cultivated an excitement for the Ottoman language.[13] This linguistic fascination juxtaposes traditional accounts about the fear of "the Turks." Ottoman language enthusiasm is here seen as a consequence of the prevalence of the narrative of the "Turkish menace" in early modern Germany. This long-lasting discourse, however, also led to a silencing of such innovative and often adventurous early Ottoman language studies since they became to be considered as non-academic enterprises generating useful knowledge in light of military conflicts.

Secondly, this article shows that early Ottoman studies were cultivated in certain circles of Lutheran scholarship and Protestant progressive education movements. Reformation debates about the origins of early Christianity and the foundations of Christian practices increased the interest of academically trained Lutherans in Orthodox Greeks living in the Ottoman Empire. Protestant theologians not only established contacts with the Orthodox patriarch of Istanbul,[14] but became interested in evaluating the impact of Ottoman on

[11] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 4th ed. (Munich: Beck, 2006), 10.

[12] Alastair Hamilton, "'To Rescue the Honour of the Germans': Qur'an Translations by Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century German Protestants," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 77 (2014): 173–209, esp. 173.

[13] In light of the broader readership of this journal, "Germans" generally refers to subjects of the predominantly German-speaking territories of the Holy Roman Empire in this article.

[14] Hildegard Schaeder, ed., *Wort und Mysterium. Der Briefwechsel über Glauben und Kirche 1573 bis 1581 zwischen Tübinger Theologen und dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel* (Wittenberg: Luther-Verlag, 1958); Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie. Der theologische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der württembergischen Kirche und dem Ökumenischen Patriarchen Jeremias II. in den Jahren 1574–1581* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); Asaph Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity: Melanchthonian Scholarship between Universal History and Pedagogy* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009); Markus Friedrich and Alexander Schunka, eds., *Orientbegegnungen deutscher Protestanten in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2012).

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sixteenth-century Greek language usage.[15] Among Lutherans that cultivated an innovative approach to the production of useful knowledge, but also within reformed circles of progressive educational movements, the Ottoman language could arouse immense curiosity.

This article argues, thirdly, that early modern Germans' innovative approach to and curiosity about Ottoman language studies resulted from dynamics unfolded through interactions in the Habsburg-Ottoman border area. The frontier engendered the mobility of people, artifacts, and languages, and thereby broadened the Habsburg-Ottoman contact zone in geographical and cultural terms. This article therefore highlights the necessity to examine academic alongside non-academic and oral milieus of Oriental language studies. For unbundling early modern Germans' fascination with the Ottoman language, it is important to leave the traditional field of scholarly humanism and to study the role of fieldwork and face-to-face interactions between students, scholars, teachers, readers, captives, travelers, and pilgrims that lead to a constant re-inquiring and challenging of knowledge production, as well as Ottoman language studies.

Studying thus far unknown paper trails, this article charts an expansive understanding of the emotional resonance of Ottoman language learning in early modern Germany. I argue that engagement with Ottoman materials evoked an emotional response that further stimulated scholarly studies of Oriental languages, such as the sudden increase in printed Ottoman grammars and dictionaries in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany, which in turn engendered, as John-Paul Ghobrial put it, "the impulses and agendas of early modern orientalism."[16] John Considine states that "dictionaries can be read as, to some extent, works of the imagination, and as presences in the imaginative lives of their readers."[17] The question is thus which imaginative responses were elicited by Ottoman texts, Ottoman language-learning materials, and central European scholars' treatises on Oriental languages. As it turns out, some German-speaking readers responded to such texts less with fear than with excitement and dedication.

The rising quantity of publications of Christian Arabists throughout the early modern period clearly stirred imaginations.[18] The increasing scholarly appreciation of Arabic studies made those who studied Ottoman desire to achieve similar appreciation. In fact, such tendencies transformed Ottoman language learning into cutting-edge research. In a society that valued complex arithmetic calculations as exceptional forms of subtlety and cultural refinement,[19] mastering a sophisticated language like Ottoman enthralled people's minds, tempting them to explore and solve linguistic riddles, as much as it instilled high ambition—such as people's wishes to write Ottoman dictionaries or grammars.

[15]Stefan Hanß, "Die Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Spätrenaissance in Schwaben: Wissen, Literatur, Kunst*, ed. Wolfgang Mährle (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2019), 119–46, esp. 123–33.

[16]John-Paul Ghobrial, "The Archive of Orientalism and Its Keepers: Re-Imagining the Histories of Arabic Manuscripts in Early Modern Europe," *Past & Present* 230 (2016): 108f.

[17]John Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 4.

[18]Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe*, 48; Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1955), 25–157; Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Alexander Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2018).

[19]Ulinka Rublack and Maria Hayward, *The First Book of Fashion: The Book of Clothes of Matthäus and Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsburg* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 8.

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The early modern period did see a significant expansion of lexicographical works on languages.[20] This coincided with a rising esteem of humanist lexicographers who praised their endeavors as painstaking research and heroic enterprises. Henri Estienne, for instance, called his dictionary of Cicero's Greek words a "heroic and indeed Herculean work."[21] Keeping such contexts of scholarly appreciation and community-making in mind is crucial to evaluate the enthusiasm that the Ottoman language was capable of evoking in the minds of early modern central Europeans. What may appear to be experimental approaches to solve linguistic riddles on first glimpse was in fact grounded in deep enthusiasm and fascination for Ottoman language learning shared among a community of semi-scholarly aficionados.[22]

Forgotten Experiments in the Production of Useful Knowledge

The cultural role of Ottoman language learning has not been addressed in research on the Holy Roman Empire, despite the fact that turcologists have used Ottoman materials recorded by early modern German speakers to study linguistic, morphological, and phonetic developments of the Ottoman language.[23] Even Franz Babinger's seminal 1919 article does not touch upon the everyday contexts of German-speaking inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire learning Ottoman.[24] Ottoman language proficiency has mainly been observed in diplomatic contexts.[25] In light of research on early modern Christian Orientalists,[26] recent research on Dutch scholars' interest in Ottoman is a crucial advancement in the field.[27] Elsewhere I have presented a first systematic study of the interest in the Ottoman language cultivated among a group of Lutheran scholars at the University of Tübingen around 1600.[28] Still missing further research on Ottoman language learning is the reason that the

[20]John Considine, *Academy Dictionaries, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[21]Henri Estienne, *Ciceronianvm Lexicon Græcolatinum* … (Paris, 1557), fol. **iii[r]; Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe*, 1–5.

[22]Martin Mulsow, *Prekäres Wissen. Eine andere Ideengeschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2012), 317–98.

[23]György Hazai, *Das Osmanisch-Türkische im 17. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen an den Transkriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsány* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973); Heidi Stein, *Der türkische Transkriptionstext des Hieronymus Megiser. Ein Beitrag zur Sprachgeschichte des Osmanisch-Türkischen* (Leipzig: Universität Leipzig, 1975).

[24]Franz Babinger, "Die türkischen Studien in Europa bis zum Auftreten Josef von Hammer-Purgstalls," *Die Welt des Islams* 7, no. 3/4 (1919): 103–29.

[25]Josef Matuz, "Die Pfortendolmetscher zur Herrschaftszeit Süleymâns des Prächtigen," *Südost-Forschungen* 34 (1975): 26–60, Ernst D. Petritsch, "Die Wiener Turkologie vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," in *Germano-Turcica: Zur Geschichte des Türkisch-Lernens in den deutschsprachigen Ländern …*, ed. Klaus Kreiser (Bamberg: Universitätsbibliothek, 1987), 25–40; Tobias P. Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades: Christian-European Converts to Islam and the Making of the Ottoman Elite, 1575–1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 92, 135, 143.

[26]Alastair Hamilton and Francis Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *"I Have Always Loved the Holy Tonge": Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2011); Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, and Charles Burnett, eds., *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017); Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*.

[27]Nil Palabiyik, "The Last Letter from Étienne Hubert to Joseph Scaliger," *Lias* 45 (2018): 113–43; Nil Palabiyik, "Justus Raphelengius (1573–1628) and Turkish Folk Tales," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 139 (2019): 333–59.

[28]Hanß, "Die Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," 119–46.

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engagement of early modern German scholars with Ottoman—Wilhelm Schickard and Johann Jakob Redinger in particular, two seventeenth-century Ottoman-language aficionados whose work is discussed in more detail in this article—appeared as the pastimes of "geniuses," dabblers, or even "lunatics."[29]

To become attuned to the cultural role of Ottoman language learning in the Holy Roman Empire, historians need to broaden the traditional focus on academic scholarship that has proven useful in studying the emergence of Arabic studies in central Europe. While the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a sudden rise in the foundation of Arabic chairs in European universities,[30] Ottoman studies did not experience a similar academic grounding.[31] Arabic became an important element of biblical studies and a means to establish ties with Near Eastern Christianity.[32] Even though early modern Christian Orientalists did heavily discuss the often contested and unclear relationships among Ottoman, Persian, Hebrew, and Arabic, a similar argument could not have been made convincingly by those studying Ottoman.[33] A Turkish language of striking social and geographical variety that prominently incorporated and adapted Arabic and Persian elements, Ottoman was seen as useful, especially as the Holy Roman Empire maintained a direct frontier with the Ottomans. In the letter of dedication published in the first Ottoman grammar printed in German lands, Hieronymus Megiser addressed Matthias of Austria, the soon-to-be-crowned Holy Roman emperor, describing the Ottomans as "barbarians" whose "barbarous" language is worth learning in order to negotiate with and convert the Holy Roman Empire's military enemy.[34]

Framing the study of the Ottoman language in accordance with the "Turkish menace," thus, transformed precarious knowledge into useful knowledge and allowed authors like Megiser to present Ottoman studies as scholarly valuable work.[35] No wonder, then, that late-seventeenth-century diplomatic interpreters at the Viennese court presented the most impressive scholarly achievements of early Ottoman studies.[36] Exactly the prominence of the discourse of the "Turkish menace," however, also excluded Ottoman language studies from the canonization of Oriental language studies in early modern Europe. The achievements of early central European enthusiasts in Ottoman language learning were hardly

[29]Claudia Ott, "Schickard als Orientalist—verkanntes Genie oder interessierter Laie?," in *Zum 400. Geburtstag von Wilhelm Schickard: Zweites Tübinger Schickard-Symposium 25. bis 27. Juni 1992*, ed. Friedrich Seck (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995), 117–29; Francisca Loetz, *Mit Gott handeln. Von den Zürcher Gotteslästerern der Frühen Neuzeit zu einer Kulturgeschichte des Religiösen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 192.

[30]Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*; Asaph Ben-Tov, "The Academic Study of Arabic in Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Protestant Germany: A Preliminary Sketch," *History of Universities* 28, no. 2 (2015): 93–135; Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*.

[31]Babinger, "Die türkischen Studien in Europa bis zum Auftreten Josef von Hammer-Purgstalls."

[32]Alastair Hamilton, "An Egyptian Traveller in the Republic of Letters: Josephus Barbatus or Abudacnus the Copt," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994): 123–50; Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*; Ghobrial, "Archive of Orientalism and Its Keepers"; Loop, Hamilton, and Burnett, *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*.

[33]Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 24.

[34]Hieronymus Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ …* (Leipzig, 1612); Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. hist. fol. 889–26, fol. 2^{r}–8^{r}.

[35]Mulsow, *Prekäres Wissen*.

[36]Petritsch, "Die Wiener Turkologie vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," 28.

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mentioned at all in the bio-bibliographical compendia that German Orientalists composed. When following examples of similar compendia of French, Italian, and Spanish Orientalists, late- seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German scholars tended to define the canon of Orientalists according to academic merits. Ottoman language proficiency, which has predominantly been presented as useful but not as an academic or scholarly achievement, did not rate among the criteria of a developing discipline.[37] In these printed compendia, German-speaking Orientalists are praised for their Arabic, Aramaic, Hebrew, Persian, Syriac, and Qur'anic studies, but Ottoman language expertise is hardly mentioned. If so, then rather to foreground the scholar's general polyglotism.[38] The late-seventeenth- till early-nineteenth-century canonization of Oriental language studies in academic contexts, thus, silenced the scholarly achievements of Ottoman-language studies in early modern Germany—in part also because the discourse of the "Turkish menace" facilitated such readings.

Early modern German advancements in Ottoman studies, those related to rather academic as well as less academic milieus, relied on the everyday culture of multilingualism, as well as on the vibrancy of and the mobility engendered by the Habsburg-Ottoman contact zone. In a world generally constituted by multilingual, connected, and mobile communities,[39] the Habsburg-Ottoman contact zone constituted a particularly vivid "'middle ground,' a place where people, commodities, ideas and cultures met in a rather more accepting and multi-layered atmosphere and which therefore contributed significantly to wider cultural exchanges."[40] In such contexts of commercial exchange, diplomatic contacts, and military confrontations, linguistic proficiency became crucial. Local and mobile interpreters traversed and reshaped a variety of boundaries in such settings.[41] German pilgrims engaged in ethnographic comparisons in the Levant, publishing word lists of Oriental languages after their return.[42] Central European captives and slaves living in the polyglot Ottoman Empire needed to maneuver the realities and cultural implications of language learning.[43]

[37]Hanß, "Die Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," 121–23.

[38]Rudolph M. Meelführer, *Prodromus germaniæ orientalis* … (Altdorf, 1698), 1f., 12, 17, 18f.; Paul Colomiès, *Gallia orientalis* … (Haga Comitum, 1665); Paul Colomiès, *Italia et Hispania orientalis* …, ed. Johann C. Wolf (Hamburg, 1730).

[39]Eric R. Dursteler, "Speaking Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Past & Present* 217 (2012): 47–77.

[40]Claire Norton, "Blurring the Boundaries: Intellectual and Cultural Interactions between the Eastern and Western; Christian and Muslim Worlds," in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, ed. Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 3–21, esp. 7.

[41]György Hazai, ed., *Die Geschichte der Ungarn in einer osmanischen Chronik des 16. Jahrhunderts: Tercüman Maḥmūds Tārīḫ-i Ungurus* (Berlin: Schwarz, 2009); E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2012); Gábor Kármán, *A Seventeenth-Century Odyssey in East Central Europe: The Life of Jakab Harsányi Nagy* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015); Stefan Hanß, *Bridging Empires: A Family of Veneto-Ottoman Dragomans and their Mediterranean Travels, 1618–1625* (under contract with Routledge).

[42]Klaus Kreiser, "Gefangene, Pilger und Kaufleute: Die Transkriptionstexte des späten Mittelalters und der Neuzeit," in *Germano-Turcica*, 19–24; Sundar Henny, "On Not Forgetting Jerusalem: Bartholomaeus Georgievits as a Pilgrim and Ethnographer of Eastern Christianity," in *The Habsburg Mediterranean, 1500–1800*, ed. Stefan Hanß and Dorothea McEwan (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2021, in press).

[43]John Gallagher, "Language-Learning, Orality, and Multilingualism in Early Modern Anglophone Narratives of Mediterranean Captivity," *Renaissance Studies* 33, no. 4 (2019): 639–61.

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Some Ottoman manuscripts were looted during military campaigns; others arrived in central Europe with travelers returning from the Levant.[44] Austrian noblemen like Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf brought Ottoman manuscripts back from Istanbul that rate among the first published German translations of Ottoman texts.[45] The Imperial embassy in Istanbul, a microcosm of mobile artifacts, people, and ideas, connected the German lands with the material worlds of the Ottoman Empire and the broader Mediterranean—also manuscripts and language-learning materials circulated via this dynamic microcosm.[46] Events at the frontier, thus, engendered interactions that shaped the degree to which linguistic studies could prosper across Europe.

The repercussions of such mobile, oral, and material worlds of linguistic exchanges for the empire's "fragmented territories," however, still require further study.[47] Central European scholars' engagement with Oriental languages needs to be contextualized within this highly mobile and oral world.[48] Therefore, this article expands the range of who we think of as Ottoman language learners in the German lands. It reframes how Orientalists' linguistic encounters occurred by foregrounding face-to-face interactions with Ottoman speakers, as well as the orality of language-learning practices themselves. The following subchapters lead the reader to the fields of learning, reading, and speaking, exploring how they were shaping linguistic encounters in schools, scholarship, and actual fieldwork.

Ottoman Language Learning at German Latin Schools

The Ottoman poem cited at the very beginning of this article, found in the late sixteenth-century notes of a thirteen-year-old German schoolboy, was copied from one of the most popular genres of prints: captivity narratives. A variety of central Europeans traveled the Mediterranean and were taken captive in this hub of human trafficking. According to recent estimates, about 2.5 million slaves lived in early modern continental Europe, whereas around 5 million slaves served in the Ottoman Empire. Another 850,000 European slaves lived in North Africa. Christians and Muslims of all social backgrounds were taken captive and served as household servants, galley slaves, public and menial workers, or sex slaves.[49] After their return, captives often wrote about their time in servitude, and undoubtedly also felt social pressure to explain their proficiency in Arabic and Ottoman,

[44]Robert Jones, "Piracy, War, and the Acquisition of Arabic Manuscripts in Renaissance Europe," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 2 (1987): 96–110; Stéphane Yérasimos, "Le turc en occident: la connaissance de la langue turque en Europe, XVe-XVIIe siècles," in *L'inscription des langues dans les relations de voyage (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. Michel Coquery (Paris: Fontenay, 1992), 191–210.

[45]Johannes Löwenklau, *Neuwe Chronica Tu[e]rckischer nation* … (Frankfurt/Main, 1595).

[46]Stefan Hanß, "A Shared Taste? Material Culture and Intellectual Curiosity in the Habsburg Mediterranean," in *The Habsburg Mediterranean, 1500–1800* (in press).

[47]Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 40.

[48]Simon Mills, "Learning Arabic in the Overseas Factories: The Case of the English," in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, 272–93; Maurits H. van den Boogert, "Learning Oriental Languages in the Ottoman Empire: Johannes Heyman (1667–1737) between Izmir and Damascus," in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, 294–309; Hanß, "Die Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," 127–33.

[49]Stefan Hanß and Juliane Schiel, eds., *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited (500–1800): Neue Perspektiven auf mediterrane Sklaverei (500–1800)* (Zurich: Chronos, 2014); Salvatore Bono, *Schiavi: una storia mediterranea (XVI–XIX secolo)* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2016), 71–75.

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widely associated with conversion to Islam, as a necessary means to survive and indeed as a scholarly venture.[50]

As a consequence, captivity narratives circulated widely and contained detailed information about Ottoman grammar and vocabulary. The captivity narrative of George of Hungary, for instance, was read by Hartmut Schedel, author of the famous *Nuremberg Chronicle*. When the alleged brother of Sultan Mehmed II visited Nuremberg in 1487, Schedel invited the pseudo-Ottoman who confirmed the accuracy of the content of the captivity narrative.[51]

One of the most famous captivity narratives, written by the Croatian Bartolomej Đurđević, and translated as well as reprinted numerous times throughout the early modern period, contained particularly detailed information on the Ottoman language.[52] When Đurđević's narrative was reprinted in Strasbourg in 1558, the text was dedicated to the local bishop's steward Wolfgang Stultz for his interest in foreign languages.[53] Plenty of marginalia in copies of such works confirm that early modern readers approached captivity narratives with pencil in hand, also noting Latin transcriptions of Ottoman words.

In 1596, one of the many editions of Đurđević's text fell into the hands of the aforementioned thirteen-year-old German schoolboy who copied the text with the poem. His name was Johann Gerhard. He later became one of the leading authorities in Lutheran Orthodoxy: studying in Wittenberg, Jena, and Marburg before becoming a professor of theology at the University of Jena in 1616. Gerhard decided to study theology at the age of fifteen, while still attending classes at the Latin school in Quedlinburg. Here, he became acquainted with polyglotism, the *ars excerpendi*, and the significance of exegetical methods that became a distinctive feature of Gerhard's later theological writings.[54]

What was the role of the Ottoman language in this early modern German pupil's school lessons and notes? Ann Blair and Martin Mulsow show that Renaissance note-taking was both a means to acquire knowledge about the Near East and a practice that connected the worlds of scholars and students.[55] Pupils drafted such notes under the supervision of teachers. Gerhard's teachers in Quedlinburg—Johann Eckstadt, Martin Hortulanus, Jacob Diegk, Andreas Filder, Johannes Harwigk, Friedrich Abstorff, Johann Weidling, and Heinrich Faber—were leading Lutheran intellectuals and progressive educational theorists who considered Latin poetry as well as Greek and Hebrew crucial elements of Lutheran education.

[50] Claudia Ulbrich, "'Hat man also bald ein solches Blutbad, Würgen und Wüten in der Stadt gehört und gesehen, daß mich solches jammert wider zu gedenken …': Religion und Gewalt in Michael Heberer von Brettens 'Aegyptiaca Servitus'," in *Religion und Gewalt: Konflikte, Rituale, Deutungen (1500–1800)*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz and Kim Siebenhüner (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 85–108.

[51] Georgius de Hungaria, *Tractatus de moribus, condictionibus et nequicia Turcorum: Traktat über die Sitten, die Lebensverhältnisse und die Arglist der Türken*, ed. Reinhard Klockow (Cologne and Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 1993), 52; fig. 3.

[52] Heffening, *Die türkischen Transkriptionstexte des Bartholomaeus Georgievits aus den Jahren 1544–1548*; György Hazai, "Zum balkanischen Hintergrund der osmanisch-türkischen Transkriptionstexte von Bartholomaeus Georgievits," *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 20 (1974): 71–106.

[53] Bartolomej Đurđević, *Tu[e]rcken Bu[e]chlin …* (Strasbourg, 1558), fol. Aij^{v}.

[54] Erdmann R. Fischer, *Vita Ioannis Gerhardi …* (Leipzig, 1723); Franz Lau, "Gerhard, Johann," in *Neue deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 6 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1964), 281; Julius A. Wagenmann, "Gerhard, Johann Ernst," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Commission der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 8 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1878), 772.

[55] Ann Blair, "The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe," *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010): 303–16, esp. 305; Mulsow, *Prekäres Wissen*, 367–98.

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Faber even wrote the preface of Heinrich Decimator's German-Latin-Greek-Hebrew dictionary in 1580.[56] The thirteen-year-old Gerhard had these teachers in mind when stating that he copied Đurđević's captivity narrative, as is evidenced because it contains useful information on "the Turks' various customs."[57] Indeed, the text contains detailed descriptions of Ottoman society, court, military, language, and religion—crucial information at a time when the Holy Roman Empire had already been at war with the Ottomans for three years.[58] The schoolboy makes use of a similar argument that scholars like Megiser shall present some years later: studying the Ottoman language means to acquire knowledge that was useful in light of the prevalent discourse of the "Turkish menace."

Gerhard's copy is part of a manuscript that also contains German, Latin, and Greek *loci communes* of ancient and contemporary textual authorities, the pupil's comments on poetry, and the copy of another print on the Gethsemane story.[59] This paratextual framing hints at the pedagogical intention of reading Đurđević's captivity narrative and its Ottoman passages in religious terms. The notes, however, had a far larger impact on the pupil's future. In the *Loci Theologici*, his nine-volume *magnum opus*, Gerhard built on the Melanchthonian *loci* approach as a method of achieving and structuring Christian knowledge.[60] In writing the volumes, Gerhard also made use of his notebooks from school. As a pupil, Gerhard had added an index and used different colors when writing down his *loci communes*, all means that facilitated future consultation and information management.[61]

When consulting the keyword *language*, we find a number of telling quotes that inform us about Gerhard's understanding of language usage and learning. One entry concerns the moral implications stating that talking should not run ahead of thinking, a sentence often used by Philipp Melanchthon and Helius Eobanus Hessus, both leading humanist authorities extensively read by Gerhard.[62] The schoolboy copied further quotes, originally from Cicero, from a pedagogical sourcebook published in 1587: they inform the reader that every language needs to be used in moderated and careful ways.[63] It is important to consider such entries seriously as a comparative and reflective approach to language usage, and to relate it to the significance of the *loci* for Gerhard's general interest in the Ottoman Empire—every language, including Ottoman, is worth reflecting upon.

[56]Heinrich Decimator, *Sylva vocabvlorum* … (Wittenberg, 1593); Heinrich Decimator, *Poematum* … (Leipzig, 1596), fol. 149^{r}–54^{v}, 157^{r}–58^{v}, 172^{v}–77^{r}, 179^{r}; Fischer, *Vita Ioannis Gerhardi* …, 11f.

[57]Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 906, fol. 83^{r}.

[58]Jan P. Niederkorn, *Die europäischen Mächte und der "Lange Türkenkrieg" Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1593–1606)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993).

[59]Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 906; Samuel Baumgarten, *P. Vergilii maronis de lapsv generis hvmani* … (Magdeburg, 1581).

[60]Johann Gerhard, *Locorum theologicorum cum pro adstruenda veritate* …, 9 vols. (Jena, 1615–1620); Lau, "Gerhard, Johann," 281; Wagenmann, "Gerhard, Johann Ernst," 769f.

[61]Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2010).

[62]Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 906, fol. 26^{r}; Christoph Aulaeus, *Helii Eobani Hessi, poetae germani operum flores* … (Frankfurt/Main, 1560), fol. A3^{v}; Philipp Melanchthon, *Dogmatische Schriften*, ed. Otto Clemen, vol. 1 (Frankfurt/Main: Minerva, 1968), 45.

[63]Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 906, fol. 26^{r}; Basilius Faber, *Thesavrvs Eruditionis Scholasticæ* … (Leipzig, 1587), 453; Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 912, 140^{r}–155^{v}; Jürgen Leonhardt, "Classics as Textbooks: A Study of the Humanist Lectures on Cicero at the University of Leipzig, ca. 1515," in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Emidio Campi (Genève: Droz, 2008), 89–112.

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The schoolboy's notes mirror this sixteenth-century pedagogical understanding: Gerhard copied the 1558 edition of Đurđević's captivity narrative. Published in Leiden, this print emphasized its polyglot character by printing Ottoman, Arabic, Slavonic, and Greek transcriptions in italics. These typographical characteristics were lost in Gerhard's handwritten copy.[64] By copying the text, Gerhard appropriated and integrated such foreign vocabulary into the syllabus. Above all, he acquired considerable knowledge about the Ottoman language. He copied hundreds of Ottoman words as well as information about Ottoman polyglotism—the usage of Arabic, Ottoman, and Greek in the Ottoman Empire. The fact that young Gerhard did not get introduced into the use of Persian, a language particularly popular at the court and in higher circles, exemplifies the degree to which early modern Germans' understanding of Ottoman polyglotism relied on captives' experiences of maneuvering a complex and diverse oral world. Much of the Ottoman vocabulary that Gerhard copied from Đurđević was used mainly in the Balkans.[65]

When copying Đurđević's information about Ottoman school lessons, Gerhard surely recognized parallels in topics and didactic methods. Grammar, poetry, and philosophy featured prominently into the curriculum of Ottoman *madāris* and German Latin schools. When copying prayers and creeds in Arabic, Ottoman, and Slavonic, as well as Ottoman religious poems, Gerhard could have noticed further parallels with Lutheran devotional literature. He also meticulously copied a fictional Ottoman-Latin dialogue between a Christian and Muslim.[66]

We can barely imagine how this would have stirred the young Gerhard. Did he greet his parents in the Ottoman *Selam alēk baba* and *Selam alēk ana*, as recommended in Đurđević's text? What we do know for sure is that young Gerhard read such Ottoman texts at least twice. He even corrected Ottoman misspellings (figure 1), a fact that documents this schoolboy's interest in linguistic correctness.[67] The Latin school equipped Gerhard with skills and confidence when dealing with polyglotism, which led this early modern German teenager to engage with transcriptions of Ottoman texts.

When Gerhard died, the school notebooks were passed down to his son, Johann Ernst, who was just fifteen years old at the time. Like his father, Johann Ernst decided to study theology, became a professor of theology in Jena in 1655, and developed a fascination for Oriental languages.[68] Johann Ernst published language treatises on Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, and Geʿez,[69] and he was also at least somehow interested in the Ottoman language.

[64]Bartolomej Đurđević, *De tvrcarvm moribvs epitome* … (Leiden, 1558), 9–14; Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 906, fol. 86^{r}–87^{r}.

[65]Hazai, "Zum balkanischen Hintergrund der osmanisch-türkischen Transkriptionstexte von Bartholomaeus Georgievits."

[66]Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 906, fol. 83^{r}–125^{v}.

[67]Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 906, fol. 100^{r}.

[68]Fischer, *Vita Ioannis Gerhardi* …, 12–15; Wagenmann, "Gerhard, Johann Ernst," 772. Asaph Ben-Tov is currently writing an in-depth monograph on Johann Ernst Gerhard. On his Oriental studies, see for instance Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Ms. orient. Ag 8, fol. 32^{r}–34^{v}, containing Johann Ernst's comments on the Qur'ān, which are based on the writings of Theodor Hackspan and Thomas Erpenius.

[69]Johann E. Gerhard, *ΠΕΝΤΑΣ positionum ex Lingva Ebræâ, Chaldæâ, Syrâ, Arabicâ & Æthiopicâ* … (Wittenberg, 1647); Johann E. Gerhard, בשש: *Orationis Dominicæ In Linguâ Aethiopica Analysis Grammatica* … (Wittenberg, 1647).

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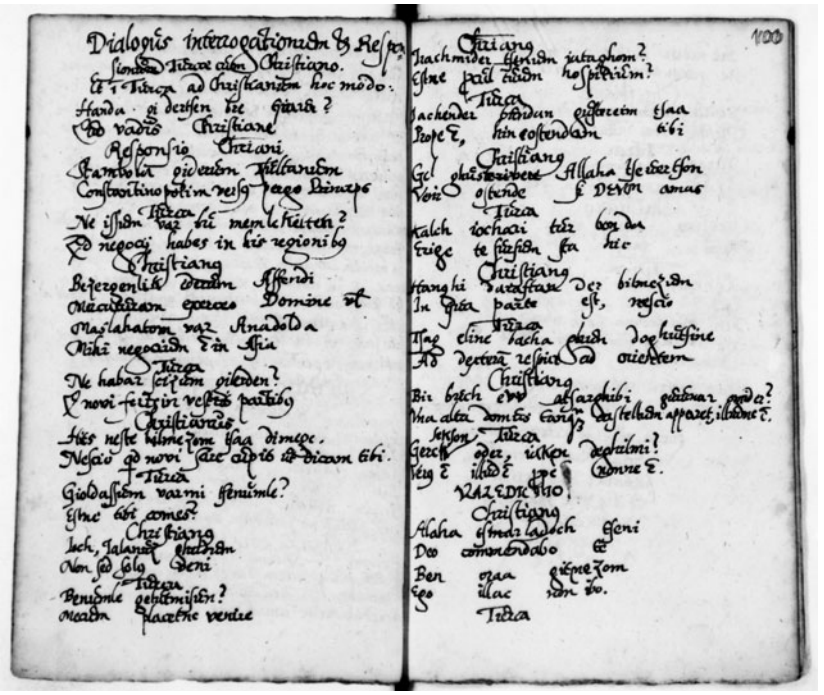


Fig. 1. Johann Gerhard's copy of an Ottoman-Latin dialogue printed in the captivity narrative of Đurđević. © Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 906, fol. 99^{v}f.

When purchasing Ottoman manuscripts from the library of the Altdorf Orientalist Daniel Schwenter in 1641, he scribbled notes regarding the content of these texts.[70]

We are left wondering whether his interest in Ottoman first awakened when reading his father's school notebooks, as he consulted these manuscripts various times throughout his life—for instance, when preparing an annotated introduction to his father's *Loci Theologici* upon the latter's death (figure 2).[71] The example of Gerhard introduces us to a world of Lutheran orthodoxy that cultivated a cross-generational fascination for the Ottoman language deriving from lessons at school. The question to what extent such engagement with Ottoman was a meaningful and sustained interest is at the core of the debate discussed in the next section.

New Perspectives on the Rise of Ottoman Language Studies

Given that most school notebooks have not survived, we have no idea whether such readings were common in early modern German schools.[72] However, the fact that the pupils of the early-seventeenth-century Latin School of Zwickau, Saxony, engaged in Arabic language learning is a striking parallel. Responding to the outbreak of the bubonic plague, the

[70]Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Ms. orient. T 178; Ms. orient. A 780, fol. 1^{r}; Ms. orient. A 783, fol. 2^{r}, 67^{r}.

[71]Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 466; Johann E. Gerhard, *Isagoge Locorum Theologicorum* … (Jena, 1658).

[72]On exceptionally detailed insights into a teacher's use of notebooks, see Alan S. Ross, *Daum's Boys: Schools and the Republic of Letters in Early Modern Germany* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2015).

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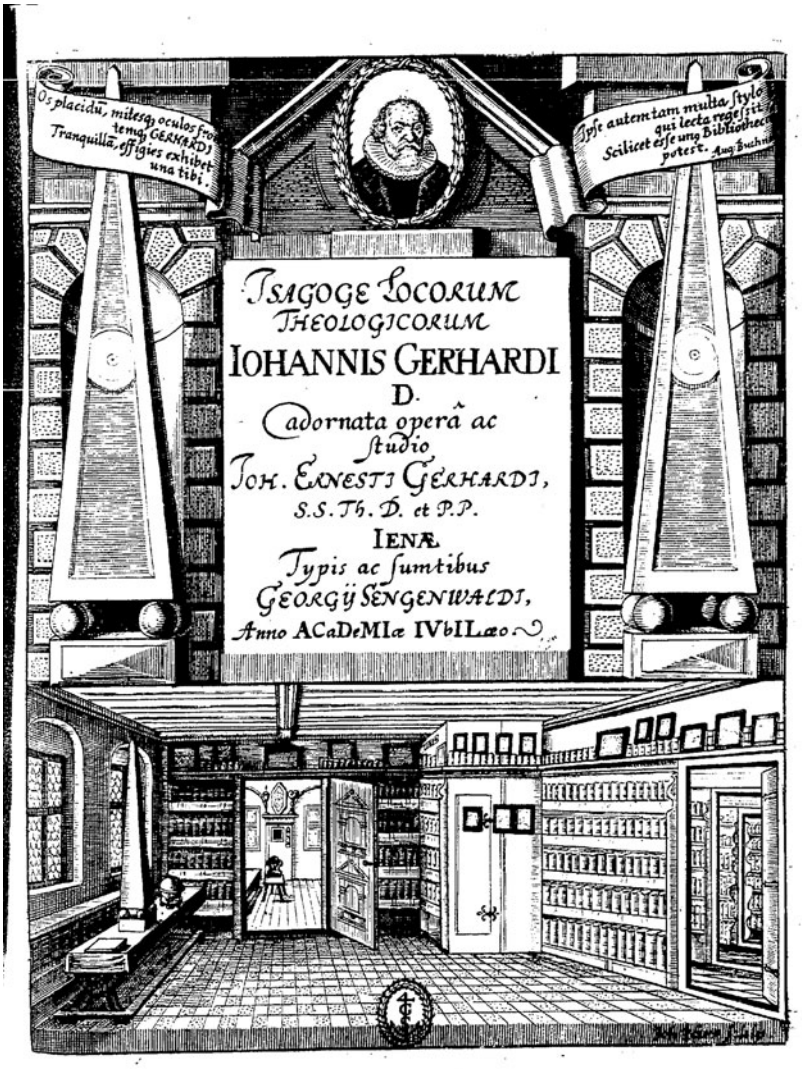


Fig. 2. Title page of Johann E. Gerhard, *Isagoge Locorum Theologicorum (…)* (Jena, 1658) showing a portrait of the father. © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle, AB 38 5/k, 2.

school's headmaster, Johann Zechendorff, introduced new readings like the Penitential Psalms in Arabic, as well as the Qur'ān, a work considered having been composed by the so-called "Arab Cicero." The parallels between this example and Gerhard's materials demonstrate Oriental studies' embeddedness in late humanist scholarship and the latinate culture of the day. Intriguingly, Zechendorff also maintained correspondence with Johann Ernst Gerhard.[73] In certain contexts, thus, Arabic and Ottoman language-learning materials could become acceptable teaching materials in Latin schools in early modern Germany.

[73] Asaph Ben-Tov, "Johann Zechendorff (1580–1662) and Arabic Studies at Zwickau's Latin School," in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, 57–92.

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While anything more precise can hardly be stated with the currently available evidence, we know for certain that Tübingen, Leipzig, and Wittenberg scholars became increasingly attracted to the Ottoman language around 1600.[74] Johann Melchior Mader, a student of the Tübingen Hebrew professor Michael Beringer, bridged the world of scholarship and schools.[75] His *album amicorum* shows that he went to Leiden and Paris, where he studied Oriental languages with Thomas Erpenius, as well as the Maronites Sionita and Hesronita.[76] After his return to Germany in 1617, Mader wrote a successful petition asking the Augsburg municipal council to offer lessons in Oriental languages to the sons of local citizens. According to his letter, Mader was proficient in Arabic, Ethiopic, Hebrew, Latin, and Ottoman.[77] His inaugural lecture on the usefulness of the Arabic language, as well as a collection of polyglot poems, went into print with the support of the art dealer Philipp Hainhofer.[78] Hainhofer maintained close contacts with the Duke of Pomerania, to whom Mader had dedicated his prints. We have thus reasons to assume that Mader intended to attract the duke's patronage—to no avail as the duke died soon after the print's publication. After just a couple of months, Mader left Augsburg for Linz, where he met Hieronymus Megiser, likewise a former Tübingen student. In the meantime, Megiser had published the very first printed Ottoman grammar in 1612, and he proudly wrote a note into the *album amicorum* of Mader with whom Megiser shared a fascination for the Ottoman language.[79]

People like Megiser and Mader made the seventeenth century a transformative period for Ottoman language learning in Europe. In 1612, Megiser published the very first printed volume of explanations on the Ottoman alphabet, grammar, vocabulary, dialogues, and proverbs.[80] Megiser's substantial grammar was used by many future generations of Orientalists such as Johann Christoph Wagenseil.[81] One of its earliest readers was Mader himself, whose heavily annotated personal copy has been in the collection of the Viennese bookseller Antiquariat Inlibris Gilhofer Nfg. GmbH until recently.[82]

[74]Hanß, "Die Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert."

[75]Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. hist. fol. 889–2, fol. 185^{r}.

[76]Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. hist. fol. 889–7, fol. 116^{r}; Cod. hist. fol. 889–15, fol. 39^{r}; Cod. hist. fol. 889–41, fol. 106^{r}.

[77]Helmut Glück, Mark Häberlein, and Konrad Schröder, *Mehrsprachigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit. Die Reichsstädte Augsburg und Nürnberg vom 15. bis ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 161, 172, 221–29, 421.

[78]Johann M. Mader, … *Oratio pro Lingva Arabica* … (Augsburg, 1617); Johann M. Mader, النحو العربي *Grammatica arabica* … (Augsburg, 1617); Johann M. Mader, *Votum* … (Augsburg, 1618); Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. hist. fol. 913, fol. 98^{r}.

[79]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ*; Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. hist. fol. 889–26, fol. 12^{r}.

[80]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ*.

[81]Hartmut Bobzin and Hermann Süß, *Sammlung Wagenseil* (Erlangen, 1996), Katalog VK 244/2, with underlinings of the register entries *bardak*, *fidelia*, and *bardak, vas*. My thanks to Sigrid Kohlmann (Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg).

[82]I owe special thanks to Scott Mandelbrote, who made me aware of the existence of this copy, which was recently sold by the Viennese bookseller Antiquariat Inlibris Gilhofer Nfg. GmbH. For studying this print, I owe special thanks to David Rueger, Christopher Frey, and Julianne Simpson. My thanks to Paul Babinski (University of Copenhagen) for having informed me that this volume was sold to Princeton University Library recently.

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This copy is particularly fascinating given Mader's comments suggest that the Carinthian nobleman Hector von Ernau, Megiser's patron, was the actual author of the Ottoman grammar printed in 1612. When reading this grammar in 1620, things had changed for Mader. Three years earlier, he had still rated Megiser among the elite of Europe's Orientalists.[83] Two years after having personally met Megiser in Linz, however, Mader took his personal copy and crossed out the title page reference to *authore* Megiser, calling him instead the volume's *descriptore*.[84] In another marginalia, Mader calls Megiser a liar: "This is a pack of lies. Hector von Ernau it is [the author], but not you."[85] Already in 1609, Megiser worked in similar ways when preparing his Malagasy-German glossary of approximately two thousand entries that were translated from a Dutch source.[86] In fact, Megiser must have understood himself primarily as a collector of language variety. A polyglot in this humanist sense, his *Specimen quinquaginta linguarium* from 1603 is "a dictionary of nearly 1600 octavo pages, which claims to document forms in about four hundred languages [in fact, far less given dialects are registered as separate languages], following its Latin headwords with as many synonyms as possible … and the number of forms given must be about a hundred thousand."[87] Instead of praising Megiser for having been "just about the only person in the world who had a good acquaintance with Slovene, Turkish *and* Malagasy,"[88] Mader's personal marginalia prompt us to think about Megiser's scholarly as well as non-academic networks that connected him with the Habsburg-Ottoman contact zone: Protestant nobleman Hector von Ernau was the administrator (*Landeshauptmannschaftsverweser*) of Carinthia.[89]

Mader, who is today remembered—if at all—as an early Arabist, was well capable of judging Megiser's claim for authorship. His personal networks, as the *album amicorum* shows, linked the worlds of scholars and noblemen, and Mader's personal copy proves that his Ottoman proficiency surpassed Megiser's knowledge. The densely annotated copy contains Mader's corrections and additions to Megiser's insufficient and sometimes incorrect statements, for example, Mader's specifications on the vowel signs *sükūn* and *tešdīd*.[90] Mader harshly rejects Megiser's comments about the use of difficult and rather artificial ligatures, stating that such ligatures are correct according to the *ordo naturalis Alphabeti*, and similar to Hebrew and Arabic. Mader realized that Megiser must have taken some examples from Ottoman poems, which prompted Mader to add a few comments on their rhythmicity and verse structure.[91] Interleaved pages in Megiser's dictionary provided Mader with plenty of space for further additions and corrections. He referenced the Ottoman names of the months, and he also added missing Ottoman synonyms. When Megiser lists *fakür* (فقير) as Ottoman for "poor" (*pauper*), Mader adds *muflis* (مفلس), which literally means "a bankrupt." When Megiser's dictionary contained wrong translations—a mine for minerals

[83]Mader, *Oratio pro Lingva Arabica* …, fol. D2[r]f.

[84]Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. hist. fol. 889–26, fol. 12[r]; Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (footnote 82), title page.

[85]Ibid., fol. 3[v]: "d[a]z ist erlog[en] d[er] Hector von Ernaù wol, aber du nit."

[86]Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe*, 291.

[87]Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe*, 292.

[88]Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe*, 291f.

[89]Filippo Ranieri, *Biographisches Repertorium der Juristen im Alten Reich, 16.–18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main: Klostermann, 1990), 440f.

[90]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (footnote 82), fol. 22[r].

[91]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (footnote 82), fol. 53[r].

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(معدن), for instance, was wrongly translated as *stomachus*—Mader crossed them out and added their correct translation.[92] Thus, Mader must be considered a largely forgotten figure of early Ottoman studies who had good contacts with Ottoman and Oriental language enthusiasts all over Europe—in Augsburg, Austria, Leiden, Paris, Pomerania, and Tübingen—crucial networks for the ambitious career of an Ottoman language student and teacher.

The publication of the very first printed Ottoman grammar was just the starting point of a broader development: seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe faced an increase in scholarship on Ottoman language studies that relied on an intensification of face-to-face interactions in Christian-Muslim contact zones. Born in the northwest German territory of Lippe and having developed an interest in Oriental languages during his uprising in Bremen, Levinus Warner enrolled at the University of Leiden and spent approximately two decades in Istanbul.[93] Having learned Ottoman during his diplomatic service in the Levant and in Egypt, André du Ryer published his own Ottoman grammar in Paris in 1630. This grammar, especially the use of Arabic characters throughout the volume, was "an improvement" to the print of Megiser.[94] Breslau pastor Andreas Acoluthus had worked on his famous Arabic, Persian, Ottoman, and Latin Qur'ān specimen since the late 1670s (figure 3), when a returning soldier presented an enslaved young Ottoman woman to the Lutheran scholar. Having been the wife of an imām in Belgrade, the young woman was surely proficient in both Ottoman and Arabic, and must have had some novel information about the Qur'ān that the Lutheran scholar was longing to hear. The fact that she took flight only six months after her arrival—despite her being emancipated by Acoluthus—hints at her possible experience of such a linguistic encounter as a troubling transgression of personal, religious, and gender boundaries.[95]

In nearby Brandenburg, the Hungarian Jakab Harsányi Nagy published his collection of Ottoman dialogues in 1672—this is, again, a story of moving speakers' impact on the development of Ottoman language studies in central Europe. Harsányi had studied in Leiden, but he must have gained Ottoman proficiency when serving as a scribe at the Greater Chancellery of the Principality of Transylvania, and later on as an interpreter at the embassy in Istanbul. Harsányi started translating diplomatic correspondence and participating at negotiations after approximately three years of language studies under the supervision of a local *hoca*. Harsányi did not miss the opportunity to foreground his practical expertise when publishing his textbook as the court councillor in Brandenburg seventeen years later. The development of early Ottoman studies, thus, heavily relied on mobile speakers and their investments into face-to-face interactions and manuscript encounters.

[92]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (footnote 82), fol. 285[r], 315[v], 322[v]f., 335[v]f. (quote): "stomachus, ~~maden~~ Kursak (meyde Arabicè.)," with Mader's comment "Maden, n[on] significat stomachum, sed fodinam, bergwerckh." Mader's comment on معدن is correct, but he misses that Megiser—who correctly refers to معده—wrongly transcribes قارن.

[93]Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France*, 59–62, 68; Arnoud Vrolijk and Richard van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands: A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950*, trans. Alastair Hamilton (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013); Ilana Tahan, ed., *The Ottoman Legacy of Levinus Warner* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

[94]André Du Ryer, *Rvdimenta grammatices lingvæ tvrcicæ* … (Paris, 1630); Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France*, 59–71.

[95]Alastair Hamilton, "A Lutheran Translator for the Quran: A Late Seventeenth-Century Quest," in *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, ed. Alastair Hamilton, Maurits H. van den Boogert and Bart Westerweel (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 214; Alastair Hamilton, "'Rescue the Honour of the Germans,'" 177–79.

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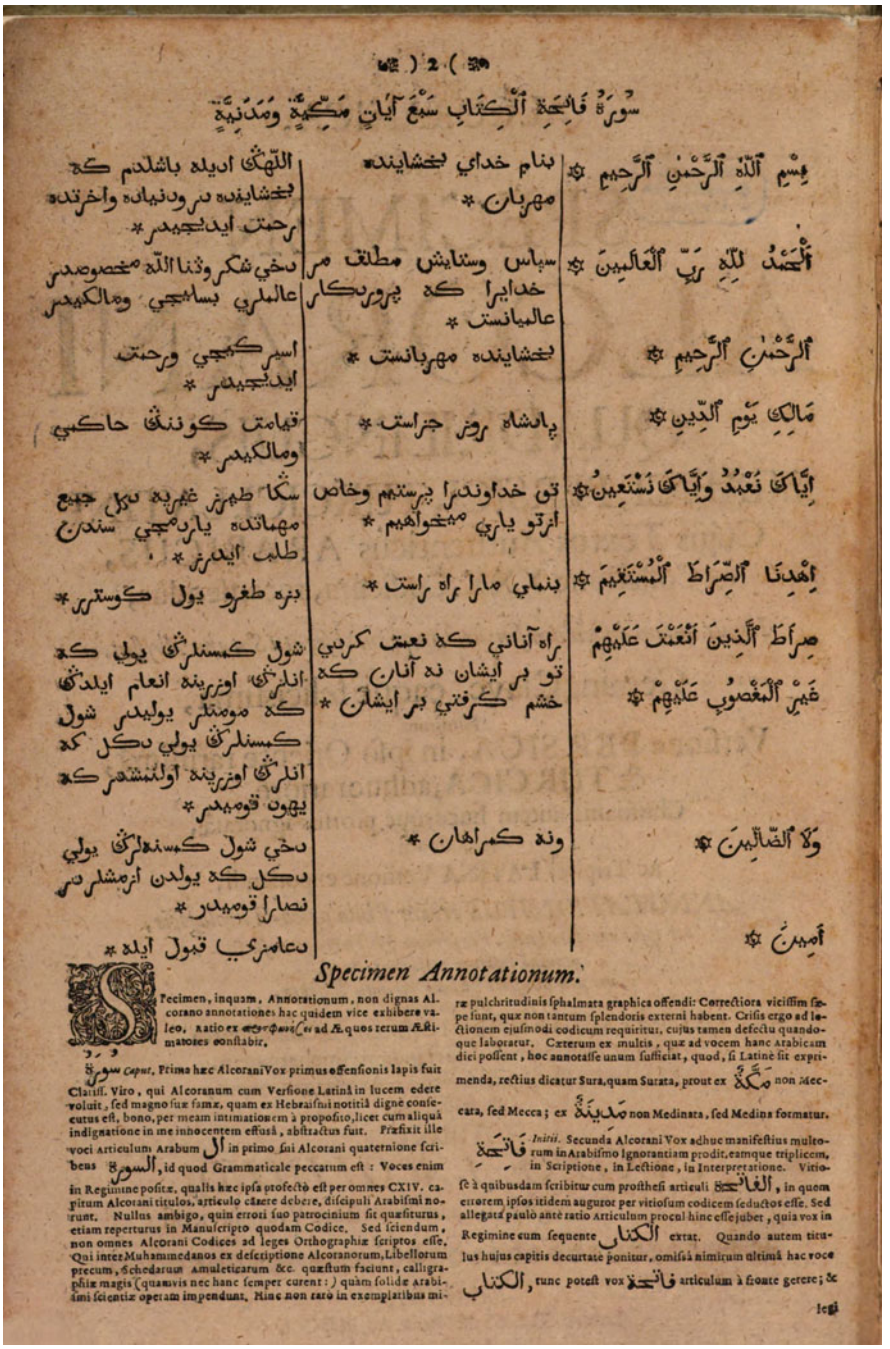


Fig. 3. Andreas Acoluthus, *Tetrapla Alcoranica, sive specimen Alcorani quadrilinguis, arabici, persici, turcici, latini (…)* (Berlin, 1701), 2. © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 2 A.or. 38, S. 2, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10210801-0.

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Early Modern Ways of Reading Ottoman Grammars

How did the increasing availability of printed Ottoman grammars impact early modern language learning? The Arcadian Library holds a fascinating copy that helps answer this question. The second edition of André du Ryer's Ottoman grammar, published in 1633, dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu, and heavily annotated by either a late seventeenth- or an eighteenth-century reader, illustrates that readers approached such grammars with pen in hand (figure 4).[96] Here, note-taking served as a means to promote careful and detailed readings, to acquire knowledge, and to facilitate its memorization.

Du Ryer's reader added Latin transcriptions of Ottoman words. The reader also applied grammatical rules, for instance, when conjugating the passive forms of *sevmek* (to love, سومك) and *oqumaq* (to read, اوقومق) or when inserting Ottoman proverbs that the reader copied from Megiser's print.[97] Such notes and marginalia in printed Ottoman grammars should not be considered mere additions, but rather crucial tools to acquire proficiency in the Ottoman language and, more precisely, in Ottoman proverbial speech.

It was exactly such colloquial skills that prompted scholarly appreciation. When Đurđević—whose print contained sample dialogues that were later studied by the young Gerhard—visited Wittenberg, he was invited to tell Melanchthon some "histories on the Turkish matters." On that occasion, as Melanchthon stated in a letter written to the Thuringian reformer Justus Menius, eleven languages were spoken in his house: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, Hungarian, Wendish, Ottoman, Arabic, Greek vernacular, and even some Spanish and "Indian" (*Indica*, maybe a form of Hindi, Sanskrit, or a New World language). In a special certificate that was also printed in the German translation of the captivity narrative in 1545, Melanchthon and Martin Luther attested to the veracity of Đurđević's account.[98]

Ottoman language learning thus also aimed at dropping Ottoman *bons mots* among scholars in appropriate social contexts. This echoed the broader humanist appreciation of proverbs and also the increasing availability of translated collections of Arabic, Ottoman, and Persian proverbs in seventeenth-century central Europe.[99] It is therefore no surprise that central European readers of early printed Ottoman grammars focused on such details. In his personal copy of Megiser's grammar, Mader added plenty of Ottoman proverbs in more than twenty-six interleaved pages (figure 5). Hundreds of Ottoman proverbs were given in transcription or the original, and Mader added Latin, Italian, or German translations. He seems to have extracted some of the sayings from the Qur'ān.[100] Mader also added explanations of when

[96] André Du Ryer, *Rvdimenta grammatices lingvæ tvrcicæ* … (Paris, 1633) (Arcadian Library, 16656).

[97] Du Ryer, *Rvdimenta grammatices lingvæ tvrcicæ* (footnote 96), 46, 82, 94f., recording the first four Ottoman proverbs published in Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ*, fol. Aaa6^{r}.

[98] Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Ausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe). Briefwechsel*, vol. 10 (Weimar/Graz: Böhlau, 1972 [1942]), 624f.; Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Chart. B 16, 844f.; Matthias Dall'Asta, Heidi Hein, and Christine Mundhenk, eds., *Melanchthons Briefwechsel: kritische und kommentierte Gesamtausgabe*, vol. T13 (Stuttgart and Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2012), 384 (no. 3661); Karl G. Bretschneider, ed., *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. 5 (Halle/Saale: Schwetschke, 1838), col. 467 (no. 3014); Aksulu, *Bartholomäus Georgievićs Türkenschrift*, 216f.; Kaufmann, *"Türckenbüchlein"*, 135.

[99] Hieronymus Megiser, *Paræmiologia polyglottos* … (Leipzig, 1605); Andreas Tscherning, *Proverbia arabica gemanicè expressa* (Rostock, 1654); Johann Hrabskius, *Proverbia qvædam arabica, persica, & turcica* … (Wittenberg, 1655).

[100] Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (footnote 82), fol. 71^{r}–73^{v}, 266^{r}f., 267^{v}, 406^{r}–407^{r}.

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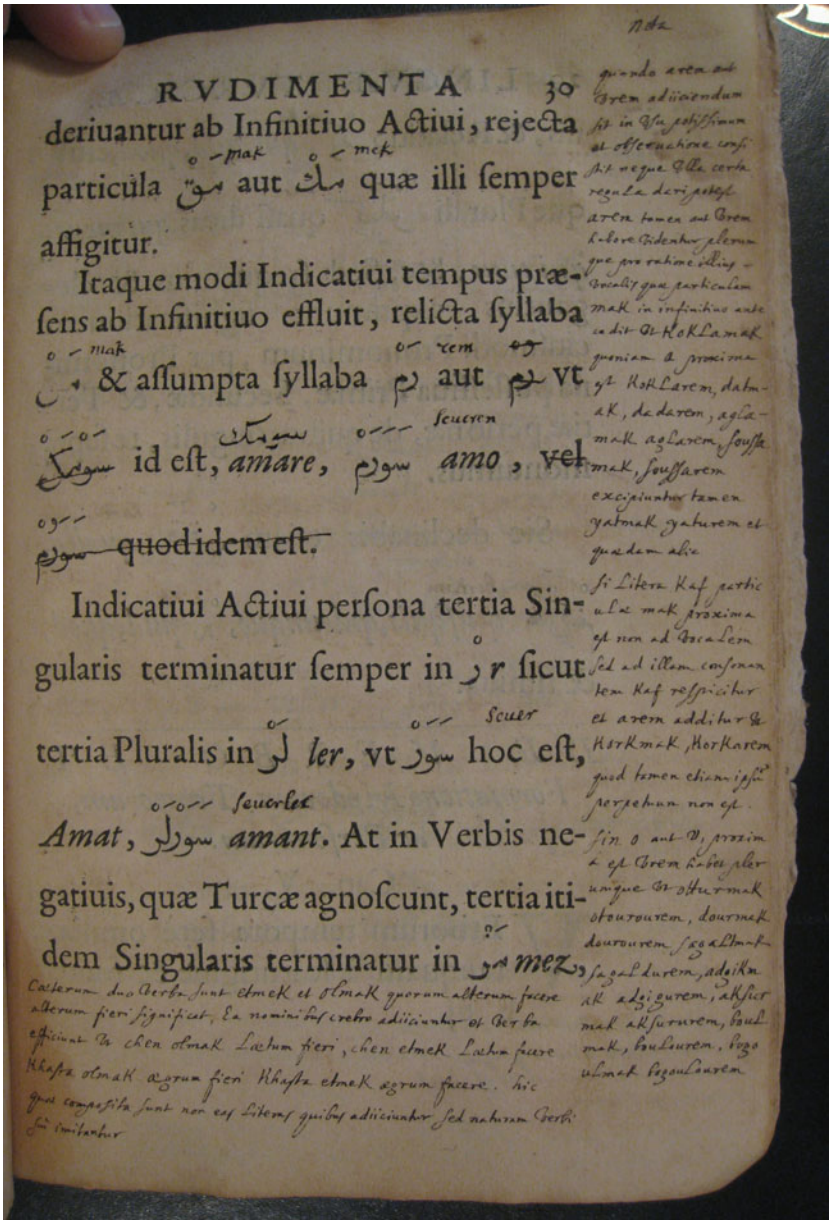


Fig. 4. A reader's comments in André Du Ryer, *Rvdimenta grammatices lingvæ tvrcicæ (…)* (Paris, 1633). © The Arcadian Library, 16656, 30.

to use proverbs like "Did the camel hit your mouth?," which shall be said toward "somebody who is silent when he should speak up."[101] Mader also corrected proverbs and added the

[101] Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (footnote 82), fol. 268[v]: "*Agsungi deuemi depti*. Hatt dich den d[a]z Camel an deinen mundt geschlag[en] od[er] getroff[en]. Von eim d[er] schweigt wan er red[en] soll." For another interesting explanation, see Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (footnote 82), fol. 268[r]: "*Iste tagùn,*

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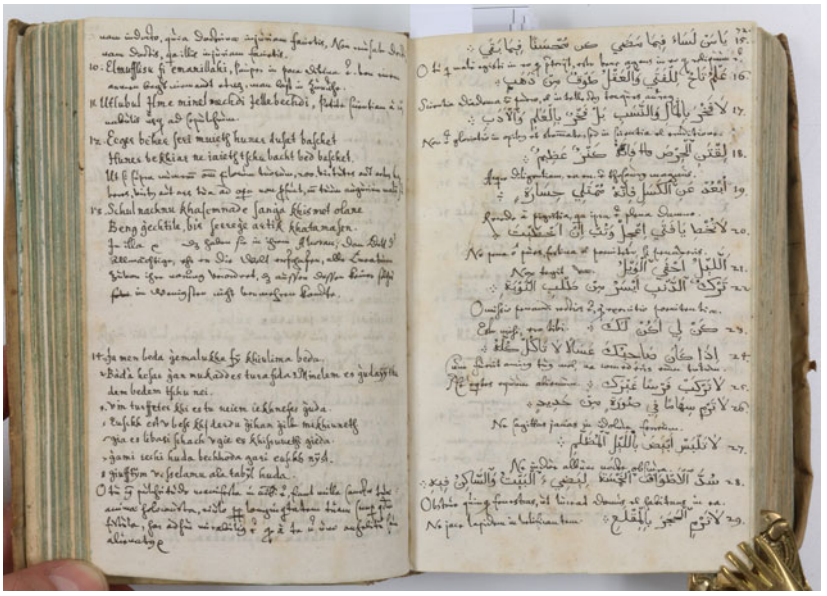


Fig. 5. Interleaved pages with Ottoman proverbs, transcriptions, and translations that Mader added into his copy of the *Institutiones linguae turcicae* (1612/20). © Antiquariat Inlibris Gilhofer Nfg. GmbH Vienna, now at Princeton University Library, C0938, no. 835.

Ottoman writings of some of them.[102] The aforementioned reader of Du Ryer's grammar, however, was fonder of Megiser's collection of proverbs and copied them into the volume of Du Ryer's grammar in order to develop his skills in Ottoman *paroemiae*. Early modern readers of printed Ottoman language-learning materials, thus, considered their orality key.

Beyond achieving skills in proverbial speech and erudition, the validation of information on linguistic correctness was crucial. The reader compared the book's information with other texts and corrected the mistakes he or she found in Du Ryer's grammar. For instance, the reader improved *savmaq* (سومق) to *sevmek* (سومك), and even corrected the conjugation of *olmaq* (to be, اولمق) in the negated form of the preterite optative, thus, the adequate form to express a negation of a wish or hope in the past.[103] The reader also criticizes Du Ryer's comments on the genitive. In the Ottoman language, the character *kef* (ك, *-iñ*, *-üñ*) forms the genitive of a noun. If the noun ends with a vowel, however, the consonant *nūn* (ن) is used. Du Ryer wrongly extends this rule by explaining that words like *beğ* (بك) require the usage of *nūn* as their final character, where *kef* is pronounced like a vowel. The anonymous

iste eÿballang, … Also pfleg[en] ihren Sanctuli zusag[en], wan sie einen in seinem officio [con]firmieren wöll[en]; den so einer in d[en] ord[en] eintritt, würdt ihme ein schlechte hauben von filz geben, wie die and[er]n alle pfleg[en] zu trag[en], vnd sagt den darauf; *iste tagùn, iste eÿballang*, da hastu d[en] hut d[er] ehren, es wid[er]fahr dir guts od[er] böses, so mustu es approbieren: Wer es aber auf~~gibt~~sagt, pflegt auch also zusag[en]: also and[er]e so in ämbten sein, wan sie es aufgeb[en]."

[102]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (footnote 82), fol. 254^{v}, 227^{r}: "*Adem tetbür eder allah tala tactur eder.* Homo proponit, Deus disponit. L'huomo pensa, e Dio dispone," and in Mader's hand (incl. diacritics): آدم تتبير ايدر الله تعالي تقدير ايدر.

[103]Du Ryer, *Rvdimenta grammatices lingvæ tvrcicæ* (footnote 96), 46, 74.

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reader harshly comments that "this rule is absolutely false since *beig* is declined like all other words ending in consonants."[104] The example illustrates the degree to which comparative readings of seventeenth-century prints, and maybe even available manuscript materials, allowed early modern Europeans to critically engage with and improve their knowledge of Ottoman grammar when comparing and updating such prints.

Given the significance of comparative readings for Ottoman language learning in early modern central Europe, the earliest German readers of the first printed Ottoman grammar are worthy of study. When Megiser's *Institutiones linguae turcicae* was published in Leipzig in 1612, no further materials allowed readers to compare this print. A certain "J. F. de Stauff et Unterach" experienced this problem in 1620, when reading his personal copy of Megiser's Ottoman grammar that is now preserved in the British Library.[105]

The owner of this copy was presumably Johann Ferdinand von Stauffer und Unterach, a member of an Upper Austrian Protestant noble family.[106] During the seventeenth century, some of this reader's relatives are mentioned in Nuremberg prints. Elias von Stauffer und Unterach is documented as a writer and student of politics and philosophy at the University of Altdorf, a Lutheran academic center of Oriental language studies. His daughter, Helena Catharina, married in Nuremberg in 1673. His son, (a different) Johannes Ferdinand, was inscribed in Altdorf in 1664 and published his juridical dissertation in Strasbourg in 1675.[107]

Stauffer carefully read Megiser's text. As Arabic characters were extremely expensive to cut, Megiser used the Arabic types of the Breslau Arabist Petrus Kirstenius, whom Mader also called "my unique friend."[108] However, only the first part of the grammar contains Arabic characters; the rest of Megiser's grammar is composed of Latin transcriptions. Stauffer obviously considered this a shortcoming, and therefore added the Arabic spellings of hundreds of Ottoman words into his personal copy (figure 6). By doing so, Stauffer realized that Megiser's Ottoman thesaurus relied on a number of unidentified Italian sources. In fact, Megiser must have had access to Venetian materials given that he published Giovanni Baptista Ramusio's edition of the journeys of Marco Polo in a German translation just one year earlier.[109] This resulted in Megiser's German transcriptions being imprecise if the Ottoman word contained the character "g." Depending on the sequence of characters, the Ottoman characters *kef* (ك), *ǧīm* (چ), and *čīm* (ڃ) were pronounced as [ka:], [ge:], [ŋ],

[104]Du Ryer, *Rvdimenta grammatices lingvæ tvrcicæ* (footnote 96), 14f.: *cette regle est fausse absolument parceque beig se decline co[mm]e les noms termine[n]t en consonante*.

[105]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (British Library London, 621.a.18.[1.]).

[106]Arnold Luschin von Ebengrenth, "Österreicher an italienischen Universitäten zur Zeit der Reception des römischen Rechts," *Blätter des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich: neue Folge* 18 (1884): 307.

[107]Michael Philipp, "'auctor et respondens.' Die Entwicklung der Altdorfer Politikwissenschaft unter dem Philosophen Michael Piccart und 'seinen' Schülern," in *Die Nürnberger Hochschule in Altdorf: Beiträge zur frühneuzeitlichen Wirtschafts- und Bildungsgeschichte*, ed. Hanspeter Marti and Karin Marti-Weissenbach (Cologne and Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2014), 239; *Philosophia Altdorphina …* (Nuremberg, 1644); *Himlisches Lenzen- und Mayen-Lied/ Aus dem Lied aller Lieder Deß Himmelweisen Salomons …* (Nuremberg, 1673); *Als Der Wohl-Edel/ Gestreng und Vest Herr Johann Jacob Tetzel/ Mit der Wohl-Edlen/ Viel-Ehren-Tugendreichen Jungfer Helenen Catharinen … Sein Hochzeitlich Ehren-Fest begieng …* (Nuremberg, 1673); Elias von Steinmeyer, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf* (Würzburg, 1912), vol. 2, 555f.; Ulrich Obrecht and Johannes Ferdinand Stauffer von Unterach, *Sponsor pacis Sive De Garantia Dissertatio* (Strasbourg, 1675); Wolfgang Mährle, *Academia Norica: Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf (1575–1623)* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000).

[108]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ*, fol. A1^{v}; Mader, *Oratio pro lingva arabica*, fol. D2^{v}.

[109]Giovanni B. Ramusio, *Chorographia Tartariæ …*, trans. Hieronymus Megiser (Leipzig, 1611).

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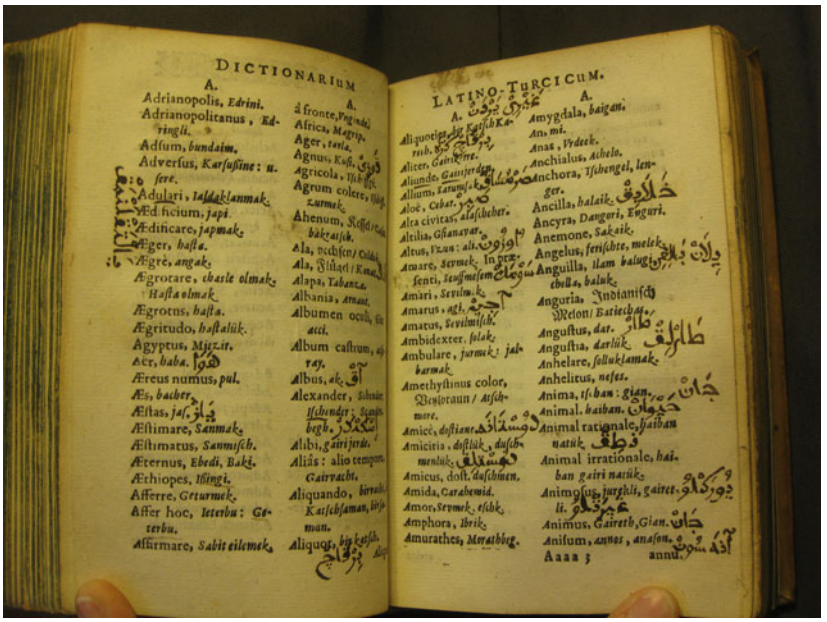


Fig. 6. Stauffer's notes in the Ottoman grammar and dictionary *Institutiones linguae turcicae* (1612/20). © British Library London, 621.a.18.(1.), fol. Aaaa2^{v}f.

[ʤ], [t͡ʃ], [j], or [:]. Relying on his Italian sources, however, Megiser transcribed *all* these Ottoman characters by using the Latin character "g." Depending on the following vowel, "g" is either pronounced [g] or [t͡ʃ] in Italian. A German readership, however, would have read all of these transcriptions as a [g]. For example, the Ottoman word for "chef," *aşçı* (اشجی) was transcribed as *achtgi*. Although the Italian pronunciation [aktʤi] somehow matches the Ottoman word, a German would have wrongly pronounced the transcription as [a:χtgi:]. Stauffer realized such discrepancies, and he became seriously concerned as they put all his learning efforts at stake. He underlined the "g" in Megiser's entry *achtgi* and noted "Ital[ian]" next to it. He also corrected a number of Megiser's transcriptions and specified the actual pronunciation of Ottoman words.[110] Orality, thus, was key for this early modern reader of an Ottoman grammar.

Stauffer's enthusiastic and time-consuming engagement with Arabic spellings and Latin transcriptions also made him realize his own limits, as he encountered a series of problems when writing down Ottoman vocabulary. Even the most common ligatures like *lām-elif* caused Stauffer serious trouble. The words *lālā* (لالا) and *penǧere* (پنجره) are written in clumsy and almost illegible handwriting.[111] The writing flow is interrupted, presumably, as Stauffer had to compare his own attempts with templates.

In fact, many of Stauffer's Ottoman spellings are simply wrong. He transferred Megiser's transcriptions verbatim, sometimes even neglecting the sentence's correct reading direction

[110]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (British Library London, 621.a.18.[1.]), fol. Dddd6^{v}, Cc7^{v}, Ff3^{v}, Aaa3^{v}, Ffff^{r}f., Aaaa3^{v}.

[111]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (British Library London, 621.a.18.[1.]), fol. Gg^{r}, Bbbb3^{r}, Dddd4^{v}.

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from right to left.[112] Furthermore, he deduced the spellings from phonetics. When transcribing Megiser's question *Ne istersen*, *Quid vis*? Stauffer was aware of the correct spelling of the infinitive of *istemek* (to wish, استمك), yet he did not know the correct spelling of the second person singular of the aorist. Instead of using the correct suffix (سك), Stauffer used a different spelling that resembled the correct sound (نه استرسين).[113] This evidences the difficulties of learning Ottoman in early modern Germany. Even increasingly available printed Ottoman grammars and dictionaries gave its ambitious readers severe headaches.

Linguistic Fieldwork in Hungary, Tübingen, and Zurich

The following two examples from seventeenth-century Tübingen and Zurich illustrate the length central Europeans were willing to go to become trained in Ottoman, even without such rare printed resources at hand as discussed previously. Their fascination with this puzzling language overcame considerable obstacles and could even result in proto-linguistic fieldwork—acts of "collecting data in its natural environment" and "study[ing] a language in the place where it is spoken, by the people who usually speak it."[114] Early modern central European lexicographers with ambitions in collecting Ottoman data had an important geographical area to conduct fieldwork in: the southern and eastern European areas of the Ottoman Empire.[115] It is thus crucial to ask what wider repercussions the Habsburg-Ottoman border zone had as a driving force of linguistic exchange and translational enterprises of both written and spoken words in central Europe. "Dirty-feet linguists provide the fodder upon which many armchair linguists depend," read modern guidebooks on linguistic fieldwork. In fact, "There is a kind of halfway house in linguistic fieldwork between sitting in the armchair and getting dirty feet."[116] Early modern German-speaking central Europeans were willing to explore, test, and expand the cultural and geographical boundaries of such halfway studies between working with books and in the field when engaging in Ottoman language learning.

Frontier interactions caused the mobility of people and artifacts, which promoted the curiosity in Ottoman in central Europe. When Habsburg imperial troops looted the Hungarian border zone and the castle of Fil'akovo, Veit Marchtaler, a soldier and citizen from Ulm, took a fascinating Ottoman manuscript: a "45 *werkschuch* long" scroll of unknown content (figure 7).[117] The appearance of this impressively long manuscript scroll composed out of circa thirteen-meters-long shimmery cotton or rice paper was fascinating, also due to the calligraphic features that were written in beautifully regular hand in black, green, and red inks. Contemporary German-speaking central Europeans must have been puzzled by the beauty and regularity of Ottoman calligraphy especially given it

[112]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (British Library London, 621.a.18.[1.]), fol. Bbb4^{r}, A, Ab^{r}.

[113]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ* (British Library London, 621.a.18.[1.]), fol. Ff5^{r}.

[114]Claire Bowern, *Linguistic Fieldwork. A Practical Guide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 2f. Needless to say that early modern language aficionados did not share the code of ethics of linguists today.

[115]John Considine, *Small Dictionaries and Curiosity: Lexicography and Fieldwork in Post-Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 69.

[116]Terry Crowley, *Field Linguistics. A Beginner's Guide*, ed. Nick Thieberger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 12f.

[117]Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf 376 Novi. Cf. Otto von Heinemann, *Die Augusteischen Handschriften 5. Cod. Guelf. 34.1 Aug. 4°–117 Aug. 4° und Anhang: Handschriften in Sammelbänden* (Frankfurt/Main: Klostermann, 1966), 195f.

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Fig. 7. The beginning of Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's *Tavarich Beni Adam* (تواريخ بني آدم) including a reference to the looting of the manuscript by Habsburg troops. © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: Cod. Guelf. 111 Aug. 4°.

evoked the aesthetics of master calligraphers trained in so-called *Schreibmeisterschulen* throughout the German lands. In August 1664, therefore, one of these master calligraphers active in Kassel crafted himself a text in the Ottoman language and presented this "Turkish prayer" to the Lutheran Duke Ernest I of Saxe-Gotha.[118] Judging from the similarity of the title, this

[118]Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Kammerrechnungen, 26 (1663/64), fol. 123[v].

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Ottoman text could have been a copy of the anti-Habsburg prayer that was found with an Ottoman soldier who was taken captive while fighting the Holy Roman Empire some months earlier; a discovery that led to the publication of the "Turkish prayer" and "the Turks' evilness" in German translation around the same time.[119] Such examples highlight that military encounters and printed *turcica* could provoke artistic and cultural exchange that was grounded in a shared aesthetic appreciation of calligraphy beyond the religious divide. This cross-culturally shared, bodily and sensory engagement with the materiality of words should prompt historians to reconsider the broader cultural resonances of circulating manuscripts, as well as the aesthetic and emotional appeal such Ottoman manuscripts were able to evoke in central Europe.[120] The fascination for Ottoman calligraphy was further increased given Ottoman manuscripts, despite their circulation, remained a rarity in late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century central Europe. The library of the Nuremberg pastor Adam Rudolph Solger (1693–1773), for instance, comprised approximately ten thousand volumes, with fifty-two Hebrew, ten Syriac, nine Arabic, and only two Ottoman books and manuscripts among them.[121]

Marchtaler sent the unique Ottoman manuscript looted at the Hungarian castle of Fil'akovo to Wilhelm Schickard, a professor of Hebrew at Tübingen since 1619. At that time, a generation of Greek and Hebrew scholars had cultivated an interest in the Ottoman language at that university. Greek scholar Martin Crusius, for instance, had tried to estimate the "corruptive" impact of Ottoman onto the language usage of Greek subjects of the sultan by drawing a number of visiting Greeks into conversations about their language—not unlike the face-to-face interactions that had encouraged the development of Ottoman language studies.[122] In addition to Greek visitors, the publication of translated works of more recent Greek authors such as Laonikos Chalkokondyles made Ottoman sources and vocabulary more known to central European readers.[123] The early academic interest in Ottoman studies cultivated at the University of Tübingen must have further triggered the scholarly ambitions of Schickard, whom contemporaries admired for his knowledge in astronomy, geography, mathematics, and Arabic.[124] It is only recently that studies have uncovered Schickard's "considerable mistakes" both in transcriptions and translations of Arabic words.[125] In the meanwhile in Tübingen, the rare Ottoman manuscript caused Schickard both excitement and despair. He contacted leading European Orientalists, but

[119]Anonymous, *Der Tu[e]rcken Gebeht/ Welches die Tu[e]rckischen Priester in ihren Kirchen wider die Christen/ bey dem itzigen Kriege immerdar behten sollen …* (1663).

[120]David J. Roxburgh, "'The Eye Is Favored for Seeing the Writing's Form': On the Sensual and the Sensuous in Islamic Calligraphy," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 275–98; Jones, "Piracy, War, and the Acquisition of Arabic Manuscripts in Renaissance Europe."

[121]Glück, Häberlein, and Schröder, *Mehrsprachigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 308; Renate Jürgensen, *Bibliotheca Norica: Patrizier und Gelehrtenbibliotheken in Nürnberg zwischen Mittelalter und Aufklärung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), vol. 1, 801–08.

[122]Richard Calis, "Reconstructing the Ottoman Greek World: Early Modern Ethnography in the Household of Martin Crusius," *Renaissance Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (2019), 148–93; Hanß, "Die Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," 123–33.

[123]Conrad Clauser, *Laonici Chalcondylæ Atheniensis …* (Basel, 1556).

[124]Manfred Ullmann, "Arabische, türkische und persische Studien," in *Wilhelm Schickard, 1592–1635. Astronom, Geograph, Orientalist, Erfinder der Rechenmaschine*, ed. Friedrich Seck (Tübingen: Mohr, 1978), 109–28; Hanß, "Die Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert."

[125]Ullmann, "Arabische, türkische und persische Studien," 112.

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none of them had access to Ottoman language-learning materials. Johannes Buxtorf sen., the famous Hebrew scholar from Basel, informed Schickard that he had seen an Ottoman grammar, presumably the one printed by Megiser, in the shelves of the Frankfurt printers and booksellers Johannes Langen and heirs six years prior. Buxtorf also recommended Schickard to contact Dutch scholars and printers for similar materials.[126]

Some weeks later, however, Schickard received news that no Oriental texts could be sent from Frankfurt am Main.[127] The Lebanese-Maronite scholar Gabriel Sionita informed Schickard that no Ottoman language-learning materials were available in Paris.[128] The Viennese librarian Sebastian Tengnagel, himself a fervent student of an Ottoman version of al-Jannābī's famous chronicle, was similarly of no help.[129] After several months, Tengnagel sent a promising response stating that he would send useful Ottoman, Arabic, and Persian materials to Tübingen, yet such documents never arrived and Schickard waited in vain.[130] Somehow, he managed to read Megiser's grammar, but Benedictus Bakai, a Hungarian living in Ulm, was of more help when sending notes regarding Ottoman grammar.[131]

Notwithstanding all these efforts, Schickard did not acquire proficiency in Ottoman, a necessity to fully comprehend the content of the striking manuscript—the *Tavarich Beni Adam*, a genealogy of the sons of Adam leading to Sultan Murad III, written by Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf.[132] Despite his failure to learn Ottoman, Schickard composed a 248-page Latin treatise on this Ottoman manuscript in less than three months.[133] By focusing on Arabic-influenced wordings, for example, the title or names, Schickard was able to reconstruct the genealogy, and he filled the gaps of illegible Ottoman descriptions with information he found in European prints.[134]

When explaining the manuscript's title *Tavarich Beni Adam* (*The Story of the Sons of Adam*), Schickard widely explained its relationship with Hebrew—*ta'arikh* (תאריך)—and Arabic—*ta'rīḫ* (تاريخ) / *tawārīḫ* (تواريخ)—vocabulary. Being able to read the Arabic cartouche of Kain, Schickard inserted missing information taken from the Bible as well as Hebrew, Greek, and Kabbalistic materials.[135] This approach was grounded in Schickard's implicit assumption of a linear development of languages after God had punished humanity for the Tower of Babel by introducing linguistic diversity. According to this understanding, Hebrew, Arabic, Ottoman, and German would have been considered cognates because they formed a line of linguistic development that allowed scholars to deduce meanings based on assumed phonetic kinship among Hebrew, Arabic, Ottoman, and German. For instance, Schickard considered the German word *Erde* (earth, soil) to be derived from the Arabic *'arḍ* (أرض),

[126] Wilhelm Schickard, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Friedrich Seck, vol. 1 (Stuttgart and Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002), 299.

[127] Schickard, *Briefwechsel*, 304f.

[128] Schickard, *Briefwechsel*, 434f.

[129] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, Cod. A. F. 12, fol. 2^{r}; Bodleian Library Oxford, MS. Pococke 176. My thanks to Simon Mills for pointing me toward this connection.

[130] Schickard, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 1, 345–48, 366f., 449f., 473f.; Ullmann, "Arabische, türkische und persische Studien," 116f., 120.

[131] Schickard, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 1, 297f., 320.

[132] Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 111 Aug. 4°.

[133] Wilhelm Schickard, *Tarich h. e. Series Regvm Persiæ* … (Tübingen, 1628).

[134] Ullmann, "Arabische, türkische und persische Studien"; Hanß, "Die Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert."

[135] Schickard, *Tarich h. e. Series Regvm Persiæ* …, 20f., 24f.

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and *Hammel* (mutton) akin to *ḥamel* (حمل), Schickard's misreading of the handwritten *ḥaulī* (حولی).[136] Making use of this approach to decipher the meanings of Ottoman words echoes again Schickard's difficulties to access the writings of Megiser. In his Ottoman grammar from 1612, the author explained that Ottoman is not related to Arabic but to the Persian and Tartar languages.[137] In his *Thesaurus polyglottus* (1603), Megiser had grouped all languages known to him into nine different families: Ottoman, Persian, and Tartar, together with other languages, in an "Asian" family distinct to a "Germanic" and "Hebrew" family that also contained Arabic.[138] Though Megiser might have wondered about Schickard's way to approach the task of learning Ottoman, other contemporaries considered such a comparative engagement completely logical. Approximately four decades after the publication of Schickard's *Tarich* (1628), between 1663 and 1685, the Danish Lutheran minister Peder Syv experimented with linguistic comparisons between biblical languages and Sami, as well as between Danish and Ottoman vocabulary noting phonetic similarities between Ottoman *karga* (correct قارغه) and the Danish *karge*—which both translate as "crow."[139]

The ways that Schickard responded to the availability of the *Tavarich Beni Adam*, above all, show that the sheer existence of such a remarkable Ottoman manuscript aroused the scholar's desire for merit—even his failure to learn Ottoman could not deter his writing about it. This case captures the emotional qualities of Ottoman language learning in early modern Germany, not just with this Tübingen scholar. Veit Marchtaler actively distributed Schickard's print, and even Gotha Orientalist Hiob Ludolf, Wolfenbüttel librarian Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, and Helmstedt professor Jacob Paul Bruns studied this particular Ottoman manuscript decades later.[140]

Schickard's "armchair"[141] enterprises resulted from the broader vibrancy of cultural exchanges in the meeting point of two empires: the Habsburg-Ottoman border zone in Hungary. It was a crucial site of exchange that engendered the wider circulation of written and spoken Ottoman. A fascinating case from seventeenth-century Zurich illustrates the contexts that made central Europeans actively engage in linguistic fieldwork in the Habsburg-Ottoman border zone. Born in the area of Zurich, Johann Jakob Redinger graduated from the Latin school there and studied theology. Being a Lutheran priest in Urdorf, his vehement support of the Lutheran case made the Zurich municipal council discharge Redinger, who then went to Amsterdam. In the Netherlands, Redinger made a life-changing acquaintance with Czech pedagogue and theologian John Amos Comenius. Redinger translated Comenius's visionary literature and installed his pedagogical doctrine as a school rector in Palatine Frankenthal. When Redinger lost his job, he not only tried to convince the elector palatine and the king of France of the correctness of Comenius's prophetical writings; in 1664–1665, he even traveled to Hungary, where he wanted to meet the Ottoman grand vizier in order to fulfill a crucial element of the prophecies of Comenius: the conversion of "the Turks" to Christianity.[142]

[136]Schickard, *Deus Orbus Saracenorum* … (Tübingen, 1622), app.

[137]Megiser, *Institutionum lingvæ tvrcicæ*, fol. A2^{r}.

[138]Hieronymus Megiser, *Thesaurus polyglottus* … (Frankfurt/Main, 1603); Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe*, 108, 292.

[139]Considine, *Academy Dictionaries, 1600–1800*, 82, 198.

[140]Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, 4 A. or. 2380; Heinemann, *Die Augusteischen Handschriften*, 195f.

[141]Crowley, *Field Linguistics*, 12f.

[142]Friedrich Zollinger, *Joh. Jak. Redinger und seine Beziehungen zu Johann Amos Comenius* (Zurich: Amberger, 1905); Basil Schader, *Johann Jakob Redinger (1619–1688). Sprachwissenschaftler und Pädagoge im*

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An autobiographical report, written in the direct aftermath of his Hungarian travels in Dresden, Berlin, Kassel, and Frankenthal in 1665, allows us to reconstruct Redinger's personal perspective on his journey. In accordance with the *Lux tenebris*, the prophecies edited by Comenius, Redinger believed that God would lead the Ottomans toward a victory over Rome and Vienna. After the collapse of the papacy, Christians would start to act in truly Christian ways, and the Ottomans, Jews, and "heathens" would convert to Christianity.[143]

In order to turn these prophecies into reality, Redinger went to Hungary to present the *Lux tenebris* to Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. In that context, language proficiency became a crucial tool. Redinger spoke Latin and German with Hungarian peasants and Italian with priests and soldiers in Transylvania.[144] When presenting the *Lux tenebris* in an audience to the surprised grand vizier, Fazıl Ahmed called for a German servant and an Orthodox Greek interpreter

> who asked me many things in detail, among others also which languages I am trained in. I replied that I understand some Hebrew, Greek, Italian, and French. Consequently, I had to say some things in Hebrew: I started to recite the first chapter of the Book of Genesis. He (the interpreter) spoke some Greek and Italian with me. Once I announced that the Turks shall convert to the Christian faith, he and the other gentlemen looked at me in a serious way and he asked me whether I want to become a Turk. I was smiling and said "No, I cannot as I am convinced that the Turks will turn Christian within a few years."[145]

Redinger fails to convince the grand vizier of his plans to fulfill the prophecies of Comenius, but he nevertheless becomes aware of the significance of Ottoman language learning. Redinger's copy of the prophecies was illustrated with an engraving showing a man presenting a book to the Ottomans. Presenting the *Lux tenebris* in an audience, the self-proclaimed prophet states that the engraving shows the Bible, which will soon be printed in Ottoman in the Netherlands. Redinger was apparently aware of Levinus Warner's enterprise, funded by Comenius, who believed that an Ottoman translation of the Bible would facilitate the spread of Christianity. Redinger also describes the Ottoman interpreter as desperately waiting to read this text.[146]

It is in his failure to convince the grand vizier and his servants that Redinger realizes the persuasive power of linguistic proficiency. For the fulfillment of the prophecies, Redinger asked to "travel to Constantinople" to "learn the Turkish language and help the Turks with interpreting the Turkish Bible when it will be sent along."[147] Redinger never arrived in Istanbul, though he needed to escape the camp, but fulfilled part of his plan by spending time in Nové Zámky and Belgrade: "Every day, I went out of the tent to (visit)

Gefolge des Comenius (Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 1985); Sundar Henny, *Vom Leib geschrieben. Der Mikrokosmos Zürich und seine Selbstzeugnisse im 17. Jahrhundert* (Cologne and Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2016), 275–312. I wish to thank Sundar Henny for drawing my attention to Redinger's Ottoman language studies.

[143]Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich (StA ZH A) 24.1.

[144]StA ZH A 24.1, 1f., 6, 14, 33, 39.

[145]StA ZH A 24.1, 15–17.

[146]StA ZH A 24.1, 18; Henny, *Vom Leib geschrieben*, 299, 302; Alastair Hamilton, "Introduction," in *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*, 8.

[147]StA ZH A 24.1, 21, 41.

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Fig. 8. Depiction of Koltschitzij's adventurous enterprise. © Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, App H 1028.

the foot soldiers nearby … and I learnt around fifty Turkish words per day."[148] In this way, Redinger fashioned himself as a successful fieldworker who gained Ottoman language proficiency in order to safeguard Christianity—at least, what he believed to be "true" Christianity.

Though framed in religious terms, the narrative is somewhat reminiscent of the circulating print of the Habsburg Ottoman interpreter Koltschitzij, who made use of his language proficiency to pass Ottoman military lines, dressed in Ottoman clothes, and deliver a

[148]StA ZH A 24.1, 31.

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message that finally "rescued" Vienna (figure 8).[149] Stories of border-crossing heroes who could speak Ottoman circulated widely and drummed up enthusiasm for language learning as a means to ambitious ends—in the case of Redinger, his goal of bringing about the final prophecies of God, unveiled through Comenius's writings.

After his return to Zurich, Redinger was arrested and spent the rest of his life in chains in the hospital, which amounted to more than twenty years. Historians have long labeled Redinger a lunatic fantasist.[150] Recently, however, Sundar Henny suggests a new approach to Redinger's autobiographical narratives as auto-prophetical writings—not being granted citizenship of Zurich and not recorded in the city's *Book of Citizens*, Redinger decided to enroll into the *Book of Heaven* and promote God's plans, as prophesized through the writings of Comenius and realized through his own deeds.[151] According to this logic, Redinger's autobiographical claims can be understood as a means to fulfill prophetical expectations. It is thus no coincidence that Redinger praises the Ottomans as being better Christians than many central Europeans.[152] His remarks on Ottoman language learning also led him to dub himself "German prophet," a moniker by which he came to known among Ottoman soldiers.[153]

Redinger's notebook of Ottoman language studies, composed in Transylvania in 1664, shows his rather desperate efforts to learn Ottoman—he notes the difficulties of vowels not being indicated and drafts detailed charts of conjugations and wordlists.[154] His notebook reflects the oral nature of his experiences. Redinger praises Ottoman as these "people's vernacular," and he seems to have made use of circulating Hungarian-Latin dictionaries that contained a few notes on conjugations. When having trouble understanding syllables, he made his own assumptions when transcribing the word.[155] Other times, he simply took for granted that a soldier's Slovak responses are actual Ottoman.[156] A list of names of different Hungarians and their places of origin may indicate those with whom Redinger had maintained notable conversations. Among them were also converts, as well as a certain "Georgio Literati" from Istanbul who might have taught Redinger some basic Ottoman; it seems as if they maintained their conversation through Greek, Albanian, and Italian. A certain Pataki is recorded to have cursed Redinger as a heretic.[157] The meaning of the brief entry "Jacabus Harsani, envoy, was here" remains a mystery for now. Did some of Redinger's acquaintances—maybe a relative such as "Georgius Harsani" who is likewise mentioned in the list—recommend Redinger to get in contact with the former diplomatic representative of the exiled voivode of Moldavia at the Diet of Hungary in 1662? By the time of Redinger's language exercises in Hungary, Jakab Harsányi was about to finish his stay in

[149] Anonymous, *Cvriosa relatione del viaggio fatto da Giorgio Francesco Koltschitzij Interprete della Compagnia Orientale* (Vienna and Venice, 1683).

[150] Loetz, *Mit Gott handeln*, 192.

[151] Henny, *Vom Leib geschrieben*, 275–312.

[152] StA ZH A 24.1, 22f., 27.

[153] StA ZH A 24.1, 31.

[154] StA ZH A 24.1, *Consilium de Lingva Turcica facilè docenta, et discenda: i3. Novemb. i664. Sesburgi in Transylvania*. My thanks to Sundar Henny and Martin Leonhard for pointing me toward this source and providing me scans.

[155] StA ZH A 24.1, 1, 10 ('Fransos' instead of *fransiz*, فرانسز).

[156] StA ZH A 24.1, 11: '*Salve amice, bone* Witag dobry Prite[l].'

[157] StA ZH A 24.1, 2–4, esp. 4: "Deus, Deus, Deus non esses justus ni hos hæreticos cito perderes, et adjuro Te ut citò facias."

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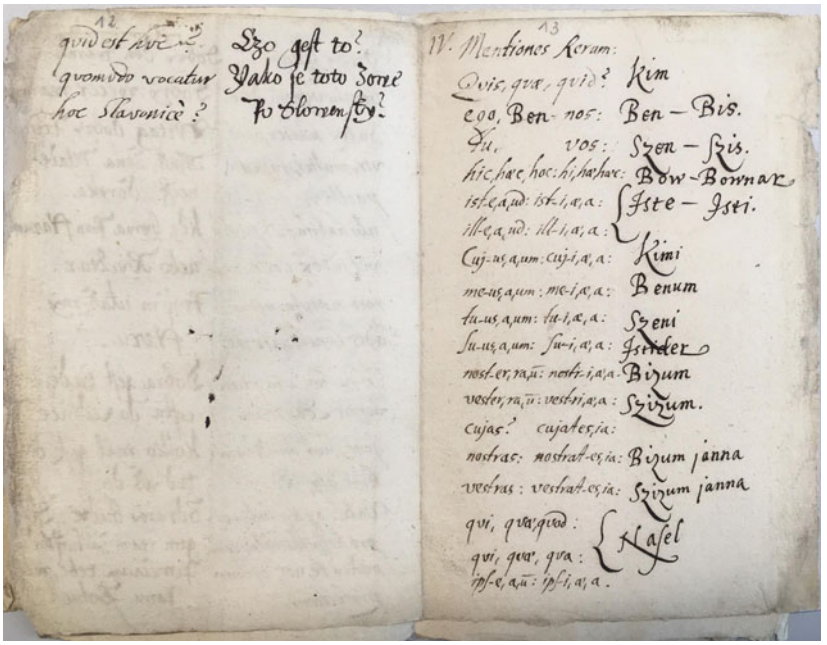


Fig. 9. Redinger's Comenian table of Ottoman pronouns. © StA ZH A 24.1, *Consilium de Lingva Turcica*, 13.

Stockholm in order to move forward to Pomerania—Harsányi published his Latin-Ottoman textbook only eight years after Redinger's Ottoman exercises, and it might be the case that Redinger planned, in vain, to get in contact with the Hungarian expert in Ottoman language after his return to central Europe.[158] Redinger's notes, thus, clearly resemble the complex oral layers of his Ottoman language studies.

Above all, however, the records show that Redinger understood his learning as deeply embedded in his Lutheran-prophetical and religious worldview.[159] Redinger's actual method of learning Ottoman, in fact, followed the pedagogical instructions of Comenius that he himself had translated and published in a textbook for the pupils of the Latin School in Frankenthal in 1659. After recording observations regarding Ottoman characters, nouns, adjectives, and conjugated verbs, Redinger engaged in drafting synoptic tables of personal, possessive, and demonstrative pronouns, as outlined in the *Komenische Sprach-Lehr*, the Comenian textbook published by Redinger five years earlier (figure 9).[160] This observation is striking because it conceptualized the very act of Ottoman language learning as a Lutheran pedagogical practice: the application of the methods of Comenius, who had

[158]StA ZH A 24.1: "Jacabus Harsani, Legatus hac erat." Compare Kármán, *Seventeenth-Century Odyssey in East Central Europe*, 72, 116, 130–39.

[159]StA ZH A 24.1, *Consilium de Lingva Turcica facilè docenta, et discenda: i3. Novemb. i664. Sesburgi in Transylvania.*

[160]StA ZH A 24.1, 1–13; Johann J. Redinger, *Komenische Sprach=Lehr/ Dem Ersten Ha[e]ufflein Der Franckenthalischen Lateinischen Schul bestimmet …* (Hanau, 1659), 9–30.

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reformed the Latin School in Sárospatak, Hungary, according to his pansophic principles and methods.[161]

Redinger, who understood his own deeds as acts that helped fulfil the prophecies of Comenius, considered his Ottoman linguistic fieldwork in Transylvania as a way of following in the footsteps of Comenius. Ottoman language learning, according to that logic, helped to turn these prophecies into reality, and it also proved the veracity of Redinger's prophecies to sceptics in Zurich—among them Johann Wilhelm Simmler, the uncle of Redinger's wife. Simmler worked against Redinger in a variety of ways, once publicly declaring that one cannot understand any Ottoman word the very same year Redinger started to learn the language using Comenian methods.[162] It was the Hungarian nexus between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, as well as the broader oral and non-academic contexts of early Ottoman studies, that transformed Ottoman language learning into a powerful tool to position oneself in such inner-Zurich personal and confessional conflicts.

Fascination and Translation

This article has charted a thus far unknown dimension of prints about the Ottoman Empire circulating in early modern central Europe. Pamphlets, captivity narratives, and similar *turcica* engendered fantasies, excitement, and curiosity as much as they encouraged some Germans to engage with the Ottoman language in more detail. This productive and creative side of the so-called "Turkish menace" has been overlooked, if not silenced, in historiography since the canonization of Oriental studies in increasingly academic contexts from around 1700 onward. When modern philologists then reconsidered the foundations of the discipline, the work of Ottoman language enthusiasts discussed here had hardly been studied because their activities went beyond the academic contexts that are traditionally taken into consideration.[163]

In early modern Germany, however, Ottoman language learning took place in a diverse range of settings. By reconstructing the cultural contexts and socially diverse milieus of Ottoman language learning in early modern Germany, the article demonstrates the important role of the Ottoman language in the history of early modern central Europe. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Augsburg, Hungary, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Saxony, Thuringia, Tübingen, Upper Austria, Vienna, and Zurich, the Ottoman language could increasingly attract people such as diplomats, noblemen, scholars, students, and theologians. This observation should prompt us to look beyond the realm of classical scholarship when studying Ottoman language learning in early modern Europe.[164]

In contrast to Arabic language learning, which was predominantly stimulated by biblical studies that led to the foundation of academic chairs, Ottoman language learning took place in everyday forms of humanist culture that became heavily affected by the broadened

[161] István Mészáros, "On the History of the Sárospatak School in the Fifteenth–Sixteenth Centuries, and on Comenius' 'schola trivialis' there," in *Comenius and Hungary: Essays*, ed. Éva Földes (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 111–32.

[162] Henny, *Vom Leib geschrieben*, 303.

[163] Hanß, "Die Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," 120–23.

[164] Further fascinating materials will be discussed by Paul Babinski (University of Copenhagen), who has just completed a dissertation on early modern German, Dutch, and French Orientalists' language studies (submitted at Princeton University).

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circulation of *turcica*, Ottoman materials, people, and knowledge engendered by the vibrancy of the Habsburg-Ottoman contact zone. Despite these protagonists' different backgrounds, they shared certain emotional responses to Ottoman: failure and despair, as they often failed to gain linguistic proficiency, but also the astonishment and excitement that the language provoked in some early modern central European minds.

As a consequence, people were willing to invest plenty of time, money, and effort in learning Ottoman. They purchased rare and expensive printed dictionaries and grammars, and they engaged in the difficulties of making sense of their complicated and often corrupted content; they collected, structured, and studied fragmented information on Ottoman scattered across countless pamphlets and captivity narratives, and they were eager to make use of every possible chance to speak to actual native speakers; or they engaged themselves in linguistic fieldwork in one way or another. Among such German-speaking enthusiasts, Ottoman texts, words, and language-learning materials elicited pure excitement and fascination. Learning Ottoman made Renaissance men aware of their own desires and shortcomings. The ambivalence of fascination and failure, ambition and reality, bridged the worlds of scholarship and everyday life.

Understanding this fascination for Ottoman language learning in more comprehensive terms as part of broader cultural translations helps to address the reasons for such emotional responses. Bevilacqua and Pfeifer argue that "Ottoman culture offered an attractive vocabulary" and possibilities of "imaginative identification" to early modern Europeans.[165] In this sense, Ottoman language learning also provided sixteenth- and seventeenth-century central Europeans with a cultural vocabulary that went beyond translating words to staging identificatory concepts. Therefore, Ottoman language-learning experiments could become prominent elements of progressive and innovative Protestant learned circles in central and eastern Germany, Tübingen, and Zurich, as well as in Hungary, Transylvania, and Denmark. Ottoman language aficionados in early modern central Europe celebrated their linguistic efforts as they sought the appreciation of communities of humanist scholars, Orthodox Lutherans, Reformed cities, and Lutheran pedagogical reformers and teachers. In that sense, the translational universe of Ottoman Europe, and of the Hungarian border zone in particular, is a vibrant part of central European history.

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[165]Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, "Turquerie," 76.

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