

## Court Librarian Sebastian Tengnagel's Persian-Turkish-Latin Dictionary Project and a Turkish Captive's Multilingualism in 1614

### Abstract

The manuscript Vienna, Cod. A. F. 26, *Luğat-i Emir Hüseyin al-Ayāsī* is what we today would call a draft copy of a Persian-Turkish-Latin dictionary. The Viennese court librarian Sebastian Tengnagel (d. 1636) had access to a Turkish captive named Derviş İbrāhīm and let him copy what was sent to Tengnagel by the Leiden librarian Daniel Heinsius (d. 1655), today part of the University Library of Leiden, Cod. Or. 227 and formerly in the possession of Joseph Justus Scaliger (d. 1609) but entitled *Luğat-i Niʿmetullāh*. In my article, I will take Tengnagel's dictionary project as a case study to show how the combination of the tradition of Ottoman lexicography, together with the language skills of an Ottoman Turkish captive near Vienna, influenced further known lexicographical works of early modern European scholars.

**Keywords:** Ottoman lexicography, Republic of Letters, Oriental scholarship, sixteenth–seventeenth-centuries

### 1. Sebastian Tengnagel and Derviş İbrāhīm

Sebastian Tengnagel<sup>1</sup> was born in Buren within the borders of modern-day Netherlands. He became the second librarian of the *Hofbibliothek* in Vienna after Hugo Blotius (d. 1608) and thus inherited the office in 1608 and eventually Blotius' wife Ursula in 1610.<sup>2</sup> Tengnagel worked as an imperial librarian for about the first 30 years of the seventeenth century. In his lifetime he was recognised as an important scholar of Oriental languages, although he published almost nothing. He took up his position in 1608, two years after the Turkish wars (1593–1606), thus corresponding with the time at which Derviş İbrāhīm became a prisoner of the same war.

Tengnagel was not merely a collector of Oriental manuscripts,<sup>3</sup> but he actively worked with them. This is shown by his annotations in the manuscripts, which

1 His work as an imperial librarian, his correspondence with members of the so-called *Republic of Letters*, and his collection of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts have been the focus of the project *The Oriental Outpost of the Republic of Letters. Sebastian Tengnagel (d. 1636), the Imperial Library in Vienna and Knowledge about the Orient*. This was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF P-30511) and ran from January 2018 to the end of 2021. See Çelik, Molino, Petrolini, Römer and Wallnig, forthcoming.

2 Unterkircher 1968, 145.

3 Besides Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts his private collection included Latin, Greek, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Syriac; see Unterkircher 1968, 137–9.

included transcriptions, translations, explanations, references to other works and his notebooks, and corrections. The corrections in particular show Tegnagel's philological expertise, as he was able to recognise mistakes made in the manuscripts by his copyist(s). From Tegnagel's private Oriental manuscript collection (especially the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish ones) that were to become the library's property after his death, we can conclude that his main interests were lexicography, religion in a broader sense (Islam as well as Oriental Christianity), history, and poetry.<sup>4</sup>

Very probably from the time of the Turkish wars Tegnagel got the help he needed to copy and study manuscripts that included Turkish or even totally Ottoman Turkish examples. A letter in Ottoman Turkish written by the captive and addressed to the librarian on 20 May 1610 is kept within the codex A. F. 32<sup>5</sup> and has been published, discussed, and translated by Claudia Römer.<sup>6</sup> Thus Derviş İbrâhim, who was taken captive by a baron in the long siege of Győr, asked humbly for a better working space than his current one. This letter, five manuscripts of which are now part of the Austrian National Library's collection of Oriental manuscripts,<sup>7</sup> plus numerous traces in the notebooks (*Sammelhandschrift* or miscellany) of Sebastian Tegnagel, are the only information we have about the captive.<sup>8</sup> Derviş İbrâhim's role in Tegnagel's knowledge acquisition in linguistic terms, as well as the impact that Ottoman lexicography had on European publication projects in the larger framework of dictionaries, is noteworthy. His traces in the librarian's notebooks include multilingual word lists (Arabic, Persian and Turkish), additional explanations of certain words, titles of known Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works, religious excerpts in Arabic such as the *Basmala* or *Subhanaka*, and Persian and Arabic poems with Turkish explanations and/or translations.<sup>9</sup>

We cannot say much more about Derviş İbrâhim's life than Römer has reported in her article. We can only add with certainty that Derviş İbrâhim came from Ipsala in modern Turkey on the borders of Greece. I have added this hypothesis to Friedrich Kraelitz-Greifenhorst and Paul Wittek's untenable theory that Derviş İbrâhim came

4 In his lengthy introduction to the Viennese catalogues, Flügel observes that Tegnagel's role in the establishment of the Oriental manuscript collection is immense. According to Flügel, Tegnagel left 179 Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts to the Vienna Court Library after his death (see Flügel 1867, vol. 3, IX). However, I have so far only been able to identify 87 individual manuscripts that were formerly in Tegnagel's private library, and which are now in the Austrian manuscript collection.

5 See Römer 1998 and Flügel 1865, vol. 1, 250. For the digital catalogue entry, see URL: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14403720>. The codex consists of 78 'original writings.'

6 Römer 1998.

7 See Çelik, Molino, Petrolini, Römer and Wallnig, forthcoming.

8 In the *Festschrift* dedicated to Claudia Römer, I presented two poems out of the notebooks of Sebastian Tegnagel, which I believe are the work of the captive; see Çelik 2023.

9 See Çelik 2023.

from an unknown place in Crimea,<sup>10</sup> and suspect that he was more likely to have come from the area around Ipsala, which fits better with his *nisba* al-İbşälüyi.<sup>11</sup>

Sebastian Tengenagel was not very happy with Derviş İbrâhim's abilities or (non-)expertise, especially when copying works in Arabic; and he let colleagues and scholars interested in Derviş İbrâhim's services know this in his correspondence. For example, the copy of the famous *Taqwīm al-Buldān* by Abū l-Fidā (Vienna, ÖNB, MS Cod. A. F. 5) contains numerous improvements in the margins and between the lines in Tengenagel's hand, which proves that he must have made a 'final' check after Derviş İbrâhim had completed the copy and compared the two manuscripts.<sup>12</sup>

While the captive's skills in Arabic were not the best, his services for Ottoman Turkish and Persian were more fruitful for Sebastian Tengenagel, and it is reasonable to assume that Tengenagel learned his Turkish from the captive copyist. Furthermore, Derviş İbrâhim copied two extensive Ottoman and Ottoman-Persian manuscripts during his imprisonment: (1) a historical work by Muştafâ Cenâbi (Vienna, ÖNB, MS Cod. A. F. 12) and (2) a dictionary entitled *Luğat-i Emîr Hüseyn el-Ayâsi* (Cod. A. F. 26), the subject of this article.<sup>13</sup> In the following I will present this codex in terms of its content and codicological peculiarities. I will also refer to manuscripts related to Cod. A. F. 26 such as the Leiden, Universiteitbibliotheek, MS Or. 227 and others.

## 2. Cod. A. F. 26: *Luğat-i Emîr Hüseyn al-Ayâsi* or *Luğat-i Nî'metullâb* or What?

The manuscript comprises 377 folios, only a few of which are blank at the start and the end. Gustav Flügel writes in his catalogue that it is a Persian-Turkish dictionary by 'Amîr Hüseyn' from Issus in Cilicia and points out that the original is the Scaliger manuscript 'Cod. 227 Scal.' He also discusses the content, and the copyist and writes,

10 Kraelitz-Greifenhorst and Wittek 1921–1922, 2–3.

11 Although Derviş İbrâhim copied a total of five manuscripts, A. F. 5, the copy of Abū l-Fidā's *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, is the only copy in which he names himself in the colophon (f. 117v). Another interesting manuscript that Derviş İbrâhim had to copy was the Ottoman Turkish abridged version of the originally Arabic history written by Cenâbi Muştafâ Efendi (d. 999/1599) (today A. F. 12, see Flügel 1865, vol. 2, 85–7). For Cenâbi, see Rosenthal 1991, Canatar 1993 and 1999. See also Çelik 2023. Parts of Cenâbi's history were published in Latin translation by Giovanni Battista Podestà (1625–1703) in 1680. See *De Gestis Timurlenkii, seu Tamerlanis, opusculum Turc-Arab: Persicum, extractum ex cod. manuscripto bibliothecae Caesariae Vindobonensis, latine redditum a Joanne Baptista Podesta* and Çelik, Molino, Petrolini, Römer and Wallnig, forthcoming. A digitised version is available at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/105C90AD>.

12 This manuscript's source copy is a codex owned by Guillaume Postel (d. 1581) and sent from Heidelberg to Tengenagel in 1609 by Jan Gruter (then librarian in Heidelberg); see Römer 1998, 334 and Jones 2020, 57–8.

13 See Flügel 1865, vol. 1, 146–7. For the digital catalogue entry see URL: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14399093> and for the full digitised version see URL: <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/8148799>.

The temporal words, about 12,000 in number (see the note on p. 5r) arranged alphabetically according to the first and second initial letter, are followed by the nominal words, about 10,000 [...]. The unknown copyist, a Dragoman, dates the copy from Dschumâdâ I 1023 (June 1614).<sup>14</sup>

The codex, which measures *ca.* 292 × 184mm, is written on European paper and, according to Flügel, the script is in *nesih*, ‘large, clear, not unpleasant and vocalised, 9 lines.’<sup>15</sup> Besides this general description Flügel underlines the content of f. 377v, which was copied (in Arabic letters) and inserted by Tengenagel. It contains the large and small title of the then reigning Sultan Aḥmed I (r. 1012–1026/1603–1617) in Turkish.<sup>16</sup>

Gustav Flügel was understandably irritated and could not prove whether this was a copy by a dragoman or whether it was by the same hand that had copied other Viennese codices that he had to catalogue, namely, Derviş İbrâhim. However, in her article on the same captive copyist, Römer confirms that the copy of the Viennese manuscript Cod. A. F. 26 was made by Derviş İbrâhim. Flügel’s catalogue entry and description also show that he was not aware that the contents of this codex and those codices containing the *Luğat-i Ni‘metullâh*, which are also in Vienna, are identical in parts. A comparison of the contents suggests that especially in terms of the entries, they could be completely identical and that A. F. 26, that is, *Luğat-i Emîr Hüseyn el-Ayāsî*, might be an abridged version of the *Luğat-i Ni‘metullâh*.

The *Luğat-i Ni‘metullâh*<sup>17</sup> was a popular reference work in the Ottoman Empire and beyond, testified by numerous copies in present-day Turkey and in several European countries.<sup>18</sup> Lesser-known scholars such as Anton Deusing,<sup>19</sup> but also better-known ones such as François à Mesgnien Meninski (d. 1698),<sup>20</sup> used the dictionary of Ni‘metullâh from Sofya to realise their successful or unsuccessful publication projects, namely multilingual dictionaries containing Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Latin. Ni‘metullâh and his dictionary’s legacy in premodern European scholarship still needs to be investigated in detail.

14 Flügel 1865, vol. 1, 147: ‘Den Zeitwörtern, ungefähr 12000 an Zahl (s. die Bem. Bl. 5r) alphabetisch mit Rücksicht des ersten und zweiten Anfangsbuchstaben geordnet, folgen die Nennwörter, etwa 10000 [...]. Der unbekante Abschreiber, ein Dragoman, datiert die Abschrift vom Dschumâdâ I 1023 (Juni 1614).’

15 Flügel 1865, vol. 1, 146–7.

16 It includes the signatures of the Turkish envoys Aḥmed Kethüda and Caspar Gratiani. Flügel suggests that both are taken from the peace instrument to renew the peace signed in Vienna in 1615. See Flügel 1865, vol. 1, 147.

17 For Ni‘metullâh and his dictionary, see Berthels 1995; İnce 2015; Palabıyık 2023, 142–4; 150–3; Sargsyan 2021.

18 Adnan İnce compares in his edition only five manuscripts in Turkey. See İnce 2015, 9–11.

19 Palabıyık 2023, especially 140–9.

20 See *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium, Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae* (3 vols, Vienna 1680), which is the first dictionary-cum-grammar of Ottoman Turkish printed in 1680. For Meninski, see also Yelten 2014 and Turan 2021.

However, as will become clearer below, this case study is not about the popularity of the original work, the *Luġat-i Niʿmetullāh*, but of the abridged reworking or revision by a certain Emir Hüseyn el-Ayāsī. This latter version of the dictionary of Niʿmetullāh was probably considered by more than one European orientalist, namely Sebastian Tegnagel, Anton Deusing, and Jacobus Golius, as worthy of publication and having Latin translations.<sup>21</sup> The reasons for this can only be established with certainty once a detailed comparison of the contents of the *Luġat-i Niʿmetullāh* and the *Luġat-i Emir Hüseyn el-Ayāsī* has been carried out. It is obvious that Emir Hüseyn el-Ayāsī's dictionary is little known, and that in some manuscript collections, for example in Leiden or Hamburg, it is not even associated with the name Emir Hüseyn el-Ayāsī. However, several textual witnesses (in, for example, British Library Or. 7686 or Ankara, 06 Hk 3015) indicate that Emir Hüseyn el-Ayāsī's short version of the *Luġat-i Niʿmetullāh* must also have enjoyed a certain popularity.

The main differences between the *Luġat-i Niʿmetullāh* and the *Luġat-i Emir Hüseyn el-Ayāsī* are the division into three versus two sections, the absence of an introduction, and the omission of almost all verse examples in Ayāsī's 'recension.' The *Luġat-i Niʿmetullāh* consists of an introduction and three parts, the first comprising infinitives, the second explaining the rules of Persian grammar, and the third relating to 'other word groups.' In each letter, he has arranged the words in three different orders, given the order of the first letters of the words. According to Adnan İnce, Niʿmetullāh made great use of the *Luġat-i Halīmī*,<sup>22</sup> another popular dictionary of the sixteenth century that was also well known by European scholars of Oriental languages.<sup>23</sup>

### 2.1. The 'Original' Manuscript MS Leiden Or. 227: Joseph Justus Scaliger's Copy

As Cod. A. F. 26 is obviously a copy of the Leiden Universiteitbibliotheek MS Or. 227, a look at the most recent catalogue entry is also helpful here. Or. 227 is part of the Scaliger<sup>24</sup> collection and has been described by Jan Schmidt.<sup>25</sup> This manuscript, which has the erroneous title of *Luġat-i Niʿmetullāh*, was copied between 17 and 27 August 1547 (start of Receb 954) by the scribe ʿAli. Schmidt observes that the copy date of this manuscript precedes the date of the codex Or. 164 (a copy owned by Jacobus Golius). According to its colophon (and therefore according to Schmidt), it is an autograph that was copied/written mid-Şaban 966/18–28 May 1559.

21 Palabıyık 2023, especially Chapter 4 'Oriental studies in Leiden: The manuscript Turkish dictionaries of Deusing and Golius.'

22 In Vienna only we know of five manuscripts; see Flügel 1865, vol. 1, 128–30 (these are the codices A. F. 128, A. F. 196, A. F. 208, A. F. 426 (containing another lexicographic work), and A. F. 428). For the dictionary and its author see Uzun 2013.

23 İnce 2015, 9.

24 For Scaliger, see Grafton 1983–1993.

25 Schmidt 2000, 26–8.

The manuscript, Or. 227, measures 225 × 170mm with:

‘7 lines, ‘the Persian words’ around which glosses in Turkish are haphazardly arranged; catchwords, bold (the Persian words) and small vowelled (the glosses) *nesih*; red with gold dust headings and rubrics;’ (see the start of the dictionary, Fig. 1, Or. 227, f. 1v).<sup>26</sup>

This same manuscript copy was not only copied by Derviş İbrâhim but was also used by Anton Deusing for his (or Golius’) dictionary project. Nil Palabıyık refers to a claim of Golius<sup>27</sup> in his own copy of the *Luğat-i Ni‘metullâh* (Or. 164),<sup>28</sup> that the copy used by Deusing (Or. 227) was referred to by the abbreviation ‘Ib. H. Ibn Hagii,’<sup>29</sup> comprised some 12,000 words, and was written by ‘Ayasi Mir Hüseyin.’<sup>30</sup> As there is obviously still a confusion about the contents of Leiden Or. 227 and Vienna Cod. A. F. 26 (as well as Ankara MS 06 Hk 3015, Hamburg SUB HH, Cod. orient. 194, and British Library Or. 7686) we should be careful not to further mix up the *Luğat-i Ni‘metullâh* with the *Luğat-i Emîr Hüseyin el-Ayâsi* or *Kitâb-i Ayâs*.<sup>31</sup> The introduction of Or. 227 is not missing as supposed by Schmidt, because there is no introduction at all, whereas the introduction of Or. 164 is obviously missing and Or. 227 and Or. 164 are not identical in content (see Fig. 2, Or. 164, p. 1).<sup>32</sup>

I must therefore correct myself,<sup>33</sup> and note that the contents of Vienna A. F. 26 *Luğat-i Emîr Hüseyin el-Ayâsi* are not identical with the famous *Luğat-i Ni‘metullâh* but with those of Leiden Or. 227, which must be a ‘special’ selection or a kind of abridged re-arrangement<sup>34</sup> of the *Luğat-i Ni‘metullâh* made by Emîr Hüseyin from Issos/Ayas, near modern-day Adana in Turkey. It is obvious that Leiden Or. 227, Ankara 06 Hk 3015, and Vienna A. F. 26 are very much identical in terms of content, but Cod. A. F. 26 is a working copy and not an ‘Oriental’ copy such as Ankara 06 Hk 3015, or Leiden Or. 164.<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, Palabıyık’s study of Or. 227 and Deusing’s

26 Schmidt 2000, 28.

27 For Jacobus Golius (d. 1667) and his Turkish books, see Palabıyık 2023, 166–201.

28 For the catalogue entry of Or. 164, see Schmidt 2000, 15–18.

29 It remains unclear whether this is a confusion of Golius.

30 Palabıyık 2023, 143.

31 The Ankara manuscript is titled as such.

32 Unfortunately, Schmidt also mixes up Or. 164 with a ‘rhymed’ dictionary that may be the *Tuhfe-i Şâhidi* written by İbrâhim Şâhidi (d. 957/1550). However, neither the *Luğat-i Ni‘metullâh* nor the *Luğat-i Emîr Hüseyin al-Ayâsi* are rhymed dictionaries (see Schmidt 2000, 1: ‘... namely the rhymed Persian-Turkish dictionary by Ni‘metullâh, a copy of which is in the collection (Cod. Or. 164).’). For Şâhidi’s dictionary, see Çıpan 2010 and Çıpan 2023. It is interesting to note that Tengenagel possessed many of the various dictionaries used and read in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman *medreses*, see Aydın and Erünsal 2019, 111–2.

33 Çelik 2023, 278, n. 38.

34 Interestingly, the British Library MS is titled *Mecma‘ al-luğât*.

35 As I have not seen the Hamburg and British Library manuscripts, I cannot and did not include them in this conclusion.





works makes it clear that the contents of the *Luġat-i Ni'metullāh* and the *Luġat-i Emīr Ḥüseyn el-Ayāsi* cannot be identical, as Deusing also used a copy of the *Luġat-i Ni'metullāh* for his dictionary project, the above mentioned Golius copy Or. 264.<sup>36</sup>

The Scaliger copy, Or. 227, was likely to have originally been a manuscript produced in a *medrese* or in a *tekke* context.<sup>37</sup> The structure or design of the original inevitably suggests messiness. However, it is only disorder at first glance, as the manuscript was very probably written on with constant turning to connect the Ottoman equivalents with the Persian entries. Schmidt's assumption that the Turkish explanations are 'haphazardly arranged' seems not to be the case, as will become clear from the sample comparison below. Obviously, messiness can also have some kind of order or structure: on one page we mostly find seven lines and, in each line, mostly five or six entries but sometimes four or seven entries. That this copy of Emir Ḥüseyn el-Ayāsi's recension is something like a *medrese* or *tekke* copy may suggest that it originally belonged to a *medrese* scholar or student and that the Ottoman-Turkish pendants of the Persian entries were probably written down immediately when dictated.<sup>38</sup>

## 2.2. Tengenagel's Dictionary Project<sup>39</sup>

On f. 1r of the manuscript, Tengenagel notes the following (see Fig. 3, A. F. 26, f. 1r):

Emir Husein Aiassi or Issicus – A Persian lexicon explained in Turkish by the author Mir Hussein Aiassi, copied from the apograph of the illustrious and learned Ioseph Scaliger, son of Iulius Caesar Scaliger, Count of Burden, and granted to me to use, by virtue of his extraordinary friendship by Daniel Heinsius of Ghent, professor of Greek literature and history at the academy of Leiden, and translated into Latin by

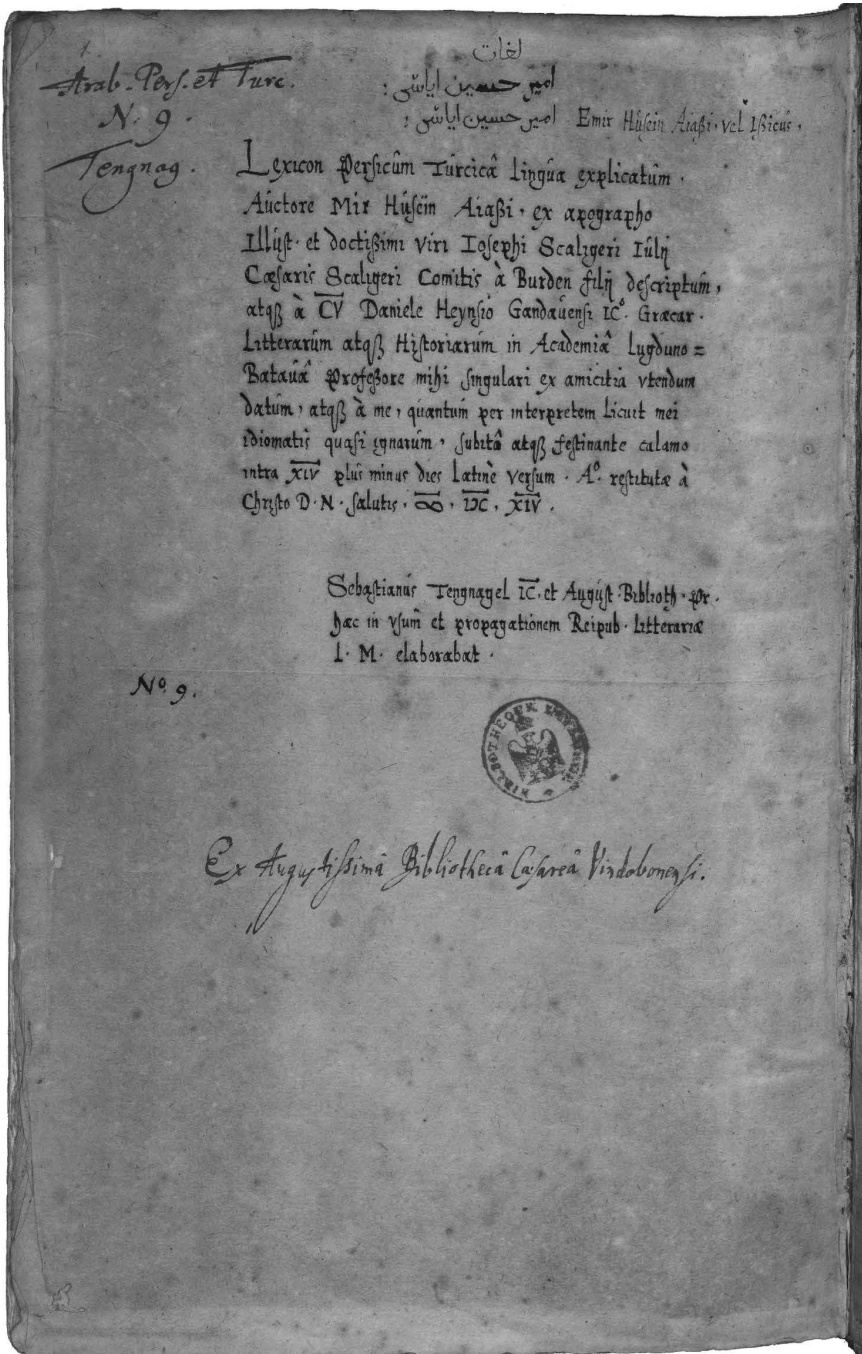
36 Palabıyık 2023, 142.

37 For example, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Or. 164 is very probably such a *medrese* copy but still written and structured very differently. See Schmidt's description, Schmidt 2000, 15–8.

38 I cannot yet explain exactly what I mean by a *medrese* or *tekke* copy. My guess is that the structure and arrangement of the manuscript could already indicate a production context. At the very least, I can say that those dictionaries that were produced in the Ottoman Empire are rarely found in tabular form. In European collections, on the other hand, we repeatedly come across handwritten dictionary copies that are laid out in tabular form and it can be assumed that these are drafts for further publications.

39 In the forthcoming project book *Court Librarian Sebastian Tengenagel, Central European Christianity and Knowledge about the Orient, 1600-1640*, I will present Cod. A. F. 26 as one of the five copies made by the captive copyist Derviş İbrāhım and give a few examples of Sebastian Tengenagel's scholarly work and visual renderings (drawings) in the manuscript copy (used ff. 20r and 304v). See Çelik, Molino, Petrolini, Römer and Wallnig, forthcoming.

Figure 3. ÖNB, A. F. 26, f. 1r



me, as far as was possible thanks to an interpreter almost completely unaware of my language, with a quick and fast pen, in about 14 days. In the year of the Lord 1614.<sup>40</sup>

In *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe* Robert Jones already underlined this manuscript's importance:

In the course of a fortnight Tegnagel added an intermittent Latin version to the dictionary, thereby not only realising Postel and Scaliger's vision of Arabic to be studied in conjunction with the learning, and particularly the lexicons, of the other major Islamic languages, but also translating one of the very texts which Scaliger had left to Leiden University and which in his lifetime, as Tegnagel knew from his published correspondence, Scaliger had been prevented from understanding due to the absence of Turkish informants in Leiden.<sup>41</sup>

We know about several letters of Sebastian Tegnagel concerned with the borrowing of MS Or. 227.<sup>42</sup> In August 1612, Tegnagel eventually corresponded with the librarian Daniel Heinsius and suggested a possible carrier for the codex and in August 1614, two years later, he was already sending the manuscript back to Leiden.<sup>43</sup>

### 2.3. Structure and Design of Cod. A. F. 26

At the beginning of the codex there are two fixed columns, one for the Persian word and one for the Ottoman translation, which very often represents more than a single word. Either between these two entries or above the entries or around an entry, Tegnagel then writes his translations and other information (see Fig. 4, A. F. 26, f. 5v). There are usually nine lines per page. From f. 49r of the manuscript onwards, and specifically from the infinitive entries of words starting with the letter *sin*, the entries are doubled, that is, in one line we find two Persian entries and the Ottoman translations. The manuscript also becomes more crowded and the structure more complicated (see Fig. 5, A. F. 26,

40 *Emir Husein Aiassi vel Issicus Lexicon Persicum Turcica lingua explicatum. Auctore Mir Husein Aiassi, ex apographo Illust. et doctissimi viri Iosephi Scaligeri Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri Comitis a Burden filii descriptum, atque a CV Daniele Heynsio Gandavensi Graecar. litterarum atque historiarum in Academia Lugduno-Batava professore mihi singulari ex amicitia utendum datum, atque a me, quantum per interpretem licuit mei idiomatis quasi ignarum, subito atque festinante calamo intra XIV plus minus dies latine versum. A°. restitutae a Christo D. N. salutis 1614.*

41 Jones 2020, 61 and 63.

42 Vienna Cod. 9737q, ff. 15r–15v, Sebastian Tegnagel to Cornelius van der Mylen (nd): Tegnagel asks about two lexicons of Scaliger (Arabic-Turkish and Persian-Turkish) that he wishes to borrow and then adds the Latin translation (according to Scaliger, he complained about the absence of a Latin translation).

43 Vienna Cod. 9737q, f. 44v, Sebastian Tegnagel to Daniel Heinsius, 30 August 1612, in which Tegnagel suggests a friend of his, a merchant in Amsterdam named Arnoldus Gulielmi; Vienna Cod. 9737r, ff. 269v–270r, Tegnagel to Heinsius, 23 August 1614, Johannes Wilhelm of Amsterdam and his brother Arnold Wilhelm, a friend of Tegnagel, is bringing back the Scaliger manuscript.

Figure 4. ÖNB, A. F. 26, f. 5v

بَابُ الْأَلْفِ مِنَ الْمَصْدَرِ الْمَفْتُوحَةِ وَهُوَ الْعَبْرُ

آبِ أَوْزْدَنْ      *aquam ferre*      بَعُوْا لِيْ لَهُ يُسَبِّحُوْا بِدِيْدِ أَمْدٍ

آبِ كَسَادَنْ      *aquam haurire*      طَوَّارِ طَرَابَغَيْتِهْ دُوشَنْ صُوِيْ جَمْرِقِ

آبَادَانْ كَرْدَنْ      *cultum reddere, colere domum, cupere*      اِسْتَمَكْ وَنَجُوْرَ اِيْلَاكْ

آجَسْتَنْ      *infigere, plantare in terra*      اَغْجَاغْ وَطَاشْ دِ كَلْمَكْ

آخَسْتَنْ      *implere, plectere ut exeret, foveri, et discere*      اِيْجِيْ عَلَيَّ سَعِيَّةً سَعَانَ عِيْنَ قَوْلِيْ حَاكْ وَوَرِيْكَ

آرَاغِيْدَنْ      *exire foras, et lancea velie transferre, ad relinquere lanceam*      اَرَاوِيْكَ سَرِيْءً وَوَحْوَالِ قَلْبِيْ وَحَلْمَكْ وَاَكْمَلْ

آرَامْ كَرْدَنْ      *ludere*      اَوِيْعَنْ وَ اَدَمَانَ اِيْلَاكْ وَ كُوْرَ كُوْرِيْكَ

آرَامِيْدَنْ      *quotidianum exaratum facere alienus rei*      اَرَاوِيْكَ دِيْ كَلْمَكْ

آرَامْ كَرْدَنْ      *requiescere ex labore*      مِثْلَهْ

آرَامِيْدَنْ      مِثْلَهْ



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f. 49r) and so from f. 49v onwards there are no longer just nine entries per page (or eight if a heading was entered), but variously more (sometimes up to 16, 17, or 18). The manuscript becomes even more crowded from f. 79r onwards.<sup>44</sup> The second thematic section of the dictionary starts on the same folio, namely the Persian nouns, again arranged alphabetically and divided within a letter into *maftūḥatu* (with *fatḥa*), *maksūratu* (with *kasra*) and *maẓmūmatu* (with *ḍamma*). There are few examples of visualisations, at least two in number, once for the word *kashkanjir* (f. 304v, i.e. a machine for exercising the muscles) and once for the word *kananda* (f. 309v, i.e. a digger, one who tears something up).<sup>45</sup>

However, the messiness of Or. 227 must have been a hard task for an unscholarly ‘amateur’ copyist like Derviş İbrāhīm. But his knowledge of Persian must have helped him to find his way through the alleged ‘haphazard arrangement.’ Derviş İbrāhīm was at least able to compose and write Ottoman Turkish poetry (if the poems in the notebooks are really his), but this neither makes him an expert in manuscript copying nor an expert reader of a (hypothetically) *medrese* copy like Or. 227. The comparison below makes it clear that Derviş İbrāhīm was unlikely to have been able to read some passages written around the Persian word entries himself and therefore omitted them and did not copy them.<sup>46</sup> Of course, there is also the possibility that Tegnagel gave the copyist precise instructions, which were the reason why some passages were omitted. Sebastian Tegnagel’s scholarly practices in this manuscript are important and include general notes regarding the content, references to other sources and manuscripts, Arabic and Hebrew script entries, Latin (and sometimes German) translations, and various kinds of explanations. Tegnagel sometimes even corrected the errors of the captive scribe.

Noteworthy and worthy of being studied in detail are references to Persian and Hebrew Bible translations: Tegnagel added references to a Persian Pentateuch translation and noted Hebrew equivalents of the referenced passages. We know that Sebastian Tegnagel possessed the polyglot Pentateuch printed in Constantinople in 1546 (*Pentateuchus hebraice cum paraphrasi chaldaica Onkelosi (etc.)*)<sup>47</sup> and the Latin version of the *Thargum* (*Thargum, hoc est, paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in sacra Biblia, ex Chaldaeo in Latinum fidelissime versa ... autore Paulo Fagio: 1: Pentateuchus, sive Quinque libri Moysi*).<sup>48</sup> Both prints also contain Tegnagel’s notes in the margins and in the Hebrew

44 One reason for this could be that Tegnagel realised at this stage that he would not need as much space for his Latin translations or other references as he had originally thought or planned.

45 Another, very probably linked to the entry ‘*mūsiqāp*’ (the same as *mūsiqār*, ‘pipes made of unequal reeds’) can be seen on f. 346r.

46 See Table 3 below.

47 Palabiyık 2023, 135. For further literature on the polyglot Pentateuch, see n. 28 and n. 29.

48 The copies owned by Tegnagel are <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC12247669>, shelfmark 20.P.16.(Vol.1) ALT PRUNK and <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09709013>, shelfmark 3.D.29 ALT PRUNK.

Pentateuch, including Persian in his hand. It is also known that he asked for the polyglot Pentateuch in a letter to Albanus.<sup>49</sup>

It is obvious that the structure of Cod. A. F. 26 was predetermined and most probably decided by Tegnagel. He clearly allowed Derviş İbrâhîm to leave sufficient space for him to later add information or to make translations into Latin or references to other publications.

#### 2.4. Authorship and Evidence of Emîr Hüseyn el-Ayâsi

Further evidence of the authorship of Emîr Hüseyn el-Ayâsi is very likely in the manuscripts Hamburg SUB HH, Cod. orient. 194, British Library Or. 7686, and Ankara Milli Kütüphane, 06 Hk 3015,<sup>50</sup> all of which seem to be copies of the recension or compilation arranged by Emîr Hüseyn el-Ayâsi.<sup>51</sup>

Interestingly, Carl Brockelmann describes the manuscript SUB HH, Cod. orient. 194 among the Persian manuscripts (and not among the Turkish ones) and writes that the title and author are unknown, and that the start of f. 1v is 'آب آوردن علتی الخ'. Here, too, the individual letters are always divided into three chapters (*bâb*). The last word is 'یوهه', Brockelmann writes. Thus, the start and end of this recension correspond to those of Leiden Or. 227 and Vienna Cod. A. F. 26. The Hamburg manuscript has 118 folios of European paper, is interleaved with white leaves (?), measures 31:20, 25:14 with 21 lines in two columns, and is written in 'good Turkish *nesbî*.' The keywords are overlined in red and the manuscript has European leather binding with gold edges and gold pressing.<sup>52</sup> Brockelmann gives no date; and nor do Blocksdorf and Zimmermann comment on the probable date of copying. Although I was not able to see SUB HH, Cod. orient. 194, I could at least compare the entries at the end of the letter *sîn* and the start of the letter *şin* within the section of verbs (i.e. the first section), as a

49 See Çelik and Petrolini 2021, 190–1; Cod. 8997, ff. 52r–3r; Çelik, Molino, Petrolini, Römer and Wallnig, forthcoming.

50 I thank Ani Sargsyan for drawing my attention to the Hamburg und Ankara manuscripts.

51 Yusuf Öz notes that the title *Şiḫāḫul-ʿAcem* can also be found in some manuscripts. However, it remains questionable whether Öz is also presenting different works as one and the same work. As Öz has not even consulted some of the works mentioned and only makes his assumptions based on information from the various catalogues, his statements still need to be checked in detail and can only be discussed further in a comprehensive study of the Persian-Ottoman dictionary presented here. Nevertheless, it should be noted that regarding the author he mentions names such as Hinduşâh-i Naḫcivâni, Ayâsi, Maḥmūd Ayâsi, Emîr Hüseyn el-Ayâsi, Mevlânâ Ayaszâde, and Ayâs Paşazâde; see Öz 2016, 144–7.

52 Brockelmann 1908, 111–2: 'Ein persisch-türkisches Wörterbuch, dessen Titel und Verfasser nicht zu ersehn sind. Anfang fol. 1v: آب آوردن علتی الخ. Die einzelnen Buchstaben zerfallen in drei Bâb je nach dem Vokal des ersten Radikals. Das letzte erklärte Wort ist یوهه. 118 Blatt, mit weißen Blättern durchschossen, europäisches Papier, 31:20, 25:14, 21 Zeilen in zwei Spalten, gutes türkisches Nesbî, Stichworte rot überstrichen. Europäischer Lederband mit Goldschnitt und Goldpressung. Hinckelmann 9. Morgenweg 27. Wolf 14.'

part of f. 10v of the manuscript has been published in an exhibition catalogue.<sup>53</sup> The compared entries are the following:

Table 1. *Hamburg, SUB HH, Cod. orient. 194*

sūhtan	göyünmek <sup>54</sup> ve göyündürmek	sūdan	ezmek ve dürtmek ve aşınmak ve şıvamağ
suftidan	delmek ve üzme ve satışdıрмаğ	bābu sh-shin al-maftūhatu	
shād shudan	sevinmek	shādidan	mişlahū [!] <sup>55</sup>
shad kāma kardan	yaramazlığa sevinmek	shāridan	şu akub çağlamağ
shāshidan	işemek	shāftan	ezilmek ve kaftān eskimeğ
shāfidan	sürçmek	shāndan	çaramağ
shāna zadan	mişlahū [!]	shānidan	mişlahū [!]
shāvidan	bi-ma'nā shudan	shāyastan	yaramağ
shāyidan	mişlahū [!]	shāsha kardan	miş-i shāshidan

The same entries but in a different sequence appear in Cod. A. F. 26, ff. 51r –51v and Or. 227, f. 15r in the following way:

Table 2. *Cod. A. F. 26, ff. 51r-51v*

[f. 51r] sūhtan	ardere, incendere <sup>56</sup>	göyünmek ve göyündürmek	mişlahū [!] sūz ānidan
sūdan	commiscere, confundere, <sup>57</sup> lavare manus, atteri cultro vel acinacem, <sup>58</sup> inungere, repellere ictum gladii	ezmek ve el yumağ ve aşınmağ ve dürtmek ve şıvamağ <sup>59</sup>	

53 Blocksdorf and Zimmermann 2016, 211. Furthermore, I was able to see ff. 1v; 10r; 10v (fully); 117r, which includes the colophon. I thank Janina Karolewski for sharing these folios of the manuscript with me. The colophon indicates neither the copyist, the date, or the place of copying.

54 See *Tarama Sözlüğü*, s.v. *göyünmek*, (*göyünmek (I)*, *göynemek*, *göyünmek*, *göylenmek*): *yanmak*. See online URL: <https://sozluk.gov.tr>.

55 Should be *mişlubū*.

56 The Latin translations in the tables 2, 4, 5 and 6 are additions of Sebastian Tegnagel.

57 Unfortunately, I was not always able to read Sebastian Tegnagel's German handwriting, which I will of course try to solve when I publish a complete edition of the manuscript A. F. 26. Also, some Latin and Hebrew passages were not clear to me, which I have marked.

58 I thank the reviewer for explanation: *acinacem* is the Latinised form of the Greek word *ἀκινάκης* (dagger, scimitar) given as an alternative to *culter* (knife).

59 This is a good sample for vocalisation (or voweling) in Ottoman-Turkish: the original Or. 227 has no vocalisation at all with this word and writes only 'صومق', but obviously Derviş İbrāhīm was required to write 'plene' and therefore wrote 'صومق'.

ash-shin al-maftūḥatu			
shād shudan	hilarem fieri	sevinmek	mişliḥü [!] shādidan
shāftan	confringi, rumpi, pectere crines funes, teri vestes, atteri + veterascere	üzülmek ve ivermek ve kaftān <sup>60</sup> eksimek <sup>61</sup> ve ezilmek	
shāvidan	shudan ma'nāsına		
shāfidan	labi in lubrico	sürçmek	
[f. 51v] shāndan	pectere capillos	çaramak	mişliḥü [!] shāna zadan shānidan
shāyastan	uti, necessarium esse, destructum esse	yaramak ve virān olmak	mişliḥü [!] shāyidan ve shāyānidan

Table 3. Or. 227, f. 15r

sūḥtan – göyünmek ve göyündürmek	sūdan – ezmek ve el yumak ve aşınmak ve dürtmek ve şıvamak	ash-shin al-maftūḥatu	
shād shudan – sevinmek	shādidan – mişluḥü	shād kāma kardan <sup>62</sup> – bar badi shādi kardan	shāridan – sharāyidan şu çağlamak ve akmak
shāshidan – işemek tebevül ma'nāsına	shāsha kardan – mişluḥü	shāftan – üzülmek ve ivermek ve kaftan [!] eksimek ve ezilmek	shāvidan – shudan ma'nāsına
shāfidan – sürçmek	shāndan – çaramak	shāna zadan – mişluḥü	shānidan – mişluḥü
shāyastan – shāyastānidan – yaramak ve virān olmak <sup>63</sup>			

Another manuscript referring to Emīr Ḥüseyn el-Ayāsī is the British Library copy Or. 7686. Presumably, this copy may be identical in its choice of the entries. This also makes the *Emīr Ḥüseyn el-Ayāsī* 'edition' or 're-arrangement' of the *Luḡat-i Ni'metullāh* an interesting source of European scholarship on Oriental languages. A certain Ayāsī (Maḥmūd) is mentioned by Charles Rieu in his entry and description of 'Add. 7686.'<sup>64</sup>

60 This word is written in Or. 227 as '*kaftan*,' which has been corrected by Derviş İbrāhīm into '*kaftān*.'

61 This is a case of metathesis, as in Or. 227 we read '*eskimek*,' which was changed by Derviş İbrāhīm into '*eksimek*.'

62 This entry and the following three entries (i.e. shāridan, shāshidan, and shāsha kardan) were omitted by Derviş İbrāhīm in Cod. A. F. 26.

63 Four more entries are following in this last line of the folio, namely *shāyidan* (*mişluḥü shāyānidan*), *shāyidan* (*doḡınmak*), *shābidan* (*çonmak ve aḡsamlamak*) and *shājudan* (*katı şovuk olmak ve toñmak*).

64 Rieu 1888, 143–4: Add. 7686: 'Foll. 197; 8 in. by 5 3/4; 7 lines 3 1/2 in. long; written in large Neski, apparently in the 17th century. [RICH, No. 279.] [...] The preface is omitted. The Persian words are written consecutively at the rate of four in each line. The Turkish explanations, much condensed, are written in a small character and slanting lines over

In his catalogue Rieu writes the following: ‘An abridgement of the preceding dictionary arranged in a tabular form.’ The last detail is very important as it hints again to a kind of publication project – the tabular form. But what is the preceding manuscript? It is ‘Add. 7679,’<sup>65</sup> which is titled *Mecmaʿ al-luġāt* and described by Rieu as ‘an abridged recension of the preceding work.’ And the preceding work in this case is the renowned dictionary *Luġat-i Niʿmetullāh*. However, the title *Mecmaʿ al-luġāt*<sup>66</sup> may be a hint here as well – the term *mecmaʿ* is particularly important as it very probably refers to a process of abridgement or new arrangement of another, longer dictionary, which the *Luġat-i Niʿmetullāh* obviously is. Then Rieu, again, as in the case of the *Mecmaʿ al-luġāt* (Add. 7679), refers to Flügel’s description of A. F. 26 and observes that both, Add. 7686 and A. F. 26 are similar abridgements.

It is interesting that the Ankara manuscript, the Hamburg manuscript, Or. 227 and A. F. 26 are very similar in content, which suggests that the Ankara and Hamburg manuscripts are also copies of the recension authored by Emir Hüseyn el-Ayāsi. The Ankara manuscript was copied in 973/1565 and is preserved in the Ankara Adnan Ötügen İl Halk Kütüphanesi. Its measures are 205 × 145–140 × 80mm.<sup>67</sup> (See Fig. 6, Ankara 06 Hk 3015, f. 2v.) Of course, it is (very) probable that more copies of Emir Hüseyn el-Ayāsi’s recension of the *Luġat-i Niʿmetullāh* will be discovered in the future.

### 3. Sample Comparison of MS Or. 227 and MS A. F. 26

For the comparison I have randomly chosen a sample passage from the section of nouns and the letter *sin*. Here we may interpret some kind of transformation, as the ‘messiness’ of the original copy is clearly seen as changing into a certain order at the

the line. [...] On the first page is written [هذا لغت ایسی نامہا محمود], Ayāsi is apparently meant here for the name of the author or abbreviator.’ Just to have a basis for comparison, the dimensions given by Rieu should correspond to 203 × 127 mm.

- 65 Rieu 1888, 143: Add. 7679: ‘Foll. 176; 8 ½ in. by 5 ½; 19 lines 3 5/8 in. long; written in small and neat Nestalik, apparently in the 16th century. [RICH, No. 285.] ... An abridged recension of the preceding work. See the Persian Catalogue, p. 515 a. [...] The preface only differs from that of the preceding copy by the omission of some passages, especially of the enumeration of the sources, and by the insertion of the above title: [...] In the body of the work most of the poetical quotations are omitted. A copy bearing the same title is described by Flügel, vol. i., p. 132, No. 128 b.’
- 66 Rieu refers to ‘Flügel, vol. i., p. 132, No. 128b,’ which is also titled as *Mecmaʿ al-luġāt* and being the second part of a manuscript consisting of three separate works, the signature is A. F. 379 (see Flügel 1865, vol. 1, 132–3, the *Mecmaʿ al-luġāt* is on ff. 145v to 173r.). Whether the contents match has yet to be checked. I was unable to search for all dictionaries entitled *Mecmaʿ al-luġāt*, but it is very probable that some codices are identical in content with the recension of Emir Hüseyn el-Ayāsi.
- 67 Milli Kütüphane El Yazması ve Nadir Eserler, 06 Hk 3015. The manuscript can be downloaded folio by folio via the website of the Milli Kütüphane in Ankara. See the digital catalogue entry here <https://dijital-kutuphane.mkutup.gov.tr/tr/manuscripts/catalog/details/272819>.



hands of Derviş İbrāhīm's. Of course, the 'order' or structure of the original had to change somehow, as Tegnagel intended to add the Latin translations of the Ottoman Turkish translations or renderings of the Persian entries. Interestingly, one full written page in Or. 227 corresponds to nearly two full written pages of A. F. 26.

The above sample comparison shows that Derviş İbrāhīm copied the Persian entries largely verbatim. However, in some cases he shortened or just ignored the Ottoman Turkish or Persian explanation in Or. 227 and made shorter explanations. The only entry that Derviş İbrāhīm completely omitted is *sapūsa – baṣ ḳafa* (Or. 227, f. 88v, 5th line, second word from the right).

MS Leiden Or. 227, f. 88v (see Fig. 7) = MS Vienna A. F. 26, ff. 229v (see Fig. 8) to 230v, starting with line 3. The words in bold are those passages copied by Derviş İbrāhīm; the Latin translations are Tegnagel's and the differences as well as certain words are noted in the footnotes.

Table 4. A. F. 26, fol. 229v (see Fig. 8) and Or. 227, fol. 88v (see Fig. 7)

sabarjī	laetus, hilar	şādılıḳ	sabin	caeruleum fieri viride caeruleum faciens	yeşil 'arıza ve ma'rūza ıtlāk olunur
sabinjīk	equus ephippi.	eger at	sabz-i dāna	fruct. quid. musmula. Turc.	mişlihū <sup>68</sup> [!] ve menkişi yemişi
sabz-āb	+ viridis aqua <sup>69</sup>	yoşuñ	sabza	gramen	çemen
sabza-zār	graminetum pascua, gramen longum	çayır çemen	sabiğ	+ <sup>70</sup>	nafaz
sabuk	leve	yeyni <sup>71</sup> ḫafif [!] <sup>72</sup> ma'nāsina	sabuk-sār	levi capite	yeyni başlu
sabsitān	medicam. quod.	nev' mine t-ṭayb aşında serbistyān idi keşret isti'māl olduğundan ötüri ve taḫfif [!] olunur ve ṭabā'u l-keleb daḫı dērler			
sabuk-zār	urs quaed.	üşküzār ma'nāsınadır ki elif bābında naḳl olundu			

68 MS Or. 227: only *m*.

69 This could have been written between the Persian and the Ottoman Turkish entry, but instead it is written to the right of the Persian entry.

70 Obviously, Sebastian Tegnagel intended to add information or translation, but he failed to do so.

71 *Tarama Sözlüğü*, s.v. *yeyni* (*yiyni*): '1. Hafif, ağır olmayan. 2. İtibarsız, ehemmiyetsiz. 3. Kolay.'

72 MS Or. 227: written correctly as *ḫafif*.



Figure 8. ÖNB, A. F. 26, f. 229v

بقية الكورله دربان ما ند جي اناخ و باغ در درون  
 صكه و بده ملان ارون و حوق بيشه بستق در درو باغ  
 سبديجى *reliquia vvarum et fructuum eorū vndemiam.*

سبدرک *Strophol.* يعلق و در نا جده سبدرک  
 ميدان *Linum, subarum.*

سبديجى *Latius, hilar.* شادق سبديجى  
 سبديجى *casuleum fueri vnde casuleum facer.* سبديجى  
 سبديجى *casuleum fueri vnde casuleum facer.* سبديجى  
 اول نور

سبديجى *equi, ephippi.* الكرات سبديجى  
 سبديجى *fruct. quod. myrmala. rure.* شادق و شادق سبديجى

سبواب *+ vndis aqua.* يوصك سبواب  
 سبواب *gramen.* سبواب سبواب

سبوزار *gramen longum. graminum. peltica.* سبوزار  
 سبوزار *gramen longum. graminum. peltica.* سبوزار  
 سبوزار *gramen longum. graminum. peltica.* سبوزار

سبك *leui. capite.* يئني حفيف حنانه سبكلط  
 سبك *leui.* يئني حفيف حنانه سبكلط

سبستان *medeam. quod.* نوع من الطيب الصلذه سريستان ايرى كوت بهتال  
 اولدوغدن اوتوي و حفيف اولنور و طبا و الكلب  
 دجي درلر

سبك لذار *vri. quod.* اسكذار سبدرک الف بابنه نقل اولندي  
 سبك لذار *vri. quod.* اسكذار سبدرک الف بابنه نقل اولندي

سبلا

229v

Table 5. *A. F. 26, f. 230r and Or. 227, f. 88v (see Fig. 7)*

sabal	dolor ocul	göz ağrısı	sapal	solea camel	deve tabanı
sablat	mystax	bıyık bürüt	sapangür <sup>73</sup>	uva canina uva vulpina	it üzümü ki tabibler aña 'inebü ş-şaleb dërler
sapüsiz	hydria parva sine ansa	küpecük	sabü	vas ligneum grand 4 5 6 mens.; hydria magna 4 5 mensurar	desti ve señek <sup>74</sup>
sapüs	crassior sorder furfur farin	kepek şimäl ma'näsina	sapüsvä <sup>75</sup>	cibus quid [...] <sup>76</sup>	harra aşı ve harisa <sup>77</sup> l-ħarbin sapüs gufta andar
sapüsā		mişlihü [!]	sapüsām	ħende furfures capitis	baş koñağı <sup>78</sup> tabibler aña ħarar dërler
sapyüs		bezir қатона	sitāğ	sterilis faemin; equus sine ephippio	ķısır 'avret ve eyersiz at
sitāvīn <sup>79</sup>	mel <sup>80</sup> expressum, magni pretii, facile venditu, palatium	revāk <sup>81</sup>	sataħ	via recta	rāst ve toğrı yol her ne ise <sup>82</sup>

73 Redhouse s.v. 'mebü ş-şaleb': '1. Common nightshade, *solanum nigrum*. 2. The gooseberry, *ribes grossularia*.'

74 *Tarama Sözlüğü*, s.v. señek: 'Ağaçtan veya topraktan yapılmış su kabı, testi.'

75 Steingass, s.v. *sapüsā* and *sapüsvā*: 'A kind of porridge.'

76 Not clear German script.

77 Redhouse, s.v. herise: 'A kind of pottage of boiled wheat.'

78 *Tarama Sözlüğü*, s.v. *konak* (*koñrak*, *kolak*): 'Başta saç aralarında olan kepek.'

79 Cf. Steingass s.v. *satāwin* 'A pillared room; shambles (probably misreading of the preceding).' And the preceding entry consists of *satāwez* 'eaves; a portico' and *sitāwez* 'A marketplace, shambles; a piece of timber with hooks on which meat is hung in markets; the bench of a magistrate.'

80 It is not clear to me how Tengenel came up with the meaning 'honey' for this entry.

81 Redhouse, s.v. *rewāq*, *riwāq*, *ruwāq*: '1. A tent or pavilion. 2. An awning. 3. A porch, a portico. 4. An upper chamber on a terrace. 5. A vault, an arched or domed chamber.'

82 This is an interesting change made by Derviş İbrāhim: Leiden MS writes only 'rāst ve toğrı,' 'straight and right,' whereas Derviş İbrāhim extends his Ottoman Turkish translation and writes 'rāst ve toğrı yol her ne ise,' that is, 'the straight and righteous way, whatever this is.'

satūja <sup>83</sup>	accipiter ex eod. gne (?) aves, [...] <sup>84</sup>	ala toğan ile <sup>85</sup> kerken ve ve [!] <sup>86</sup> güc[e] gen kuşu	satyūja <sup>87</sup>		mişlihū [!]
satīza	acund calamus filis involuta	māsūre	saht	fortis, gravis, durus, gen. 49	katı + [...] <sup>88</sup> duritia, exod. 1 // كاتا R. Saad

Table 6. A. F. 26, f. 230v and Or. 227, f. 88v (see Fig. 7)

sahtiyān	corium hircin.	ma'rūf	saḥar-gāh	diluculum, prima luce, sammo mane	ma'rūf
sahtū <sup>89</sup>		kīpā	saḥsh	vetus, antiq	berk ve eski köhne ma'nāsına
saḥş	iocari, vexare, albedo matuti na caeli, fort.	berk ve eski ve lağzidan	saḥun	in pentateuch saep (?), sermo verb	söz feth-i ḥā'-ile ten kāfiyesinde isti'māl olunur
saḥun āfarin	disertus, facund	söz yaraşdurucu ya'nı her sözi kemālinde ve yerinde söyleyici belig ma'nāsına			

#### 4. Conclusion

The case of the Viennese manuscript Cod. A. F. 26 demonstrates how important it is not only to see 'Oriental' manuscripts as part of an Ottoman and Oriental cultural heritage, but also to consider this special sample of Sebastian Tegnagel and Derviş İbrāhīm as evidence of European erudition in lexicographic matters in combination with a Turkish soldier's (then captive's) bilingualism in Ottoman and Persian. Just as Sonja Brentjes

83 Steingass, s.v. *satūja* and *satūcha*: 'A variegated kind of falcon.'

84 Not clear German script.

85 Vocalisation let read *ā'ile*?

86 Or. 227 has only one *ve*.

87 Steingass, s.v. *sitiyūja*: 'satūja.'

88 Hebrew entry and reference to an unclear source.

89 Steingass and Redhouse have only *sahtū*. Older dictionaries like that of Ḥalimī or Meninski have *sehtū*/*saehtū* and give *kīpā* as a synonym; Meninski adds *kuşlar yüregi yanında bağı* (lat. 'Cor avium cum adhaerente jecore'). See Meninski 1680–1687, vol. 2, s.v. *saehtū*.

has discussed and studied the MS Or. f. 100 (Berlin) as a dictionary written by Adam Olearius and Hakkverdi,<sup>90</sup> the manuscript A. F. 26 should be contextualised as a *joint work* of the Viennese librarian and the Turkish captive.<sup>91</sup> Whereas MS Or. f. 100 was, according to Brentjes, intended to help Hakkverdi 'in his transformation into Friedrich Christian,' in Cod. A. F. 26 Tegnagel did let Derviş İbrahim reorganise the content of Or. 227 and added Latin translations with the goal of publication in print form. Why Tegnagel's project could not be realised is not clear, but A. F. 26 and other working copies of European scholars deserve better and deeper contextualisation and discussion in comparison with other pendants of the abridged version of Ni'metullāh's dictionary, namely the recension made by Emir Hüseyin el-Ayāsi.

Clearly, we must reclassify the manuscript A. F. 26 as a reworked one, which has become a new codicological unit with multilayered structure representing a multilingual version or an extension of an originally Ottoman-Persian dictionary. A detailed comparison of the content of Or. 227 and A. F. 26 would also show us whether and the extent to which Derviş İbrahim made additions or omissions (or even selections?) because Sebastian Tegnagel asked him to. The inclusion of Anton Deusing's work, and a precise study of the various manuscript projects preserved in the preparatory phase will also give us more insight into the connections between scholars and their practices, from Vienna to Leiden.

However, this case study also shows that codicological classifications become much more complicated, as two or more scholarly contexts overlap here: on the one hand, the scholarly practices of a librarian mixed with the knowledge of a Turkish prisoner, and on the other, the expertise of a scholar like Anton Deusing, who presumably went beyond the librarian's knowledge and attempted to compile several dictionaries into a new one. As I have already pointed out in another context, it is very probable that Meninski relied largely on the manuscripts and preliminary work such as A. F. 26 when he wrote his dictionary, which is still known today.<sup>92</sup> And the sample presented here, as well as other neglected notebooks of Sebastian Tegnagel, demonstrate the captive's role in the librarian's knowledge acquisition in terms of language and literature.

After all, Tegnagel benefited from Derviş İbrahim's bi- or multilingualism, namely, that he was very proficient in Ottoman Turkish, proficient in Persian, and at least able to copy Arabic (with errors). His language skills appropriate to his *laḳab*

90 Brentjes 2017; Hakkverdi (later Friedrich Christian) was the secretary of the Safavid embassy sent by Shāh Šafi I. (r. 1629–1642) in 1638 to the Duke of Holstein; see Brentjes 2017, 145. For Adam Olearius, see also Werner 2008 and for Hakkverdi, see Babinski 2019, 253–5; Palabıyık 2019a, 194–8.

91 Palabıyık 2023, 154: '[...] there is little merit in writing the historiography of oriental studies in Europe as hagiographies of "great men".'

92 My contribution had the title 'Court librarian Sebastian Tegnagel's collection of and work with Arabic, Persian, and Turkish dictionaries' and was part of the *Conference of the Transottomanica Network (DFG SPP 1981)*, Center for Near and Middle Eastern Studies, Philipps Universität, Marburg, 7 October 2021.

'*dervîş*,' which suggest that he was member of a dervish lodge, may explain why he was more acquainted with Persian than with Arabic. As we know, even learned copyists could make mistakes, and we must consider the circumstances in which Dervîş İbrâhîm was copying the manuscripts. However, to end with the words of the captive, at the end of his letter from 1610 Dervîş İbrâhîm writes the following about the manuscripts he is copying:

God willing, I will not write like in the book I wrote earlier, but I will write better. Not everyone knows this book and not every learned person understands it. Not even one person out of all can understand its signs until they are explained to him by an expert. But discerning some signs and lines is difficult. God willing, if I come, you will see how it is. This book is not like the other books. This is a different kind of knowledge. May this be known to your highness. For the rest, a greeting.<sup>93</sup>

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Cod. 9737q and 9737r *Epistolae et excerpta*

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MS 06 Hk 3015 (digital catalogue entry: <https://dijital-kutuphane.mkutup.gov.tr/tr/manuscripts/catalog/details/272819>) (accessed 09.08.2024)

93 Römer 1998, 348. I have changed Claudia Römer's translation only slightly. The original in adjusted transcription: '*inşâ'allâh evvel yazduğum kitâb gibi yazmam dahı yêg yazaram ve bu kitâbı her kişi bilmez ve her okumuş aılamaz cümleden biri erkâmın fehm eylemez tâ kim ehlin-den görmeyince ba'z-ı huñû! [u] işâretiniñ [!] temyizi müşkildür inşâ'allâh varursam görürsñiz niçedür bu kitâb gayrı kitâblar gibi degüldür bu başka bir güne 'ilmdür söyle ma'lûm-ı hazret oluna bâkî ve-s-selâm.'*

*University Library Leiden*

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