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Ph.D. dissertation

"Man sihet Guts und Boß / Tugend und Laster mehr dann daheim": German Lutheran interest in the Ottoman Empire as reflected in the life and works of Salomon Schweigger (1551-1622)

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Professor Bernd Roling (Free University Berlin)

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Abstract:

This thesis aims to better understand the complex early modern relations between Christian Europe and the Islamic world by examining the role of the Ottoman Empire in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century German Lutheran thought. Historiography has often centred around Lutheran interest in Islam, or on ideological views of 'the Turk' as an external threat. Studies that focus on more day-to-day interactions and exchange between Germany and the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, generally neglect the religious significance of such interactions. In the activities and writings of Salomon Schweigger (1551-1622), court chaplain at the Habsburg embassy in Constantinople from 1578 to 1581, however, all these aspects of European engagement with Islamic Ottoman culture come together in what could be called a more general 'Lutheran interest in the Ottoman Empire'. On the basis of thorough analysis of Schweigger's writings, this thesis argues that the Ottoman Empire formed an integral part of the (Lutheran) Christian world and discourse, as a multireligious space of interaction and (self-)reflection, and to which could be referred in a way that was of religious significance.

Schweigger's travel account combines objective and 'ethnographic' descriptions with Christian 'Kulturkritik' and self-reflection, based on the idea that important religious lessons could be learned from observing and interacting with the Ottoman Empire. Such lessons were of a twofold nature. On the one hand, they were 'ideological', reflecting the Lutheran doctrine of the three estates and supporting the theological justification of the Reformation. On the other hand they were more 'practical', using Schweigger's observations in the Ottoman Empire as positive and negative examples with regard to the organization and consolidation of the Lutheran faith in the private and public sphere in Germany. At the same time, Schweigger's pastoral activities show his concern with the practice and maintenance of true faith amongst Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire. Their spiritual wellbeing was not only important for their own salvation. It was also essential to the safety of their home communities – in the event of their return – and of the Lutheran community at large. Finally, Schweigger's German Qur'an translation – which, as this thesis argues, was the first non-polemical publication of the Qur'an in a European language – shows how knowledge about Islam was integrated into Lutheran debates about true and false Christianity.

This research provides new information in several areas. It deepens our insight into the interaction between German Protestants and the Ottoman Empire and the multi-religious diplomatic environment in Constantinople. It offers a reconstruction of the lives of Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire, and reflects on the pastoral concerns with regard to them as both individuals and members of the Lutheran community at large. It contributes to our understanding of the ways in which knowledge about the Ottoman Empire was established and on how this

knowledge was integrated into Lutheran debates. Finally, it demonstrates how a Lutheran minister could function as a mediator between what have long been perceived as two different worlds.

Zusammenfassung[1]:

Mit dem Ziel eines besseren Verständnisses der komplexen Beziehungen zwischen christlichem Europa und der islamischen Welt in der Frühen Neuzeit untersucht die vorliegende Dissertation die Bedeutung des Osmanischen Reichs für das lutherische Denken des sechzehnten und frühen siebzehnten Jahrhunderts. Während der Fokus historischer Forschung bisher vor allem auf dem lutherischen Interesse am Islam oder auch den ideologischen Konstruktionen des ‚Türken' als fremdartige Bedrohung lag, haben Studien zu alltäglichen Interaktionen zwischen Deutschland und dem Osmanischen Reich wiederum die religiöse Signifikanz des kulturellen Austauschs vernachlässigt. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Schriften und dem Wirken Salomon Schweiggers (1551–1622), Hofkaplan der Habsburgischen Botschaft in Konstantinopel von 1578 bis 1581, erlaubt hingegen eine differenzierte Reflektion all dieser Facetten der europäischen Auseinandersetzung mit der islamischen osmanischen Kultur, und zwar im Sinne eines allgemeineren ‚lutherischen Interesses am Osmanischen Reich'. Auf der Grundlage einer systematischen Analyse der Schriften Schweiggers soll in dieser Dissertation gezeigt werden, dass das Osmanische Reich als diskursiver Schauplatz multi-religiöser Interaktion und (Selbst-)Reflektion von integraler Bedeutung für die (lutherische) christliche Welt und ihr Gedankengut war.

Schweiggers Reisebericht verwebt Sachbericht und ‚ethnographische' Beschreibung mit christlicher Kulturkritik und Selbstreflektion – ausgehend von der Überlegung, dass aus der Begegnung mit dem Osmanischen Reich und seinem Studium wichtige Lehren für die Religion gezogen werden können. Das wären zum einen ‚ideologische' Lehren mit Bezug auf die lutherische Dreiständelehre und die theologische Rechtfertigung der Reformation, zum anderen aber auch Lehren ‚praktischer' Art im Hinblick auf die Ausgestaltung und Konsolidierung des lutherischen Glaubens im privaten und öffentlichen Leben Deutschlands. Gleichzeitig bezeugt Schweiggers seelsorgerisches Wirken sein Interesse an der Ausübung und dem Erhalt des wahren Glaubens der Lutheraner innerhalb des Osmanischen Reichs. Deren spirituelles Heil war für ihre eigene Erlösung ebenso essentiell wie – im Falle ihrer Rückkehr – für die Sicherheit ihrer Heimatgemeinden und die gesamte lutherische Glaubensgemeinschaft. Und schließlich war Schweiggers deutsche Koranübersetzung, wie die vorliegende Dissertation argumentiert, die erste nicht-polemische Publikation des Korans in einer europäischen Sprache, anhand derer gezeigt werden kann, wie Wissen über den Islam in lutherische Glaubensdebatten um das wahre oder falsche Christentum integriert wurde.

[1] For this German translation I am grateful to Emilie Sievert at the FU Berlin.

Die vorliegende Arbeit erschließt folglich in mehrfacher Hinsicht Neuland: Sie vertieft das Verständnis des kulturellen Austauschs zwischen deutschem Protestantismus und dem Osmanischen Reich sowie des multireligiösen diplomatischen Umfelds in Konstantinopel. Sie rekonstruiert das Leben der Lutheraner im Osmanischen Reich und erörtert die seelsorgerischen Überlegungen zu ihnen als individuelle Gläubige und als Mitglieder der lutherischen Glaubensgemeinschaft. Die Studie leistet einen Beitrag zum Verständnis der Produktion von Wissen über das Osmanische Reich und der Integration dieses Wissens in lutherische Debatten. Und schließlich zeigt sie, wie ein lutherischer Prediger als Vermittler zwischen zwei als völlig verschieden wahrgenommenen Welten agieren konnte.

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Introduction

In 1581, the Lutheran minister Salomon Schweigger (1551-1622) returned to Germany after a three-year stay in the Ottoman Empire, where he had worked as a court-chaplain to the Habsburg ambassador in Constantinople. While Schweigger soon found employment within the German Lutheran church, he never seems to have fully left the Ottoman Empire – or at least, the Ottoman Empire never fully left his mind. In 1608, the minister published an extensive and richly illustrated travel account, documenting his experiences and observations during his trip to and stay with the Ottomans. In 1616, this publication was followed by a German translation of the Qur'an. In addition, Schweigger was responsible for an Italian translation of Luther's Small Catechism, which was addressed to the Evangelical inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire and was published in Tübingen (to be sent to Constantinople) in 1582, and he wrote a preface to the memoires of the former Ottoman captive Johann Wild. Schweigger's publications raise the question why a Lutheran minister, working at local parishes in Grötzingen, Wilhermsdorf, and Nürnberg, showed such a continuous concern for the Ottoman Empire and its peoples and religions.[2]

Schweigger's works have only received little attention in modern scholarship, and hardly ever for their own sake. His *Reyßbeschreibung* is mainly used as a source of information about sixteenth-century Constantinople or as an example of contemporary travel writing,[3] while the *Alcoranus Mahometicus* is largely neglected as an insignificant third-degree translation and often

[2] A manuscript version of Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung,* held at the Schottenstift Archive in Vienna, is dated 1592, demonstrating that the author already wrote his travel account more than a decade before it was finally published. This also suggests that he was working to get the account published for several years, and that this publication was thus of certain importance. Salomon Schweigger, 'Constantinopolische und Jerusalemische Raisbeschreibungen', Vienna, Schottenstift Archiv, Cod. 647 (Hübl 442).

[3] E.g.: G. Kula, 'Vom Wissen um die Leserschaft. Zur Bedeutung der Apodemik für die Reisebeschreibungen von Salomon Schweigger und Johann Wild am Beispiel des türkischen Bades (Hamam)', *Zeitschrift für Germanistik,* vol. 24, no. 1, 2014, pp. 10-24; U. Müller, '»Mich lustet vil sêre daz wir in das bat gân»: Die erste Beschreibung eines türkischen Bades (Hamam) in deutscher Sprache: Salomon Schweigger, 1608', in: K. McConnell and W. McConnell (eds.), *"Er ist ein wol gevriunder man": Essays in Honor of Ernst S. Dick on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 2009, pp. 275-93; Y. Ben-Naeh and G. Saban, 'Three German Travellers on Istanbul Jews', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies,* vol. 12, no. 1, 2013, pp. 35-51; L. Klusáková, 'Between Reality and Stereotype: Town Views of the Balkans', *Urban History,* vol. 28, no. 3, 2001, pp. 358-377.

only passingly mentioned in publications about the history of the Qur'an in Europe.[4] The two only publications that are fully dedicated to Salomon Schweigger mainly present him in the context of the 'ecumenical mission' of the Lutheran church in Württemberg. The first one characterizes him primarily as a liaison between the Lutherans in Germany and the Greek Orthodox Church on the basis of his interactions with members of the Patriarchate[5] - a context in which Schweigger is also mentioned in several other works on Lutheran-Orthodox relations.[6] The second one mainly focuses on his pastoral activities involving Lutheran captives and slaves in Constantinople, which are taken as an extension of the ecumenical agenda in Tübingen.[7] Maybe unsurprisingly, both of these works, which emphasize Schweigger's importance to the Lutheran cause, have been written by authors connected to the German Lutheran Church. In addition, a few biographical entries have been written about Schweigger.[8] These generally focus on his stay in Constantinople, as this is the most documented part of the minister's life due to his travel account. In all these instances, Schweigger's works have mainly been studied for their factual contents, and often in isolation. As such, Schweigger's publications have hardly been subjected to thorough (narrative) analysis. Few, if any, scholars have looked at them in their full context and little attention has been paid to the author's motivations and possible agenda. This is reflected in the fact that his own prefaces

[4] A four-page entry in Hartmut Bobzin's *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation* discusses Schweigger's *Alkoran* in the context of Theodor Bibliander's Qur'an publication, in which it is presented only as a translation of the Italian translation. In his monograph about this Italian translation, Pier Mattia Tommasino follows this trend in his *The Venetian Qur'an* by presenting Schweigger's German text as a vehicle through which the Italian Qur'an was further diffused. Other publications that (sparsely) mention Schweigger's Qur'an are: A. van Dijk, 'Early Printed Qur'ans: The Dissemination of the Qur'an in the West', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2005, pp. 136-143; T. E. Burman, 'European Qur'an translations, 1500-1700', in D. Thomas and J. Chesworth (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 6. Western Europe (1500-1600)*, Leiden, Boston, 2014, pp. 25-38; M. W. Hofmann, 'German Translations of the Holy Qur'ān', *Islamic Studies,* vol. 41, no. 1, 2002, pp. 87-96.

[5] W. Engels, 'Salomon Schweigger. Ein ökumenischer Orientreisender im 16. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte,* vol, 7, no. 3, 1955, pp. 224-246; M. Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger. Deutscher evangelischer Botschaftsprediger in Konstantinopel 1578-1581', *Die evangelische Diaspora,* vol. 31, no. 3, 1960, pp. 150-180. In his *Der Koran*, Hartmut Bobzin also refers to Schweigger's role as a middle man in the communication between the Lutheran church in Germany and the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople.

[6] D. 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; G. Mastrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople: the correspondence between the Tübingen theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession*, Brookline, Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982; S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968.

[7] M. Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger'.

[8] G. A. Will, *Der Nürnbergischen Münz-Belustigungen, erster Theil, in welchem so seltne als merkwürdige Scheu- und Geld-Münzen sauber in Kupfer gestochen beschrieben und aus der Geschichte erlautert worden, nebst einem Vorbericht, die Sammlung der Nürnbergischen Goldgülden enthaltet,* vol. 3, Nürnberg, L. Schüpfel, 1766, pp. 137-44; W. Heyd, 'Schweigger, Salomon', in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* Band 33, 1891, pp. 339-340. Available from: https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00008391/images/index.html?seite=341 (accessed 27 November 2019).

to his works have largely been ignored, and that they have even been removed (as 'superfluous') in the reprints of his *Reyßbeschreibung* and Johann Wild's captivity narrative.[9]

The treatment of Schweigger's life and works in secondary literature reflects the larger corpus of research on Germany and the Ottoman Empire at the time of the Reformation, which has mainly focused on specific aspects of the relations between the two. On the one hand, there is a corpus of modern literature that is concerned with the views and images of Islam and the Turks. In these, a distinction can be made between more 'popular images' and Protestant 'theologies of Islam'.[10] Both of these are primarily presented as responses to and reflections on the Ottoman Turk on a more ideological level, as an external military and a spiritual threat. As such, these works tend to ignore sixteenth century patterns of interaction and exchange between Protestant Germany and the Ottoman Empire. The latter is also true for works that focus on the production of knowledge about Islam at the time of the Reformation, as they are often centred around textual sources that were studied in isolation.[11] That such exchange did, however, take place becomes clear from publications centring around Lutheran interests in the Greek Orthodox Church.[12] Nevertheless, these works are usually concerned with the high-level interactions of Lutheran theologians with the Patriarchate. Literature on more every-day exchange with the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, tends to concentrate on the rise of European travel and travel writing, on the birth of ethnographic interest and description, on European-Ottoman politics and diplomacy, or on the emergence of European merchant and/or diplomatic communities within the Ottoman Empire.[13]

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[9] See: H. Stein, *Salomon Schweigger. Zum Hofe des türkischen Sultans,* Leipzig, 1986; J. Wild, *Reysbeschreibung eines Gefangenen Christen Anno 1604,* edited by G. A. Narciß and K. Teply, Stuttgart, Steingrüben Verlag, 1964.

[10] C. Colding Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453-1600. Turks in Germany and Central Europe*, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2014; T. Kaufmann, *"Türckenbüchlein". Zur christlicher Wahrnehmung "türckischen Religion" in Spätmittelalter und Reformation*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008; G. J. Miller, *The Turk and Islam in Reformation Germany*, London, Routledge 2017; G. J. Miller, 'Holy War and Holy Terror : Views of Islam in German Pamphlet Literature, 1520-1545', PhD Thesis, Boston University, 1994; J. T. Moger, 'Gog at Vienna: Three Woodcut Images of the Turks as Apocalyptic Destroyers in Early Editions of the Luther Bible', *Journal of the Bible and Its Reception,* vol. 3, no. 2, 2016, pp. 255-77; A. Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam. A Study in Sixteenth-Century Polemics and Apologetics*, Leiden & Boston, 2007; J. Ehmann, *Luther, Türken und Islam. Eine Untersuchung zum Türken- und Islambild Martin Luthers (1515-1546)*, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2008.

[11] E.g.: H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Beirut, Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1995; A. Hamilton, 'The Study of Islam in Early Modern Europe', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte,* vol. 3, 2001, pp. 169-182.

[12] See above, fn. 8.

[13] E.g.: R. C. Müller, *Franken im Osten. Art, Umgang, Struktur und Dynamik der Migration aus dem lateinischen Westen in das Osmanische Reich des 15./16. Jahrhunderts auf der Grundlage von Reiseberichten*, Leipzig, Eudora Verlag, 2005; J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800*, Oxon, Routledge, 1995; R. D. Radway, 'Vernacular Diplomacy in Central Europe: Statesmen and Soldiers between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1543-1593', PhD Thesis, Princeton University, 2017*;* E. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*: *Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Generally, the impression is created that actual encounters (through travel, diplomacy, etc.) with the Islamic part of Ottoman (religious) culture were of little or no religious interest to European Christians. Moreover, existing studies seem to distinguish between 'high culture' and 'popular culture', in which the Ottoman Empire only formed a part of the mental framework of the latter as an external threat or as an exotic place that could be read about in the travel accounts of others. A thorough study and contextualization of Schweigger's life and works – including narrative analysis of the latter – however, demonstrates that all these aspects of European engagement with Ottoman culture come together in what could be called a more general 'Lutheran interest in the Ottoman Empire', which was manifested on the basis of a complex network of relations between the two. Where Salomon Schweigger is discussed in modern literature, he is often presented either as a theologian, a missionary, a traveller, a writer, a diplomat, or a translator. As a consequence, scholars have emphasized one of his publications over the others. Despite the fact that, in all these capacities and in all of his writings, Schweigger dealt with – or was forced to deal with – the Ottoman Empire and its peoples and religions, no attempt has been made to connect them. I would argue, however, that they are, in fact, connected. Above all, Schweigger was a minister, and, as such, all his interactions with the Ottoman Empire reveal a clear pastoral concern with the Lutheran community and the consolidation of the Lutheran faith both in and outside of Germany. This is reflected in his writings, which - as will be argued in the following chapters - demonstrate how sixteenth-century exchange with the Ottoman Empire, as geographical and cultural space, could be of specifically Lutheran interest.[14] This interest was not only present in the interactions themselves, but also in the publications that resulted from these. Through these works, (knowledge about) the Ottoman Empire was integrated into the German vernacular debate. It could enter the conscious experience of the general German public not only as an external threat or exotic place, but as a part of the Lutheran world with which one could – and should - interact in a way that was of religious significance.

That actual interaction and engagement with the Ottoman Empire could shape the religious views of European thinkers – and, through their works, those of their fellow-countrymen – at the time of the Reformation has also been suggested by other scholars. In her article on the Frenchmen Guillaume Postel and Philippe Canaye, Christine Isom-Verhaaren argues that their "religious and political views … were significantly shaped by their experiences in the

[14] With regard to the pursuit of authentic knowledge about Islam, this 'religious value' – in which the study of Islam formed a part of and reflected processes of confessional identity formation - has already been discussed in publications such as Susanne Boettcher's 'German Orientalism in the Age of Confessional Consolidation', Adam Francisco's *Martin Luther and Islam,* Thomas Kaufmann's *"Türckenbüchlein"*, and Johannes Ehmann's *Luther, Türken und Islam*. Nevertheless, these focus almost exclusively on the construction of such knowledge in isolation from the Ottoman Empire, on the basis of Christian and/or Islamic texts.

Ottoman Empire".[15] Their experience with the Islamic religion affected (or strengthened) their views on confessional diversity – inspired by his travels, Postel wrote two works on the similarities between Muslims and Protestants as well as an account of the Ottoman Empire and Islam[16] – and on the fate of true Christianity, while more generally they observed and recognized both virtues and vices within the Ottoman Empire and amongst its peoples from which they and their readers could learn.[17] Ultimately, the physical encounters with Ottoman culture and religion contributed towards a religious view in which the Ottoman Empire was seen as a part of the Christian world – not as a religiously Christian area but as part of the religiously diverse world that also included European countries – where it could serve as both a negative and positive example. While Isom-Verhaaren's article deals with two individuals who temporarily crossed the borders between France and the Ottoman Empire, Laura Lisy-Wagner's *Islam, Christianity and the Making of Czech Identity* is concerned with the impact of a more continuous engagement between Christian communities and their Islamic neighbour. Inhabiting a 'liminal space' between Christian Europe and the Islamic Ottoman Empire, Lisy-Wagner demonstrates how Czech authors constructed images of "the Czech self" through the discourse about "issues of east and west, Muslim and Christian".[18] As she argues, the proximity of the Ottoman Empire – as a physical space – forced engagement with and reflection on the latter, and this, in turn, played an important role in the making of Czech identity. Through travelogues, religious texts and treatises, works on Islam and/or the Qur'an, and other literature on 'the Turk', Czech authors negotiated both similarities and differences between their own culture and religion and that of the Ottomans, thus enhancing their own understanding – as well as that of their readers – of what constituted their own, distinct identity.

As will be argued the coming four chapters, Salomon Schweigger's writings and activities reflect similar processes in which European engagement with the Ottoman Empire influenced local discourses on national and religious identity – in this case that of the German Lutheran community. Chapter one will discuss the context in which Schweigger lived, worked, and was educated, and in which he therefore may have laid the early foundations of his later ideas with regard to the Ottoman Empire itself, as well as (its relation to) the Lutheran faith and its

[15] C. Isom-Verhaaren, 'Sixteenth-Century French Travelers to the Ottoman Empire: The Impact of Travels in the Ottoman Empire on Guillaume Postel's and Philippe Canaye's Views of the Reformation', *The Muslim World,* vol. 107, 2017, p. 700.

[16] Isom-Verhaaren, 'Sixteenth-Century French Travelers'. These publications were *Alcorani seu legis Mahometi et Evangelistarum concordiae liber* (Paris, 1543), *De orbis terrae concordia* (Basel, 1544), and *De la Republic des Turcs* (Poitiers, 1560). All three works express the idea that knowledge about Islam and the Ottomans would help their defeat as well as that of other false beliefs (including Protestantism), and would benefit the establishment of religious unity in the world. Moreover, they articulate Postel's conviction that Muslims could and should be converted.

[17] Isom-Verhaaren, 'Sixteenth-Century French Travelers', p. 706.

[18] L. Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity, and the Making of Czech Identity, 1453-1683*, London, Routledge, 2016, p. 169.

consolidation. After a brief biography of Schweigger himself, the first half of the chapter will focus on German-Ottoman relations in the Reformation era. It will discuss the political and military aspects of these relations, including the development of Habsburg diplomacy in Constantinople, as well as the 'public' presence of the Ottoman Empire in German vernacular culture.[19] In the second part of the chapter, the focus then shifts to the direct environment in which Schweigger received his theological education. It will look at the process of Lutheran confessionalization and consolidation at the University of Tübingen, as well as the discussions at the theological faculty regarding the Ottoman Empire - mainly concerning the Ottoman Turks and Islam and the Greek Orthodox Church. Following this introduction, chapters two to four will then discuss the different aspects of Schweigger's 'Lutheran' engagement with the Ottoman Empire on the basis of his publications.

Chapter two centres around a discussion of Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung*, with a particular focus on its narrative construction. As the chapter will demonstrate, Schweigger's travel account clearly advocates the idea that important religious lessons could be learned from observing and interacting with the Ottoman Empire and its peoples and religions. On the one hand, these lessons are of a more 'ideological' nature, reflecting the Lutheran doctrine of the three estates and supporting the theological justification of the Reformation. On the other hand, they are more practical, as the Ottoman Empire contains both positive and negative examples with regard to the organization and consolidation of the Lutheran faith in the private and public sphere. This includes examples on how to maintain faith in an environment in which Lutherans were surrounded by Christians of different nomination (e.g. during Schweigger's pilgrimage to Jerusalem). As such, Schweigger's 'ethnographic' descriptions acquired a specifically perennial value, as they informed the reader on how to organize his life in such a way that would benefit his path towards salvation. At the same time, these descriptions created a place in the experience of the reader for a more 'realistic'[20] image of the Ottoman Empire as a geographical and cultural entity.[21]

This geographical and cultural entity was not only one that could be potentially travelled and observed, but also one that was inhabited by Lutheran Christian and thus, to a certain extent, formed a part of the Lutheran world. These Lutherans are one of the main the subjects of chapter

[19] This is meant to include all elements of German (literary/printed) culture that made use of the German vernacular language – including scholarly and religious works in German language. As such, the term is not meant to differentiate between e.g. 'popular' and 'academic' culture.
[20] I.e. as more closely corresponding to the empirical reality.
[21] This follows Edward Said's distinction between the Orient as an 'idea', and the 'real' Orient as a geographical and cultural entity. See: E. Said, *Orientalism,* New York City, Pantheon Books, 1978, p. 5. Whereas Said argues that there has generally been a lack of correspondence between the two, this dissertation instead demonstrates that, in the works of Schweigger, this correspondence between 'ideas' about or representations of the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and the Ottoman Empire as a geographical and cultural entity on the other, was, in fact, remarkably close.

three, which centres around Schweigger's pastoral activities in and with regard to the Ottoman Empire, on the basis of his travel account and correspondence, his Italian catechism, and his preface to Johann Wild's captivity narrative. As the chapter will demonstrate, Schweigger was not only concerned with the practice and maintenance of the Lutheran faith amongst members of the German embassy, but also with the presence of more 'permanent' and substantial communities of Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire – especially those in the recently conquered parts of Hungary and the 'community' of Hungarian, Croatian, and German captives and slaves in Constantinople. His remarks on the communities in Hungary reflect German thoughts on the relation of these Lutherans to the church in Germany as well as on the spread of German Lutheranism outside the German borders. In addition, they reveal Schweigger's pastoral concern for these peripheral communities.

Such pastoral concern is also expressed with regard to the Lutheran captives in Constantinople, who were generally deprived of any pastoral care or spiritual guidance. For them, Schweigger produced an Italian translation of the Lutheran catechism. Funded by the Lutheran patron Duke Ludwig of Württemberg, this publication also reflects contemporary religious politics and diplomacy. Such politics and diplomacy were facilitated by the presence of Lutheran clergymen like Schweigger and his predecessor Gerlach at the embassy in Constantinople. As the writings of both men reveal, the 'German House' offered an environment in which they freely exchanged and interacted with Ottoman Turks, members of the Greek patriarchate, dragoman converts, Persians, and others. These interactions show that religious difference did not stand in the way of friendly every-day exchange, and that even conversations about religion were not necessarily hostile. At the same time, they were seen as a potential danger to the Lutheran lay, who should therefore be strengthened in their faith. This was of importance not only for their own salvation, but also for the safety of their home community in the event of their return, as is discussed in an analysis of Schweigger's involvement in Johann Wilds' captivity narrative. Through works like these, the fate of Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire became a concern, and therefore a part of the conscious awareness, of the German reader at home. At the same time, such publications could serve as a reminder of the nature of true Lutheranism, and as an example of how to maintain this in a (potentially) hostile environment. This was not only a valuable lesson with regard to the recurring threat of Turkish conquest, but also in the context of a religiously divided home country, where religious conflict was never far away – as was proven by the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618.

The last chapter, chapter four, further builds on this theme of religious conflict and on the role of the Ottoman Empire in debates about true and false Christianity that accompanied the Lutheran process of confessionalization and consolidation in Germany. Concentrating on Schweigger's Qur'an translation, it demonstrates how knowledge about Islam was incorporated

into these debates, and – vice versa – how these debates encouraged the advancement and spread of information about the Islamic religion. Schweigger's Qur'an was published at a time of heated conflict between the city of Nürnberg and a small but substantial community of Socinian anti-Trinitarians at the university in Altdorf, which housed many students whose studies were funded by the Nürnberg city council. In the light of the theological debates and polemics that this conflict sparked, Schweigger presented his Qur'an translation as a useful reference work containing all heretical views and doctrines that should be avoided by Christians. In this context, it was of great importance to publish a version of the Qur'an that was as complete and authentic as possible, so as not to leave anything out or include anything that was not meant to be included. As an analysis of Schweigger's Qur'an reveals, this resulted in what could be seen as the first 'non-polemical' Qur'an text in a European language. The seeds for this project, however, had already been planted during Schweigger's stay in Constantinople. In the city, he came across an Italian Qur'an which he discussed with two Greek monks and possibly also with the Muslim inhabitants or visitors of the German embassy. As Schweigger writes in his preface, he was shocked by what he learned, and he came to the realisation that the prevailing European texts about and translations of the Qur'an did not contain a complete and sufficiently authentic reflection of its contents. For this reason, he set himself the task to translate the Italian Qur'an text into German, so that its entire context could become known to the German public and could be used in debates about true and false religion.

All in all, the following discussion and analysis of the life and works of Salomon Schweigger will contribute to a better understanding of the complex relations between Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire. It shows how the Ottoman Empire formed a part of the conscious awareness and experience of German Lutherans, and was of interest not only out of fear of or fascination with a strong and powerful 'other' but also as a part of the own world, as a space with which could be interacted, on which could be reflected, and to which could be referred in a way that was of religious significance. This research has provided new information – especially within the English-speaking realm – about the 'physical' interaction between German Protestants and the Ottoman Empire and the multi-religious diplomatic environment in Constantinople. It contains discussions of the lives of Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire and the pastoral concerns with regard to them, as well as the way in which these Lutherans were connected to the community in Germany, and it reflects on the ways in which knowledge about the Ottoman Empire and its religions was established and on how this knowledge was integrated into Lutheran debates. Finally, with Salomon Schweigger as its central point of focus, it demonstrates how a Lutheran minister, as a non-diplomatic member of the Habsburg embassy,

could function as a mediator and point of connection between what have long been perceived as two different worlds.[22]

[22] In the article 'Early Modern Diplomatic History', Tracy Sowerby has argued, for this very reason, that the term 'diplomacy' and 'diplomatic agency' should be expanded to include all individuals who played a part in the processes that shaped the relations between polities. In this regard, Schweigger could be seen as a diplomatic intermediary between the Lutheran community in Germany and the (communities of) the Ottoman Empire.

Chapter 1: Lutherans and the Ottoman Empire

1.1 Salomon Schweigger – a short biography

Despite the contemporary success of his writings, relatively little is known about Salomon Schweigger himself. He was born in 1551 in Haigerloch, Hohenzollern, as the son of a school rector, Heinrich Schweigger, and his wife Katharina.[23] His family quickly moved to Sulz, where Schweigger grew up in the house of his grandparents. His grandfather, Franz Schweigger, was a 'Schulmann' and rector, who had made name for himself around Schulz as "a man of *Wissenschaften*, both in speech and in poetry".[24] The educational background and interest of his family is reflected in Salomon Schweigger's own path of learning. He spent the first six years of his school career close to home in Sulz. At the age of twelve, he was sent to Tübingen for his classical education at the *Anatolische Schule,* which left after two year in order to continue at the *Latein- und (evangelischen) Klosterschulen des Herzogthums Württemberg*, first in Alberspach and then in Herrenalb. In 1572, he went on to study theology as a 'princely fellow' at the University of Tübingen.[25]

Schweigger's academic pathway, however, did not satisfy his curiosity. Rather, he felt the urge to develop his knowledge further outside of the university walls. With permission of the duke of Württemberg, who was responsible for the fellowships at Tübingen, Schweigger interrupted his studies even before he was ordained.[26] He left Tübingen on 26 September 1576, reportedly with six *thalers* in his pocket, in order to find a job that would answer his desire to 'see faraway countries and experience things'.[27] Schweigger's journey first led him to Regensburg, where he hoped to find a job as a teacher to the children of travelling diplomats. When he was unable to do so, he continued his way to Linz, Austria, where he was eventually hired by the 'Landschaft Procuratore' Joann Dienstdorffer. After three months, however, Schweigger quit his job and moved along to Vienna. There he met the minister Ambrosius Ziegler, who encouraged Schweigger to enter into the pastoral office. He was appointed as Ziegler's 'helper', and during

[23] Schweigger's place of birth has often been listed as Sulz am Necker (Württemberg). According to Martin Crusius, who was a close personal contact of Schweigger's, however, Schweigger was actually born in Haigerloch. See: Heyd, 'Schweigger, Salomon', pp. 339-340.
[24] "ein Mann von Wissenschaften, sowohl in Sprachen als in der Dichtkunst". Quote from Martin Crusius in a letter to David Chytraeus, dated 1582, in which he tells Chytraeus about Salomon Schweigger. This letter is printed in: J. C. Stockhausen, *Sammlung Vermischte Briefe,* Vienna, Johann Thomas Edler von Trattnern, 1774, quote from p. 159.
[25] Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger', p. 152. About this fellowship or *Stipendium* at the University of Tübingen, which will be more extensively discussed later in this chapter, also see: K. Küpfel, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Universität Tübingen*, Tübingen, Ludw. Friedr. Fues, 1849, pp. 99-113.
[26] Letter from Crusius to Chytraeus. Stockhausen, *Vermischter Briefe*, p. 160.
[27] Will, *Nürnbergische Münzbelustigungen,* p. 139; Stein, *Zum Hofe,* p. 19; Stockhausen, *Vermischter Briefe*, p. 160.

this time he was also examined and ordained in Graz.[28] After a few months of service, Ziegler introduced Schweigger to Joachim von Sinzendorf (1544-1594), who was soon to embark on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople for the Holy Roman Empire, and was recruiting a Lutheran minister to accompany him and his entourage as a chaplain and missionary.[29] Having just been ordained, and still searching for a position that would satisfy his curiosity and wanderlust, Schweigger was eventually hired for the job.

As Von Sinzendorf's chaplain, Schweigger spent three years in Constantinople, where he was able to indulge in his desire for the new and exotic. Moreover, after his term ended, he received special permission from both the ambassador and the Ottoman Sultan to travel, via Alexandria and Damascus, to the Holy Land, from where he then made his journey back to Germany. His three years in the Ottoman Empire seem to have sufficiently stilled Schweigger's hunger for the unknown, because after his return he never left the country or even the direct area again. From 1582 to 1583 he was 'Pfarrhelfer' in Nürtingen (Württemberg), from 1583-1589 'Stadtpfarrer' in Grötzingen (Baden), from 1589 to 1605 'Pfarrer' in Wilhermsdorf (Franken), and from 1605 until his death he worked as a minister ('Prediger') in the Frauenkirche in Nürnberg.[30] Schweigger's return to Germany, however, did not put an end to his involvement with the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic World. In 1608, the minister published an illustrated travel account, in which he documented his experiences and observations during his stay at the embassy in Constantinople.[31] In 1616, moreover, he published a German translation of the Qur'an - the first known attempt at translating the whole Qur'an into German. In addition to these publications, Schweigger also wrote a preface to a captivity narrative by Johann Wild, in which Wild described his years as a prisoner in the Ottoman Empire. Clearly, while Schweigger had physically left the Ottoman Empire, it still formed an active part of his mental world.

Schweigger's curiosity about and involvement with the Ottoman Empire were not unique. Rather, they seem to have been a clear product of the time as well as his particular environment. The political, diplomatic, and military encounters between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottomans had caused an increasing popular interest in the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic religion within German culture. Reports and propaganda about the so-called 'Turkish threat' *fed* this interest, while the development of diplomatic relations facilitated the production and spread of more authentic knowledge in order to *meet* this interest. Before Schweigger published his travel account, similar reports by diplomats and travellers had already been attracting popular attention. While these accounts often expressed a negative attitude towards the Ottoman and

[28] Will, *Nürnbergische Münzbelustigungen*, p. 139.
[29] Stein, *Zum Hofe*, pp. 19-22.
[30] B. Ebneth, 'Schweigger, Salomon', in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 24, 2010, pp. 45-46. Available from: http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117653772.html#ndbcontent (accessed 1 April 2019).
[31] This *Reyßbeschreibung* was reprinted in 1612, 1619, 1639.

Islamic culture, they also demonstrated that this culture could be encountered in a relatively peaceful and safe manner. As a result, the Ottoman Empire gained an increasing presence in the experience of the German public, not only as a spiritual threat to Christianity but also as a physical reality which could be encountered and observed, and with which could be interacted. This is also reflected in the Lutheran discourse at the time, in which theologians sought new ways to deal with the historical and physical reality of the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic religion as part of a Christian reality and experience. Moreover, in the wake of the Reformation, newly generated knowledge was increasingly used not only to deal with the Ottoman Empire itself, but was also used in debates about Christian identity. As a consequence, the Ottoman Empire also acquired a firm presence in the religious discourse at the time, thus integrating more and more into the experience of German Lutherans.

Before I continue to examine the ways in which Schweigger's writings express the increasing presence of the Ottoman Empire in the Lutheran discourse, the aim of this chapter is to reconstruct the context in which Schweigger encountered and wrote about the Ottoman Empire and Islam, in order to determine the factors and discourses that may have shaped his own approach towards and treatment of Ottoman and Islamic culture and religion. First, it will look at the 'official' relationship between Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Secondly, it will identify the ways in which this relationship was expressed and experienced within German vernacular culture. Third, it will examine how the Ottoman Empire and its religions were integrated into the Lutheran religious discourse at the university of Tübingen, where Schweigger received most of his theological training. Rather than focussing on 'images of the Turk' in German culture - which is something that has already been extensively studied in publications focussing on pamphlets, sermons, illustrations, etc.[32] - this chapter will explore the ways in which the Ottoman Empire formed a part of the lived experience in German and, more specifically, Lutheran culture. As it will demonstrate, this Ottoman presence in German culture was caused by an interplay between politics and diplomacy, political and religious propaganda, increasing popular interest in Ottoman/Islamic culture, and the confessionalization process that ensued after the Reformation - an interplay that was embodied in mediators such as Schweigger.

[32] See: Miller, *The Turk and Islam;* Colding Smith, *Images of Islam.*

1.2 German-Ottoman relations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

When Schweigger joined the embassy of Joachim von Sinzendorf, Germany had a centuries long history of turbulent relationships with the Ottoman Empire, both as a part of the 'Christian world' and as a part of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1453, the Ottomans brought Christian Europe into serious crisis when they conquered Constantinople and the Ottoman Sultan became the successor of the Christian emperors of Byzantium. While this was initially mainly a symbolical loss for the Christian polities, the fall of Constantinople was also the starting point of a series of Ottoman expeditions into Europe. From their new stronghold, the first Ottoman troops crossed the Straits into the Balkans, and over the following decades they advanced into Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Bosnia, and Albania, thus adding territories to their empire that had previously been part of the Christian world. Although these conquests were confined to the eastern parts of Europe, and hardly formed a direct political or military threat to the Holy Roman Empire and the German Imperial Estates, they did create a general fear of an impending attack on the Habsburg and German territories. Even when the conquests in Europe stopped for a whole generation after the death of Mehmed the Conqueror in 1481, a widespread German feeling of 'Türkengefahr' - fear of the Turkish threat to the Christian world - remained.[33]

Under Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566), the battle between Europe and the Ottoman Empire flared up once more. Suleiman's apparent political ambitions in Hungary resulted in a series of major wars not only with the Hungarian monarchy, but later also with the Habsburg Empire and the German Imperial Estates. Initially, the German Estates had shown no interest in getting involved in what they considered to be wars of Habsburg territorial ambition. With the advances of the Ottoman Empire, however, resulting in the sieges of Belgrade, Buda and even Vienna, these wars acquired an increasingly defensive character. As these wars developed, so did a growing fear that the Ottomans indeed wished to add Austria and Germany to their empire. After the failed siege of Vienna in 1529, rumours quickly spread about the Turkish atrocities on the Austrian countryside, demonstrating that the Turk formed a real threat to the inhabitants of the Habsburg Empire. The Habsburg and German authorities, too, feared renewed Turkish aggressions, and they developed a close cooperation to defend the Holy Roman Empire. For the Protestant Estates there was more at stake than just the safety of the Empire in the light of the Turkish threat. In return for their - substantial - assistance to the Habsburg powers, they were promised at least a temporary toleration of Lutheranism in their territories.[34] It shows how, even in the earliest encounters, the Ottoman Empire became a part of the religious debates and politics in Germany.

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[33] See: J. W. Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* vol. 58, no. 9, 1968, pp. 1-58.
[34] Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God', p. 7.

In 1532, a large Habsburg-German army gathered in Vienna to meet the anticipated Ottoman assault. But, while Suleiman did invade Hungary, where he besieged the Habsburg-held fortress of Güns, he avoided a serious confrontation with the actual army and withdrew before such a confrontation could be provoked from the Habsburg side. Until 1541, the Ottoman Empire refrained from any serious challenges to the Habsburg power, although Ottoman troops from Bosnia frequently raided the neighbouring Habsburg territories. In 1541, internal events in Hungary, which was still plagued by a political crisis, led to the invasion of Ottoman troops. The Habsburg-German army that was sent to offer military resistance proved no match for these Ottoman troops, and in the same year Buda and Pest were officially brought under Ottoman control. With the possibilities of an Ottoman invasion of Austria and the bulk of the Holy Roman Empire closer than ever, the German Estates attempted to expel the Ottomans from Hungary once in 1542, by sending a German army. This, however, was to no avail.[35]

The struggle over Hungary seems to have exhausted all the parties involved, and in 1547 the Sultan and the Holy Roman Emperor decided on a truce based on the territorial *status quo*, which effectively established a Habsburg-Ottoman border in Hungary and formed the starting point of five decades of relative peace between the Ottomans and the Habsburg Empire and German Estates. This was also the starting point for the development of official diplomatic relations between the Habsburgs and Ottomans. The truce of 1547 had been signed in the form of a renewable peace treaty, and between then and the outbreak of the Long Turkish War in 1593 eleven more peace treaties were negotiated. This continuous renegotiation was required by Islamic Law, which prohibited long-term peace with the 'House of Unbelievers' (*Dar al-Kufr*).[36] A prerequisite for the continuing truce was a tribute that had to be paid by the Habsburgs, so in the years between 1547 and 1593 a total of 27 envoys were sent from Vienna to Constantinople in order to deliver this tribute - or, as the Habsburgs called it, this 'present'[37] - and to (re)negotiate on important matters in order to "maintain stable and sometimes friendly relations".[38] One of the important issues in these negotiations were the ongoing violations in the border areas between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires, where the Ottomans regularly took prisoners and the 'Turkish threat' was thus still continuously felt.[39]

[35] Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God', p. 8.
[36] M. Klein, 'Zwei Lutheraner an der Hohen Pforte – Leben, Reisen und religionspolitisches Wirken der Tübinger Theologen Stephan Gerlach und Salomon Schweigger', in F. Schweitzer (ed.), *Kommunikation über Grenzen. Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellshaft für Theologie 2008,* Gütersloh, 2009, pp. 533-4.
[37] See: P. Burschel, 'A Clock for the Sultan', *The Medieval History Journal,* vol. 16, no. 2, 2013, p. 554;
[38] R. D. Radway, 'The Captive Self: The Art of Intrigue and the Holy Roman Emperor's Resident Ambassador at the Ottoman Court in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Early Modern History,* vol. 22, no. 6, 2018, p. 481.
[39] Klein, 'Zwei Lutheraner', p. 535.

The official state of peace with the Ottoman Empire, as well as the need for continuous (re)negotiation also led to the instalment of a Habsburg resident ambassador in Constantinople. The first position was held by Johann Maria Malvezzi from 1547 to 1552, and from that time on, we can speak of permanent Habsburg representation within the Ottoman Empire. The position of resident ambassador was fulfilled by Habsburg diplomats of a variety of national backgrounds. Successors of the Italian Malvezzi included the Flemish Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1556-1562) and the Dutch Albert de Wijs (1562-1569), and Salomon Schweigger's Austrian master Joachim von Sinzendorf (1578-1580). Amongst the special envoys, who were entrusted with the delivery of the tribute or special negotiations, we can similarly find Hungarians, Dutch, Flemish, Austrians, and Germans. Moreover, all other agents within the embassy were from a variety of backgrounds, and, over the years, including a large number of Germans.[40] The signing of the 1547 peace treaty and the following diplomatic relations between the Ottoman and Holy Roman empires thus also established a more-or-less stable and continuous relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the German territories.

[40] For an extensive overview of the diplomatic missions between 1547 and 1739, including the names and responsibilities of the ambassadors, see: B. Spuler, 'Die europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Belgrad (1739) 3. Teil', *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, Neue Folge, vol. 11, no. 3/4 , 1935, pp. 313-366.

1.3 The Ottomans in everyday German experience

The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and the following expansion in Europe had not only posed a political and military challenge to the German Estates, but also affected the experience and imagination of the general German public, especially since the event coincided with the onset of the age of printing.[41] Indeed, before the invention of the printing press, experiences with the Ottoman Empire, both peaceful and aggressive, were mostly confined to the Eastern frontiers and the Mediterranean, and were generally limited for Germans.[42] The early sixteenth century, however, formed the start of the outpouring of a large body of texts on the 'Turks' - called *Turcica* - which included both fiction and nonfiction, and which brought the Ottoman Empire closer to the German reader than ever. Although the inhabitants of the German Estates never experienced any direct atrocities on their territory, they were confronted with the experiences of others, and the possibilities of meeting the same fate, through pamphlets, booklets, and even sermons and prayers that were printed in the German language and enjoyed a wide readership. At the same time, new, more peaceful encounters with Ottoman culture in the diplomatic context were also shared through the medium of print, as they were documented in reports and travel accounts. Although the aim here is not to characterize or reproduce the 'image' of the Turk that was created by such literature, a brief survey of such representations will demonstrate the ways in which the German public was confronted with the Ottomans - and in what capacity the Ottomans formed a part of the 'everyday' German experience.

In determining the role that the Ottomans played in German experience and imagination, the focus will be on texts concerning the 'actual' Ottoman Empire, rather than fictional narratives about the Orient. Although the image of the Ottoman Empire in such texts could often also be considered 'fictional' - to the extent that they were European constructs or fabrications - they were concerned with and created in correspondence to current events and the physical reality of the Ottoman Empire.[43] They presented the Turk not as an exotic narrative character, but rather

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[41] S. R. Falkner, '"Having it off" with Fish, Camels, and Lads: Sodomitic Pleasures in German-Language Turcica', *Journal of the History of Sexuality,* vol. 13, no. 4, 2004, p. 403.

[42] Until the first peace treaty of 1547 there was no permanent Ottoman-Habsburg diplomacy, and there were no official trade relations between the two empires. German travel to the Ottoman Empire was therefore generally limited to the Mediterranean trade via Venice, Genoa, and Marseille, or to (involuntary) travel in the military context. See: H. Kellenbenz, 'From Melchior Manlich to Ferdinand Cron: German Levantine and Oriental Trade Relations (Second Half of the XVIth and Beginning of the XVIIth countries)', *The Journal of European Economic History,* vol. 19, no. 3, 1990, pp. 611-622; J. D. Tracy, 'The Habsburg Monarchy in Conflict with the Ottoman Empire, 1527-1593: A Clash of Civilizations', *Austrian History Yearbook,* vol. 46, 2015, pp. 1-26.

[43] As Daniel Vitkus writes, the distinction between 'fiction' and 'fact', or 'story' and 'history' was not clear for most premodern readers and audiences. However, it was clear for the authors of *turcica*, to the extent that they wrote their works in relation to worldly events and the reality of the Ottoman Empire. See: D. Vitkus, 'Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe', in M. Frassetto and D. Blanks (eds.), *Western views of Islam in early modern Europe: Perception of Other,* New York, St. Martin's Press, 1999, p. 209.

reflected on the ways in which the Ottoman Empire was connected to European history and culture, and, as such, integrated it into the direct European Christian experience. As indicated, this does not mean that the representation of Ottoman culture and religion itself was always accurate. Nevertheless, these images were 'real' to the extent that, for many Germans, they were the only way in which the Ottoman Empire - as an actual space that was bordering and at times threatening the Christian world - formed a part of their experience.[44] Moreover, stereotypical representations, too, could be based on factual information.

Rather than looking at the degree to which these images of the Ottoman empire corresponded to reality, I will identify the means by which they were constructed and integrated into the German vernacular discourse. As this will demonstrate, the Ottomans often fulfilled a specific function in German texts, and were therefore portrayed in a certain way, using carefully selected kinds of information. In constructing their images of the Ottoman Empire, authors did not necessarily make a choice between objective representation – based on empirical knowledge – on the one hand or subjective imaging on the other. Rather, they could mix the two in order to create the desired image, corresponding to its specific function. In the face of war and conquest, Habsburg propaganda that aimed to win popular support for military action focused on the historical clashes between the Christian and Islamic world in order to portray the Ottomans as the archenemy of Christianity. Texts written in the context of the Reformation, on the other hand, used the Ottoman 'Feindbild' as well as knowledge about the Islamic religion in order to urge for spiritual reform and education.

At the same time, objective knowledge about the Ottoman Empire played an increasing role in texts aimed at *Kulturkritik* of the own, German society, in which the Ottomans could either serve as negative counterpoints or positive examples in matters of morality, politics, cultural institutions, and spirituality.[45] But even then, such images were marked by varying degrees of objectivity: while 'negative' images of the Ottoman Empire were constructed by a subjective emphasis on things such as the military threat to Europe or the treatment of captive Christians, 'positive' images, too, could be constructed by a partial focus on certain elements, and used with a specific aim such as criticizing the own, Christian society.[46] As a result, we can witness a wide variety of often unbalanced images of the Ottoman Empire in German vernacular texts, and even within one and the same text the Ottomans could be characterized in different and ambiguous ways. In general, what German publications on the Ottoman Empire had in common, was that

[44] Vitkus, 'Early Modern Orientalism', p. 207.
[45] Kaufmann, *"Türckenbüchlein"*, p. 5.
[46] A great example of such strategic 'praise' and criticism of the Ottoman Empire can be found, for example, in Leunclavius' *Historiae musulmanae,* in which the author included a 'pro-Turkish' and a 'contra-Turkish' list. For an discussion of such 'Analyses of Ottoman strength and weakness', see: N. Malcolm, *Useful Enemies. Islam and The Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450-1750,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 229-244.

they were usually more concerned with the own culture and religion than with the Ottoman Empire itself, and that the image of the Ottoman Empire was often constructed in support of the ideological function of the text.[47] At the same time, these texts were responsible for the integration of the Ottoman Empire into German discourses of religious and cultural identity, and, as such, into the everyday experience of the German public.

The Ottomans in the light of the 'Turkish threat'

When talking about 'images of the Turk' or 'images of Islam', there often seems to be an underlying assumption that negative images equal polemical constructs. Daniel Vitkus, for example, suggests that the many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European texts that focus on conflicts and competition between European-Christian and Arab-Islamic culture were part of an early modern 'orientalism' that "demonized the Islamic other".[48] We should not forget, however, that conflicts and competition between the Ottoman Empire and European-Christian entities - such as the Holy Roman Empire - were part of the historical reality. For many Europeans, in fact, their only experience with the Ottomans was within the military context. Within Germany, such 'experience' was mainly indirect, through the medium of print. In pamphlets, news reports, and the accounts of former captives and/or slaves, Germans could read about the Ottoman atrocities in the borderlands between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. Although such atrocities could very well be, and often were, exaggerated by Christian authors, they were nevertheless real, and they created a strong presence within the German experience of the potent Ottoman Empire that was threatening European power and culture.

Undoubtedly the most popular form of literature on the Ottomans, and therefore the most influential in integrating the Ottoman Empire into the everyday experience of the German readership, were the so called *Türckenbüchlein* – tracts that claimed to provide 'authentic' and 'objective' information on Turkish customs, religion, military and political organisation, etc., but that were actually aimed at constructing a specific image of the Turk. These texts were mostly written by theologians, amongst whom a large number of Lutherans, and therefore often simultaneously concerned with Christian themes.[49] The production of such propagandistic *Türckenbüchlein* was tightly linked to military events, and was therefore especially high in the years between 1522 and 1543. In the light of the Turkish conquests of Belgrade, Rhodes, Buda, and Pest, authors reflected on the potential threat of a "Turkish onslaught through Hungary into

[47] Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God', pp. 1-58.
[48] Vitkus, 'Early Modern Orientalism', p. 209.
[49] For an extensive analysis of German *Türckenbüchlein* from the 15th and 16th century and on their (polemical and/or apologetic) religious and propagandistic function, including visual examples, see: Kaufmann, *"Türckenbüchlein"*.

Austria, Bavaria, and other German lands", and to Christianity as a whole.[50] As works of propaganda, these texts always had a primary motive other than simply presenting information about the Turk or Turkish conquests. Although these motives differed amongst authors, the shared, overarching aim could be said to have been "to bring about the moral and spiritual regeneration of the Christians as individuals and as a society".[51] Interpreted as an aspect of the moral and spiritual crisis of Christianity, the Ottomans were typically characterized either as the Islamic arch-enemy of Christianity, or, slightly paradoxical, as the scourge of God. The Ottoman arch-enemy could be defeated by a (unified) Christian army that would receive God's blessing and help once Christians would repent and reform. As a scourge of God, on the other hand, the Ottoman conquests had been brought about by Christian sinfulness and false doctrines. Although the German Estates had thus far been spared, they would inevitably be brought under Ottoman rule unless Christians, both as individuals and as a society, would morally and spiritually regenerate. As such, *Türckenbüchlein* were often vehicles for the mobilization of German readers in the light of the struggle against the Turk as well as for critique on the Christian sinfulness and calls for repentance, prayer, spiritual warfare, and support for the military costs.[52]

In the light of their primary motives, the authors of *Türckenbüchlein* were mainly concerned with generating or exploiting fear of the Turks, either to win support for the costly wars against the Ottoman Empire or to call for moral and spiritual reform. As a consequence, writers often (re)produced an image of the Turkish enemy that was based on traditional Christian prejudice - employing whatever characteristics they saw fit to successfully instil fear - and little actual information on the Ottomans was used and transmitted.[53] As John Bohnstedt writes in his study of German *Türckenbüchlein*, very few, if any, pamphleteers had high-level experience in politics, public administration, or military affairs. Moreover, out of the thirty texts analysed by Bohnstedt, only one author had experienced a direct encounter with the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the remarks on subjects such as the Ottoman state and army in *Türckenbüchlein* "are necessarily somewhat naive and amateurish",[54] and contained little factual knowledge. Most authors studied by Bohnstedt likely had access to two particular sources about the Ottoman Empire that circulated both in Latin and in German: a text known as *Captivus Septemcastrensis*,

[50] Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God', p. 10.
[51] Ibid., p. 31.
[52] For a more detailed account of the rhetorical use of the Turkish menace in polemics and apologetics in Türkenbüchlein after the Reformation, see: Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God'; Kaufmann, *"Türckenbüchlein"*.
[53] In the 1522 pamphlet *Türcken biechlin*, for example, the Ottoman Empire is represented by a fictional 'Turkish spy' who discusses the future of Christian Europe with his assistant, a Hungarian gypsy, and a Catholic hermit. An anonymous pamphlet from 1526, titled *Ausszug aines Brieffs, wie ainer, so in der Türckey wonhafft, seinem Freünd in dise Land geschriben...* contains a undoubtedly fictitious letter that is designed to warn the German reader against the efficient, powerful, and determined Turkish enemy who was threatening Christianity. See: Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God', especially page 18.
[54] Ibid., p. 18.

written by an anonymous Transylvanian who had spent several years in Ottoman slavery, and the history and description of the Ottoman Empire by the Italian bishop Paolo Giovio.[55] Both these sources were marked by inaccuracy, and especially the former contained many serious errors. For the authors of *Türkenbüchlein*, however, such inaccuracy was of very little concern. Their aim, after all, was not to offer information on the Ottoman Empire, but to effect repentance, reform, and - in some cases - unity within Germany and the Holy Roman Empire.

Another important source of the general 'fear of the Turk' were captivity narratives and the testimonies of renegades, which often contained detailed accounts of the continuous mistreatment of slaves and captives under Ottoman rule. Such works enjoyed great popularity, and it has even been suggested that two particular captivity narratives – those of Georgius of Hungary and Bartholomeus Georgijevic – formed two of the most important sources of information on the Ottomans for Germans during the Reformation.[56] An especially important theme in the accounts of Ottoman captivity was the allegedly forced (near-)conversion of Christian captives to Islam. Many authors describe how they were systematically abused and tortured by their Ottoman masters in an attempt to be converted to Islam, and some accounts even contained illustrations in order to convey "in graphic and voyeuristic detail the outrages that Christian captives were allegedly subjected to".[57] Accounts like these fit the popular image of Islam as a violent religion that was spread with the sword, despite the fact that the Qur'an explicitly forbids the forced conversion of non-Muslims.[58] Indeed, recent scholarship has suggested that, while forced conversion undoubtedly happened, this was far less common than was believed by the early modern reader.[59] Rather, former captives used the descriptions of coercion and violence in order to convey a religious message - either to assure their religious perseverance, or to justify their own conversion.

In a related manner to the *Türckenbüchlein*, so-called *Türkenpredigten* ('Turkish sermons') also sought to raise the public awareness about the Turkish menace. In these sermons, both Catholic and Protestant clergymen reflected on the war against the Ottoman Empire, and called for penance, prayer, and reform. In doing so, these sermons were of a more practical nature than the pamphlets in terms of effectuating enhanced piety. Apart from making sense of the Ottoman conquests and threat in the light of Christian salvation history, many of them contain

[55] Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God', p. 18.
[56] See: Miller, *The Turks and Islam*; although this statement still needs further evidence, see: A. Schunka, 'The Turks and Islam in Reformation Germany' (review), *German History,* vol. 36, no. 3, 2018, pp. 441-443.
[57] E. R. Dursteler, 'Fearing the "Turk" and Feeling the Spirit: Emotion and Conversion in the Early Modern Mediterranean' *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 39, no. 4, 2015, p. 489.
[58] Ibid., p. 494.
[59] For a bibliographic overview, see: T. 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, and Dursteler, 'Fearing the "Turk"', p. 495, f70.

instructions on how to pay penance, and provide (examples of) prayers that would be effective in the spiritual warfare against the Ottomans. These sermons were not only performed in church, but they were also published, often in collections meant for private household use. By the end of the sixteenth century, such collections were widely spread.[60]

In fact, many of such 'Turkish sermons' were requested or even demanded by the worldly authorities of the German Estates, in order to win public support for their costly wars against the Ottoman Empire. In addition *Türkenpredigten*, these authorities called for general 'days of penance' and the ringing of so-called 'Turkish bells' at noon, which should remind the people to pray against the Turk on a daily basis. Especially the ringing of these bells testifies to the fact that the Ottomans were an undeniable part of the daily life and experience of the general public, even in the German Estates where they did not necessarily impose a direct threat. Even for those who were not familiar with the reports in *Turcica* and 'Turkish sermons', the bells were a daily reminder of the omnipresent Turkish threat.[61] For the worldly authorities, animating general sentiments of *Türkengefahr* through the religious sphere was mainly a way to win support for their military efforts. Not only did this consider mental support, but also the willingness of Habsburg subjects to pay a so-called 'Turk tax' to finance the military defence of the Hungarian border.[62] Especially with the Evangelical estates feeling hesitant to fund a Catholic Habsburg army, the endorsement of this tax by Protestant clergymen was important in order to establish a more widespread support. As a part of his views on Christian obedience to worldly authorities, even Martin Luther used his sermons to urge his congregation to pay the Turk tax.[63]

At the same time, *Türkenpredigten* were a way for the German clergy to argue for the urgency of spiritual reform. While not all writers of Turkish sermons supported the idea of a 'Holy War' against the Ottoman Empire, they all subscribed to the idea of a 'spiritual warfare', the first step of which should be sought within confessional reform and consolidation. Through the medium of the *Türkenpredigt* they were able to instruct the congregation on the shape that such reform should take, and on how to establish and maintain a pious and moral life[64] - like many of the *Türckenbüchlein*, these sermons on the Turks simultaneously concerned "Christianity" and the internal causes of its external suppression by the Ottomans.[65] In the light of the Reformation,

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[60] D. Grimmsmann, *Krieg mit dem Wort. Türkenpredigten des 16. Jahrhunderts im Alten Reich*, Berlin and Boston, De Gruyter, 2016, p. 23.
[61] On the connection between local and regional German politics and so called 'Türkengottesdienst', see: Grimmsmann, *Krieg mit dem Wort.*
[62] The "Turk taxes" levied by the Imperial Diet averaged 190,000 *gulden* a year between 1530 and 1551, and 600,000 a year from 1556 to 1587. Tracy, 'The Habsburg Monarchy in Conflict', p. 15.
[63] See: D. S. Choi, 'Martin Luther's Response to the Turkish Threat: Continuity and Contrast with the Commentators Riccoldo da Monte Croce and Nicholas of Cusa', PhD Thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, 2003, p. 128. Available from: https://search.proquest.com/docview/305312250/?pq-origsite=primo (accessed 15 January 2020).
[64] On the religious instructions in *Türkenpredigten*, see: Grimmsmann, *Krieg mit dem Wort*.
[65] Kaufmann, *"Türckenbüchlein",* p. 5.

members of the clergy were thus able to link the perceived Ottoman threat to the more practical contemporary discourse of confessionalization - a link that shall be discussed more elaborately later.

Towards a more balanced view: The Ottomans in travel accounts

Through the popular mediums of *Türckenbüchlein* and *Türkenpredigten,* the German public was thus constantly reminded of the impending Turkish threat. As such, the Ottoman Empire formed a strong and aggressive presence in the experience of German Christians. This image of the Turk, however, was not exclusive. Counterbalancing the anti-Turkish propaganda were the stories of individuals who had first-hand experience with the Ottoman Empire in a non-military setting, such as travellers and members of a diplomatic following. Especially after the peace of 1547, when the relationship between the Ottomans and Habsburgs moved away from the battlefield and into the political and diplomatic arena, both Germans and other Habsburg subjects increasingly started to encounter Ottoman culture and society in a more peaceful environment.[66] The annual missions from Vienna to Constantinople provided an opportunity for individuals to travel to the Ottoman Empire as part of the diplomatic envoy, and the establishment of the 'German House' - as the Habsburg embassy was popularly nicknamed - in Constantinople offered a relatively safe haven from which travellers, merchants, and diplomats could interact with their surroundings, and share their experiences with their community back home.[67] Mediating the borders between cultural, religious, and social groups, they gathered information and allowed for European and Ottoman culture to become more intertwined.[68]

The closer interaction with Ottoman culture did not only take place within the microcosm of Constantinople, but was also extended to the German homeland: through the eyewitness accounts and reports of travellers and diplomats, the German public was able to encounter,

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[66] While the peace treaties did not mean the end of military aggression in the Habsburg-Ottoman border area, it did open new routes and possibilities of travel and interaction. For the continuing tensions at the border, see: G. Pálffy, 'Ransom slavery along the Ottoman-Hungarian frontier in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in P. Fodor and G. David (eds.), *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders,* Leiden, Brill, 2007, pp. 35-83.

[67] The development of diplomatic relations did not only open up possibilities for diplomatic officials, but also for other travellers, who were either employed by the embassy (e.g. as musicians, writers, physicians, entertainers, cooks, etc.) or who travelled under its (paid) protection. See: T. A. Sowerby, 'Early Modern Diplomatic History'; K. Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften ans Goldene Horn,* Stuttgart, Steingrüben-Verlag, 1968.

[68] Indeed, recent studies proposing a new approach to diplomatic history emphasize the ways in which both the official ambassadors and the other agents in their embassy moved on the borders of cultural, religious, and social groups, functioning as mediators and gathering information. See, e.g.: E.S. Gürkan, 'Mediating Boundaries: Mediterranean Go-Betweens and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in Constantinople, 1560-1600', *Journal of Early Modern History,* vol. 19, no. 2/3, 2015, pp. 107-128; T. A. Sowerby, 'Early Modern Diplomatic History'; M. van Gelder and T. Krstić, 'Introduction: Cross-Confessional Diplomacy and Diplomatic Intermediaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 19, no. 2/3, 2015, pp. 93-105.

experience, and study the Ottoman Empire in a more direct and nuanced way. Popular travel accounts were, for example, those of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522-1592) - the resident ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire in Constantinople from 1556 to 1562 - and Leonhard Rauwolf, (1535-1596) who travelled around the Ottoman Empire as a physician and botanist from 1573 to 1575.[69] In addition to generating travel account, the diplomatic context also facilitated the influx of new source material to Germany and the Habsburg Empire, on the basis of which the Ottoman Empire could be studied in a more scholarly manner. A valuable manuscript on Turkish history, for example, was brought to Europe by the Australian traveller and art collector Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf (1525-1596) with the help of his diplomatic network.[70] This text was made accessible to the wider public in a German translation in 1567.[71] The famous historian and humanist Johannes Löwenklau (*1541-1594), in turn, was the first German to write an account on Ottoman history on the basis of Ottoman sources, part of which he collected during his travel to Constantinople with a Habsburg embassy.[72] As such, the increased contact between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires through diplomacy facilitated the formation of more nuanced ideas about the Turk, the Ottoman Empire, and Islam, even amongst the German public, on the basis of eyewitness reports and scholastic research.[73]

At the same time, even travel accounts often served a certain goal, as they provided a platform for the author to reflect on himself and on his own society. As such, the travel account did not just create a space for the ordering and sharing of empirical knowledge, but also for self-reflection and identity formation of both an individual and the group (social, political, religious) to which that individual belonged.[74] In this light, even travel writers sometimes carefully selected their information in order to create a certain image of the Ottoman Empire to serve their goal. Moreover, the knowledge that was generated and shared through travel accounts could also be used by the reader in order to support certain narratives. In these narratives, the Ottomans could fulfil both 'negative' and 'positive' roles.[75] Many Germans, for example, were positive about the relatively large degree of religious toleration within the Ottoman Empire, about which they were

[69] O. G. de Busbecq, *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum,* Antwerp, Christophori Plantini, 1581; L. Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß, so er vor diser zeit gegen Auffgang inn die Morgenländer fürnemlich Syriam, Iudaeam, Arabiam, Mesopotamiam, Babyloniam, Assyriam, Armeniam [et]c. nicht ohne geringe mühe vnnd grosse gefahr selbs volbracht*, Laugingen, Reinmichel, 1582.
[70] P. Ács, '*Pro Turcis* and *contra Turcos*: Curiosity, Scholarship and Spiritualism in Turkish Histories by Johannes Löwenklau (1541-1594)', *Acta Comenia,* vol. 25, 2011, pp. 5-6.
[71] H. Spiegel, *Chronica oder Acta von der Türckischen Tyrannen herkommen vnd gefürten Kriegen aus Türckischer Sprachen verdeutschet,* Frankfurt an der Oder, 1567.
[72] J. Löwenklau, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum, de Monumentis Ipsorum Excriptæ, libri XVIII,* Frankfurt, 1591. See also: P. Ács, "*Pro Turcis* and *contra Turcos*', p. 4.
[73] See also: Colding Smith, *Images of Islam,* pp. 1-2.
[74] Stagl, A *History of Curiosity,* p. 50.
[75] A. Geier, '"Also ist der Turcke auch vnser Schulmeister…" Zur Rhetorik von Identität und Alterität in Türkenschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts', in W. Neuber, et al. (eds.), *Rhetorik. Ein internationals Jahrbuch,* vol. 22, 2003, p. 20.

informed through the eyewitness accounts of travellers and diplomats.[76] Such positivity, however, generally performed a primarily rhetorical function: it was often used within anti-Catholic polemics, to criticize the persecutions by Catholic authorities, or in order to hold up a mirror to the Christian reader and present him with a positive example to follow.[77] Detailed descriptions of the Ottoman slave trade, on the other hand, served as a warning for the Christian reader. This demonstrates how even such new and seemingly objective knowledge could nevertheless be employed within narratives that were primarily concerned with questions of the author's own identity - e.g. as *Kulturkritik* or self-reflection - and were meant to convey a certain message to the reader. While travel accounts may not have changed the general public's *opinion* about - or rejection of - Islam and the Ottoman Empire, they may at least have contributed to improved knowledge, and therefore the construction of a more balanced representation of Ottoman and Islamic culture and religion.

The development of a more balanced or 'authentic' view of the Ottoman Empire did not mean that it was no longer perceived as a threat to Christianity. However, the nature of this threat was more complex than many Christian writers had realised. With the enhancement of knowledge about the Ottoman Empire also came the awareness of the uncomfortable reality of voluntary Christian conversion to Islam. In fact, many subjects of newly conquered Ottoman lands seemed to willingly convert to the religion of their new rulers.[78] Apparently, the religion that Christians encountered in the Ottoman Empire did not correspond to the image of the tyrannical and satanic sect that was presented in texts about the Turkish threat, and instead appealed to at least some of them. This was especially problematic with regard to the increasing number of Christians that were travelling to the Ottoman Empire as diplomats, merchants, and travellers, and that were thus exposed to this apparent appeal of Islam. In order to deal with problem, scholars and theologians increasingly sought to present and refute the Islam on the basis of authentic sources. As such, as the Ottoman Empire formed an ever larger presence in the awareness and experience of the German public, so did authentic information about the Islamic religion.[79]

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[76] Bohnstedt, 'The Infidel Scourge of God', p. 20.
[77] Geier, 'Zur Rhetorik', p. 20.
[78] Indeed, conversion from Christianity to Islam was a relatively common phenomenon, and converts even formed an important part of the Ottoman state structure. See e.g.: T. Graf, 'Of Half-Lives and Double-Lives. "Renegades" in the Ottoman Empire and Their Pre-Conversion Ties, ca. 1580-1610', in P. Firgers et al (eds.), *Well-Connected Domains. Towards an Entangled Ottoman History,* Leiden, Brill, 2014, pp. 131-149; T. Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades*; T. Krstić, 'Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate. Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 51, no. 1, 2009, pp. 35-63.
[79] This is contrary to Daniel Vitkus' argument that the perceived threat of Islam to Christianity caused the persistent misrepresentation of Islam "in spite of the availability of more accurate information about Muslim society and theology". See: Vitkus, 'Early Modern Orientalism', p. 208.

1.4 Lutheran confessionalization and the University of Tübingen

In sixteenth-century German experience, the Ottoman Empire was thus more than just the embodiment of the Islamic religion as the enemy or antithesis of Christianity. It was a powerful entity that formed a military threat to Christian power and culture, while at the same time it was a physical space within which Christian subjects could move and observe their surroundings. Moreover, through encounters with the Ottoman Empire one could compare it with and contrast it to German Christian society in terms of morality, politics, cultural institutions, and spirituality. Similarly, the Islamic religion - which was an important characteristic of the Ottoman Empire, though by no means the only one - was predominantly viewed as a threat to Christianity, but was at the same time a religion with which German and other Christian authors (and through their works, the German reader) increasingly came to interact and sought to learn both about and from. Indeed, what connects all different interactions with the Ottoman Empire within sixteenth-century German culture, is the idea that something could be gained from such interactions.

The strong presence of the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic religion in German (vernacular) culture and the political and religious discourse suggest that Schweigger's involvement with Ottoman culture already began before he travelled to Constantinople, and that it already formed a part of his experience and thinking. This is even more likely when looking at the confessional discourse at the theological department of the University of Tübingen, where Schweigger was enrolled for four years. Especially at the time of Schweigger's studies, this discourse was strongly concerned with the Ottoman Empire and its religions. In the years directly preceding Schweigger's enrolment, two theology professors in Tübingen, Jacob Andreae and Lucas Osiander, had written and published a series of theological tracts on the Turks, in which they emphasized the importance of knowledge about the Islamic religion for the Christian world (which will be discussed more extensively later in this chapter). Even in his theological development, Schweigger might thus have been fundamentally formed by a discourse in which there was a significant place for the Ottoman Empire. As such, this might also have shaped his perception of and intellectual relations with the Ottoman Empire.

Before turning to the position of the Ottoman Empire within the religious discourse at the University of Tübingen, however, the Lutheran discourse itself should first be considered. From 1534, Tübingen had been the centre of a conscious process of Reformation initiated by Duke Ulrich of Württenberg (1487-1550). During his exile in Switzerland, France, and Germany, Ulrich had converted to the new evangelical faith, and when he returned to Württemberg he was determined to implement it there as well. The inclusion of the University in this process was a difficult task, but was at the same time of central importance for the success of the Reformation. Although the reform movement had not yet gained much ground in Württemberg, Duke Ulrich nevertheless established a Protestant faculty in 1535, known as the *Tübinger Stift*. Moreover, new

university ordinances, written by the Protestant theologians Simon Grynaeus and Ambrosius Blarer in 1534 at the request of the Duke and published in 1535, made it clear that the university was from now on "unequivocally a church-university of Protestant influence and control".[80] In March 1535, the first Protestant celebration of the Lord's Supper took place.[81]

What truly put the University of Tübingen at the centre of the Reformation movement in Württemberg, however, was a *Stipendium* that was installed for (Protestant) theology students. This fellowship, meant to attract students to the now-Protestant university, was of vital importance. As a part of the Reformation efforts throughout Württemberg, clergymen and professors who openly opposed these were actively removed from their positions. The authorities, however, were struggling to fill their vacancies, due to a severe lack of Protestant clergymen and teachers. The *Stipendium*, therefore, was meant to ensure the output of a great number of uniformly-schooled clergymen and teachers who could be employed throughout the duchy in order to lead the Reformation, and who would thus contribute to the establishment of a uniform Protestant church in Württemberg.[82] That these *Stipendiates* were essentially the tools of a centralized effort of Protestantization initiated by the worldly authorities was made very clear even to the fellows themselves. Every morning they had to start their day by collectively praying and expressing their thankfulness for the Duke's charity. Moreover, when accepting their *Stipendium*, all fellows as well as their parents or other relatives were required to testify that 'they would only study the Holy Scriptures [theology], and that they were not to seek employment outside of Württemberg as long at the Duke needed them'.[83] In 1572, Salomon Schweigger was admitted to the university as one of the *Stipendiates*, and, as such, he was expected to become one of the bearers of orthodox Württemberg Protestantism.[84]

There was, however, one problem with the Protestantization of Württemberg and the University of Tübingen. With the Reformation still at its infancy, there was no uniform view of what Protestant 'orthodoxy' should look like. Even the theologians who were appointed by the duke in order to lead the Reformation according to "the right, true evangelical teaching and divine

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[80] R. L. Harrison Jr., 'The Reformation of the Theological Faculty of the University of Tübingen, 1534-1555', PhD Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1975, p. 55. Available from: https://search.proquest.com/docview/302791824?pq-origsite=primo (accessed 15 January 2020).
[81] Ibid., p. 72.
[82] K. Klüpfel, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Universität Tübingen*, Tübingen, Ludw. Friedr. Fues., 1849, p. 48-9.
[83] "Jeder Aufgenommene mußte sich mit seinen Eltern oder Verwandten verpflichten, allein in der Heiligen Schrift, d. h. Theologie zu studiren, und in keine fremden Herrschaft Dients sich zu begeben, wenn der Herzog ihn brauchen wollte". Klüpfel, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 51.
[84] This was likely also the reason that Schweigger needed permission from the Duke to leave the university and Württemberg before he was ordained. Generally, fellows who did not become 'Kirchendiener' after their studies were required to pay back half of their *Stipendium*. While Schweigger did ultimately find employment as a clergyman, this was not yet clear when he left the university, especially since he was not yet ordained at the time. See: Klüpfel, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 49.

truth" could not reach agreement over what the exact nature of 'right and true evangelical teaching' was.[85] In the first place, there was the – not yet institutionalized - distinction between Reformed and Lutheran views. Duke Ulrich himself was influenced by both Zwinglianism and Lutheranism. During the time he spent in exile in Switzerland he converted to Protestantism with the involvement of Zwingli, and he later became inspired by Luther after meeting him in Marburg. Also on a personal level, Ulrich maintained friendly relations with both Zwinglians and Lutherans.[86] In Württemberg itself, on the other hand, differences between 'Zwinglian Protestants', Lutherans, and those who held the middle between the two were the cause of serious religious tensions.[87] Both from a personal and a political perspective, Ulrich therefore hoped to establish a united Protestant church on the basis of a centrist position, bringing together the right and left by avoiding any extremes.[88] Another reason to find a middle ground was the Kadan Treaty, which had reinstated the Duke's power in Württemberg. This agreement stated that the Duke had a free hand in religious matters, with the exception of Anabaptism and Sacramentarianism, and that breach of the treaty would be answered with Habsburg intervention.[89] Although the exact definition and interpretation of 'Sacramentarianism' was unclear, it was safer to avoid any outspoken semblance of or links with Zwinglianism.

At the University of Tübingen, the 'centrist' Reformation was to be led by the moderate Protestant Ambrosius Blarer, who had studied theology in Tübingen with Philip Melanchthon and was heavily influenced by both Zwingli and Luther.[90] Generally, however it proved impossible to find a compromise with regard to the Lord's Supper and other issues between the Lutherans and the more moderate Protestants and Zwinglians, and thus to outline what was to become the Württemberg Protestant church.[91] If anything, moderate views meant to unite both parties were instead rejected by both.[92] At the same time, vacancies at universities and schools and in churches urgently needed to be filled. This resulted in the appointment of numbers of Swiss-Reformed at the University in Tübingen, heightening the tension with the Lutherans even more despite Duke

[85] Harrison Jr., *The Reformation of the Theological Faculty,* p. 63.
[86] Ibid., pp. 22-3.
[87] Ibid., p. 28.
[88] Ibid., p. 31.
[89] Ibid., p. 27.
[90] J. Hartmann, 'Blarer, Ambrosius', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 2, 1875, pp. 691-693. Available from: https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00008360/images/index.html?seite=693 (accessed 30 December 2019).
[91] These other issues involved the use of images, pictures, and symbols. See: Harrison Jr., *The Reformation of the Theological Faculty*, p. 138ff.
[92] Indeed, the confessional 'middle ground' between Calvinism and Lutheranism that has been called 'Melanchthonian' or 'Philippist' in modern literature was not able to maintain its identity and survive in the tensions of the sixteenth century. I. Dingel, 'The Culture of Conflict in the Controversies Leading to the Formula of Concord (1548-1580)', in R. Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550-1675,* Leiden, Brill, 2008, p. 16.

Ulrich's mandate that prohibited the public criticizing or ridiculing of the other confession.[93] The Reformation at the university was complicated further by large-scale opposition from Catholic theologians, not only to the Protestant Reformation but also to the academic reforms that were implemented by theologians – primarily Ambrosius Blarer and Simon Grynaeus[94] - without any academic credentials.[95]

In order to resolve the conflicts, attempts were made by Duke Ulrich and a number of Lutheran theologians in his service to involve Melanchthon in the process of reform at the University of Tübingen – his *alma mater.* They wrote him that "only a man of his calibre could handle a public disputation in the university over the "new teaching" and effectively deal with the Roman Catholic opposition (…)".[96] In addition, it was expected that he could help mediate between the Lutherans and the more Reformed-leaning in Württemberg. While the initiators failed to lure Melanchthon to Tübingen on a permanent basis, he did visit the city and wrote down several proposals and recommendations. One of these was to appoint the strong Lutheran pastor Johannes Brenz (1498-1570) to be in charge of the Reformation of the university and its theological faculty.[97] Melanchthon's advice was followed, and with Brenz's arrival, the Swiss influence at Tübingen and, as a consequence, in Württemberg as a whole came largely to an end. Conflicts and disputes were solved in favour of the Lutheran standpoints and both university and church were reformed and organized – or: confessionalised – along the lines of Lutheran Protestantism.[98]

This brief (and highly simplified) account of the Reformation in Tübingen demonstrates that, from 1534, the university had been involved in – and became the centre of – a vehement process of reform and confessionalization that was implemented from above, and that acquired an outspoken and strong Lutheran character mainly for pragmatical reasons – in order to resolve and avoid professional, theological, and political conflicts. The Tübinger process of confessionalization, however, did not come to an end with the establishment of a distinctively

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[93] Harrison Jr., *The Reformation of the Theological Faculty*, p. 41.

[94] Like Blarer, Grynaeus was influenced by both the Wittenberg and Swiss Reformations. He was invited to lead the reforms at the University of Tübingen alongside Blarer at the latter's explicit request. About Grynaeus, see: C. Bursian, 'Grynaeus, Simon', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 10, 1879, pp. 72-73. Available from: https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00008368/images/index.html?seite=74 (accessed 30 December 2019).

[95] Harrison Jr., *The Reformation of the Theological Faculty*, pp. 42-3.

[96] Ibid., p. 48.

[97] Johannes Brenz had studied theology at Heidelberg, and had soon gained a reputation as a devout follower of Luther. When he became a minister in Schwäbisch Hall in 1522, he immediately began efforts to reform the church and the city. About Brenz and the exact nature of his Lutheran reforms at the University of Tübingen, see: J. Hartmann, 'Brenz, Johannes', in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 3, 1876, pp. 314-316. Available from: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz69271.html#adbcontent (accessed 30 December 2019).

[98] Harrison Jr., *The Reformation of the Theological Faculty,* p. 162ff. As a letter from the Reformed Wolfgang Musculus to Ambrosius Blarer rightly expressed the suspicion, the Lutherans were essentially undoing the work of Blarer, and were instituting their own ways of ecclesiastical and doctrinal thought and reform.

Lutheran church and university. Rather, in the following decades, the theological faculty became the beating heart of a Lutheran confessionalizing movement that extended beyond the borders of Württemberg. With the death of Luther in 1546, the newly reformed church lost its central interpretative authority at a time when it was still fighting for its own survival and emancipation.[99] Where Luther had previously been able to resolve differences in theological views regarding doctrine and practice, the new generation of theologians was left without such guidance on how to articulate their (new) confessional identity, thus leading to disunity within the church.[100] Despite the composition and widespread adoption of the Augsburg Confession as the primary confession of faith of the Lutheran church, interpretations of the document were manifold, and led to conflict and discord amongst Lutheran theologians and communities. Overcoming these divisions, and establishing unity and orthodoxy, was not only of importance for the religious and political emancipation of the new confession, but was also critical in order to maintain the religious peace within Germany and the Holy Roman Empire.[101] As such, both theologians and secular authorities were involved in efforts to settle all doctrinal and ritual differences, and to establish a united Lutheran front and confession. This ultimately led to the composition of the so-called Formula of Concord, and its acceptance and adoption by the Protestant states and churches.

An important role on the theological side of this process was played by the theological faculty at Tübingen. At the end of the 1560s, the Tübingen professor Jakob Andreae (1528-1590), travelled around northern Germany in order to introduce the Reformation and to seek Lutheran unity. For this purpose, he produced a set of six sermonic expositions of controversial subjects – justification, good works, free will and original sin, adiaphora, the third use of the law, and Christology.[102] In these texts, he formulated his own views on the matters, while condemning false teachings and false teachers. When he requested feedback from his north German colleagues, it was suggested to Andreae that the theological faculty at Tübingen composed a "more sophisticated form of these sermons".[103] This led to the composition of a document, the *Swabian Concord*, which was sent to a number of theologians, including Martin Chemnitz (1522-1586) and

[99] For an overview of the historical-political issues that the Evangelical church was facing in the middle of the sixteenth century, see: Dingel, 'The Culture of Conflict', pp. 18-22.
[100] For a concise account of the events that occurred within Protestant Germany after Luther's death, see: Dingel, 'The Culture of Conflict'.
[101] Evangelical disunity undermined the Confession of Augsburg and therefore also the Peace of Augsburg that was signed in 1555.
[102] J. Andreae, *Sechs Christliche Predigten / Von den Spaltungen / so sich zwischen den Theologen Augsburgischer Confession / von Anno 1548. biß auff diß 1573. Jar / nach vnd nach erhaben / Wie sich ein einfältiger Pfarrer vnd gemeiner Christlicher Leye / so dardurch möcht / verergert sein worden / auß seinem Catechismo darein schicken soll,* Tübingen, Georg Gruppenbach, 1573.
[103] Dingel, 'The Culture of Conflict', p. 62.

David Chytraeus (1530-1600) for feedback. A revised version of the text on the basis of this feedback became known as the Swabian-Saxon Concord.

Witnessing these efforts, and seeking to bring unity among the Lutherans, Elector August invited Andreae to assemble a committee of theologians to construct a new formula for public teaching.[104] They gathered in Torgau in 1576, and on the basis of the Swabian-Saxon Concord and a similar document known as the Maulbronn Formula they composed the so-called Torgau Book, which was sent to all evangelical churches in the Holy Roman Empire. Many of these responded with their critiques, which were again discussed by the committee. The result was what became known as the Formula of Concord. This consisted of an 'epitome' summarizing the Torgau Book in twelve articles, written by Andreae, and the Bergen Book or Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord which was a more detailed exposition of these articles on the basis of the received critiques and the committee's reactions to these. The Formula of Concord itself was integrated into a larger collection of texts, called the *Book of Concord*, which also included the Augsburg Confession, its apology, Martin Luther's two catechisms, and the Smalcald articles with Melanchthon's Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the People. In a preface written by Andreae, it was presented as the ultimate 'corpus doctrinae' of Lutheran orthodoxy, as the outcome of a long but linear process of Lutheran confessional consolidation. Whereas the Confession of Augsburg had exposed and summarized the original truth of Christianity, the Formula of Concord was presented as the ultimate step in the public confession of faith in which the Evangelical churches and German estates all subscribed to this truth.[105] A calculated campaign by August and the theologians to gain support for the Book ultimately led to its acceptance in roughly two-thirds of the evangelical churches in Germany.[106]

Through the figure of Jakob Andreae, who counts as the 'main architect' of the Formula of Concord and was a key-figure in the campaign for its implementation, the theological faculty of Tübingen thus played an important role in the process of Lutheran confessional consolidation. Not only was Andreae working at Tübingen, but he had also studied at the university, and he was therefore both shaped by as well as influencing its theological and doctrinal views. In his efforts of Evangelical unification, he was the clear bearer of the spirit of reformation and confessionalization that had developed in the city since 1535. Throughout his life and career, Andreae did not only strife for Lutheran unification, but also sought reconciliation with other churches. An important task in both of these aims was to clearly formulate the faith and public teaching of the Lutheran church, and to differentiate it from false teachings. Indeed, the question

[104] This committee was initially comprised of Saxons, but soon came to include other theologians such as Chemnitz and Chytraeus. See: Dingel, 'The Culture of Conflict', p. 62.
[105] See: I. Dingel, 'The Preface to the *Book of Concord* as a Reflection of Sixteenth-Century Confessional Development', *Lutheran Quarterly,* vol. 15, 2001, pp. 387-8.
[106] Dingel, 'The Culture of Conflict', p. 63.

of Lutheran confessional identity and unity in Tübingen and beyond was also strongly tied to questions of false teaching, heresy, and apostasy, as well as to that of the position of non-Lutheran Christians and even non-Christians in salvation history. Towards this end, Andreae wrote more than 150 works in addition to the Formula of Concord. These works show the ambiguity of Andreae's aim. On the one hand, he argued that the advancement of the Reformation was most frustrated by the disunity amongst its followers. On the other hand, he viewed the orthodox Lutheran teachings of Württemberg as the only true faith, thus rejecting all beliefs that did not conform to these.[107] As such, Andreae's confessionalizing efforts caused him to write many polemical, mostly anti-Calvinistic texts, while, at the same time, his search for reconciliation and unification required caution in order not to alienate those with deviating views and convictions. This combination of theological and more confessional-political aims and considerations – characterized as 'ecclesiastical diplomacy' by Irene Dingel[108] - also seems to have formed the context in which both Jakob Andreae and his direct colleague Lucas Osiander (1534-1604) showed an interest in the religions of the Ottoman Empire.

[107] As is written in the *ADB*: "(...) da er die reine lutherische Lehre nur in der würtembergischen Modification derselben anzuerkenen vermochte, und darum zuletzt Alle abstoßen mußte, welche sich diese nicht mit aneignen konnten, endigten seine Friedensbestrebungen doch meist mit Vertiefung schon vorhandenen Zweispalts". E. Henke, 'Andreä, Jakob', in: *Allgemeinen Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 1, 1875, pp. 436-441. Available from: https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00008359/images/index.html?seite=452 (accessed 30 December 2019).
[108] Dingel, ' The Culture of Conflict', p. 63.

1.5 Islam at the theological faculty in Tübingen

In 1568, Jakob Andreae delivered a total of thirteen 'sermons on the Turks' at the university church, which were subsequently printed under the title *Dreyzehen Predigen vom Türcken. In w[ö]lchen gehandelt würdt von seines Regiments Ursprung / Glauben und Religion / Vom Türckischen Alcoran/ unnd desselben grundtlicher Widerlegung durch sein selbs des Alcorans Zeugnussen / Von seinem Glück und Wolfart / darumb jme Got so lange zeit wider sein arme Christenheit z[ü]gesehen / Wie ihme zubegegnen / und wider jhme glücklich zustreitten / Unnd von seinem endtlichen Undergang [...].* In these sermons, which were written in the light of the Ottoman conquest of Szigetvár two years earlier, Andreae expressed his fear of the Islamic threat, which he argued was not only military but was also plaguing the very heart of the Lutheran congregation - namely the Lutheran faith. In order to protect his audience, Andreae's aim was to properly inform them about the Islamic religion. At the same time, as the full title of the published sermons indicates, the sermons also provided a refutation of the Islamic religion, as well as an explanation of the contemporary Christian suffering at the hand of the Turks.

In the preface to his publication of the *Dreyzehen Predigen,* Andreae dedicates the work to the German worldly authorities, as well as to "all godly Christians of high and low stature in the lands and principalities of Crain, Steyr, Carenten and Austria, sat at the Turkish border".[109] This demonstrates that Andreae is not only concerned with the Ottoman Empire on an ideological basis, but is also concerned with its physical reality. As he writes, for the recent years, the Christian authorities have been at a war with the Ottomans. One of the purposes of his sermons, therefore, is to discuss the cause of this war as well as the means to end it and to avert the Turkish military threat.[110] Another concern, however, is the wellbeing of the Christian community of believers who suffer under and are endangered – both physically and spiritually – by this threat. Through his sermons, Andreae hopes to offer them support by showing them the errors of Islam and by strengthening them in the foundations of their Christian faith. Moreover, he ensures those Christians living in the border and/or under Turkish rule, who might feel lost and alone in their faith, that their fate is of great concern to the Lutheran church in Germany.[111] In doing so, he offers them a sense of community which he hoped would contribute to the maintenance of their religion.

Andreae's sermons deal with Islam and the Ottoman Empire – and generally, with the 'Türkenfurcht' - on a few different levels. The first sermon is a 'call for penance' (*Ermahnung zur Buße*) in which Andreae argues that the Turks are God's punishment for sin, and that the only

[109] "allen Gottselige Christen Hochs und Niderstands in den Landen und Fürstenthumben Crain / Steyr / Carenten unnd Oesterreich / an den Türkischen Gräntzen gesessen …."Andreae, *Dreyzehen Predigen*, page 1 of 'Vorred'. Crayn refers to Slovenia and Croatia, Steyr and Carenten (Kärnten) to areas in nowadays Austria. NB: Unless otherwise indicated, English translations of German sources have been made by myself.
[110] Ibid., page 5 of 'Vorred'.
[111] Ibid., page 5 and 6 of 'Vorred'.

way to avert this punishment, even in those areas that have already joined the Reformation, is to repent. Sermon two and three centre around the origins of 'the Turks and their Regiment' as they can be found in the Bible (Andreae identifies them in Daniel 7 and Luke 11[112]). Sermon four to six are the only three that primarily focus on the Islamic religion, although the themes are clearly Christian. While sermon four explains the origins of the Qur'an and summarizes its (relevant) contents, sermon five and six consider the Islamic views on (or the ones that deny) the Holy Trinity and the crucifixion and death of Christ.[113] Sermon seven to ten, then, turn to the theme of the 'Türkenkrieg'. Again, however, the focus is explicitly Christian, as the sermons repeatedly touch upon Christian sin and idolatry as the cause of the Turkish military threat. In sermons eleven and twelve, Andreae follows up on this theme and argues how the Turkish threat should be fought and averted, and predicts the Turkish decline and destruction (*Undergang*) that will herald the Last days. The thirteenth sermon, finally, is "a declaration of the thirty-eighth Psalm, as for the Christian church to pray against its enemies".[114]

In his *Türkenpredigten*, Andreae relied heavily on Bibliander's compendium of texts on Islam, including Robert of Ketton's Qur'an. As a consequence, the image he presents of the Islamic religion and the Qur'an is grounded in the Christian polemical tradition to which the texts in Bibliander's publication belonged. Even when Andreae aims to refute the 'anti-Christian' Islamic doctrines on the basis of the Qur'an itself, he never reverts to the original text.[115] At the same time, however, Andreae insists on the importance of accurate information about the Islamic religion. As he argues in his preface, a refutation of Islam should be based on the "true and undisputed Turkish Alcoran"[116], and should not attribute things to the Turk that cannot be identified in the Qur'an. For this reason, Andreae did not simply take Bibliander's Qur'an as the truth. Rather, he describes how he used a somewhat unusual method to verify its authenticity. He instructed a 'middle man' – who is identified as the Slovenian reformer Primus Truber[117] - to visit a number of Turkish prisoners of the Habsburg Empire, and to ask them about a variety of passages in the Qur'an. Afterwards, Andreae compared these answers to the corresponding passages in Bibliander's publication, which led to the conclusion that the Latin Qur'an was, indeed, a correct

[112] In doing so, he follows Martin Luther, who identified the 'little horn' in Daniel's vision of the four beasts as the Turks. See: Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*, pp. 81-2.
[113] Andreae, *Dreyzehen Predigen:* Sermon 5: p. 132ff. Sermon 6: p. 179ff.
[114]"ein erklärung des drey und achtzigsten Psalmen / so für die Christliche Kirch wider ihre Feind zubetten". Ibid., p. 447.
[115] Even if Andreae would have had access to a Qur'an manuscript, he would not have been able to read the text, considering he did not know Arabic. See: S. Raeder, 'Tübinger Türkenpredigten', in R.-D. Kluge (ed.), *Eind Leben zwischen Laibach und Tübingen – Primus Truber und seine Zeit. Intentionen, Verlauf und Folgen der Reformation in Württemberg und Innerösterreich,* München, Otto Sagner, 1995, p. 142.
[116] "rechten ungezweiffelten Türckischen Alcoran". Andreae, *Dreyzehen Predigen,* page 6 of 'Vorred'
[117] Truber (1508-1586) was a Slovenian reformer - dubbed 'the Slovenian Lutheran' - who was especially active in the area of Krain. For a concise biography, see: L. Ilić, 'Primus Truber (1508-1586), the Slovenian Luther', *Lutheran Quarterly,* vol. 22, no. 3, 2008, pp. 268-277.

representation of the Islamic doctrines on all occasions[118] - a surprising outcome. Although Andreae ultimately failed to establish proper knowledge about the Qur'an, his used method of gaining such is highly interesting. The author praises Primus Truber's conversations and exchange with Muslims prisoners as a "Christian and highly necessary work"[119] through which he served both God and Christianity. Through these interactions, Andreae argues, "we now have certain and actual knowledge about the Turkish faith and religion, so that we can warn against it on the basis of the lasting foundations of the truth".[121] Not only does it emphasize the importance of authentic information in the refutation of Islam, but it also ascribes important, *Christian* value to non-violent interaction and dialogue with Muslims in order to retrieve such information. As will be discussed later, a similar appreciation of exchange with the Ottomans and Ottoman culture can be detected in Schweigger's writings. Whereas Andreae had to rely on Muslim prisoners in the Habsburg Empire, Schweigger was later in a position to engage in such exchange outside of the borders of European Christianity.

Ultimately, Andreae's sermons were primarily a means to 'discipline' the own audience, and to outline the own confessional identity as well as those unfaithful elements from which it should be protected.[122] This is clear, first of all, by the Christian bias in Andreae's description of Islam. As mentioned, the author mainly focuses on the Qur'anic elements and doctrines that contradict and therefore harm Christianity. In outlining these fundamentally anti-Christian views and doctrines, Andreae also outlines the fundamental doctrines of Christianity itself. In addition, the Islamic religion and the Ottoman Empire are primarily understood and interpreted on the basis of the Bible, rather than on the basis of its own sources. As such, Islam is signified in a particularly Christian manner. Secondly, Andreae not only polemicizes against Islam, but also against other Christian denominations. The Catholic church in particular is heavily attacked, and – in line with the Lutheran tradition – the Pope is identified as the most dangerous enemy of Christianity.[123] Not only do true (Evangelical) Christians fall victim to persecution and the Inquisition, but they also suffer the consequences of the sinful idolatry that is maintained within Catholicism, such as in their Lord's Supper and saint worship.[124] Lastly, Andreae argues that both enemies of Christianity – the Catholic Church and Islam – can only be averted and defeated by penance, prayer, and spiritual renewal.[125] As Susan Boettcher argues, Andreae's description of

[118] Boettcher, 'German Orientalism', p. 106.
[119] "Christlichen und hochnotwendigen Werck". Andreae, *Dreyzeher Predigen,* page 7 of 'Vorred'
[121] "… daß wir nun auff das aller gewissest unnd eigentlichst wissen / was des Türcken Glaub und Religion seie / unnd meniglich vor demselben mit bestendigem Grund der Warheit wissen zuuerwarnen". Andreae, *Dreyzehen Predigen,* page 7 and 8 of 'Vorred'.
[122] See: Boettcher, 'German orientalism'.
[123] See: Andreae, *Dreyzehen Predigen,* e.g. page 8 of 'Vorred'.
[124] Raeder, *Tübinger Türkenpredigten,* p. 144.
[125] Ibid., p. 144.

the Islamic religion and threat thus mainly seem to have served to outline the own confessional identity, which had to be protected from unfaithful influences. As such, Andreae's discussions of the Turkish religion and history could be characterized primarily as a vehicle for a "particularly Lutheran attempt at confessionalization"[126]. This is also reflected in the fact that these sermons were not confined to the own congregation, but were made accessible in print to the wider public.

Two years later, Jakob Andreae's sermons were followed by another 'Turkish publication' in Tübingen. This was a German work titled *Bericht / Was der Türcken Glaub sey / gezogen auß dem Türckischen Alcoran / sampt desselben Widerlegung*, written by Andreae's colleague-theologian Lucas Osiander. That this publication was closely intertwined with Andreae's *Türkenpredigten* becomes clear from a short message 'To the Christian reader', in which Osiander writes that he had first deemed the publication of his work superfluous in the light of Andreae's sermons. Andreae, however, had convinced him to print his refutation of the Qur'an after all, by pointing out that it contained and refuted more 'articles' than his own sermons had covered. Andreae's insistence for Osiander to supplement the public's knowledge about the Qur'an testifies once more to the perceived importance of knowledge about the Islamic religion to Lutheran theologians. Moreover, Osiander's publication illustrates the increasing importance of the *authenticity* of such knowledge. As he writes in his preface, raising public awareness of the false beliefs of the Islamic religion would be the only way to protect the Christian community from the Turkish threat. Although many texts have already been published towards this end, Osiander continues, these have mostly targeted “two Turkish booklets of which the Turks are themselves ashamed”[127], rather than the true Alcoran ("to which the Turks must confess today"[128]), or they only concern *part* of the Qur'anic doctrines. Osiander, instead, claims to only present the Qur'anic teachings on the basis of the Qur'an itself, and "with the Qur’an’s own words".[130]

The aim of Osiander's work, thus, was to present and refute the *whole* and *true* Qur'an. In his preface, he emphasizes that he wants to refute the Islamic religion in such a way that would also be 'acceptable' by Muslims themselves. In this context, a polemical portrayal of Muhammad and Muhammad's life would be fruitless, as Muslims would simply respond to this by saying that, even *if* Muhammad was a bad person, his teachings were still true and holy. For the same reason, Osiander writes, he will refrain from describing the 'Tyranny' and 'fornication' (*Unzucht*) that can be found in the Turkish Regiment, as this does not necessarily relate to the essence of the Islamic

[126] Boettcher, ‘German Orientalism’, p. 108.
[127] "zwey Türckische Büchlin / deren sich die Türcken jetzund selbs schämen". Which books Osiander is referring to is unclear.
[128] “zu wolchem sich die Türcken heuttigs Tags bekennen mussen”. Osiander, *Bericht / Was der Türcken Glaub sey / Gezogen auf dem Türckischen Alcoran, sampt desselben Widerlegung,* Tübingen, Ulrich Morhart Wittib., 1570, ‘Vorred’.
[130] “mit des Alcorans eignen Worten”. Osiander, *Bericht / Was der Türcken Glaub sey,* ‘Vorred’.

religion. After all, one could similarly point out the unholy life of many Christians.[131] Rather, "we will confine ourselves to the Mahometan or Turkish teachings and beliefs as they were written down in the Arabic language nine-hundred years ago, in the book that is called the Alcoran, and of which the Turkish Prophet Mahomet says that it has been created by God himself, written with His own Hand, and sent to him from Heaven".[133] At no point, however, does Osiander claim to have worked directly with the Arabic Qur'an. Instead, he had used the Latin translation of Robert of Ketton, which, he writes, had recently been compared to the Arabic Qur'an and had been deemed reliable by Theodor Bibliander.

For Osiander, the only right way to refute the Qur'an was to measure all relevant Qur'anic teachings according to the principles of the Lutheran interpretation of the Bible. As a consequence, his presentation of the Qur'an also has a great apologetic or even confessionalizing quality. Not only does Osiander refute the false Qur'anic teachings, but he refutes these in the light of the Lutheran doctrines, thus also offering the reader an overview of the latter. Moreover, he focusses solely on those Qur'anic articles of faith that are of direct relevance to the Lutheran reader. Despite Osiander's emphasis on the fact that he would provide a refutation of Islam that would not be easily dismissed by Muslims themselves, the fact that he based this refutation on an explicitly *Lutheran* understanding of the Bible shows that, in the end, he targeted a specifically Lutheran audience.[134]

When Schweigger started his theology studies in 1572, both Andreae and Osiander were still teaching at the theology department. Although the *Türkenpredigten* and the Qur'an refutation were only a small part of the larger corpus of both scholars, they seem to have been indicative of a more general climate at the University of Tübingen in which theologians incorporated the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic religion in their Lutheran apologetics, and, as such, made them a distant but active part of the Lutheran experience and narratives of confessionalization. Indeed, both Andreae and Osiander were important figures in the Lutheran confessionalizing process, and they had both been involved in the composition of the Formula of Concord. Their publications on the Turks and Islam could thus likely be seen as very deliberate and well-calculated contributions to the Lutheran process of confessionalization. At the same time, in their approach to the Islamic religion, they propagated the importance of basing their knowledge on 'authentic'

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[131] Osiander, *Bericht / Was der Türcken Glaub sey*, 'Vorred'.
[133] "wöllen wir allein die Mahometisch oder Türckisch Lehr unnd Glauben für uns nemen / die derselbig verfasset ist worden vor neünhundert Jaren in Arabischer Sprach / in dem Buch / das Alcoran genennet würdt / von dem der Türckisch Prophet Mahomet offt rhumet / das es Gott selbs gemachet / ja mit eigner Hand geschriben / unnd jm vom Himmel herab gesandt sey". Osiander, *Was der Türcken Glaub sey,* 'Vorred'.
[134] The specifically *Lutheran* nature of Osiander's Qur'an refutation is also acknowledged by Thomas Kaufmann. See: T. Kaufmann, 'Kontinuitäten und Transformationen im okzidentalen Islambild des 15. Und 16. Jahrhunderts', in L. Gall and D. Willoweit (eds.), *Judaism, Christianity, and Islam in the Course of History: Exchange and Conflicts,* München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2011, pp. 287-306.

sources such as the Qur'an, and, consequently, they were responsible for the dissemination of more authentic knowledge about the Islamic religion. Indeed, the interlacing between confessionalization and the study of Islam is something we already see happening with Luther and Bibliander, who both expressed the idea of consulting the Qur'an for information about Islam.[135] Despite using Robert of Ketton's Qur'an, such Lutheran writers were wary of medieval and especially Catholic sources. Luther had expressed the desire to newly translate the Qur'an into German, and Bibliander made several attempts to improve Ketton's Qur'an with the help of more contemporary, updated sources. This climate may not only have sparked Schweigger's (theological) interest in the Ottoman Empire and the Islam, but may also have pushed his desire to experience these first-hand, rather than through written, and sometimes questionable, sources.

[135] Boettcher, 'German Orientalism', p. 105.

1.6 The Tübinger theologians and the Greek Orthodox Church

While theologians thus clearly expressed the idea that important things could be learned and gained from the study of the Islamic religion, they also expressed strong interest in another element of the Ottoman Empire – the Greek Orthodox Church. In the process of securing their position within Europe after the Reformation, and making sense out of the divided religious landscape, the Lutheran reformers had already developed special interest in Greek Orthodoxy a few decades earlier. This interest, however, was of a slightly ambiguous nature. On the one hand, Lutheran theologians maintained the medieval view of Eastern Christians as being responsible for the rise of Islam. Their adaptation of early-Christian and late-antique heretical beliefs, it was argued, was what had caused the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and the fall of the Byzantine Empire.[136] As such, theologians like David Chytraeus (1530-1600) believed that the study of the 'superstitious teachings of the Eastern Church' would expose the heretical beliefs which Christians had to ban out in order to establish true – sinless – faith. After all, the fate of Eastern Christians under the Ottomans was a clear sign that such heretical teachings and practices were severely punished, and thus had to be eliminated.[138] In this sense, learning about Eastern Christianity (and heresy) would be to the advantage of the Protestant church in Germany and in neighbouring countries, as it led to a better understanding of the own confession and would therefore benefit its salvation. [140]

On the other hand, Lutherans viewed the Greek Orthodox Church as a potential ally against Roman Catholicism. As Martin Luther himself had argued, the existence of Greek Christianity refuted Rome's claims to the 'tota ecclesia Christi'. In his view, the Orthodox Church was not schismatic, as it had never subjected to the supremacy of Rome in the first place.[141] Rather, Luther argued, Greek Orthodoxy was a continuation of the original Church of Christ. It had nevertheless been contaminated by heretical beliefs and practices, and the 'decadent' and 'idolatrous' nature of contemporary Orthodoxy had been one of the reasons why Constantinople,

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[136] J. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination,* New York City, Columbia University Press, 2002, p. 144

[138] D. Benga, 'David Chytraeus (1530-1600) als Erforscher und Wiederentdecker der Ostkirchen. Seine Beziehungen zu orthodoxen Theologen, seine Erforschungen der Ostkirchen und seine ostkirchlichen Kenntnisse', PhD Thesis, University of Erlangen, 2001, p. 141. Available from: https://opus4.kobv.de/opus4-fau/frontdoor/index/index/docId/79 (accessed 12 December 2019).

[140] Ibid., p. 141.

[141] See: Fr. Panayiotis Papageorgiou, 'The Protestant Reformation and the Orthodox Christian East. A Historical Survey and Study of the Communications between the Reformers and the Patriarchs Joasaph II and Jeremias II', presented at the conference 'Reformation Institute', organized under the auspices of the Ambrose University of Calgary, Canada, Wittenberg, 8 May 2017. Available from: https://www.academia.edu/33249303/The_Protestant_Reformation_and_the_Orthodox_Christian_East_On_the_Occasion_of_the_500-Year_Anniversary_of_the_Reformation_A_Historical_Survey_and_Study_of_the_Communications_between_the_Reformers_and_the_Patriarchs_Joasaph_II_and_Jeremias_II (accessed 30 December 2019); Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, p. 239.

as the seat of the Patriarchy, had succumbed to Turkish rule as the scourge of God.[142] At the same time, as a continuation of original Christianity, Greek Orthodoxy should be studied and analysed in order to uncover and reveal this pure and original faith, as well as the heretical deviations from it. The apologetic study of Greek Orthodoxy, thus, was a means to justify spiritual and religious reform, as well as a tool to establish a pure form of Christianity.

Of course, the argument that the Greek Orthodox Church was a continuation of the original Church of Christ also had a strong polemical component, meant to dismiss Catholic claims to be the exclusive guardians of original Christianity. Such polemical motives led to a slightly ambivalent view of the Orthodox Church itself. While Lutherans on the one hand presented it as a more 'pure' form of Christianity, they simultaneously compared what they considered to be heretical Greek Orthodox doctrines and rituals with their Catholic counterparts, in order to discredit the latter.[143] Early Lutheran thinkers also expressed a more political interest in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, as a potential ally in the struggle against Catholic power. Philipp Melanchthon was the first to try and establish a friendly relationship, and win Greek Orthodox support for the cause of the Reformation, by initiating a correspondence with the Patriarch of Constantinople. In his letters, Melanchthon emphasised the existence of alleged similarities between the Greek Orthodox Church and Lutheranism, and pointed towards their shared Catholic enemy, whose hierarchical system had corrupted the church and who had introduced distortions into the True Faith and neglected and misinterpreted the Scriptures.[144] In addition to writing these letters, Melanchthon was involved in the translation of the Confession of Augsburg into Greek, a copy of which was sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1559 in order to present him with a summary of the Lutheran belief.[145] Receiving patriarchal approval of the Confession of Augsburg would not only increase the possibilities of an anti-Catholic alliance, so Melanchthon thought, but such support would also strengthen the Lutheran position within the Christian landscape.

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[142] Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity,* p. 239.

[143] There were notable parallels between Orthodox and Roman Catholic teachings, such as the number and nature of the Sacraments, the saint cult, monastic orders, and the use of icons and relics. Such similarities partly came as a surprise to Protestant theologians. G. Gjeorgjevski, 'Orthodoxy and Protestantism through the Centuries', *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe,* vol. 38, no. 1, 2018, p. 78.

[144] Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity,* p. 241.

[145] There is some unclarity in modern scholarship regarding the authorship of this Greek translation. While it has long been attributed to Paul Dolscius, whose name the document bears, there is also evidence that suggests Melanchthon himself composed the work. What particularly triggered Ernst Benz to expand on the thesis that Melanchthon wrote the Greek Augsburg Confession in his article 'Die griechische Übersetzung der Confessio Augustana aus dem Jahre 1559', is the fact that Martin Crusius writes in his *Turcograecia* that "In 1559 (...) Melanchthon wrote a letter to Joasaph, Patriarch of Constantinople (...) To this letter Philip added a Greek exemplar of the Augsburg confession, edited under the name of Dolscius, but composed by Philip". Martin Crusius as quoted in W. J. Jorgenson, 'The *Augustana Graeca* and the Correspondence Between the Tübingen Lutherans and Patriarch Jeremias: Scripture and Tradition in Theological Methodology', PhD Thesis, Boston University, 1979, p. 38.

Melanchthon's interest in the Greek Orthodox Church, however, was not mutual. The Reformer himself died in 1560, and his followers waited in vain for a response from the Patriarch. The Lutherans decided that Melanchthon's letter must never have reached Constantinople. According to Steven Runciman, however, the Patriarch did receive the letter, but chose not to respond to it. As Runciman argues, "a brief glance at the Confession at Augsburg [had] showed that much of its doctrine was frankly heretical".[146] Whereas Melanchthon thus sought to establish a Lutheran-Orthodox alliance on the basis of theological similarities, the leaders of the Greek Orthodox Church disagreed on the existence of such ecclesiastical conformity. Nevertheless, they did acknowledge the importance of a good relationship between Constantinople and the Lutheran Church. It was arguably for this reason, so as not to "spoil relations with a potential friend", that the Patriarch chose to ignore the letter from Wittenberg.[147]

Philip Melanchthon's efforts to seek rapprochement with the Greek Orthodox Church might have been fruitless at the time, but their spirit lived on and eventually found their way to the theology faculty of the University of Tübingen. From 1573 to 1581, the Tübingen theologians maintained a successful correspondence with the Patriarchs of Constantinople, through which they hoped to win the Patriarch's approval of the Lutheran position as stated in the Confession of Augsburg. The opportunity to initiate this correspondence presented itself somewhat by chance. In 1573, the convinced Lutheran and former student at Tübingen David Ungnad was appointed as the next envoy to Constantinople, endowed with the responsibility to renew the peace treaty with the Ottoman Sultan. In the search for a Lutheran chaplain who could also speak Greek, Ungnad requested the help of the Duke of Württemberg, who then turned to the rector of the University of Tübingen (the previously discussed Jakob Andreae) and two members of its Theological Faculty. As a candidate, they suggested Stephan Gerlach, "a brilliant 26-year-old pastor" who had recently graduated at the university.[148] Not only did Gerlach fit the job-description, but his appointment would also put him in a position to establish contacts with the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Constantinople on behalf of the theologians at Tübingen. When the new chaplain embarked on his journey on 9 April 1573, he carried a letter from the Jakob Andreae, as well as one from the famous humanist and professor Martin Crusius (Martin Kraus, 1526-1607).[149]

Initially, the initiative of the Tübingen professors was more humanistic than theological, although the two cannot be completely separated. At the time of Gerlach's departure, Jakob Andreae was heavily preoccupied with the production of the Formula of Concord, and the

[146] Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity,* p. 246.
[147] Ibid., p. 246.
[148] Ben-Naeh and Saban, 'Three German Travellers', p. 37.
[149] Ibid., p. 37.

correspondence was primarily motivated by Crusius' interest in modern spoken Greek.[150] The letter from Jakob Andreae that was given to Gerlach was merely a letter of recommendation, whereas Crusius' "letter of friendly greetings"[151] was meant to initiate a lasting relationship between the humanist and the Greek Orthodox community of Constantinople. In addition to the two letters, Gerlach was also given a Greek 'summa' of a sermon on the Good Shepherd which Andreae had preached on the previous Sunday. As Crusius states in his diary, the sermon served as an example of the Lutheran doctrine, as well as a display of his knowledge and command of the Greek language.[152] Upon his arrival in Constantinople, Gerlach soon befriended the Protonotary of the Greek Orthodox Church, Theodor Zygomalas. It was him who then introduced Gerlach to the Patriarch at the time, Jeremias II, who was then in his first term of office. In their first meeting, in which Theodor Zygomalas' father Joannes Zygomalas acted as interpreter, Gerlach presented Jeremias the letters and sermon from Tübingen, and he "wished him well and kissed his hand".[153] Gerlach, "in return",[154] put the Zygomalases in contact with Martin Crusius - a contact which would outlive the theological correspondence.[155] It was through Zygomalas that Crusius then entered into correspondence with Jeremias II, and the connection between Tübingen and the Patriarch was established.[156]

In the first period after its establishment, the correspondence between Tübingen and Constantinople was - as previously mentioned - of a more humanistic than theological nature, and Gerlach's responsibilities towards Tübingen mainly seem to have been to act as an informant. On 4 March 1574, Crusius sent a second letter to the Patriarch, together with a new sermon that he had translated into Greek. In another letter to Stephan Gerlach, Crusius asked for information about Greece and some books by Greek fathers and pagan authors, and he urged Gerlach to request a response from the Patriarch. Jeremias II, however, had left the city for a period of nine

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[150] Jorgenson, 'The *Augustana Graeca',* pp. 63-4. About the interest of Martin Crusius in the Greek Orthodox community, also see: A. Ben-Tov, 'Turco-Gracia. German Humanists and the End of Greek Antiquity', in A. Contadini and C. Norton (eds.), *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World,* Farnham, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 181-195.

[151] Jorgenson, 'The *Augustana Graeca'* p. 63.

[152] Ibid., p. 63; referring to M. Crusius, *Diarium,* vol. I, Tübingen, 1577-1583, p. 3.

[153] English translation by Jorgenson, 'The *Augustana Graeca',* p. 65. The original passage can be found in S. Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs dess eltern Tage-Buch: der von zween glorwürdigsten Römischen Käysern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho, beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens höchstseeligster Gedächtnüss, an die Ottomannische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten … und durch … David Ungnad … mit würcklicher Erhalt und Verlängerung des Friedens, zwischen dem Ottomannischen und Römischen Käyserthum und demselben angehörigen Landen und Königreichen &c. glücklichst-vollbrachter Gesandtschafft,* Frankfurt am Main, Heinrich Friesen, 1674, p. 29.

[154] This wording is used by Runciman in *The Great Church in Captivity*, (due to the Covid-19 outbreak I was unable to check the exact page number before submission). It is unclear to what extend this was indeed an exchange of contacts, or if the favour was mainly proven towards Martin Crusius.

[155] Jorgensen, 'The *Augustana Graeca',* pp. 66-7.

[156] Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity,* (see above, fn. 153).

months, and was more concerned with internal ecclesiastical affairs.[157] Nevertheless, the Tübingen theologians conceived the idea to send Melanchthon's Greek version of the Augsburg Confession to Jeremias, which they did in September 1574.[158] As had been the case with Philip Melanchthon, the main aim of the Lutherans was to win the approval of their doctrine of the Greek Orthodox Church. More specifically, they were searching for conformation that the Lutheran dogma was apostolic, and that the Catholics were thus wrongfully accusing the Lutherans of being 'innovators'.[159] In this light, the cover letter that accompanied the Greek Augsburg Confession, signed by Andreae and Crusius, asked for Jeremias' "most wise judgement (...) whether, God granting, we think the same way in Christ."[160]

Whereas two decades earlier the Patriarch had been able to ignore the Lutheran attempts at theological rapprochement, the physical presence of Lutheran representatives in Constantinople and even in the inner circles of the Patriarchate meant that he could no longer do so. Indeed, Runciman writes that Jeremias was 'pushed for an answer' to the Lutheran letters by both David Ungnad and Stephan Gerlach.[161] This response was finally sent on the 15th of May 1576 after Jeremias had first consulted the Holy Synod. In the letter, Jeremias responded extensively to each of the 21 articles of the Confession of Augsburg, stating whether and why he agreed or disagreed with these. It is clear from his writings that the Patriarchate was not convinced by the Lutheran argument that their churches shared the essential doctrines. Jeremias outspokenly disagrees with the Lutherans on a number of points, most importantly that of the doctrine of justification and of the invocation of the saints as mediators before God. With regard to other articles with which he does agree, the Patriarch nevertheless feels the need to specify the correct and complete orthodox doctrines.[162]

Despite the clear disagreements, the tone of the Patriarch remains highly friendly at all times. In the last paragraph of his letter, he invites the Lutheran theologians, if they really wish to join within the most holy Church of Christ, to submit to the apostolic and synodical tradition of

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[157] Jorgenson, 'The *Augustana Graeca',* p. 67.
[158] It seems unclear why a copy had not already been sent along with Stephan Gerlach a year earlier, as it seems unlikely that the plans of theological rapprochement had not already been in place at the time. Perhaps they expected Melanchthon's earlier copy to still be present in Constantinople after all. In any case, David Ungnad is reported to have asked for new copies of the Greek Confession of Augsburg at the request of Stephan Gerlach. In response, six copies were send to Constantinople by the Tübingen professors, each meant for a specific recipient. See: Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 247-8.
[159] This accusation essentially meant that Catholics were viewing the Protestant religion as a heresy. Indeed, the question of innovation and heresy *versus* correct doctrine and continuity in the Apostolic Faith of the Early Church was one of the main points of contention during the Reformation. See: Jorgenson, 'The *Augustana Graeca*', p. 1.
[160] Jorgenson, 'The *Augustana Graeca',* p. 70.
[161] Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity,* (see above, fn. 153).
[162] A German translation of Jeremias' lengthy letter can be found in *Wort und Mysterium. Der Briefwechsel über Glauben und Kirche 1573 bis 1581 zwischen den Tübinger Theologen und dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel*, Wittenberg, Luther-Verl., 1958, pp. 46-125.

the Greek Orthodox Church. Despite the friendly tone, the Patriarch's closing remarks can be read as a firm confirmation that the leader of the Greek Orthodox Church were not willing to compromise on their doctrines or to stretch their interpretation in order to accommodate the Lutheran beliefs. The Lutherans, however, were in a similar position. Especially in the light of the internal disagreements that had led to the composition of the Formula of Concord, they could not allow for any ambiguity with regard to the interpretation of their doctrines. Nevertheless, they did not give up their hopes of a Lutheran-Greek relationship, though, in their view, such a relationship could only be established on the basis of theological agreement. Therefore, Martin Crusius and Lucas Osiander, who got involved in the correspondence for theological advice, sent a new letter to the Patriarch in June 1577 in which they attempted to justify those points to which the Patriarch had objected, and to show that the Lutheran and Orthodox views on justification by faith were really not that different. As such, the correspondence took a more apologetic turn on the side of the Tübingen theologians.

However, the efforts of the theologians were fruitless. A new response from the Patriarch in 1579, which had been pushed for by Stephan Gerlach until his departure from Constantinople in Spring that year, once more pointed out the Lutheran doctrines that could simply not be accepted by the Greek Orthodox Church. A committee of Lutherans, including Crusius, Andreae, Osiander, and the recently returned Gerlach, composed another letter in which they repeated their arguments, and insisted that some of the doctrinal differences were merely a matter of terminology, and that other should be seen as no more than a difference in rituals and practice. The Patriarch, however, would not bulge. In a last response, sent in 1581, Jeremias recapitulated the points of disagreement between the Lutheran and Greek Orthodox churches, and he begged for the theologians to cease their efforts of ecclesiastical rapprochement. Nevertheless, he remains open to a friendship: "Go your own way and do not send us further letters on doctrine but only letters written for the sake of friendship".[163] This letter meant the end of the official correspondence between Tübingen and Constantinople.

The Greek Patriarch seems to have quickly realised that both parties were arguing on the basis of different interpretations of the Scripture and on different religious views on which they were not willing to compromise. As a consequence, the argument took place on two different levels and was therefore fruitless from its very start. In this respect, it reminds more of a religious controversy than of an attempt at rapprochement. As Irene Dingel argues, in religious controversies in the wake of the Reformation, the aim was never to formulate compromises. Rather, both sides presumed that they could claim that their interpretation represented religious truth, and the aim was to convince the public of the legitimacy of their point of view.[164] What the

[163] Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity,* p. 256.
[164] Dingel, 'The Culture of Conflict'.

Tübingen theologians do not seem to have realised, is that the Greek Orthodox authorities did not form a public that could be convinced. Rather, it represented the other side of the 'controversy', which was as unwilling to compromise on its doctrines as the Lutherans were. Nor were they willing to accept the points of similarity between the two churches as a solid enough basis for a religious alliance, especially as long as these similarities were not founded upon the same interpretation of Christian scripture and doctrine (or, simply put, the Christian truth). As such, the dialogue immediately reached an impasse.

Nevertheless, the correspondence between Tübingen and the Patriarchate in Constantinople meant that "the silence between the Orthodox East and Lutheran West was broken for the first time".[165] In other words, they became part of each other's worlds, and friendships were even established between German Lutherans and members of the Patriarchate. Generally, Lutherans had been ignorant of the theology, culture, and politics of the Ottoman Greek Orthodox, but their correspondence shows a willingness to learn from and about them. Of course, such willingness mainly stemmed from polemical and apologetic motives, and, in the end, the lessons that were learned emphasized more differences than similarities. Nevertheless, it reveals a new openness to other cultures and religions that led to an increased knowledge of these. Moreover, even if it did not lead to any sort of alliance, their dialogue with the Greek Orthodox leaders did force the Lutheran theologians to reflect on their own religious identity, and to determine its doctrinal boundaries. As such, it contributed to the sharpening of the lines of the Lutheran confessional identity. Even after the end of the official correspondence between the Tübingen theologians and Jeremias II, friendly relations and contact between the Lutheran and Greek Orthodox communities continued, in and through which knowledge was exchanged and collected.[166]

As we have seen, a similar attitude can be seen in the Lutheran encounters with Islamic culture and religion, through which new knowledge was acquired, shared, and reflected upon. Whereas the Ottoman Empire and its cultures and religions first had existed primarily in isolation from reality, in ideas, 'Feindbilder', and stereotypes that were constructed on the basis of texts and old (pre)assumptions, a new willingness to learn from it caused Lutheran theologians to be more receptive to its reality. Moreover, the peace agreement between the Habsburg Emperor and Ottoman Sultan had made it possible to get in direct contact with the people and culture of the Ottoman Empire. In this regard, the appointment of a Lutheran ambassador was also of profound

[165] E. Tibbs, 'Patriarch Jeremias II, the Tübingen Lutherans, and the Greek Version of the Augsburg Confession: A Sixteenth Century Encouter', lecture at the 'Fuller Theological Seminary CH-502 Medieval - Reformation History', 2000. Available from: http://web.archive.org/web/20101130165425/http://stpaulsirvine.org/html/sixteenthcentury.pdf (accessed 1 May 2019).

[166] This is clear from the diary of Martin Crusius, which contains a large number of letters that were exchanged between Crusius and the Greek Patriarchate.

importance. The accompanying chaplains - first Stephan Gerlach and then Salomon Schweigger - were the first official representatives of the Lutheran church to reside in the Ottoman capital and to be a part of the diplomatic and political interactions there. As such, they could be seen as 'living ambassadors of the new faith of their homeland - to the Patriarch and to all the ecclesiastical dignitaries who came to his residence'.[167] In this position, they were able to engage and interact with Ottoman culture and society on an even deeper level than most travellers were. The knowledge that was acquired in the process, in turn, was used to create and establish a better knowledge of the own religious and cultural identity, not just on the level of theological debates, but also, as was the case with Schweigger, within the German vernacular discourse. The exact lessons that could be learned from interactions and encounters with the reality of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the ways in which these lessons became part of the Lutheran discourse of identity formation, will be analysed and demonstrated in the next chapters, focussing on the individual writings of Salomon Schweigger.

As this chapter has demonstrated, Schweigger's involvement with the Ottoman Empire was in many ways a clear product of the time. The relatively new diplomatic environment offered him an opportunity to pursue his curiosity in foreign cultures and religions - a curiosity that reflects a more general fascination with the Ottoman Empire in Germany. Moreover, his education within an environment that was characterized by a particularly Lutheran interest in the Islamic religion and the Greek Orthodox Church within the discourse of confessionalization may have moved Schweigger to interact with the Ottoman Empire in a way that was of similarly particular Lutheran significance. In fact, the involvement of the Lutheran authorities in Württemberg in Schweigger's appointment indicate that, right from the start, his mission to Constantinople was directly connected to the local confessional discourse and ambitions at the time. Indeed, as the next few chapters will demonstrate, Schweigger's travel account and German Qur'an translation, as well as his pastoral activities in Constantinople - of which his Italian catechism was a product - all demonstrate the (pre)dominance of strong confessional concerns in the author's involvement with Ottoman society, culture, and religion. Moreover, his publications show how knowledge about the Ottoman Empire was integrated into the Lutheran discourse of confessionalization and identity formation, and - as such - reveal the means by which the Ottoman Empire gained a substantial presence in the German Lutheran experience as a physical space that could be observed, with which could be interacted, and from which could be learned. Such 'usage' of authentic knowledge about the Ottoman Empire in discourses dealing with identity was not unique, nor was it new. As we have seen, even travel accounts that presented themselves as objective presentations of the Ottoman culture and society were often underlined with questions

[167] Jorgenson, 'The *Augustana Graeca',* p. 65.

of religious or cultural identity. What the following analysis of Schweigger's works will mainly demonstrate, is how this integration of knowledge about the Ottoman Empire into discourses of identity formation took place in the case of Lutheran confessionalization.

Chapter 2: Schweigger's *Ein Newe Reyßbeschreibung* as a Lutheran Travel Account.

"On the 26th of September 1576 I left Tübingen and its university, because from a young age I had felt the special desire to see faraway countries and experience things", thus Schweigger opens the first chapter of his *Reyßbeschreibung*.[168] It seems like quite a modern motivation of travelling, especially in a Christian environment where the expression of an explorative kind of 'curiositas', as an excessive interest in worldly things, had for a long time been mistrusted and even seen as a vice.[169] Documenting Schweigger's observations and experiences in the Ottoman Empire, his *Reyßbeschreibung* also provided the curious German reader with a wealth of information about this part of the world. As the title claims, the work contained first-hand information about "the circumstances (…), cities, towns, buildings, as well as the inhabitant peoples' manners, customs, practices, costumes, religion, and faith"[170] of those countries through which the author travelled. After its initial publication, (parts of) the *Reyßbeschreibung* were incorporated in collections about both the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Land, and also in more recent times the travel account has often been used as a source of information about the situation in these regions around the end of the sixteenth century, such as in Heidi Stein's critical edition *Zum Hofe des türkischen Sultans* (Leipzig 1989).

Travel accounts such as Schweigger's could indeed significantly contribute to the state of knowledge about those places and cultures that they described. This chapter, however, will also take into consideration a less-studied element in Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung*, which is the author's religious agenda. More specifically, it will look at the ways in which the author combined distinctively Lutheran arguments with detailed knowledge about the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, throughout his work, Schweigger stresses the importance of a more empirical approach towards other cultures and religions by repeatedly emphasising the fact that his descriptions of the Ottoman Empire were based on authentic, first-hand observations. Rather than 'stand-alone' information, however, these descriptions could be seen as an essential part of the author's

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[168] "Als man zahlt nach Christi unsers Herrn Geburt 1576. Jahr / den 26. Septembris … nam ich mein Abschied von der Hohen Schul zu Tübingen … Dann ich von jugend auff ein sondere begierd getragen ferne Land zu sehen unnd etwas zu erfahren." S. Schweigger, *Ein newe Reyssbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem. Darinn die gelegenheit derselben Länder, Städt ... &c. der innwohnenten Völcker Art, Sitten ... &c. Indonderheit die jetzige ware gestalt dess H. Grabs, der Stadt Jerusalem und anderer heiligen Oerter ... Item ... was die Röm. Keys. Maj. durch jhrn Legaten dem Türckischen Keyser ... zu Constantinopel damals überlieffern lassen ... In III. unterschiedlichen Büchern ... verzeichnet und abgerissen durch Salomon Schweigger...,* Nürnberg, Johann Lantzenberger, 1608, p. 1.

[169] For a discussion of the meaning and history of the issue of 'curiositas', see for example: J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*; R. Newhauser, 'Towards a History of Human Curiosity: A Prolegomenon to its Medieval Phase', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte,* vol. 56, no. 4, 1982, pp. 559-576. On curiosity and its historical relation to 'wonder', see: L. Daston and K. Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750*, New York, Zone Books, 1998.

[170] "die gelegenheit (...) / Städt / Flecken / Gebew rc. der innwohnenten Völcker Art / Sitten / Gebreuch / Trachten / Religion und Gottesdienst". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, title page.

religious arguments. The importance of the use of authentic information as the foundation for religious arguments had already been stressed by Luther in the context of Islam refutations. As he argued, a systematic refutation of the religion of the Ottoman Empire should be based on authentic, balanced knowledge, rather than on the biased images of Islam that were "cheapening" the works of medieval writers.[171] Schweigger's travel account, however, was not only aimed at the discussion or refutation of Islam. Rather, it meant to strengthen the understanding and organization of the own, Christian religion. It has been argued before that theologians' works about the Ottoman Empire and its religion could also serve as "a disciplining tool for [the] own audience – a means to define the contours of the history and politics of the evangelical, confessional, and religious world"[172]. Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* seems to support this claim, and it could thus be seen as both a product of, and a contribution to the contemporary processes of confessional consolidation.

By interpreting his observations within a Lutheran framework, and by then bringing these back into the Lutheran vernacular discourse through his travel account, Schweigger allowed the information that the *Reyßbeschreibung* contains about the Ottoman Empire to acquire a specifically Lutheran significance. This created a space within the Lutheran discourse for the Ottoman Empire not only as a spiritual and military 'enemy', but also as a physical and literary space with which Lutherans could interact in a way that was of religious significance. Indeed, Schweigger's travel account shows how the Ottoman Empire became a space in and against which the Lutheran identity could be negotiated and enforced, not only for Lutheran travellers and those Lutherans living in the Ottoman Empire, but also for the Lutheran community at home. As what could be considered as a 'side product' of this process, such interactions simultaneously provided a new source of information about the Ottoman Empire to the German public through vernacular travel writings.

[171] S. Henrich and J. L. Boyce, 'Martin Luther - Translations of Two Prefaces of Islam: *Preface to the* Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum *(1530), and Preface to Bibliander's Edition of the Qur'an (1543)*', *Word & World,* vol. 16, no. 2, 1996, p. 258.
[172] Boettcher, 'German Orientalism', p. 102.

2.1 Schweigger's 'Vorrede': The benefits of travelling and travel writing

The fact that the religious element in Schweigger's travel account has been relatively ignored can be seen, for example, in its most recent critical edition. In her *Zum Hofe des türkischen Sultans*, published in 1989, Heidi Stein focusses on the *Reyßbeschreibung* primarily as one of the earliest published German sources about life in the Ottoman Empire.[173] In doing so, she completely leaves out the author's 'Vorrede', even though it is in those pages where Schweigger discusses the benefits of travelling and travel accounts, including his own. By ignoring this justification, Stein also ignores both the framework in which Schweigger interpreted and shared his observations, as well as the context in which the contemporary reader could have - or indeed was instructed to - place(d) the information that was presented to him. As the 'Vorrede' reveals, Schweigger primarily saw both travelling and the reading of travel accounts as means by which Christians could learn important, religious lessons.

Schweigger opens his preface with both classical and Biblical examples of virtuous travel. Whereas the praise of travelling by classical philosophers and historians assured its more moral benefits, the Biblical examples showed that travelling, in fact, also had a distinctive place in salvation history. As Schweigger argued, the examples showed that "it is a great gift of God, that one can experience things in foreign countries with which he can serve God the Almighty, himself, and others in the future".[174] On the individual level, travelling could provide a lesson in virtuousness and humbleness, and could teach the traveller how to live a good Christian life in both happiness and despair by maintaining a strong faith in God. "He learns, as Paul writes of himself, to be high and low, to be plentiful and to suffer from shortage, to serve and to lead, to be patient in unpleasant situations, and to not rely on luck too much when things are going well".[175] Although these lessons could also be learned at home, where they were taught by 'the elders and teachers', it was ultimately through experience that the traveller would truly understand his place in the world as a Christian, regardless of his physical location.[176]

The spiritual benefits of suffering through travel are treated more extensively in Schweigger's preface to Johan Wild's *Reysbeschreibung eines Gefangenen Christen* (Nürnberg 1613), which narrates the story of the soldier's seven-year captivity in the Ottoman Empire. In the preface, addressed to 'the fair Christian reader', Schweigger argues that suffering and misfortune will teach the Christian traveller to put all his faith and trust in God when he finds

[173] Stein, *Zum Hofe*.
[174] "es ein feine Gab GOttes sey / da einer sich in frembden Ländern mit etwas versucht / damit er künfftig GOtt dem Allmächtigen / ihm selbst und andern könnte dienen". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* 1608, p. 2 of 'Vorrede'.
[175] "Er lernet / wie Paulus von sich selbst schreibet / hoch und nider seyn / gnug haben und mangel leiden / dienen unnd vorstehen / gedultig seyn in Wiederwertigkeit / unnd wann es wol gehet / daß man dem Glück (...) nicht zu viel trawe (...)". Ibid., p. 10 of 'Vorrede'.
[176] "(...) sich in die Welt schicken". Ibid., p. 10 of 'Vorrede'.

himself deprived of anything else. In this regard, suffering should be seen as a test of a Christian's faith in Divine Providence and it should consequently be met with patience and endurance. Not only would this proof the Christian's faith, but it would also strengthen it: as the saying goes, "[w]as versehrt, das lehrt" – "what hurts, teaches".[178] Schweigger found examples to support this view in both classical and Biblical sources, and especially in the Letters of Paul. Being in a foreign and maybe even hostile environment, the traveller would learn how to live not only in happiness but also in misfortune, and through this misfortune he would come to understand the true meaning of life and suffering on this earth as a 'pilgrimage' towards salvation. In this sense, Christians could also acquire 'spiritual' knowledge or understanding through travelling, and the act of travelling itself could maybe even be seen as practised religion, or "ausgesprochener Gottesdienst"[179]: through maintaining true Christian faith while travelling, one could serve Christianity and 'the Almighty God himself', and be strengthened in his own beliefs.[180] Schweigger's discussion of the individual benefits of travelling resonates with Martin Luther's idea on 'suffering'. According to Luther, suffering was in fact an essential part of a Christian life that was directed towards salvation: by submitting themselves to God's will and word, and enduring misery for His sake - both at home and away - Christians could demonstrate and strengthen their trust in God as the only path to salvation.[181] A more direct link between Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* and Luther's concept of suffering is found in the author's portrait in the work. In the illustration, Schweigger is depicted as holding a scroll which contains a Greek text that can be translated as 'God's power is fulfilled in weakness'. The German quote underneath reads that 'if I should boast, I would boast about my weaknesses'. These are both references to the letters of Paul to the Corinthians (more specifically 1 Corinthians 2:9 and 2 Corinthians 12) , which were often used in support of the Lutheran concept of the importance of human suffering.[182] As such, both the author and his work are presented as examples of this concept.

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[178] S. Schweigger, 'Vorrede', in: J. Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung eines Gefangenen Christen ... insonderheit von der Türcken und Araber järlichen Walfahrt von Alcairo nach Mecha ... von der Statt Jerusalem ... von der Statt Constantinopel ... Mit einer Vorrede S. Schweigger's*, Nürnberg, Balthasar Scherff, 1613.

[179] See: Müller, *Franken im Osten,* p. 165.

[180] "(...) damit er künfftig Gott dem Allmachtigen / ihm selbst (...) könne dienen". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* 1608, p. 2 of 'Vorrede'.

[181] This view was part of Luther's concept of *Anfechtung*. See: Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*, pp. 151-174.

[182] In Riggters' *The Reformation of Suffering*, 1 and 2 Corinthians are mentioned throughout as sources for ancient, medieval, and early modern literature on suffering. They were also used by Martin Luther in his concept of suffering. See: R. K. Riggters, *The Reformation of Suffering: Pastoral Theology and Lay Piety in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany,* New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 119ff. About the theme of suffering in Corinthians, also see: P. B. Duffs, 'Apostolic Suffering and the Language of Processions in 2 Corinthians 4: 7-10', *Biblical Theology Bulletin: Journal of Bible and Culture,* vol. 21, 1991, pp. 158-165, and; R. E. Brown and M. L. Soards, '23. Second Letter to the Corinthians', in: *An Introduction to the New Testament: The Abridged Edition*, Newhaven and London, Yale University Press, 2016, pp. 194-200.

The experience of being in a foreign, sometimes even hostile environment could thus strengthen the traveller's understanding of his own religion, and of his place in this world as a Christian. However, this was not the only way in which travelling could be beneficial: Schweigger continues his preface by writing that it could also provide useful lessons with regard to 'regiment, church and the household'. As he writes, "… in many places, one sees and hears many things that can be useful to him in the Regiment, in the Church and in the Household (…) One sees good and bad, virtue and vice, more than at home. One comes across many forms of rulership and regiment, many laws, statutes, organisations, and customs. Similarly, how one should maintain oneself during peace and war. One sees what both tyranny and rightful authority are".[183] Although this all appears to be information of quite an 'anthropological' or 'ethnographic' character,[184] Schweigger's use of the terms 'regiment', 'church' and 'household' and his classification of those things that could be seen in the world as either 'Tugend' or 'Laster', suggests that it should actually be read in the light of Luther's doctrine of the three estates. According to Luther, religious life was divided over three hierarchies, which were all created and instituted by God - indeed: the church, the household and government. Organizing these estates on earth according to God's principles was in fact a Christian duty, and instructions towards this end could be found in God's works as they were described in the Bible. Moreover, they had to be protected from corruption by human sin and man-made institutions, which posed a continuous threat to the estates throughout history. As such, the doctrine of the three estates formed an argument for the organization of Christian life on a strictly Biblical foundation as a religious duty. At the same time, it could provide the grounds for an attack against all things that were considered to form a threat to this. For Luther, the doctrine of the three estates was primarily a way in which to theologically and ethically interpret biblical narratives about primordial times in their aspects of creation, sin, and social organization, and to apply this interpretation to his contemporary situation.[185] In other words, it allowed him to argue for the organisation of all these three areas of life according to the principles that he identified in the Bible, and to refute all those things for which he found no Scriptural basis as sinful 'disruptions' of the Godly order.

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[183] "(...) an vielen Orten höret und sihet man viel / daß ihm einer künfftig kan nutz machen im Regiment / in Kirchen und Haußhaltung (...) Man sihet Guts und Boß / Tugend und Laster mehr dann daheim / es kommen einem für mancherley Herrschafft und Regiment / vielerley Recht / Satzung / Ordnung und Gebräuch / Item / wie man sich in Frieds und Kriegszeiten wesentlich halten soll / man sihet was Tyranney und rechtmessige Oberkeit sey." Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 9 and 10 of 'Vorrede'.

[184] Of course, anthropology and ethnography as such had not yet developed at the time, but many histories of the fields trace their origins back to the early modern practice of travelling. See e.g.: M. Harbsmeier, 'Towards a Prehistory of Ethnography: Early Modern German Travel Writing as Traditions of Knowledge', in H. F. Vermeulen and A. Alvarez Roldán (eds.), *Fieldwork and Fieldnotes: Studies in the History of European Anthropology,* London, Routledge, 1995, pp. 19-38; J.-P. Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See', *History and Anthropology*, vol. 9, no. 2-3, 1996, pp. 139-190.

[185] O. Bayer, 'Nature and Institution: Luther's Doctrine of the Three Orders', *Lutheran Quarterly*, vol. 12, 1998, 127.

Seen within the context of Luther's doctrine of the three estates, observing 'Herrschafft und Regiment/ (...) Recht / Satzung / Ordnung und Gebräuch' were not meant to teach the traveller about 'man', but rather about virtue and vice with regard to the organisation of the three estates. This could not only benefit the traveller himself, but also those around him with whom he shared his experiences and observations. Being imminently aware of the fact that not every Christian had the means to travel, Schweigger argues that those staying at home could learn the same valuable lessons from the works of 'learned travellers', through which the reader could imagine those places described as if he had been there himself.[186] The descriptions of foreign places and peoples contained in travel accounts would consequently provide the reader with examples of good behaviour and organisation that could be copied and practised, while at the same time showing those harmful things that should be avoided. Indeed, Schweigger explicitly urged the reader to use his own travel account as an 'instrument of guidance', which should be used by the individual believer like a compass is used by the sailor.[187] As such, travel accounts could contribute to the proper organisation of life in all three estates according to virtuous, Christian principles, which, in turn, would ultimately serve God.

It could be argued that Schweigger's discussion of the - primarily religious - benefits of travelling mainly served as a means for the author to justify his own journey, as well as the publication of his travel account. Especially his remarks with regard to the three estates allowed him to present the reader with a detailed description of the Ottoman Empire, in which both its (seemingly) 'good' and 'bad' characteristics could be discussed. However, these descriptions themselves also reflect Schweigger's religious convictions and arguments to a certain extent. Rather than just offering detailed information about the Ottoman Empire, Schweigger's first-hand observations themselves both expressed and supported the author's distinctively Lutheran concerns.

[186] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* pp. 14-15.
[187] "(...) gleichwie die Schiffleut auff dem hohen Meer nach dem Compaß richten (...)". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 10 of 'Vorrede'.

2.2 A call for Reform: The worldly consequences of sin

Leaving Christianity

The first example of how Salomon Schweigger used his first-hand descriptions of the Ottoman Empire in order to support his religious arguments can be found in 'Book One' of the *Reyßbeschreibung*, which describes the journey from Vienna to Constantinople - away from the Christian world and into Turkish lands. In the style of an itinerary, Schweigger primarily lists the lands and places through and past which he travelled, paying a little more attention to those places where the Habsburg entourage spent their nights. The lengthiest descriptions are dedicated to Comorra (Komárno), Gran (Eszterdom), Buda, Griechisch Weissenburg (Belgrade), Nissa (Nish), Sofia, Philippopoli (Plovdiv) and Edirne. The Hungarian fortified city of Komárno was the last stronghold of Christianity among the Danube at the time, and by leaving this city, travellers thus also 'left Christianity'.[188] Schweigger describes how the Habsburg entourage had to disembark their ships upon arrival, in order to wait for the 'Turkisch Gleys' that would further accompany them to Constantinople. The initial interaction between the Ottomans and the Habsburg ambassador was marked by distrust, when Joachim von Sinzendorf insisted on receiving the Ottoman delegates, rather than allowing them to receive him according to custom. Once mutual expectations and good will had been established, however, the situation calmed down and Von Sinzendorf was welcomed by the Ottomans. Schweigger writes that, after this, 'the soldiers greeted each other very friendly, and they spoke for a good while, in such a manner that no one would ever expect them to be arch enemies rather than friends'.[189] Once everyone had boarded their ships, the entourage and its escorts continued their way to Constantinople, now entering the Muslim world.

Of particular interest in Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* are the author's descriptions of the encounters between the Habsburg and Ottoman officials on the way to Constantinople. As one of the first German chaplains in a Habsburg mission, Schweigger was in the unique position to witness the political ceremonies that these encounters involved, and to share these experiences and observations 'from behind closed doors' with the German public. In Gran, Von Sinzendorf and his following were welcomed by the local 'Beg' (whom Schweigger compares to a German 'Freiherr') and his household with an extensive banquet.[190] After a brief description of the food that was served during the banquet, which was not attended by the Ottomans as they were fasting, Schweigger continues to discuss in fine detail how Von Sinzendorf had his audience at the Beg's palace the next day. The description includes that of the ceremony and the conversation

[188] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 10.
[189] Ibid., p. 10.
[190] Ibid., p. 11.

itself, as well as of the many groups of peoples from different political and military ranks that it directly and indirectly involved. The main aim of the ceremony seems to have been for both parties to publicly show their support for the current peace agreement between the Habsburgs and Ottomans, and to state that they wished for this peace to continue and thus to respect the agreed conditions. The ceremony ended with the ambassador offering the Beg a gift on behalf of the Habsburg emperor, which he then happily accepted. After this, the Habsburg entourage was given a tour through the castle before they returned to their ships and continued their journey.

A very similar audience, this time with a Pasha, is described by Schweigger to have taken place in Buda. Upon their arrival, the Habsburg officials were received by one of the Pasha's 'Zauschen' with 'many gifts' - mainly food and drink. During the subsequent audience with the Pasha, the Ottoman official stated that he wished to maintain the peace between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs, and that he hoped that the latter would refrain from doing anything that could breach the conditions. In a symbolic confirmation, the ambassador then handed over his gifts on behalf of the emperor. Schweigger's account of the ceremony is completed with a detailed description of the court in which it took place, as well as the clothes that were worn by those Ottoman parties involved. Again, the audience was followed by a tour through the city castle. In other cities, the encounters with the Ottoman officials are described in less detail, indicating that these might have been less elaborate and important. Schweigger mainly writes how their entourage was awaited by armed 'Nassada'[191] and was provided with food and shelter in every one of these places.

Schweigger's accounts of the ambassador's audiences with Ottoman officials would likely have provided new information to German vernacular reader. Judging by Almut Höfert's analysis, other contemporary travel accounts that contained descriptions of Ottoman diplomacy were either written in Latin - such as Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq's *Turcicae epistolae* (1595) - or were written within the Italian context.[192] However, Schweigger does not simply seem to have aimed at informing the German reader about diplomatic practices and ceremonies. Rather, his observations in the cities in which he stayed during his journey seem to have served to illustrate the contemporary, unequal relationship between Christianity and the Islamic world. In his description of Buda, Schweigger included a seven-page-long history of how a large part of the former kingdom of Hungary - which had for long suffered greatly under sieges and wars - had been taken by the Ottomans. Power struggles in the area between the Hungarians, Habsburgs and Ottomans had eventually led to the current situation in which the kingdom was divided into three parts, and the Holy Roman emperor paid an annual tribute to the Ottoman sultan - called a

[191] Small sailing boats, known as 'pinnaces' in English. Also see: Stein, *Zum Hofe,* p. 225.
[192] See: A. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. "Türkengefahr" und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450-1600,* Frankfurt, Campus Verlag, 2004.

'donation' by Ferdinand I - in return for the acknowledgement of his control over the now-Habsburg part of Hungary.[193] In his description of the audience in Buda, it becomes clear that Schweigger primarily viewed this 'peace agreement' as a capitulation and even subjugation of the Christian world to the Ottoman Empire. As he argues, the symbolic transfer of gifts from the Habsburg emperor to the Pasha was of little value, as Hungarian Christians living under Ottoman rule were suffering on a daily basis, and those along the border area were continuously faced with the danger of being captured and enslaved by the Turks.

Throughout book one of the *Reyßbeschreibung*, the reader can sense that the Ottoman lands described by the author had, in fact, historically been part of a prosperous, Christian world. Europeans travelling from Vienna to Constantinople moved in the opposite direction of the previous Ottoman conquest, which meant that the cities they encountered on the way showed successive stages of integration and 'Ottomanization'.[194] The neglect of old buildings and especially old palaces was often seen as a typically Ottoman attitude, and Schweigger, too, seems to describe an increasing decay of formerly Christian settlements. Whereas in Gran and Buda he could still clearly see the architectural evidence of a strong, Christian past, all that was left of the former Christian fortress in Sofia were the ruins of an old city wall. In several other places, Schweigger mentions the presence of old, Christian inscriptions in buildings that had otherwise been turned into Turkish ones, such as the residence of the (recently deceased) Beg in Nissa. In some instances, Christian churches had even been turned into mosques, symbolizing in a more literal manner the Islamic submission of Christianity. Schweigger's transition into Muslim lands seems to have been complete in Erdine, where the Habsburg entourage was 'welcomed' by a group of children throwing snowballs at them and shouting 'gaur, gaur' ('infidel, infidel'), indicating that they were now in an environment where Christians were seen as a heretic minority.[195] It is here, that Schweigger gives a first, detailed description of a mosque. Even then, however, he seems to suggest that Ottoman culture was built upon Christian foundations: as he argues, the mosque's stone carvings were done by Italian serfs, 'as the Turks were not capable of creating such'.[196]

Schweigger thus did not only describe a journey or 'transition' from Christian Europe into Muslim lands, but he also described how these lands themselves had transitioned from Christianity into Islamic rule. As such, the first book of his travel account could be read as a message to the Christian public at home, warning them that their countries, too, could be facing potential subjugation to the Ottoman powers. In contemporary Protestant fashion, Schweigger

[193] For a brief survey of early modern Habsburg-Ottoman relations, see: P. Sutter Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration: The Habsburg Empire confronts Islam, 1526-1850,* London, Reaktion Books, 2008.
[194] Klusáková, 'Between Reality and Stereotype', p. 362.
[195] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 48.
[196] "dann sie [the Turks] nichts solches zu thun vermögen". Ibid., p. 49.

interpreted the Ottoman conquest of Christian lands as a sign of God's wrath, which was brought about by Christian sin. After the audience with the Pasha, Schweigger describes how the Habsburg officials returned to their ships, thinking: "Ist diß wiederfahrem disem Schloß und Königlichen Residens dieser Stadt / Land und Königreich / was möcht unserm Vatterland mit der Zeit begegnen / dann wir mit unsern Sunden eben solches verdient hetten / wo Gott nach seinem gerechten Zorn / und nach unserm verdienen wolt mit uns handlen".[197] The fate of the Hungarian kingdom was thus seen as a clear precursor of what would happen to the German lands, if these would not rise out of their sinful condition. It shows how Schweigger's first-hand observations during his journey from Vienna to Constantinople were ultimately interpreted from a Lutheran understanding of salvation history.

The fate of Constantinople

In a similar way, Schweigger's description of Constantinople mainly seems to serve to show how the city had previously been a blooming Christian settlement, upon the ruins and foundations of which the Ottomans had built their new - but inferior - capital. Schweigger begins his description of Constantinople with a discussion of the city's historical names and their etymology, followed by an account of the legacy of Constantinople's old university and library - both clearly to remind the reader of the city's former status as the 'capital of the world'. Under the Ottomans, however, this former glory had been left to decay. As Schweigger observes, old structures, buildings and monuments were being neglected, due to the Ottoman indifference towards history, and the fact that "the Turks do not mend things".[198] Constantinople's city wall was in decay, the Greek Hippodrome was no longer in use, and the city's famous columns and obelisks - which had all been brought from Italy to Constantinople by emperor Constantine - were crumbling under the lack of maintenance. The Ottoman neglect of, and indifference to, old buildings, monuments and other historical artefacts was also of great concern to other writers, such as the previous Habsburg ambassador Ogiers de Busbecq. His *Turkish Letters* contain a description of how 'some Turks' shockingly smashed an antique statue when they were digging up stone for the construction of public buildings in Constantinople.[199] In another instance, he witnessed how a coppersmith melted down ancient coins in order to turn them into copper kettles.[200] From a humanist point of view, the lack of maintenance of such historical relics demonstrated an equal lack of civilization, and it was one of the important criteria by which European humanists judged

[197] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 22.
[198] "… dann die Türcken bessern nichts". Ibid., p. 105.
[199] A. Wunder, 'Western Travelers, Eastern Antiquities, and the Image of the Turk in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Early Modern History* vol. 7, no. 1-2, 2003, pp. 89-90.
[200] Ibid., p. 90.

the Ottomans.[201] For someone like Schweigger, however, it also demonstrated the loss of the own, Christian civilization, which - though brought about by the Ottomans - was ultimately caused by its own 'Sittenverderbnis'.

Overall, Schweigger's 37-page description of Ottoman Constantinople and its structures is relatively brief, especially considering the author's long stay in the city, and it lacks the details that one might expect from an eye-witness account. This can also be seen in the included 'map of Constantinople', which is remarkably simple especially compared to other popular contemporary city views and maps such as those of Melchior Lorck and Giovanni Andrea Valvassori.[202] The reader is presented an image of an almost European sounding city, with a high concentration of houses, public buildings and people, which are protected from the outside world by fortifications that can be accessed from the suburbs across bridges and through gates.[203] Wherever possible, the city's structures are compared to their European counterparts, and a recurring theme in these comparisons is the inferiority of the building skills and style of the Ottomans. Schweigger describes the Ottoman houses as being overly simple and badly constructed, and containing very little furniture in comparison to those in, for example, Germany and Italy.[204] Even the houses of Ottoman officials and 'distinguished gentlemen', which might look big and impressive from the outside, consist of narrow rooms which are all crammed onto the first floor, and on the inside they show 'barely any splendour'.[205] Schweigger seems to offer the most extensive descriptions of buildings and structures that would have been unfamiliar to the European traveller and reader. Indeed, his work includes what is considered to be the first German description of Turkish bathing houses and the bathing ritual.[206] Covering nearly four pages, the passage forms the most lengthy description in Schweigger's section on Constantinople.

In the last two chapters of his description of Constantinople, Schweigger focusses on the suburbs of Galata and Scutari, which were the traditional commercial centres of the city that also housed most of its Christian communities. It is only here in his description of the city that the author pays more attention to Constantinople's inhabitants and every day 'city life', and - again -

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[201] Wunder, 'Western Travelers, Eastern Antiquities', p. 91.
[202] The original of Melchior Lorck's Prospect of Constantinople is held at Leiden's University Library. A copy of Valvassori's map of the city can be found in the Houghton Library at Harvard University.
[203] In his description of Constantinople, Schweigger follows a common Protestant 'model' of describing (European) towns and cities, with a heavy focus on churches (or in this case: mosques), schools, town halls and private houses as "the institutions embodying and making possible the spiritual life of the urban community". See: L. Klusáková, *The Road to Constantinople: Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Towns Through Christian Eyes,* Prague, ISV Publishers, 2002, p. 97.
[204] In his first meeting with Crusius after his return to Germany, Schweigger is reported to have said that none of the houses in the Ottoman Empire were as nice as those in Germany, or were generally well-built. When Crusius offered Schweigger his guest-bed, Schweigger exclaimed that "im ganzen Orient have ich ein solch Bette nicht gehabt, noch weniger gesehen…". J. C. Stockhausen, *Sammlung vermischter Briefe*, vol. 3, p. 176.
[205] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* 106.
[206] See: Müller, 'Die erste Beschreibung eines türkische Bades'.

this seems primarily aimed at demonstrating how Christians have been marginalized and suppressed since the Ottoman conquest of the city. A large part of the chapters is taken up by a description of the 'Tower of Galata' - the prison that housed captive Christians - and of the palace of the Sultan's mother, where most female Christian slaves ended up working. Schweigger concludes his discussion of Constantinople with a conclusion in which he writes that his description of the city will by now have shown the reader how its former prosperity had been brought into darkness. This was caused by the obscurity and loss of true knowledge of God amongst its people, which had moved God to bring his "clean and polished strangle sword"[207] upon them in 1452. In this respect, Schweigger's description of Constantinople ultimately serves to warn the reader that 'just like God did not spare this city, he will not spare us'.[208]

[207] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 137.
[208] Ibid., pp. 137-8.

2.3 A 'zerstörer der Regiment': Ottoman diplomacy and state organisation

Through his description of formerly Christian settlements and cities within the Ottoman Empire - including Constantinople - Schweigger thus argued for the need of Christian repentance and reform. In the same light, the author's detailed and informative descriptions of Ottoman state organisation and diplomacy also serve to demonstrate the reader that the Ottoman Empire was, in fact, an illegitimate power. Simultaneously, these discussions contain a critique on the Christian sins that caused (or at least allowed for) the rise of this power in the first place, and it seems like Schweigger's account of the 'good' things in Ottoman culture should mainly be seen in this light. In the first twenty-three chapters of 'book two' of the *Reyßbeschreibung*, Schweigger primarily describes a variety of diplomatic encounters between the Ottoman sultan and foreign officials from both (Christian) Europe and the Middle East. The main purpose of these descriptions seems to have been to illustrate the arbitrary and 'tyrannical' ways in which the Sultan exercised his power and related himself to others. Starting with an account of Habsburg-Ottoman diplomacy, Von Sinzendorf's first audience with the Sultan - which also included the previous ambassador David Ungnad - is in many ways described as a public embarrassment of the Habsburg powers. As Schweigger recalls, the orators were led into the auditorium where they then literally had to kneel and bow to the Sultan, and had to kiss his 'Rockermel'. The author argues that this was only a recent practise, introduced by the 'Barbarians' to mock the weakening power of the Holy Roman Empire, thus showing 'Devilish pride and arrogance' towards the highest authority of Christianity.[209]

Schweigger goes on to describe the ceremony in which the Habsburg officials handed the 'imperial honours' to the Sultan on behalf of the Habsburg Emperor. In doing so, he explicitly refuses to call these a *tribute*, as acknowledging a tributary status would only further humiliate the Habsburgs. Moreover, this would imply a simultaneous acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the Ottoman power, which would even be against the will of God. Instead, Schweigger uses the Italian term *praesent*, implying that it involved a voluntary 'Ehrengeschenk'.[210] This was a merely symbolic resistance to Ottoman power, however, as Schweigger also admits that the Habsburg delegation would have to "suffer him [the Turk] / as he speaks of this as he wished / and calls this a charatsch / that is to say a homage or tribute".[211] The fact that the Habsburg officials were practically left to the will of the Sultan, and that the peace agreement between the Ottomans and the Holy Roman Emperor of which the annual 'praesent' was a part was anything but an equal one was demonstrated by the fact that the Ottomans still captured and enslaved Christians in the

[209] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, 55.
[210] The annual tribute payments had been - and would be - a point of struggle for symbolic power between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, with the Habsburg side consistently referring to them as 'gifts of honor' while the Ottomans called them 'unequivocally tributes'. See: Burschel, 'A Clock for the Sultan'.
[211] Translation of Schweigger, as quoted in Burschel, 'A Clock for the Sultan', p. 554.

border areas, thus breaking the official arrangements. If the Habsburg officials in Constantinople ever complained about these continued practices, however, a number of - mostly converted - slaves would be led before them in order to testify that it was, in fact, the Emperor's army that had started the aggression at the border and that had thus frustrated the peace agreements.[212] It demonstrated how the Ottoman Sultan both mocked and manipulated foreign powers according to his (arbitrary) will.

Indeed, other officials were similarly at the mercy of the Sultan's whims and greed. Schweigger describes a number of confrontations between the Sultan and legates from Persia, Georgia, Spain and Italy, all of whom had to deal with the Sultan showing off his power and expecting their submission to it. In doing so, they had to meet the Sultan's specific expectations. Diplomatic missions from Spain and Florence, for example, were sent away empty-handed because they had also arrived as such, and one of the Georgian princes only managed to gain the attention of the Sultan once he had publicly converted to Islam.[213] Even officials from *within* the Ottoman Empire, and who were thus (supposedly) part of the official state structure, had little power and protection of their own. Schweigger describes several occasions on which the Ottoman Sultan had local officials executed without any trial or opportunity for defence, based on rumours which questioned their loyalty. A Greek prince responsible for the collection of tributes and toll at sea was killed for presumably instigating mutiny, and a Pasha of Buda had been executed because he had possibly maintained friendly relationships with Christians in the border area.[214]

Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* does not only contain anecdotal accounts of Ottoman state organisation and diplomacy, but also offers (fairly detailed) descriptions of the Central Government and the military and jurisdictional bodies, including their various classes and offices. Ultimately, however, all state officials and institutions were mere extensions of the Sultan's power, to which they were also subject. As Niccolò Machiavelli had commented in 1513, "the entire monarchy of the Turk is governed by one lord. The others are his servants and (...) [he] shifts and changes them as he chooses".[215] Schweigger seems to have shared this sentiment, agreeing that the higher one's office, the more likely the chances that the people fulfilling them would become victims of the Sultan's misgivings. In his words: 'high buildings suffer most from the weather'.[216] Although the author seems to appreciate the degree of organisation and discipline within the Ottoman Empire, the practical autocracy of the Sultan ultimately shows its illegitimacy. This "Tyrannei", he writes, is unlike any other 'Imperio' or 'Monarchia' that the world

[212] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 64.
[213] Ibid., pp. 82-87.
[214] Ibid., pp. 70 and 88-89.
[215] Machiavelli as quoted in C. Imber, 'Government, Administration and Law', in S. N. Faroqhi and K. Fleet (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 207.
[216] ""(...) dann wie das Wetter gewöhnlich hohen Gebew trifft / also je höher einer ist / je mehr steht er in grosser gefahr seines Lebens halb (...)". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 165.

has ever seen. Every Sultan even has his own brothers killed once he takes up his office, because according to Ottoman law only one ruler can be acknowledged on earth, just like only one God can be acknowledged in Heaven.[217] It is therefore, Schweigger states, that he cannot hold the Ottoman Empire to be a 'lawful, orderly Regiment'. Instead, it should be seen as a "disruption of other Empires"[218] "Zerrüttung anderer Reich", and the Turks as "destroyers of empire and regiment".[219]

It might seem remarkable, Schweigger writes, that the Ottoman Empire has not yet collapsed and been brought down from within, considering that even its own subjects are daily victims of the Sultan's tyranny. They "are strangled and murdered in tyrannical ways on the basis of slight suspicions and rumours".[220] The only possible explanation of why the tyrannical Empire can survive, the author continues, is because God requires it as a part of His scourge. Not only do the Turks serve to punish and terrorise Christianity, but they should also move Christians to strive for 'honour and virtue'. As the author argues, "when this Turkish whip or scourge were not there, and Christianity would feel safe and no longer afraid of anyone; then in would inflict war and bloodshed among itself".[221] In this sense, the Ottoman Empire is meant to prevent Christianity from tearing God's world apart and thus instigating its own downfall, and to make Christians recognise the importance of striving for 'honour and virtue' - or, indeed, of repentance and reform. It is thus due to Christianity itself that it suffers under the tyranny of the Turks.

This view also finds clear expression in Schweigger's discussion of the Turkish 'Kriegsrüstung' and military organisation. In the chapter, the author focusses on the "old and common cry and question of why it is that Christians cannot do anything against the Turks, and where it is that the Turks receive their victories and luck in war from".[222] As Schweigger argues, those who try to answer this question often forget the main cause of the Ottoman victory over the Christians, which is God as the *causa principalis*. It is ultimately Him who grants the Turks their victories, and in doing so, the Turks are merely His *causa instrumentalis* - His means of chastising and punishing Christianity.[223] In Schweigger's opinion - based on his own observations and those of others - the Turkish power and army might be great, but not necessarily great enough to have the upper hand over the Christian powers. The Ottomans are not greater in number than the

[217] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 139.
[218] "Zerrüttung anderer Reich". Ibid., p. 140.
[219] "Zerstörer der Reich und Regiment". Ibid., p. 140.
[220] "werden etwan umb eines geringen Verdachts willen und durch Anstiftung der Ohrenbläser tyrannischer Weis erwürgt und umbbracht". Ibid., p. 140.
[221] "Dann wann diese türckische Peitsch oder Geißel nicht wär, so würde die Christenheit gar in Sicherheit geraten und sich vor niemands mehr förchten; sie würde unter sich selbst Krieg und Blutvergießen erwecken". Ibid., p. 141.
[222] "alte und allgemeine Klag und Frag, wie es doch zugeh, daß die Christen so gar nichts wider den Türcken können ausrichten, und woher den Türcken diese mannigfaltige Sieg und Glück in dem Krieg kommen". Ibid., p. 155.
[223] Ibid., p. 155.

Christians, they do not possess more financial means, and their fortifications are often inferior to those found in the Christian world. The only explanation for the Turkish advantage could thus be that the Ottomans received God's help, and as long as this was the case, they could not be defeated by any military power. In order to get God 'back on their side', Christians would first have to look *inward*: "It is only then that they please God our Lord, that they reconcile and bring God on their side; when godless teachings, error, heresy, and other such weeds of which God's acres were full and overgrown, and of which the church was suffocating, are eradicated; and similarly, when disorderly sinful beings abolish their epicurean life, the eating, drinking, blasphemy, selfishness, and other sins and vices with which we inflict our Lord's punishment, and with which we point the rods to ourselves, tie ourselves to chains, and sharpen the sword and axe against ourselves".[224]

Another, related, cause for the Ottoman triumph over Christianity is what Schweigger describes as the Turkish zeal. In order to defend their 'Mahometan superstition' they were willing to risk their life and property, and everyone who died for the Ottoman cause was seen as having died a martyr. As Schweigger argues, such zealousness in matters of religion was hard to find amongst Christians. Moreover, the Turks are highly obedient, and strive for honour and glory through their deeds, rather than through birth.[225] Not only does this mean that every individual works as hard as he can to attain such honour and glory, but it also means that high positions in the military are awarded to those who are most hard-working and successful, rather than those who come from an elite background. In the Ottoman Empire, one could find 'true nobility', "which comes not from birth, but rather from virtue".[227] Moreover, the organisation and structure - and, perhaps most important, payment - of the military ensured that the Ottoman Sultan had permanent access to a standing army, that was both willing and ready to fight. For Schweigger, this was all something that European Christianity could (and should) learn from. All the resources and means for a victory over the Ottomans were present in the Christian world - in fact, even more so than in the Ottoman Empire - but in order to successfully use these, it first had to look inward and reorganise and reform.

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[224] "Es sei dann, daß sie zuvor Gott den Herrn begütige, versöhne und auf ihr Seiten bring; das alsdann geschehe, wo zuvörderst gottlose Lehre, Irrtum, Ketzerei und dergleichen Unkraut ausgerottet würde, des der Acker Gottes voll steht und damit überwaschen ist, davon die Kirch schier ersticken möcht; desgleichen auch ander unordenlich sündlich Wesen und epikurisch Leben, Fressen, Saufen, Gottlästerung, Eigennutz und andere Schand und Laster abgeschafft würden - mit welchem wir unserm Herrn Gott die Straf abbetteln, uns die Ruten und Besen zum Schmeißen selbst zurichten und binden und das Schwert und Axt wider uns schärfen". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 158.

[225] The Ottoman 'discipline' was an often-mentioned issue in sixteenth-century European descriptions of the Ottoman Empire. See: D. Özkan, *Türkenbelagerung*, Vienna, Metroverlag, 2011, p. 25.

[227] "der nicht auf der Geburt, sondern auf Tugend steht". Schweigger, Reyßbeschreibung, p. 160.

2.4 The religions of the Ottoman Empire

Ultimately, Schweigger thus characterised the Ottoman Empire as an illegitimate power that served to punish and discipline Christianity. As such, it played an important part in the author's view on salvation history, despite the fact that Islam and Islamic culture as such were seen as un-Christian and un-Biblical. The illegitimacy of the Ottoman Empire was not only expressed in its politics and military, but also in its religion and religious culture. Here, too, it could be seen as a destructive force that was trying to disrupt Christianity. This disruption did not only happen through clearly 'bad' religious elements, but also through seemingly 'good' elements, which formed an even bigger threat due to their (potential) appeal to Christians. It is for this reason that Schweigger seems to have attempted to offer a description of Islam that was as complete as possible, and that would warn the reader for both its bad and its seemingly good sides. In doing so, the author differentiates between 'Religion' ('faith') and 'Gottesdienst' ('practiced religion' or 'worship').

Islam

A substantial part of Schweigger's *Reysbeschreibung* is dedicated to his time in Constantinople, and describes the (political) ceremonies, culture, customs and religions of the people there, including a discussion and description of Islam and the Qur'an. In these descriptions, the author's view on the Islamic religion, and its position within salvation history and relationship to Christianity are not always clear-cut. Indeed, at times they are even simply contradictory. On the one hand, like many of his Protestant contemporaries, Schweigger explained the rise and success of Islam as being a 'scourge of God', brought about by Christianity's sin. In order for Islam to successfully penetrate the Christian world, he writes, God created disunity among Christians as to detract their attention from the Islamic threat. On the other hand, however, Schweigger argues that the successes of the Ottoman Empire were a *consequence* of the divide within Christianity, and that the Islamic threat was meant to force unity among Christians who otherwise would only be waging war against each other. Muhammad himself is presented as a 'Devil's Prophet' and an 'arch heretic', thus suggesting that Islam should be seen as a Christian heresy which has been led astray by the Devil. At the same time, Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* offers a detailed description of Islamic religion and culture that is seemingly 'neutral' in comparison to the traditional Christian polemics against Islam, and in which it almost seems to be described as a religion in its own terms. It has been argued that, while "some medieval commentators styled Islam as a Christian heresy, Lutheran authors elevated it to the status of a false religion".[228] Descriptions of Islam were no longer used as a tool in the (desired) conversion of Muslims, but were rather

[228] Boettcher, 'German Orientalism', p. 105.

written and studied as a way of understanding the own age, "which was saturated by encounters with the Antichrist".[229] Although, in this process, Islam was still viewed within the light of its significance to Christianity (or Christian salvation history), the religion did no longer necessarily (and falsely) have to be presented as having its origins within Christianity, and could rather be viewed and described as something of its own, and as something particular to another culture.

Indeed, Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* seems to reflect this process in which Islam, as the religion of the Ottoman Empire, was increasingly studied in its own terms. The travel account contains descriptions and discussions of the Islamic creed and the Qur'an, and of a variety of Muslim practices, ceremonies and rituals. This is not to say, however, that such descriptions were completely free from judgement and Christian bias. With regard to ritual bathing, for example, Schweigger calls the Muslims 'disciplined' and 'honourable', while at the same time he accuses them of being generally dissolute. Benedikt Jeßing has argued that the accusations like the latter should merely be seen as the author subscribing to rumours and slander, rather than relying on his own observations - which the author instead calls 'detailed-ethnographical'.[230] I would like to argue, however, that such tensions in Schweigger's work between 'objective' descriptions and Christian interpretations of Islam show how such accounts of the Islamic religion were both reflective and constitutive of a new understanding of its relationship to Christianity and its place in salvation history. As such, they should not be seen as two conflicting or opposing views - or as clashes between 'reality' and 'image' - but rather as parts of the same (Lutheran) understanding of both Christianity and Islam in which there was space for the appreciation as well as the refutation of Islamic culture.

Whereas localizing Christian roots within Islam had been important for missionary purposes, the actual reality in which Christian conversion to Islam took place far more frequently than vice versa seems to have created a need for descriptions of Islam as an *un-Christian* religion. Schweigger starts his account of the Muslim religion with both a discussion and refutation of the Islamic views on Judaism, Christianity and Islam. According to Muslims, Schweigger writes, all three religions are worshipping the same God, the main difference being in their laws as they are contained in their respective holy books. These holy books all find their source in the same God, who shaped them according to the needs of the time and of His people. The strict, Jewish Law - which was nearly impossible to live up to - had been sent upon the Jews via Moses to teach them to fear God. Once this was accomplished, Christ was sent to the world with the Gospel to install God's Love amongst the people. Ultimately, however, the laws that the Gospels contained proved

[229] Boettcher, 'German Orientalism', p. 105.
[230] B. Jeßing, "Orientwahrnehmung, "Interkulturalität" und Koranübersetzung bei Salomon Schweigger (1551-1622)", in R. F. Glei (ed.), *Frühe Koranübersetzungen. Europäische und außereuropäische Fallstudien*, Trier, Wissenschaftlichter Verlag Trier, 2012, p. 130.

to be too soft, causing the people to despise - rather than fear - them. Ultimately, God thus created a law that was a combination of the two previous ones, as a 'middle ground', and revealed this to Muhammad in order to spread it amongst the people, and to persecute those who resisted it.[231]

According to Schweigger, Muslims thus interpreted the monotheistic religions as different stages in the evolution of God's true religion, of which Islam was the ultimate form. As such, Islam presented itself as a religion that necessarily included Christianity, as a religion that worshipped the same God and was part of its own history. Schweigger continues, however, with a firm rejection of the similarities between the two religions, by showing Islam's lack of the core elements of Christianity that lead towards salvation, and presenting it as a foreign, 'empty' religion. As he writes, the Muslim creed states that "There is one God, who has no likeness, and who is a spiritual, holy being. Almighty, incomprehensible from eternity to eternity. He is everything, and he has created all things visible and invisible. In sum, nothing good can be said that cannot be attributed to him"[233]. Although this would hold stake within the light of Christianity, the reader is warned that the creed in fact refers to a foreign, unknown God, rather than to the Holy Trinity, which Islam explicitly denied.[234] As such, the Ottoman religion rids itself of all possible truth by robbing the one, true God of its glory.

Another element within Islam that could potentially deceive Christians was its acknowledgement of the authority of the Holy Bible, which Schweigger writes Muslim scholars of religion usually possess in an Arabic translation. However, the author argues, it is not held to be God's word in its entirety, as everything that is contrary to the Islamic 'superstition' is dismissed as Christian invention and distortion - rather than as a proof of the falseness of Islam. Instead, the most important book within the Muslim religion is the Qur'an, which Muslims believe has been revealed to their prophet Muhammad. In reality, however, both Muhammad and his Qur'an had been brought into the world by the Devil as God's sentence for sin.[235] The Qur'an itself, Schweigger writes, is a highly disorderly and incomprehensible work which can only be understood by the Islamic god himself and by those who have been enlightened by him. The only clear message that the Qur'an contains, which is the Islamic creed, should be seen as nothing but "vain and dissolute praise of [a false!] god".[236] As Schweigger mockingly writes, "that God is God could also have been told to me by a fool, if this insane Arabic fool would have been silent. Idem

[231] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 177-8.
[233] "Es sei ein einiger Gott, der seinesgleichen nicht hab, und sei ein geistliches, heiliges Wesen, allmächtig, unbegreiflich von Ewigkeit in Ewigkeit. Er ist's alles und hat alle Ding, sichtbares und unsichtbars, erschaffen. Es kann in summa nichts Guts gesagt werden, das nicht ihme möcht zugemessen werden." Ibid., p. 178.
[234] "einem andern und unbekannten Gott". Ibid., p. 178.
[235] Ibid., p. 179.
[236] Ibid., p. 180.

that God is truthful and Holy, which no one has ever denied".[237] Apart from these obvious and generic truths, Schweigger writes, the Qur'an is filled with lies and false miracles – such as Muhammad's ascension to heaven and his splitting the moon in half – and a description of the 'Gottesdienst': "the fast, pilgrimage, prayer, ritual washing, cleansing, offers and other such hypocrisy and idolatry".[239]

In many ways, Schweigger presents the Qur'an as ambiguous and as contradicting even itself. Where it mentions Christ, he is described as a mighty prophet who exceeds all other prophets in his glory ('Ansehens'). It acknowledges the immaculate conception, and describes Christ as the Word of God, his teachings as the truth, and Christ himself as the bringer of eternal life. Muslims refuse to acknowledge, however, that Christ is also the *Son* of God, despite the fact that the Gospels explicitly state that he is both God's Word *and* Son. Similarly paradoxical, the Qur'an presents the Gospels as containing truth and salvation, while it simultaneously prohibits Muslims from reading it and reach salvation through it. Instead, Muslims believe that salvation can be attained by everyone who 'does well'. Regardless of their actual faith, people who take up good works will be forgiven for their sins, and can receive God's grace. "Especially those who fight for Mahomet's teachings, who risk their lives and inflict damage on their enemies with robbery, fire, and strangling, they will surely attain God's favour and blessings".[240] All in all, the Islamic religion lacks all the essential elements of true religion: faith in the Holy Trinity as the One God, and in Christ and the Gospels as the way to salvation.

Despite Schweigger's refutation of the Islamic faith, the author continues his travel account with a discussion of its 'Gottesdienst'. In a total of five chapters, he describes - sometimes to great detail - the Turkish prayer, churches and church services, preaching and sermons, circumcision, fasting, and the Islamic religious orders. The first chapter describing the Islamic religion is centred around elements related to every day church attendance. Schweigger writes that Muslims are required to visit their church[241] five times a day, where they collectively pray towards Mecca (which the author understood as the place where Muhammad was buried). The times of these prayers - the Arabic names of which Schweigger even mentions - are announced

[237] "daß Gott Gott sei, das hätt mir auch ein Narr können sagen, wann schon dieser arabisch wahnsinnig Narr geschwiegen hätt / Item daß Gott wahrhaftig und heilig sei, welches nie jemand gelaugnet hat". Ibid., p. 180. This was an often-heard critique on the Islamic creed. While it apparently appealed to many Christians as a religious truth, Christian authors accused it of being a meaningless, empty formula. As Riccoldo da Monte Croce wrote, such a formula would be true for everything, such as "there is no angel except an angel' and "there is no human except a human". Nicholas of Cusa agreed, and argued that the formula was intentionally vague, and designed to be acceptable to everyone. See: Choi, 'Martin Luther's Response to the Turkish Threat', p. 46 and p. 67.

[239] "des Fastens, Wallfahrtens, des Gebets, Waschens, Reinigung, Opfer und dergleichen Heuchelei und Abgötterei". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 180

[240] "Sonderlich welche für Mahomets Lehr streiten, ihr Leben wagen und den Feinden mit Raub, Brand und Würgen Schaden zufügen, die erlangen gewiß Gottes Huld und die Seligkeit". Ibid., pp. 182-3.

[241] Schweigger consistently uses the word 'Kirche'.

by the 'Muesin' from the church towers. At the sound of this call, the faithful ritually wash themselves in the church court, and they remove their shoes before entering the building. After this follows a several-page discussion of the collective worship of Muslims in their churches, including not only the Arabic prayers and their meaning but also the Muslim's physical movement during these prayers. Moreover, Schweigger offers a description of the common church interior. It suggests that the author was not only well-informed about the Islamic 'Gottesdienst', but that he had actually entered a mosque himself. Indeed, when he discusses the lack of women and children in church during prayer he writes that "hence I have not seen any children or young boys in the Churches".[243] If this was indeed the case, and Schweigger would have been granted access to a mosque as a Christian, this would have been highly unusual.

Although Schweigger's description of the Islamic 'Gottesdienst' seems remarkably well-informed and largely presents the Islamic practices in their own terms - literally using Arabic terminology - they were not necessarily meant to study the 'foreign religion' *for its own sake*. As the author writes, the description is meant to show that one could easily be lead astray by the outward appeal of Islam and the piety of Muslims: "In sum, the external piety and devotion have such a grandeur that it is no wonder that many people are seduced and betrayed by it".[244] However, the Christian onlooker should not be deceived. As all 'Gottesdienst' is done in the Arabic language, Schweigger argues, Muslims do not know what they are actually praying for. Therefore, their zealousness is merely an empty, outward form of piety. Moreover, the author once again points out that Islam does not possess the right views on salvation. As he writes, women are not allowed to join the congregation in church during the official prayer times, but rather do their prayers at home. Schweigger claims that this is due to the fact that, according to Islam, Muslim women do not have a full place in salvation, but rather go to a 'Vorhimmel' which they share, amongst others, with the most pious Christians. This is against the Gospel, however, as Paul clearly states that women, too, are 'Miterben der Seligkeit', and are thus not exempt from salvation. The totality of the seemingly pious Islamic church attendance, thus, ultimately relies on the empty worship of an un-Christian God, and on a false understanding of salvation and salvation history.

Generally, the Islamic church services are led by a priest, or 'Muesin', but on Fridays the sermons are done by the 'Muderis' - "the highly educated doctors of Scripture".[245] After the usual prayers, he reads a chapter from the Qur'an and explains a number of passages in the vernacular language, so that the common man ("gemein Mann") can understand these. Usually, the focus is

[243] "also hab *ich* auch kein Kind oder junge Knaben in der Kirchen *gesehen*" [emphasis mine]. Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 185.
[244] "In summa, die äußerliche Andacht und der äußerlich Wandel hat einen solchen Schein, daß kein Wunder ist, daß viel Leut verführt und betrogen werden". Ibid., pp. 186-5.
[245] "den hochgelehrten Doktoren der Schrift". Ibid., p. 188.

on the praise of God and Muhammad - "of which there is a great abundance as reported above"[246] -, on the importance of good works and on the dangers of vice. About God's grace, however, Schweigger argues, they know nothing, apart from the fact that God is merciful and that he forgives the sins of those who show remorse. In order to install a longing for salvation amongst the Muslim congregation, and to encourage its members to live a pious life, it is presented with what Schweigger calls a child-like image of Heaven. Moreover, a sword is laid on the pulpit, in order to remind the Muslim believers to defend their faith, and to persecute all those who refute and despise it. Schweigger admits that the latter is only known to him from hear-say, but nevertheless the author's message is clear: in their zealousness, the Muslims sheepishly follow their priests and scholars, who lure them into living a pious life with a fabulous image of afterlife rather than with a true understanding of God's grace and salvation.

An aspect of Islam that seems to have raised the interest of many travellers and authors was that of circumcision. As one of the rituals that could accompany a person's conversion to Islam, circumcision seems to have been taken as an important 'symbol' of such conversion. Indeed, in his description of Constantinople, Schweigger had already referred to this practice by referring to the conversion of Christians to Islam as them 'being circumcised'. In the chapter specifically devoted to circumcision he goes further into the ceremony itself and he explains its origins. Schweigger writes that, although circumcision is a common practice amongst Jews and in other churches, who take it from the story of Abraham, the Muslims place its roots in an 'idle tale' about Adam. As such, it should immediately be clear to the reader that Islamic circumcision has no Biblical origins. Schweigger goes on to describe the actual ritual, which is accompanied by much public display. Once a boy had been circumcised - which usually happens at the age of four, five, or seven - he is paraded through the streets, where he receives gifts from neighbours and friends. This procession then ends in the 'Tempel', where the boy utters the Islamic creed. Schweigger writes that it is then that the boy becomes a Muslim, and 'a child and inheritor of eternal life'. But he also writes that "it is then, that God does not want him".[247] The author does not further elaborate on this remark, but it seems to suggest that, according to Schweigger, circumcision itself was not an unforgivable sin in the eyes of God. Rather, it was the utterance of the Islamic creed with which a Christian officially denounced true faith, and that closed the doors to salvation.

Other elements of the Islamic religion and culture that are described and discussed by Schweigger are the annual fast and subsequent celebration, the religious orders, pilgrimage, funerals, household and clothing, and, finally, marriage. A dominant theme in these discussions is the outward appearance of the religion, and its emphasis on good works, which Schweigger

[246] "dessen ein großen Überfluß wie oben gemeldt". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 188.
[247] ""es sei dann, daß ihn Gott nicht haben woll". Ibid., p. 191.

writes are nothing but 'human commandments' ("Menschengebot").[248] Although the annual fast might look like an impressive expression of Muslim piety, Schweigger argues that the Islamic community never lives as splendidly as it does during the nights of Ramadan, which are filled with excessive feasts and festivities. Moreover, the period is marked by high care for poor Muslims and even animals, while at the same time 'poor Christians are murdered, imprisoned and enslaved, and stripped off their possessions'.[249] Such superficial or deceptive charity is also given throughout the year to members of the religious orders, who burden the congregation by denouncing all worldly possessions and relying on the gifts of others. Moreover, they mutilate their God-given bodies with flagellation, falsely claiming that this makes them more holy.[250] The Turkish household - one of the three domains of Christian hierarchy according to the Lutheran doctrine - is devoid of any proper order. As Schweigger writes, the Turks are being reigned by the wives, who do not contribute anything to the organization of the household but rather behave as guests in their own homes. He remarks sarcastically that even "our children in Christianity (…) can do those things that serve the household better and with more reason" than Turkish wives.[251] Also in marriage itself, the author argues, 'the wives bring nothing but their bodies'.[252] The marital institute is further deprived of its meaning by the fact that men often take multiple wives - in order not to have to get divorced - thus also further complicating the organization of the household.[253] Schweigger's description of Islamic culture ends with the remark that in all aspects of their private lives, such as their dress and home interior, Muslims are 'evilly superfluous'.[254] Overall, both Islamic religion and culture are thus presented as pure outward appearance lacking any Biblical foundation and Christian organization.

Eastern Christianity: Greek and Armenian Orthodoxy

Schweigger's discussion of Islam is followed by a description of the second biggest religious community that can be found in Constantinople: Greek Orthodoxy. Although it is recognized as an eastern form of Christianity, having the same origins as its western counterparts, the author criticises it on errors very similar to those in the Islamic religion: The Greeks hold a false conception of salvation, and their 'Gottesdienst' relies too strongly on tradition and outward appearance, rather than on the Biblical principles. The first thing Schweigger notes in his

[248] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 192.
[249] Ibid., pp. 192-3.
[250] Ibid., pp. 194-198.
[251] "unsere Kinder in der Christenheit (...) können dasjenig, was zur Haushaltung dienet, besser und mit mehrerm Verstand anschicken". Ibid., p. 200.
[252] Ibid., p. 208.
[253] Martin Luther similarly argued that the Turks destroy the *veram oeconomiam*, the regiment of the household, with their disregard for marriage. See: Choi, 'Martin Luther's Response to the Turkish Threat', p. 91.
[254] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 209.

description of Greek Orthodoxy is that the Greeks live in 'superstition' and 'foolishness', as he thinks will be known to many in Germany through the writings of the Patriarchs to the Tübingen scholars. Although he acknowledges Orthodoxy as a Christian confession, he primarily criticises it for being organised according to unbiblical principles and false interpretations of the Christian teachings and doctrines. The biggest issue for Schweigger is the Greek Orthodox understanding of the Doctrine of Justification, in which they ascribe more power and importance to human free will and acts than can be supported by the Scripture. As a result, Schweigger writes, the Greeks consider good works to be the core of their religion, as the key to salvation. As such, these are seen to be even more important than Christ himself: "the works are the feudal lord, Christ with his faith the vassal, who receives his prestige and worth from works".[255] The attachment to good works can be seen, for example, in the fact that the Orthodox fasting days combined amount to a total of half a year, "as they hope to win access to God and Heaven with such castigation of their bodies".[256] Moreover, the false interpretation of the Doctrine of Justification is expressed in the fact that the Greeks do not show faith in God and Jesus alone, but rather worship the prophets, patriarchs and saints as intermediated for salvation. As Schweigger argues, none of these understandings of salvation are supported by the Bible, and therefore none of them are legitimate.

Another point of critique is the Greek mass: as Schweigger writes, all services in the Greek Orthodox Church are held in what he calls 'pure' of 'fine' Greek, which is not commonly understood by the congregation. As a consequence, the individual believer often has no clear understanding of the Scripture, since teachings from and about these, too, are discussed in an inaccessible language. It also reveals something about the church hierarchy within Greek Orthodoxy, in which the religious authority belongs to a select group of members of religious orders, who are surrounded by wealth and communicate in an exclusive language which only they can understand. Moreover, the religious authorities neglect their duties with regard to education. Despite that every religious minority in the Ottoman Empire is granted the right to establish its own 'children's schools', those of the Greek Orthodox – of which the Patriarch is supposed to be in charge – are in poor condition. Instead of teaching all children art, philosophy and Scripture, they only teach the young initiates in the monastic orders to read and write.

Schweigger's critique on Greek Orthodoxy reflects contemporary Protestant discussions and refutations of Roman Catholicism, as well as particularly Lutheran concerns such as education and the responsibilities of the clergy - in both which the Greek Orthodox were clearly lacking. Similarly, Schweigger's discussion of the Sacraments within Greek Orthodoxy primarily

[255] "die Werck seyn der Lehenherr / Christus mit seinem Glauben der Lehenmann / der sein ansehen und würde von Wercken empfehet". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* pp. 211-2.
[256] "dann sie verhoffen Gott den Himmel abzugewinnen mit solcher Casteyung des Leibs". Ibid., p. 212.

seems to be an account of how true Christianity ought *not* to be. The Greek Orthodox tradition of the Eucharist poses a problem to the Lutheran minister on several levels. Firstly, the Greeks conceive it as an offer not only for the living, but also for the dead. Even though the dead 'cannot eat or drink' (as reads Schweigger somewhat sarcastic remark) the Greeks believe, amongst other things, that the Eucharist can shorten an already deceased's time in Purgatory. Secondly, Greek Orthodox children are allowed and even expected to take part in the Eucharist, even though Schweigger is convinced that they are not yet aware of the true meaning of the Sacrament and should thus be excluded. The Greek Orthodox tradition of baptism contains a similar error: Although it resembles the Lutheran practice, the Greek Orthodox include the sacrament of chrism as an essential component. However, chrism is supposed to mark confirmation and thus implies that the receiver is aware of the meaning and content of the sacrament. Moreover, the necessary inclusion of chrism in baptism lacks any Biblical foundations. By making chrism a necessary component of the baptism of infants, Schweigger writes, the Greeks express the foolish idea that man can decide over the correct form of the sacraments.

All in all, Schweigger has little good to say about Greek Orthodoxy in his description of the religion. Even Greek weddings, which the author describes based on his experiences as a guest at the wedding of Theodosius Zygomalas in 1578, are characterised as overly indulgent and excessive. As he writes, the 'debauchery' ("schwelgerey") lasts five or even eight days, and "when the Greeks have caroused enough (…) they sleep for a while, and then start their carousing anew".[258] At the same time, the fact that Schweigger was invited to Zygomalas' wedding shows that he was in good contact with the Patriarchate during his time in the Ottoman Empire. Schweigger's *Album Amicorum*, which contains entries from a number of members of the Greek Orthodox Church, further attests to this fact.[259] As previously discussed, one of the reasons for Gerlach to nominate Schweigger as a potential successor had been the hope that he could successfully continue Gerlach's dialogue with the Greek Orthodox Church towards a Lutheran-Orthodox alliance. One of the means by which the Lutherans hoped to establish such an alliance, was by seeking Greek approval of the Confession of Augsburg and by emphasising the many similarities between both churches. Schweigger's discussion of Greek Orthodoxy in his *Reyßbeschreibung,* however, indicates that the presentation of such similarities were more of a rhetorical strategy within the Lutheran communication with the Patriarchate than a true-felt connection to the Greek Orthodox Church, as the author seems to describe the religion more in

[258] "wann die Griechen gnug gezecht haben (…) schlefft ein weil auß [and] seher er sein Zech von neuen an". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 226.
[259] *Album Amicorum* of Salomon Schweigger (microfilm copy). Formerly, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Ser. n. 2973.

terms of differences than in terms of similarities. Indeed, amongst Lutherans the Greek Orthodox confession was often primarily seen as an illegitimate Christian heresy.

A last, small chapter of Schweigger's 'Book Two' contains a description of the Armenian 'Religion und Gottesdienst'. He writes about the presence of a large Armenian community in Constantinople, which has a great reputation with the Turks because an Armenian priest had once predicted to Muhammad that he would gain a great number of followers on earth. They have their own Patriarch, and they differ from the Greek Orthodox in both their teachings and in their ceremonies. As Schweigger argues, this leads to such severe conflicts that both communities live in complete isolation from each other. The author never got to fully understand the exact nature of these differences, but he writes that, according to the Greek Protonotary, these were due to the fact that the Armenians still held on to pagan traditions, and that they deny the human nature of Christ by denying its digestive functions. The latter was confirmed in a religious dispute between Schweigger and one of the Armenian Patriach's monks, who argued that Christ's birth out of immaculate conception was against human nature, and that he was sent down by God only with the *appearance* of a human body. When Schweigger, in response, attempted to proof the human nature of Christ by quoting a number of Bible verses, the monk simply replied that all of these merely referred to the outward appearance of Christ's human body. Interestingly enough, Schweigger concludes his account of the dispute by stating that he was unsure whether this view was particular to the monk himself, or whether "all Armenians are tainted by the same error".[260] It seems to indicate that, when it came down to external information rather than Schweigger's own observations, the author was careful not to take one man's word to be the truth.

The Armenian 'Gottesdienst' is summarised in one sentence: "They hold their worship in their mother tongue, use many legends of their supposed saints in addition to the Holy Scripture, have special church clothing, have the eucharist in both forms, also use it as a sacrifice, keep the great fasts with special diligence, and are in their food and drink, as far as a difference is concerned, more inclined to Christian freedom than the Greeks".[261] Furthermore, the Patriarch and the church orders live in their monasteries according to strict rules. Schweigger concludes by stating that he is not informed about the Armenian traditions concerning weddings and funerals. Although this description of Armenian 'Gottesdienst' is very brief, it reveals two things: First, it indicates the aspects of 'Gottesdienst' that Schweigger deemed important to describe or at least to mention. Secondly, it shows that in these descriptions he tried to rely on his own

[260] "alle Armenier mit gleichem Irrthumb befleckt seyen". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 229.
[261] "Ihre Gottesdienst halten sie in ihrer Mutter Sprach / brauchen neben der H. Schrifft viel Legend jrer vermeinten Heiligen / haben besondere Kirchenkleidung / halten das Nachtmal in beyderley gestalt / machen auß demselbigen auch ein Meßopffer / halten die grossen Fasten mit sonderer andacht / seyn in der Speiß und Tranck / was den unterschied anlangt / mehr der Christlichen Freyheit geneicht / dann die Griechen". Ibid., p. 229.

observations as much as possible, even when this meant that they would be lacking certain information.

2.5 True Christianity in a hostile environment: Schweigger's pilgrimage to Jerusalem

The aspects on which Schweigger focusses in his description of both Greek and Armenian Orthodoxy seem to be primarily related to those elements of religion which involved a priest or minister and the church as an institution. As such, they are indicative of what Schweigger, as a Lutheran minister, held to be the domain as well as the responsibilities of the Christian church and its clergy. Moreover, the author's discussion of both Islam and the Orthodoxies are reflective of contemporary debates within Christian Europe, centring around Christian Doctrine, such as the Doctrine of salvation and the importance of 'good works', Christian hierarchy, and the religious education of the congregation. As such, they were indicative of the contemporary process of confessional consolidation after the Reformation. As we have seen, Schweigger already argued in his preface that travelling and travel accounts could benefit the Christian community by showing it both 'good' and 'bad', thus guiding them to the path towards salvation. In this sense, the author's - often detailed - discussion of the religions of the Ottoman Empire specifically served to sharpen the own confessional boundaries. This becomes especially clear in Schweigger's passing remarks about Roman Catholicism, as a confession that the European reader would more likely, and more frequently, be confronted with. Although Catholicism as such is not discussed in the *Reyßbeschreibung*, it is both implicitly and explicitly referred to, and criticised, in other discussions. The clearest example of such anti-Catholic polemics in Schweigger's travel account can be found in its last book.

In 'Book Three' of the *Reyßbeschreibung,* Schweigger describes his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Naturally this was not a pilgrimage in the traditional, 'Catholic' sense, as a good work that would gain the pilgrim some kind of spiritual reward. Rather, the author's motivation for his journey to the lands of 'Biblical history' was for him to develop a better image and therefore a better understanding of the Holy Scriptures.[262] He was joined on his trip by three German noblemen - Bernhard von Herberstein, Adam von Schlieben and Wolfgang Pachelbel - and in the first few chapters of the book Schweigger describes how the travel companions gained permission to travel to the Holy Land both from Joachim von Sinzendorf and from the Ottoman Sultan. They contain the original Ottoman Turkish text and a German translation of a 'Passbrief' from the sultan, requesting free passage and protection, as well as German translations of Greek 'Passbriefen' from Patriarch Jeremia of Constantinople and Patriarch Michaelem of Antiochia. The opening chapters are followed by a lengthy description - covering twenty-four chapters - of the journey from Constantinople to Jerusalem. Along the way, Schweigger discusses the waters, lands and cities that he encountered on the way, including their inhabitants (both human and animal). The subsequent description of the Holy Land only takes up ten chapters (a surprisingly small part considering the importance of the destination), covering the more 'secular' history and appearance of those places Schweigger visited, as well as the Christian 'holy sites'. The last six

[262] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 231.

chapters, finally, report on Schweigger's journey back home via Damascus, Tripoli and Candia (Crete).

Throughout Book Three, Schweigger's tone is distinctly different from that in the first two books. On the one hand, the author is often reminiscing about events that took place during the journey. More attention is paid to the act of travelling itself, and the reader is often reminded of the dangers with which Schweigger and his travel companions were faced. This increased focus on travelling is likely due to the fact that, unlike with the journey to Constantinople, Schweigger and his companions now had to find their own way, including modes of transport, shelter, and food. It made the journey itself a more personal, and probably more intense experience. At the same time, Schweigger continuously compares his observations and experiences to both the Bible and to classical works of history (especially Pliny and Herodotus). In one instance, Schweigger writes that he and his travel companions had to spend the night outside, baking 'ash bread', just like Moses and his people in the Bible. In other passages, the author compares the dress and habits of the local peoples he encountered with those of the peoples in the Scripture. Interestingly enough, however, the text contains little reflection on how these observations and comparisons could constitute a better understanding of the Bible, and his visual descriptions do not seem detailed enough for the reader to really develop an image of his own on the basis of which he could deepen his understanding of the Biblical text. Instead, Schweigger often simply seems to confirm the existence of those places and peoples mentioned in the Holy Scripture.

Instead of Schweigger's understanding of the Scriptures being enhanced by his observations, these observations more often seem to be interpreted through the Bible and Schweigger's Christian worldview. An example of this can be found in his description of Egypt and the Nile. As Schweigger writes, the Egyptian lands are completely devoid of rain. Yet, however, the lands are occasionally watered by the flowing of the Nile, thus keeping them fertile despite the overall drought. As Schweigger writes, multiple explanations have been given for the flowing of the Nile - because how, if not by rains, would this be caused? All of these explanations, however, which all focus on so called 'natural causes', are dismissed by the author. As he argues, the only cause should be found in God, who 'works through nature and against nature, as the only cause of all things'.[263] In this sense, the flowing of the Nile should be seen as a miracle of God, as it shows “that God the Almighty, according to his incomprehensible wisdom and will, deprives this country of rain, and that what he withholds from a place in such a case, he can repay in another way, and much more abundantly, since the Nile does not only wet the land, but also

[263] "(...) er wircket durch die Natur und wider die Natur / als der die einig Ursach ist aller Ding (...)". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 260.

fertilizes it, so that we diligently cherish his works".[264] In other words, it should serve to deep one's understanding of the working of God's Will, and of his benefaction and wrath.

As with 'Book One' and Schweigger's description of Constantinople, one of the main goals of Schweigger's account of his journey to Jerusalem seems to be to show how, to use the words of Eric Clark, 'the once mighty had fallen' due to the punishments of God. As Schweigger already writes in his Vorwort, one could see in the 'former promised land', how the disobedience and sinfulness of the people lead God to stop the land from growing plants, and the trees from growing fruits. Instead, the lands are 'in a permanent state of rest, with desolate cities and towns which are nothing more than worms nests and murderers' dens'.[265] Comments on the barrenness of Palestine and its surrounding lands were not uncommon in pilgrims' accounts, which often compared the observed land to that described in the Bible. While looking at the Holy Land, Felix Fabri already wrote in the fifteenth century that "This is that land which is said to flow with milk and honey; but I see no fields to bring forth bread, no vineyards for wine, no green meadows, no orchard. Lo! it is all stony, sunburned, and barren".[266] He also observed, however, that this barrenness and drought were brought upon the land as a curse of God, caused by the disobedience of its people with regard to the Ten Commandments. Fabri found proof for this in the Old Testament, in Deuteronomy 29, where Moses tells his people about the consequences of disobedience towards God: "All the curses written in this book will descend on them, and the Lord will blot out their names from under heaven. (...) The next generation, your children who rise up after you, as well as the foreigner who comes from a distant country, will see the devastation of that land and the afflictions with which the Lord has afflicted it - all its soil burned out by sulphur and salt, nothing planted, nothing sprouting, unable to support any vegetation (...)".[267] In the current case of Palestine, Fabri thus saw himself - the pilgrim - as this 'foreigner' of the next generation. It shows how discrepancies between the expected and the observed were solved by the Bible text itself. As such, the Bible formed both the pilgrim's worldview (or set of expectations), as well as the interpretative framework for those things that did not seem to fit naturally into this worldview.

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[264] "dann daß Gott der Allmechtig nach seiner unerforschlichen Weißheit und willen / diesem Land den Regen entzeucht / und was er an einem Ort unnd in solchem fall entwendet / das kan er in ander Weg / und viel reichlicher wider erstatten / da er mit dem Nilo nicht allein das Land beseuchtet / sondern auch zumal Tunge un feysten gibt / Auff daß wir solche seine Werck mit fleiß zu hertze führen (...)". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, pp. 259-260.

[265] Ibid., p. 12 of 'Vorrede'.

[266] F. Fabri as quoted in S. E. Clark, 'Protestants in Palestine: Reformation of Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', PhD Thesis, The University of Arizona, 2013, p. 143 of 269. Available from: https://search.proquest.com/docview/1494143022/8F4DD99FE6D24C6BPQ/2?accountid=11004 (accessed 15 January 2020).

[267] Deut. 29: 20-23, New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

Schweigger's account of his journey to Jerusalem thus served to enhance the reader's understanding of the Bible, as well as of the current state of the Holy Land within salvation history. The author's description of the Holy City itself, however, contains another - maybe more important - religious argument. Schweigger recalls how he and his Lutheran travel companions had to hide their faith during their stay in Jerusalem in order to gain access to the holy sites, and to protect themselves from maltreatment by their Italian Franciscan hosts. At the same time, they had to refrain from what Schweigger considered to be sinful behaviour by partaking in the 'superstitious' rituals that traditionally were a part of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In order to enter the holy sites of the city, pilgrims customarily had to do a full confession and communion with the Franciscans, who indeed requested Schweigger and his companions to do the same. Taking part in these Catholic customs, however, would go against the religious convictions of the Lutheran pilgrims. Even worse, it would go against the will of God, and could thus potentially provoke His wrath.

The issue ensued a debate amongst Schweigger and his three travel companions, in which they weighed the potential consequences of partaking in confession and communion against those of revealing their confessional identity. Initially, Schweigger insisted that they would rely solely on their Lutheran faith: "when the question came to me, I declared how I found it recommendable that we would reveal to these monks without shyness how we did not agree with them in our religion, but that we adhered to the evangelical teachings and confession, and that we therefore desired they would grant us a visit to the Holy Grave according to our own devotion, without anyone's objections. We would behave so modestly and according to the rules, that no one would want to bring any objections or complaints against us".[268] The other Lutherans, however, feared that this approach would be too dangerous, and would potentially even threaten their lives. Eventually, the four men agreed on pretending telling the Franciscans that they were undertaking their pilgrimage as a journey of penance, and that they were not allowed to receive any of the sacraments before they had completed this journey. In fact, this was a tactic that Von Schlieben had heard about from other pilgrims who leaned towards the evangelical teachings.[269] Schweigger clearly expresses his disapproval of telling such lies, fearing that such 'dissimulation' would "stain us with such disgrace, that we should be ashamed towards God and especially to

[268] "als aber die umbfrag an mich kam / zeigt ich an/ wie ich für rathsam hielt/ daß wir uns gegen den Klosterbrüdern erklerten ohn alle scheu/ wie wir nemlich in der Religion mit inen nicht überein kemen/ sondern hielten ob der Evangelischen Lehr und bekantnus/ begehrten derwegen/daß sie uns unserer Andacht nach das H. Grab Christi wolten vergünnen zu besichtigten/ohn jedermenniglichs einred/wir wolten uns in solchem allem dermassen glimpfflig/bescheidenlich und der Gebühr nach verhalten/daß niemand einige beschwerd oder billiche klag wieder uns möcht beybringen". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 290.
[269] Ibid., p. 290.

ours".[270] Nevertheless, he (reluctantly) agreed with the plan, acknowledging that, in this instance, the telling of such lies was necessary in order to remain faithful to his religion while at the same time not endangering himself and his fellow-religionists.

Once he was granted access to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Schweigger again found himself surrounded by Christians of other confessions. He specifically mentions the presence of Catholics, Greeks, Abyssinians, Indian Christians, Jacobites, and Copts. What all these 'broken and crumbled' ("zebrochenen und zerfallenen") Christians have in common, he writes, is that their faith and religion is tainted with 'idolatry, false teachings, and superstition', with which they also distort the Holy City and Land.[271] They have 'nearly lost Christianity', and have "no more than the appearance and shadow of the ceremonies, and the mere title and name of a Christian".[272] Although Schweigger does not mention any form of conflict (or interaction in general) with these Christians, his description of their presence in great numbers indicates, once more, the widespread decay of Christianity. Moreover, it shows how a site of great Christian importance, as one of the stages of Biblical history, had been corrupted by false beliefs and practices. As Schweigger writes, the vast majority of pilgrims visits the Holy sites in the conviction that seeing and experiencing these will directly bring them closer to salvation. As such, the author argues, they deny the nature of the Gospels as the only true way to eternal life. Only 'sensible, righteous Christians' ("verstendigen rechtgeschaffenen Christenen") understand that, in reality, visiting the Biblical sites will only lead to a better understanding of the Scripture, which itself is still the sole key to salvation.[273] These true, righteous Christians, however, are forced to hide their confession when visiting the Holy sites, despite the fact that they are the only ones who understand their true meaning and value.

When travelling to Bethlehem, Schweigger was faced with another dilemma concerning his religious identity. Along the way, one of the other pilgrims told Schweigger that they would be joined in Bethlehem by a 'Morianiter' (Maronite?) monk from Constantinople named Fra Paolo. This severely worried Schweigger, as he had closely befriended a monk named Fra Paolo during his time in Constantinople. If this was indeed the same person, Schweigger worried, the monk might accidentally reveal his identity as a Lutheran minister, thus endangering both him and his Lutheran companions. Not willing to take any risks, Schweigger decided to instantly return to Jerusalem, asking Wolfgang Pachabel to send a messenger once it was known whether this Fra Paolo was indeed Schweigger's friend from Constantinople. Eventually, this turned out not to be

[270] "... uns mit einem solchen Schandfleck befleckten / dessen wir uns vor Gott unnd auch zumal bey den unserigen zu schemen hetten". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 291.
[271] Ibid., p. 294.
[272] "mehr nichts dann der Schein und Schatt der Ceremonien / und der blosse Tittel und Nam eines Christen". Ibid., p. 294.
[273] Ibid., p. 296.

the case, and Schweigger joined his travel companions for their visit to Bethlehem the day after he had left them.[274] Schweigger's account of the religious dilemma's in Jerusalem and Bethlehem also reflect contemporary European debates about 'simulatio' and 'dissimulatio', as means to avoid religious conflict, and to uphold true faith in a (religiously) hostile environment. In his *Reyßbeschreibung*, Schweigger ultimately seems to reject 'simulatio', while approving of 'dissimulatio' - albeit only when the circumstances required it. As such, the discussion would not only have been useful for future Lutheran pilgrims, teaching them not to partake in Catholic customs, but for any Lutheran reader who was temporarily or permanently living in a non-Lutheran environment. Such readers could take the author's story as an example of how to still live a good religious life when they were unable to openly practise their religion. In this sense, Schweigger's description of his journey to Jerusalem is another examples of how the author's travel account sharpened the boundaries not only between Lutheranism and Islam, and Lutheranism and Eastern Orthodoxy, but also between Lutheranism and Catholicism.

[274] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, pp. 309-311.

2.6 The eye-witness report: Issues of authority and accuracy

As becomes clear from both Schweigger's Preface and his description of the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Land, the author viewed both travel and travel writing as something that could teach important religious lessons to both the individual traveller and/or reader, as well as to the Christian congregation. These lessons were of special importance within the context of European confessional consolidation, as they outlined both true and false Christianity, thus drawing clear lines between Lutheranism - as the only true religion - and what were considered to be 'false' teachings and practices. As such, travel accounts could not only be of educational value for those Lutherans who were regularly confronted with Islam, but also for the German reader at home. Given these religious lessons that could thus be learned from travel accounts, it was important that they were written by people who were actually able to recognize and observe both right and wrong. In order for them to be authoritative and trustworthy with regard to matters of religion, they thus had to be written by people with a strong foundation in the Lutheran doctrines. This is likely what Schweigger meant when he recommended the reading of works of 'learned travellers'.[275] Moreover, these authors had to rely on their own experiences and observations in order to ensure the accuracy of their descriptions and interpretations. As such, great importance was given to the authority of the travel author as eye witness, not only for the sake of providing 'objective information', but also in order to ensure the accuracy of the religious arguments and interpretations.

The illustrations in Schweigger's Reyßbeschreibung

Schweigger's descriptions of the Ottoman Empire were not only contained in words, but also in images. His *Reyßbeschreibung* contains 100 woodcuts, which the title page claims are all made after the author's own drawings and are 'unlike others that have ever been'.[276]. They can roughly be categorised as depicting: 1. Buildings; 2. City views and/or maps; 3. Geographical elements; 4. Peoples and costumes; 5. Ottoman rituals and ceremonies, and; 6. Local customs and traditions. Especially in those instances where the woodcuts depict larger scenes or cities, the illustrations are supplemented with legends identifying their various elements, and in some instances they are further explained in the written text. The original drawings after which the woodcuts were made are unknown, but they were likely drawings made by Schweigger himself during his travels.

[275] The importance of the religion of the eyewitness is also stressed by David Chytraeus. In his *Oratio de statu ecclesiae in Graecia, Asia, Africa, Bohemia etc.* (1575) he included a letter from the Bohemian Protestant Wentzel Budowitz von Budow (1551-1621) in which the latter confirmed Chytraeus' writings about the eastern churches on the basis of his own observations. This endowed the *Oratio* not only with the authority of an eyewitness, but with that of a *Protestant* eyewitness. See: D. Benga, 'David Chytraeus', p. 155.

[276] "Mit hundert schönen Figuren/dergleichen nie wirdt gewesen seyn". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* title page.

In a letter to David Chytraeus, Martin Crusius writes that, shortly after his return to Germany, Schweigger showed him and Stephan Gerlach several 'rare drawings and paintings' that he had painted himself.[277] Moreover, Schweigger writes how he had left several drawings with a friend in Budapest, and several entries in his *Album Amicorum* mention the owner's artistic skills, thus attesting to the fact that Schweigger was indeed already drawing during his travels. In addition, Schweigger is said to have accompanied the letters he sent to his parents with drawings and sketches he made in Constantinople, in order to 'bring them pleasure'.[278]

The use of illustrations as a way of documenting experiences and observations during travels had already started in the fifteenth century, when Bernhard von Breydenbach took the painter Erhard Reuwich with him on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Not only are Reuwich's illustrations used to accompany the travel account that Von Breydenbach wrote and published upon his return, but the travel account itself actually explicitly refers to the fact that Von Breydenbach brought along a "clever and learned painter" for the sake of investigating and learning, which - at the time - was highly exceptional.[279] The visual representation of the Ottoman Empire and its inhabitants became increasingly common practice in the sixteenth century, and it was seen as especially valuable within a political and diplomatic context. In 1551, Nicolas de Nicolay accompanied the ambassador of the French king Henry II to Constantinople on request of the latter, in order to "observe and report back on the places and people he would encounter during his trip".[280] In 1567, De Nicolay first published his *Le Quatre Premiers Livres de navigations et peregrinations orientales,* which included a total of sixty illustrations.[281] All depicting people living in the Ottoman Empire - according to De Nicolay in order to promote global mutual understanding - these are still considered to be the most accurate representations of the Ottomans at the time, and they presumably became the basis for European ethnographies of the Islamic world for the next two centuries.[282] Shortly after De Nicolay's stay in the city, the Danish painter Melchior Lorck joined a Habsburg mission to Constantinople, endowed by the German king (and later Holy Roman Emperor) Ferdinand I with the same tasks of documenting the things he saw during his stay. Due to financial issues, however, Lorck's *Turkish Publication* did not see

[277] Stockhausen, *Vermischter Briefe,* pp. 179-180.
[278] Engels, 'Salomon Schweigger', p. 239. Engels writes that Martin Crusius saw these drawings when, impatient for Schweigger's reports, he visited Schweigger's father at his home. Engels, however, provides no source for this information.
[279] E. Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book. Breydenbach's Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem,* Pennsylvania, Penn State University Press, 2014, p. 26.
[280] M. Keller, 'Nicolas de Nicolay's Navigations and the Domestic Politics of Travel Writing', *L'Esprit Créateur,* vol. 48, no. 1, 2008, p. 18.
[281] N. de Nicolay, *Le Quatre Premiers Livres de navigations et peregrinations orientales,* Lyon, 1567.
[282] D. Brafman, 'Facing East: The Western View of Islam in Nicolas de Nicolay's *Travels in Turkey*', *Getty Research Journal*, no. 1, 2009, p. 153.

the light until well into the next century.[283] Other examples of collections of drawings that were made explicitly within the diplomatic context of the sixteenth century in Constantinople are the album of Johannes Löwenklau (who stayed in Constantinople in 1584-5) and the anonymous Leiden Sketchbook and Freshfield Album (dated around 1574).

During his time in office, Von Sinzendorf's predecessor David Ungnad also had a so called 'Türkenbüchlein' composed, which contained illustrations of Ottoman people, ceremonies and customs and was likely made by a servant who was especially endowed with this task.[284] The *Türkenbüchlein* was not a personal or private document, but was rather meant as intelligence information for political and diplomatic use.[285] This made it especially important for the illustrations to be highly accurate and detailed, and whoever composed Ungnad's *Türkenbüchlein* was aware of this fact. Not only is the style of painting itself highly detailed, but the illustrator also used paper folds in an attempt to create a more three-dimensional and less static image of the observed. Moreover, many of the illustrations offer different perspectives of the subject, and they are accompanied by written explanations. It shows a clear dedication by the maker to be as minute and extensive as possible.[287] After David Ungnad's return, his *Türkenbüchlein* was copied at the order of Kurfürst August of Saxony, who even planned to send this copy back to Constantinople with the orientalist Elias Huter in order to check the accuracy of the illustrations. The copying of such *Türkenbüchlein* was no uncommon practice, and the correspondence between David Ungnad and August of Saxony reveals that Ungnad's document had already been sent around to multiple people before it reached August, thus attesting to a wider interest in the information that such images contained.[288]

The illustrations in Ungnad's *Türkenbüchlein*, however, were not all completely original. Rather, many of them were modelled after earlier images, despite the fact that their maker had been in Constantinople and had actually seen those things depicted himself. In this sense, their maker primarily used his authority as an eye-witness to confirm the accuracy of previously

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[283] E. Fischer (ed.), *Melchior Lorck. Volume 1: Biography and Primary Sources*, Copenhagen, The Royal Library, Vandkunsten Publishers, 2009, p. 65.

[284] C. Snitzer, 'Ein "Spionagebericht in Bildern" aus Istanbul. Das Ungnadsche Türkenbuch und seine Kopie von Zacharias Wehme', *Dresdner Kunstblätter,* vol. 39, no. 4, 1995, p. 103.

[285] For Ungnad's role in Austrian-Habsburg intelligence, see: T. P. Graf, 'Stopping an Ottoman Spy in Late Sixteenth-Century Istanbul: David Ungnad, Markus Penckner, and Austrian-Habsburg Intelligence in the Ottoman Capital', in G. Scholz Williams, S. Haude, and C. Schneider (eds.), *Rethinking Europe. War and Peace in the Early Modern German Lands,* Leiden, Brill, 2019, pp. 173-193. It has been suggested that Ungnad did not only share his intelligence with the Holy Roman Emperor, but was also working as a 'double agent' for August von Sachsen who, at the time, was seen as the main Protestant authority in the Holy Roman Empire. See: C. Snitzer, 'Ein "Spionagebericht in Bildern"', pp. 98-105; A. Ferus, 'Die Reise des kaiserlichen Gesandten David Ungnad nach Konstantinopel im Jahre 1572', MA thesis, Universität Wien, 2007, p. 43

[287] Ibid., p. 102.

[288] One of these copies can be found in the so-called *codex Löwenklau,* which is held in the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna and was made by the German humanist Johannes Löwenklau. See: P. Ács, '*Pro Turcis* and *contra Turcos'.* Also: Snitzer, 'Ein "Spionagebericht in Bildern" aus Istanbul', p. 100.

existing images. It seems like (a number of) the woodcuts in Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* were similarly inspired by other illustrations, as they occasionally show remarkable similarities to previously existing ones despite the author's claims that they had been made *in situ*. The image depicting the entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, for example, in many ways resembles a drawing by Reuwich (see figures 1 and 2). In fact, this particular illustration by Reuwich was included in a number of contemporary pilgrim's accounts, ambiguously enough to attest to the pilgrims' authority and to give the accounts a more personal character. Schweigger's illustrations of Ottoman processions and ceremonies, at the same time, look very similar - in both their subject matter and their style - to Wehme's copies of David Ungnad's *Türkenbüchlein*. They show different groups of people, wearing different styles of dress and headwear and carrying different attributes, and are accompanied by legends offering further textual explanation with regard to these people's ranks and functions.

Although there is no conclusive evidence that the images in the *Reyßbeschreibung* have been directly copied from older illustrations, the similarities that they show in comparison to other contemporary images do suggest an existing tendency towards a certain kind of information that was to be documented, as well as a more general style or format for the way in which these things were (ought to be) depicted. At the same time, it seems like the woodcuts in Schweigger's travel account were not necessarily meant to offer any new information about the Ottoman Empire and its people. The illustration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for example, was merely a reproduction - or confirmation - of already existing knowledge with regard to the external appearance of the building. In the case of the woodcuts depicting ceremonies and processions, on the other hand, the information that is given is far less detailed than that in the illustrations that were copied from David Ungnad's *Türkenbüchlein* (see figures 3 and 4). Moreover, the same woodcut is used to illustrate both an audience in Gran and the one with the Sultan in Constantinople. Although it is hard to judge the style and quality of Schweigger's original illustrations, the fact that these have not survived in their drawn form (at least to our knowledge), or have been copied as was the case with Ungnad's album, seems to further suggest that their function was neither purely informative, nor artistic. Rather, the images could be seen as having a primarily rhetorical function, establishing the author's authority as an eye-witness, and proving that he had actually *seen* those things that he described. In this respect, they were merely *representative* for those things that Schweigger saw, rather than direct depictions of his experiences. They confirmed Schweigger's authority as an eye-witness, while this authority, in turn, confirmed their authenticity and accuracy.

The rhetorical function of images in travel accounts has also been examined by Elizabeth Ross, in her work about Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*, which confirms that early

modern illustrations were indeed used in such a way.[289] As Ross argues, these images did not necessarily have to be unique, as they ultimately mediated a "worldly Christian and natural order" which was merely *confirmed* by the author and/or artist.[290] At the same time, the images bolstered the authority of the author, as someone who had actually seen this 'worldly Christian and natural order' for himself. Especially with regard to the religions lessons that could be learned from travelling and travel accounts, as was argued by Schweigger in his 'Vorrede', this authority was of the utmost importance. Only a true Christian would be able to recognize the Christian truths for what they were, and to tell the difference between virtue and vice in the world. But in order to *interpret* the world, and to share these interpretations with others, an author first had to observe it first-hand. Even if his observations would merely confirm already existing knowledge, it would minimize any potential corruptions of false observations and interpretations by others. In this sense, Schweigger's illustrations thus served to confirm that the author had actually seen those things that he described, and that from these observations he was able to extract the 'lessons' that were written down in his travel account.

It nevertheless raises the question why Schweigger chose to include no less than 100 images in his *Reyßbeschreibung*. As Schweigger's Flemish contemporary Abraham Ortelius noted, "when books are costly, as when many pictures have to be made for them, this is commonly charged to the author"[291], and in the 1592 Schottenstift manuscript we can read that Schweigger was indeed struggling to find sufficient funds for his publication.[292] Such financial struggles had previously been a reason for Johannes Löwenklau to give up on his plans to illustrate his Turkish histories with a number of unique woodcuts.[293] Moreover, the Schottenstift manuscript shows that Schweigger initially wanted his work to be even more heavily illustrated: it contains a number of 103 drawings, as well as a number of blanks which were meant to be filled with additional images. Surely, if the illustrations were merely meant to establish the author's authority as an eye-witness a fewer number would have been sufficient. In this light, another reason for Schweigger to illustrate his travel account as richly as he did could simply have been to make the work more appealing to the larger public. The appeal of the illustrations is clear from the Schottenstift manuscript, which, even though the text itself is incomplete, contains a total of 103 coloured drawings. These had initially been pencil sketches - which were either supposed to be worked out into more intricate illustrations later, or meant to indicate the place and overall look of the eventual woodcuts - which were later drawn over and coloured in. The fact that the

[289] Ross, *Picturing Experience,* p. 28.
[290] Ibid., p. 28.
[291] L. Jardin, *Wordly Goods. A New History of the Renaissance*, New York and London, W. W. Norton, 1997, pp. 178-9.
[292] Schweigger, 'Constantinopolische und Jerusalemische Raisbeschreibungen'.
[293] Ács. '*Pro Turcis* and *contra Turcos*', p. 8.

copyist included the sketches even where the text itself was missing, and that either he or someone else took the effort of colouring these sketches in what was essentially an incomplete manuscript, suggests that the illustrations were seen as something valuable in themselves.

Sources and inspiration

Claims to authenticity are not only found in the images of the *Reyßbeschreibung*, but also in the text itself. Although the style occasionally alternates between a first- and third-person perspective, the descriptions of the contemporary Ottoman Empire and the Holy Land are presented as all based on Schweigger's own first-hand observations. The only external sources that are explicitly referenced by Schweigger, apart from the Bible, are the works of classical authoritative authors, such as Pliny and Virgil, and works by humanist historians such as Paulus Jovius. These works are primarily used to compare contemporary situations with those of previous (Biblical and non-Biblical) times in order to give them a place in salvation history, and to describe the ways in which these situations came into existence. This can be seen, for example, in Schweigger's account of Hungarian history, which describes how parts of the Hungarian lands were subjugated to Ottoman rule, and which is based on the works of Paulus Jovius. In other instances, external sources are used to confirm or validate Schweigger's observations, and to add historical value to those things and places that he describes. A similar use of (classical) authoritative sources in travel accounts can be found, for example, in Breydenbach's *Peregrenatio*.[294]

The fact that Schweigger does not mention any other sources, however, does not mean that he did not use these. As was the case with images, travel authors often relied on the works of their predecessors, with the author's expertise as an eye-witness mostly confirming that what had been previously written and vice versa. These other sources mostly remained unmentioned, however, as the information that they contained was mainly seen as referring to a universal truth that was open to everyone's observation.[295] So, although we may expect Schweigger to have used - or at least been familiar with - other travel accounts that contained descriptions of the Ottoman Empire, the lack of references makes it hard to determine which these might have been. All we know is that these were likely only works published before 1592, as the Schottenstift manuscripts indicates that the text of Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* did not substantially change between 1592 and 1608. A copy of the 1608 edition of Schweigger's *Reysbeschreibung* held at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek contains notes by an (anonymous) reader indicating parallels between Schweigger's text and the works of his contemporaries Johannes Löwenklau and

[294] See: Ross, *Picturing Experience*, p. 28.
[295] Ibid., p. 28.

Damiani a Goes, as well as a (partial) copy of a text concerning the - also contemporary - travel authors Leonhard Rauwolff and Hans Ulrich Krafft. Although this does not necessarily mean that Schweigger's work was directly influenced by or related to these works, it does indicate the larger corpus of literature that both the author and his contemporary readership might have been familiar with.

The question of sources becomes more dubious in those instances where Schweigger describes things which he would have unlikely been able to observe for himself. This is the case, for example, when Schweigger writes about a variety of confrontations between the Ottoman Sultan and diplomats from Christian countries that took place during his own time in Constantinople. As Schweigger himself was not a diplomat, and his activities mainly took place within the walls of the German embassy, it seems unlikely that he was actually present to witness these confrontations. Rather, he seems to have learned about them through hear-say, which would suit with the anecdotal style in which the events are described. Similarly, Schweigger's description of the interior of mosques and the Islamic services are not likely to have stemmed from the author's own observations, considering the fact that non-Muslims were not allowed to enter the Ottoman mosques. Here, too, it seems likely that Schweigger was relying on hear-say and other forms of external sources. The question, then, is who and what these sources were, and why they were seen as authoritative by Schweigger. Some answers could possibly be found in Schweigger's *Album Amicorum*, which contains the names of people whom Schweigger had met during his travels. These include, for example, the name of Theodosius Zygomalas, who was the proto-notary of the ecumenical patriarch Jeremias II, and an important contact and informant of Martin Crusius.

Due to the fact that Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* also incorporated things that the author presumably only 'heard and read about', the work has been characterized as the first travel account in the German-speaking realm that can simultaneously be described as a larger 'Türkeibericht'.[297] That Schweigger aimed for his work to contain the most updated information about the Ottoman Empire can also clearly be seen in his list of Habsburg officials in Constantinople, which includes all ambassadors up to 1592 (when Schweigger finished writing his travel account). The question remains, however, *why* Schweigger chose to present such a 'collection' of information about the Ottoman Empire as a travel account solely based on his own experiences. As we have seen, this might firstly have to do with the religious lessons that the author argued could be learned from observing the world. In order for these to be authoritative, they had to be extracted or at least validated by someone who had a solid foundation in the Bible and 'true Christianity', and who was thus capable of interpreting the world around him. Secondly,

[297] Klein, 'Zwei Lutheraner an der Hohen Pforte', p. 538.

it has been argued that Schweigger wrote his *Reyßbeschreibung* to establish a good name and reputation for himself, in order to find permanent employment in the church. If this was indeed the case, however, the work was not meant to show the author's expertise as a traveller or as a writer, but rather as a theologian and a minister. Again, this suggests that the *Reyßbeschreibung* should - at least partially - be seen as a religious treatise, in which the author supported his religious arguments with what he presented as authentic knowledge about the Ottoman Empire.

Familiarizing the unfamiliar through eye-witness accounts

Through the writings of travellers such as Schweigger, the German reader could familiarize himself with the reality of the Ottoman Empire in a 'neutral' manner. It was no longer just an external enemy form whom was warned in newspapers and pamphlets, or a religious adversary that was discussed in theological treatises and sermons. Instead, it was presented as a physical space that could be travelled, and that could show both familiar and unfamiliar traits that could be observed in a non-threatening manner. In modern literature, following Edward Said's *Orientalism,* the emphasis has often been on the 'exoticism' that was displayed in travel accounts about the 'Orient', and that fascinated the European reader. Moreover, discourses of 'Otherness' are often presented as ever-persistent, and to be dominating the way in which travellers perceived and described the Ottoman Empire as the antithesis of Christian Europe even when their experiences were different.[298] What stands out in Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung*, however, is that it hardly contains any signs of a so-called 'Alteritätsdiskurs' – a discourse of (ideological) otherness.[299] His observations are remarkably objective, and while the author describes both similarities and differences between the Ottoman Empire and Germany, these differences do not necessarily imply an ideological 'otherness' or 'exoticism' – after all, German (let alone Habsburg or Christian) culture itself was not homogeneous either.[300]

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[298] E.g.: P. Tongay, 'Die europäische Sicht auf den Fremden in den Berichten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Das Bild der Türken und Azteken im Vergleich', in M. Kurz et al., *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie. Akten des internationalen Kongresses zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Wien, 22.-25. September 2004,* Vienna, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005, pp. 393-412.

[299] The - often unexpected - relative absence of such discourses in many early modern travel accounts has been pointed out by Albrecht Berger: "Bei der Lektüre dieser Reiseberichte ergibt sich für den leser unserer Zeit fast zwangsläufig die Frage, welche Dinge in der Türkei damals von den Autoren als fremdartig wahrgenommen wurden und wie sehr sie diese Fremdheit innerlich beschäftigt hat. Die moisten Reisenden sind, das darf vorweg festgehalten werden, bei der Beschreibung des Gesehenen im Tonfall eher nüchtern, und ein Alteritätsdiskurs findet nicht statt". A. Berger, 'Das osmanische Reich in der Sicht westeuropäischer Reisender', in A. Bues (ed.), *Martin Gruneweg (1562-after 1615): a European way of life*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009, p. 177. Also see

[300] As Jean-François Staszak writes: "Otherness is transforming a difference into otherness so as to create an in-group and an out-group", and "… difference belongs to the realm of fact and otherness belongs to the realm of discourse". See: J.-F. Staszak, 'Other/otherness', in R. Kitchin and N. Thrift (eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, Amsterdam, Elsevier 2009, pp. 43-47.

The objectivity of Schweigger's descriptions may well have been a conscious decision. Apart from the religious lessons that could be learned from observing the Ottoman Empire, there was another reason to create an image of the area that was more consonant with reality – and that was to prepare the reader for future encounters with the Ottomans and Ottoman culture. As was also suggested by authors propagating a more 'authentic' study of Islam – including Jakob Andreae and Lucas Osiander at Tübingen – European Christians in the Ottoman Empire often experienced a culture and religion that was more welcoming and diverse than the one-sided images of the Turkish arch-enemy led them to expect. Unable to make sense of the 'positive' things that they observed, these people were always at the risk of questioning their own belief system or even of being seduced by the apparent beauty of Ottoman culture and religion.[301] Rather than reproducing an image of the Ottomans as a foreign other, it was therefore more beneficial to instead describe them as they could be observed, and to make sense of them in a way that corresponded to reality – as part of a world that could no longer be divided into a homogeneous Christian 'us' and equally homogeneous and diametrically opposite 'them'. Indeed, it has been argued that, at most, the 'Turks' were seen as only 'partially foreign' (*punktuell fremd*), as they were foreigners in a familiar space, and their religion was merely a secondary category of otherness.[302] Michael Greil, in turn, writes that early modern travel accounts about the Ottoman Empire rarely produced a *Feindbild* in which it was presented simply as Europe's enemy and other. Instead, they recognized and described the heterogeneity of Ottoman culture and society, in which some elements were more or less familiar than others.[303]

That a lacking knowledge of the Ottoman Empire could lead to a sense of shock and discomfort with travellers is clear from travel accounts such as those of Hans Dernschwam (1494-1568/9) and Stephan Gerlach, which were genuine diaries that were never meant to be published by their respective writers.[304] As a consequence, they contained a more raw and eclectic mix of observations, impressions, and opinions, emphasizing the unfamiliarity or unexpectedness of many of their experiences in the Ottoman Empire.[305] Dernschwam, for

[301] This will also be discussed in the next chapter, in the light of Christian and Lutheran captivity accounts. These accounts often described the initial temptation of the Islamic faith to former captives as their malfortune led them to question their own beliefs.
[302] M. Greil, '"den ohne grosse gedult ist nit müglich, durch die Turggey zu kommen. Die Beschreunung der rayß" (1587-1591) des Hans Christoph von Teufel, in: M. Kurz et al. (eds.), *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburger Monarchie: Akten des internationalen Kongresse zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Wien, Oldenburg, 2005, p. 457.
[303] M. Greil, '"den ohne grosse gedult ist nit müglich, durch die Turggey zu kommen. Die Beschreunung der rayß" (1587-1591) des Hans Christoph von Teufel, in: M. Kurz et al. (eds.), *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburger Monarchie: Akten des internationalen Kongresse zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Wien, Oldenburg, 2005, p. 458.
[304] Hans Dernschwam was a Bohemian Humanist who joined the delegation of King Ferdinand I to Constantinople from 1553-1555 as an individual, self-funded traveler.
[305] See: A. Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity: Melanchthonian Scholarship between Universal History and Pedagogy,* Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2009, pp. 120-2.

example, clearly expresses his disappointment with the practices of the Greek Orthodox Church, which deviated from his preconceived "apostolic idealisation".[306] In accounting for this discrepancy, Dernschwam points at the foreign environment. As he writes, "[i]t is no wonder that Christianity has deteriorated in Turkish lands", as the conditions are entirely different to those at home.[307] Schweigger's travel account, on the other hand, is a systematic and well-edited work, consisting of 'thematic excursuses' rather than following a strict diary style. This creates a certain feeling of harmony and order, as the author was able to "smooth out discrepancies between initial expectations and actual observation".[308] As such, it hardly contains any impressions of shock, disappointment, or surprise. Instead of describing how his observations and experiences were different from what he expected – which they must have been on certain occasions – Schweigger only describes things as he (presumably) observed them, and therefore also as they should be expected to be. Moreover, he often compares the observed to a more familiar equivalent. While the author is similarly dismissive of Greek Christianity as Dernschwam, he does not express any surprise, nor does he blame its deviation from the true Church on a 'foreign' environment. Instead, he describes the religion as he observed it, and he compares it with the Roman Catholic Church with which it shared many practices and rituals. As such, Schweigger creates a familiar frame of reference for his experiences in the Ottoman Empire, which allows him to 'familiarize' the unfamiliar on the basis of his own, first-hand observations. Rather than being defined as something entirely 'other', it is put in familiar terms and described as the author experienced it first-hand. Even if there had been a discrepancy between the expected and the observed for Schweigger personally, such a discrepancy may have been less or even absent by the well-informed reader if he was ever to travel to the Ottoman Empire.

What should be noted in this context is that the absence of complete *otherness* does not mean an absence of *difference.* These differences, however, have their roots in reality and its factual observation, rather than in a discourse that expected such differences on the basis of an omnipresent and inevitable 'otherness'. The same is true for Schweigger's descriptions of the 'negative' aspects of the Ottoman Empire – rather than inventions based on prejudice, they related to an objective reality. Accounts of the cruel treatment of prisoners of war or of Ottoman fratricide, for example, have often been linked to negative images of 'the Turks' as 'lawless, wild, and cruel' Barbarians.[309] While they could certainly be used in order to support such an image, it should not be forgotten that many of such accounts were describing practices that were actually

[306] Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists*, p. 120.
[307] Dernschwam as cited in Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists,* p. 120
[308] Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists*, p. 122.
[309] See: Tongay. 'Die europäische Sicht auf den Fremden', pp. 393-412.

existent at the time.[310] The experienced differences between Ottoman culture and the own, as well as negative traits of the Ottoman Empire, however, did not stand in the way of simultaneous positive experiences and observations and friendly encounters. And these positive experiences, in turn, did not impact Schweigger's rejection of other aspects of Ottoman culture. Rather, they were all part of Schweigger's multileveled engagement with a diverse and complex society.

By documenting such diversity, and using his authority as an eye-witness to do so, works such as Schweigger's contributed to a (vernacular) discourse about the Ottoman Empire that reflected its empirical reality, and through which the German reader could become familiarized with the Ottoman affairs not as entirely other or foreign, but as part of a heterogeneous world.[311] As such, they prioritized 'fact' over 'discourse', despite Saidian claims that early modern travel accounts were necessarily shaped by, as well as reproduced, prevailing images of the Turk even when travellers experienced a reality that did not match these images.[312] This is not to say, however, that discourse was entirely absent from Schweigger's writings, nor that they were entirely value-free. Indeed, as this chapter has demonstrated, the minister clearly describes the Ottoman Empire according to familiar categories and in familiar terms, and measures it by his own norms and values. In doing so, he inevitable operates within a discourse that is centred around his own social milieu, which is taken as the benchmark.[313] But, rather than a discourse that placed an Ottoman or Islamic 'Other' against a Christian or European 'Self', it was one that attempted to create a Lutheran 'self' against a multitude of heterogeneous, non-Lutheran 'others' that showed both differences and similarities. In this sense, Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* was what Michael Harbsmeier characterizes as a "cultural expressions of the traveller's need and obligation to affirm and redefine his community through relating himself to the various kinds of otherness which he has been exposed to on his travels".[314] It shows not only how Schweigger's encounters with the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman culture led to the production of more authentic knowledge on the basis of first-hand experience, but also how this knowledge was

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[310] See e.g.: L. Colley, *Captives. Britain, Empire and the World 1600-1850,* London, Jonathan Cape, 2002, pp. 43-72; J. Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten*. *De verborgen geschiedenis van het Ottomaanse rijk,* Leuven, Acco, 2001 ; G. Masson, 'Succession, Deposition, and Fratricide', *History Today*, vol. 68, no. 6, 2018.

[311] As Daniel Goffman has argued, the Ottoman Empire was considered a 'Western' or a 'European' power, and, as such, it was as 'foreign' to the European mind as any other European power was. See: D. Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and early modern Europe,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 237-244.

[312] See: Tongay, 'Die europäische Sicht auf den Fremden', p. 410. Tongay agrees that, while Said's theory offers a valuable insight, it is not all-inclusive. As he demonstrates, the travel accounts of Hans Dernschwam and Ogier de Busbecq do not only reproduce predetermined notions about the Ottoman Empire, but also reflect on personal experiences with Ottoman culture that did not correspond to these notions.

[313] As Tongay also writes, however, it seems an impossible task, even for writers and travelers now, to entirely escape such a perception of 'foreign' culture, and to try and make sense of the unfamiliar by putting it in familiar terms. See: Tongay, 'Die europäische Sicht auf den Fremden', pp. 410-1.

[314] M. Harbsmeier, 'Elementary Structures of Otherness. An analysis of sixteenth century German travel accounts', in J. Céard and Jean-Claude Margolin (eds.), *Voyager à la Renaissance. Actes du Colloque de Tours 1983*, Paris, 1988, p. 340.

integrated into the Lutheran discourse. As the next two chapters will demonstrate, however, Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* was not the only way in which the author related his experiences in the Ottoman Empire to questions of Lutheran identity and culture.

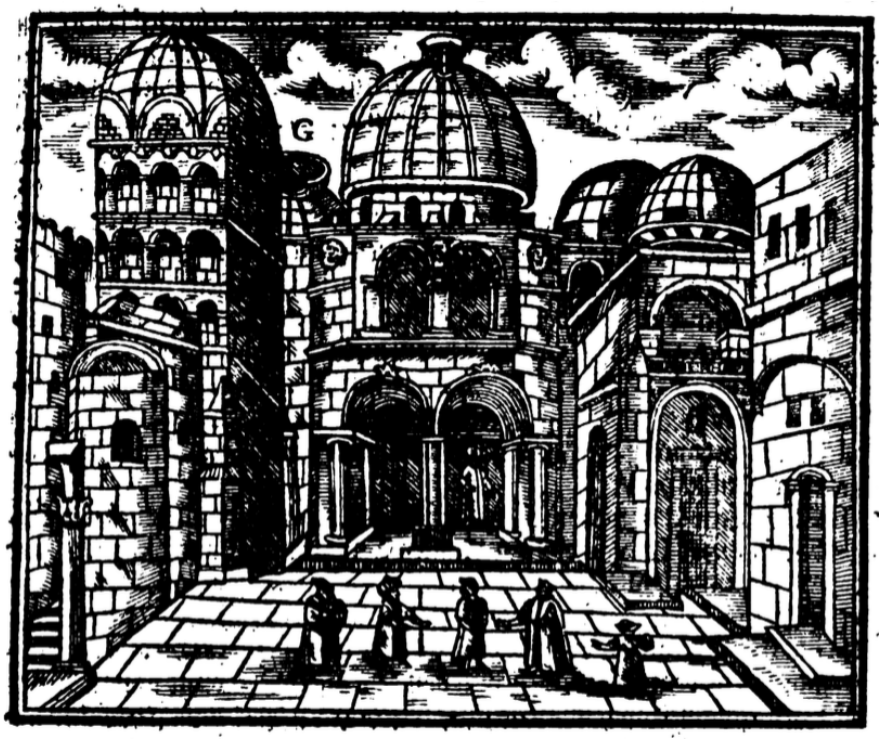

Figure 2.1: Church of the Holy Sepulcher from Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 295.

Figure 2.2: Church of the Holy Sepulcher by E. Reuwich from B. von Breydenbach, *Peregrenatio* (Ex Bibliotheca Gymnasii Altonani, Hamburg).

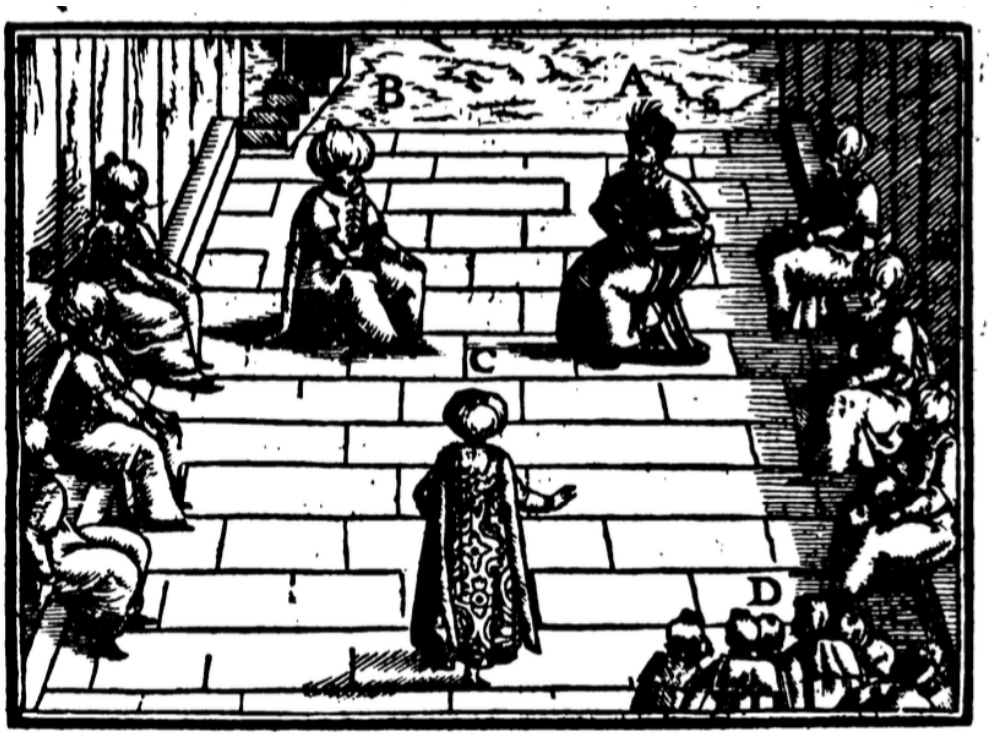

Figure 2.3: Audience in Gran and/or Constantinople, from Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 13.

Figure 2.4: Audience in Constantinople, by Z. Wehme. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden. Inventarnr. Ca 170/016.

Chapter 3: Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire

Upon his return to Germany, Salomon Schweigger was not only concerned with the Lutheran community in his home country and the lessons that it could learn from his experiences in the Ottoman Empire. In addition, these experiences had also made him aware of the precarious state in which Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire often found themselves. In 1582, the minister published an Italian translation of Martin Luther's *Small Catechism*, titled *Il Catechismo* (Tübingen 1582), meant to be distributed among the Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire where Italian was the *lingua franca*. Inspired by Schweigger's experiences in Constantinople, it specifically addressed those Christians in the Ottoman Empire who 'hold the doctrine of God in higher esteem, than the traditions of humans'.[315] The latter remark being a condescending sneer to Catholic and possibly also (Greek) Orthodox worshippers - who, as we have seen, were often accused by Protestants of favouring human tradition over the Gospel - the work was intended to offer spiritual guidance to Protestant (Lutheran) Christians living in the Ottoman Empire. As Schweigger writes, he had witnessed how they were deprived of the 'spiritual food' that was necessary for their spiritual comfort and salvation: prayer and the worship of God, as well as most of the holy sacraments.[316] The catechism would teach its reader 'the articles of our Christian faith, so that those who have forgotten them learn them again: but others who have not forgotten them can, by reading this work more often, keep their faith in Christ our Lord'.[317] Although the catechism was directly aimed at Lutheran slaves, it is indicative for Schweigger's more general responsibility to offer pastoral care to Lutherans during his time in Constantinople.

Little has been written about the presence of Lutherans and/or Lutheran communities as religious minorities in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the sixteenth century. While a number of scholars have dedicated articles and other publications to the history of the Reformation in Hungary,[318] these publications often focus almost exclusively on Habsburg - or 'royal' - Hungary and on Siebenbürgen (nowadays Transylvania) while largely ignoring the Lutheran communities living in those areas that were incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. Histories of European communities in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, such as Constantinople and Tripoli, on the

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[315] A German translation of Schweigger's preface to the catechism can be found in Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger'. For her initial help with the Italian original, I am grateful to Anna-Luna Post (Universiteit Utrecht).

[316] *Il Catechismo,* preface.

[317] Ibid..

[318] The most monumental publications in a non-Hungarian language are probably Mihály Bucsay's *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn, 1521-1978, Ungarns Reformskirchen in Geschichte und Gegenward, I. Im Zeitalter der Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform* (Vienna, 1977), Márta Fata's *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone, im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionaliserung, Multiethnizität, Land und Konfession 1500 bis 1700* (Münster, 2000), and Alexander Sándor Unghváry's *The Hungarian Protestant Reformation in the Sixteenth Century Under the Ottoman Impact. Essays and Profiles* (Lewiston, 1989). These works also contain an extensive overview of other literature on the topic.

other hand, have mainly focused on Venetian, French, and English merchant communities and captives and slaves.[319] Other publications that touch upon the connection between German Protestantism or Lutheranism and the Ottoman Empire have been primarily concerned with the 'political' or 'rhetorical' relationship between the two - such as Fischer-Galati's 'Ottoman Imperialism and the Lutheran Struggle for Recognition in Germany, 1520-1529' and Kenneth Setton's 'Lutheranism and the Turkish Peril'.[320] The rhetorical or symbolic relationship between early Lutheranism and the Ottoman Empire has also been demonstrated in the previous chapter, in the analysis of Schweigger's use of his description of the Ottoman Empire in his *Reyßbeschreibung*. Schweigger's *Catechismo*, as well as several references in his travel account, however, suggest the physical presence of a Lutheran 'community' - or, at least, a significant number of Lutherans - in the Ottoman Empire around the turn of the seventeenth century. Moreover, the author's concerns with the 'deprived' situation of these Lutherans in his German writings illustrates that they, too, were a part of the questions and issues of Lutheran identity and community in Germany at the time.

An analysis of Schweigger's own writings, supplemented with those of other contemporary Lutheran travellers, reveals that, during his time as a chaplain, the minister engaged with members of the Lutheran community in the Ottoman Empire in three 'spheres': (1) during the journey from Vienna to Constantinople, (2) at the embassy in Constantinople, and (3) in the city of Constantinople itself. In all of these spheres, Lutherans were dealing with questions of religious identity in a foreign environment. They experienced everyday interactions with members of other denominations and religions, while at the same time they were forced to outline and maintain their own faith in the absence of German Lutheran institutions. In this absence, the figure of the Lutheran chaplain took on an important role. In the first place, Schweigger was appointed to offer spiritual support and guidance to the ambassador Von Sinzendorf and (the Lutheran members of) his following during their journey to Constantinople. In his descriptions of performing the Lutheran religion 'on the road', Schweigger touches upon a number of questions of confessional identity. Schweigger's travel account reveals that a distinction was made between communal and confession-specific services on the ships, thus also distinguishing between Protestant and Catholic members of the embassy. The brief descriptions of especially the denomination-specific services reveal how the Lutheran religion was maintained whilst travelling, and whilst being surrounded by non-Lutherans. At the same time, the entourage

[319] See, e.g.: Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople;* G. Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs. France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean,* Standford, Stanford University Press, 2011; Colley, *Captives.*
[320] G. A. Fischer-Galati, 'Ottoman Imperialism and the Lutheran Struggle for Recognition in Germany, 1520-1529', *Church History*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1954, pp. 46-67; K. M. Setton, 'Lutheranism and the Turkish Peril', *Balkan Studies,* vol. 3, 1962, pp. 133-168; C. Norton, 'The Lutheran is the Turks' Luck': Imagining Religious Identity, Alliance and Conflict on the Habsburg-Ottoman Marches in an Account of the Sieges of Nagykanizsa 1600 and 1601', in M. Kurz et al. (eds.), *Das osmanische Reich*, pp. 67-81.

encountered a number of local Lutheran communities on their journey through Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. These encounters naturally raised questions about how these communities and their religion related to their own and those in the German homeland. As we shall see, Schweigger's primarily sceptical attitude sheds some light on what the minister considered to be the core markers of Lutheran identity, as well as offering an idea of the relationship between the Lutheran church in Germany and peripheral Lutheran communities in Eastern Europe and the (newly conquered parts of the) Ottoman Empire.

Secondly, Schweigger was responsible for pastoral care at the embassy in Constantinople. Again, this was in an environment in which the Lutheran community was not only living side-by-side with Catholic members of the embassy, but in which it interacted with both (Western) European and Ottoman communities and their religions on an everyday basis. A reconstruction of the living conditions and the religious life of the Lutheran members of the Habsburg embassy in Constantinople demonstrates how, in the Ottoman Empire, religious minorities were regularly forced to cross confessional boundaries while at the same time they tried to maintain their own distinct (religious) identity. This identity seems to have been more compromised in the case of Lutheran captives and slaves, who formed the third 'sphere' of Schweigger's involvement with Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire. Their living conditions often involved an even higher degree of interaction with non-Lutheran communities and religion, and their misery made it especially hard to maintain their faith in such an environment. One of Schweigger's biggest concerns therefore seems to have been the question of how one should hold on to their religion even in the direst of circumstances.

Not only does Schweigger's involvement with Lutherans in these three 'spheres' of the Ottoman Empire offer an insight into the life of German Lutheran minorities, but his writings also demonstrate how these minorities were incorporated into debates and narratives of Lutheran identity at home. Most German Lutherans who resided in the Ottoman Empire were expected to return to their home communities at some point, either after they completed their employment and/or travels or after they were released from their captivity. In this sense, the maintenance of their religion in the Ottoman Empire was not only an individual, spiritual matter, but it was also a social concern: these people had to maintain their religious identity in order to be able to reintegrate into their former societies without posing any danger to them. Moreover, the presence of new Lutheran communities in Hungary and the question of their relation to Lutheran 'orthodoxy' mirrored questions of religious identity and orthodoxy at home. Lastly, and related two the first two issues, the physical presence of Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire could serve as an example for Germans who - in the aftermath of the Reformation - were dealing with similar issues of constructing and maintaining their religious identity in a multi-confessional environment, albeit in less severe circumstances. Through their stories and writings, the

experiences of these Lutherans demonstrated to those at home how, even in a hostile environment, one was to maintain their faith and religious identity.

By reconstructing Schweigger's work environment as a chaplain, and his involvement with Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire, this chapter will simultaneously reconstruct the presence of Lutheran minorities in the East. It will analyse their living conditions and religious lives, and, in doing so, reveal the ways in which these minorities established and maintained (or were ought to establish and maintain) a distinctly Lutheran identity in an environment where they were incessantly confronted with people of different religions – other Christian religions such as Calvinism, Christian heterodoxy such as Arianism and Anti-Trinitarianism, and non-Christian religions such as Islam. This chapter shows how, in a multi-confessional and multi-religious environment like Constantinople, religious boundaries were at the same time both set and permeated. Moreover, the chapter will demonstrate the role of an individual like Schweigger in establishing and maintaining distinctly Lutheran communities in the eastern periphery, and it will show how he actively connected these to the Lutheran church and community in Germany and to broader questions and narratives of Lutheran identity in the so-called age of confessionalization.

3.1 Religion 'on the road'

The appointment of a personal chaplain by the Habsburg ambassador appears to have started only with David Ungnad, despite Karl Teply's claim that, in preparing for their missions, one of the first steps taken by the new Habsburg ambassadors was often finding a chaplain who would accompany them both on their journey and during their stay in the Ottoman Empire.[321] A letter from Ungnad's predecessor, Karel Rym, to Maximilian II reveals that "at the time of R[y]m's stay at the Ottoman Porte, it still counted among its members a chaplain that had served under Busbecq (...)".[322] This apparent resident chaplain, a Franciscan friar named Giovanni Battista Zeffi, is even linked to Johann Maria Malvezzi, who held the first position of resident ambassador in Constantinople from 1547 to 1552.[323] Zeffi thus seems to have lived and worked at the Habsburg embassy in Constantinople for at least two decades, serving four different resident ambassadors and their households – although it is unclear to what extent these ambassadors relied on their chaplain for spiritual guidance. As Karl Teply writes, Karel Rym 'cared little about questions of religion'[324], and the silence about religious matters in De Busbecq's *Turkish letters* suggests that, for him too, this was of little concern. Moreover, the relatively large number of Catholic churches in Constantinople meant that members of the Habsburg embassy could use or even call in the services of other clergymen. As such, the figure of the resident chaplain may not have been of great importance.

This was different, however, for David Ungnad. As a devout Lutheran who had studied at Tübingen, his position as the first (openly) Lutheran ambassador for the Habsburgs in Constantinople unsurprisingly led him to employ the first Lutheran chaplain to accompany him on his mission - Stephan Gerlach.[325] Contrary to his predecessor Zeffi, Gerlach was a appointed as a personal chaplain, who did not permanently reside in the German House but rather returned to Germany together with his master. A reason for this may have been that Ungnad required spiritual guidance and assistance not only during his stay in Constantinople, but also during the roughly 8-week journey to and from the Ottoman capital. For similar reasons, Ungnad's successor Joachim von Sinzendorf might also have opted to appoint and bring his own personal chaplain. Indeed, contrary to the diplomatic responsibilities of the other members of the embassy, the duties and activities of these chaplains commenced right after the start of the journey from

[321] Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* p. 26.
[322] B. Severi, 'Representation and Self-Consciousness in 16th Century Habsburg Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire', in M. Scheutz and M. Kurz (eds.), *Akten des internationalen Kongresses zun 150-jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Wien, 22.-25. September 2004*, Vienna, Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 2004, p. 5.
[323] I am grateful to Dr. Robyn Radway (CEU) for identifying this chaplain, and for pointing out his connection to Malvezzi.
[324] Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* p. 25.
[325] Ben-Naeh and Saban, 'Three German travellers' , p. 37.

Vienna to Constantinople. As the only religious official in the mission, they were solely responsible for offering religious guidance and assistance to the embassy's members on the road – although the exact nature of such religious guidance seems to have differed between the chaplains, depending on their own preferences and those of their master.

The reason for the Lutheran ambassadors to show a greater concern for the appointment of a chaplain than their predecessors may have been related to the importance of preaching in the Lutheran religion, in which it was not only seen as a means to convey religious lessons and doctrinal information, but also as a religious act in itself. While the text of the Gospel was considered the sole basis for salvation, the preaching of the Word was thought to contain a penitential quality. It was seen as an apocalyptic event – revealing both Christ and the Devil -, as a corporate act of worship that broke down the wall between the secular and the sacred, and as the actualization of God's Word – as it was contained in the Scriptures - when preached correctly and received by a faithful Christian.[326] The act of preaching may have been considered even more valuable in a foreign or even hostile environment. Especially within the eschatological struggle between Good and Evil – which was manifested everywhere but more fiercely in non-Lutheran areas – preaching was seen as a 'sword' with which the Devil could be kept at distance, and that could thus protect Lutheran Christians from evil influences.[327] As Luther himself had argued "the devil is not afraid of the written Word but flees at the spoken Word, because when the preacher speaks, God speaks".[328] Moreover, the sermon was seen as an act that incorporated God's creation, as manifested in the empirical world, in a 'trialogue' between God and his congregation. As such, it was able to make sense of this world as more than just a 'devil-ridden' place that was passed on the way to salvation, but actually as a *part* of this salvation – something that may have been valuable especially in a foreign environment.[329] Although not paramount to their religion, it could thus be a great merit for Lutheran travellers to receive the Word of God through preaching while they encountered unfamiliar manifestations of good and evil on the road.

In his *Reyßbeschreibung*, Schweigger is surprisingly quiet about his work as a chaplain, but the work nevertheless offers some moments of insight into the author's activities on the way to Constantinople, and into the religious life of the embassy. Upon departure, Schweigger writes that Joachim von Sinzendorf delivered a short speech to the people of Vienna, after which everyone - 'Volk', ambassador, and embassy members of all denominations - said a 'Christian prayer' together. Once the ships had disembarked, the continuation of such prayers appears to

[326] For a detailed discussion of the views on preaching in the Reformation, see: H. A. Oberman, 'Preaching and the Word in the Reformation', *Theology Today,* vol. 18, no. 1, 1961, pp. 16-39.
[327] As Choi puts it, "[p]reaching is where the eschatological battle took place for the souls of the people". Ibid., p. 106, also f77.
[328] Choi, 'Martin Luther's Response to the Turkish Threat', p. 106.
[329] Oberman, 'Preaching and the Word', pp. 22-3.

have been Schweigger's main responsibility for the duration of the journey. As he writes when describing the morning of departure from Vischamünd, the entire entourage, regardless of denominational background, would gather on the ambassador's ship in the morning, where Schweigger would read a passage from the Bible after which everyone prayed together for a prosperous journey and for the wellbeing of the 'common fatherland' ("algemeinen Vatterland").[331] What this 'fatherland' exactly entailed is not further specified by the author, but considering the nature of the mission and the composition of the entourage this was likely referring to the Habsburg Empire as a whole – indeed, the embassy consisted of members from various Habsburgs countries, both Catholics and Protestants.[332] After the morning prayer, everyone returned to their own ships and spent the rest of their days writing, reading, playing games, making music, and 'other such pastime' ("dergleichen Kurzweil").[333] Schweigger writes that the same ritual was repeated every day of the voyage, except on Sundays when he also held a sermon.[334] In this respect, Schweigger seems to have been more active in his spiritual guidance 'on the road' than his predecessor. In his diary, Gerlach only mentions a weekly prayer and sermon on Sundays, which - judging by his (very brief) descriptions – had a different form and was held at a different time each week.[335]

Neither Schweigger nor Gerlach write about any form of religious segregation on board. However, it can be assumed that their religious services were of a particularly Lutheran nature. Reinhold Lubenau (1556-1631), who travelled to the Ottoman Empire in 1587 as a pharmacist to the imperial mission, describes how the communal daily prayer was followed by a - supposedly also daily - Jesuit mass for the ambassador, Bartholomäus Pezzen (†1605), which could be attended by all Catholic members of the entourage.[336] Himself a Protestant, Lubenau does not describe any separate service for Protestants, nor does Schweigger mention the presence of Catholic officials on the ships who could lead mass. As such, the ambassador's own religious beliefs also determined the availability of either Catholic or Protestant services for the other members of the embassy, which was itself not religiously homogenous. In the case of Von

[331] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 5.
[332] Von Sinzendorf's secretary Bartholomäus Pezzen, for example, was a devout Catholic who was later also appointed as resident ambassador in Constantinople. The travel account of Reinhold Lubenau, who joined the embassy of Pezzen as a pharmacist, also reveals the multi-confessional nature of the Habsburg delegations. On the role and presence of Bohemians in Habsburg diplomacy, see: R. J. W. Evans, 'Bohamia, the Emperor, and the Porte, 1550-1600' in R. Auty, J. L. I. Fennell and J. S. G. Simmons (eds.), *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol. 3, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970, pp. 85-106. About religious discord at the Habsburg embassy in Constantinople, see: J. Vermeulen, 'Christelijke tweespalt op de drempel der gelukzaligheid. Religieuze intriges in de Oostenrijkse ambassade in Constantinopel, 1550-1593', in P. van Kemseke (ed.), *Diplomatieke Cultuur*, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2000, pp. 51-70.
[333] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, 5.
[334] "Dies geschahe alle Tag; des Sonntags hielt man ein Predig". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, 5.
[335] See: Gerlach, *Tage-buch*, pp. 12, 14, 17, 18, 19.
[336] Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* pp. 80-81.

Sinzendorf's mission, this seems to have led to little, or at least no noteworthy, issues. This was different, however, in the case of Lubenau. When the ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen had asked the pharmacist to join him on his mission, Lubenau had been warned by two colleagues that "the Lord Orator Pezzen was a fiery Papist"[337], and that he would be accompanied by a Jesuit as chaplain.[338] In response, Lubenau had told Pezzen that he would only be employed if he would be granted freedom in his religion. Initially, Pezzen had agreed, but this promise only proved to be temporary. In his travel diary, Lubenau writes that, from Ofen onwards, the ambassador demanded that everyone would join him in Mass, and that everyone who refused would be flogged and put on chains: "they were at his mercy now, and no one would escape".[339]

Bartholomäus Pezzen's behaviour seems quite remarkable, especially considering the fact that he previously served as secretary for three Lutheran ambassadors – David Ungnad, Joachim von Sinzendorf, and Paul von Eytzing[340] - and had thus already been part of a religiously mixed embassy. During his previous services, the Catholic Pezzen seems to have had little trouble working and living alongside Protestants.[341] On 5 July 1579, he even signed Schweigger's *Album Amicorum*, thus indicating friendly interactions between him and the Lutheran minister. It is unclear what caused Pezzen to take such a hard stance against the Protestant members of his embassy, but what does seem clear is that such intolerance was an exception rather than the rule. Indeed, confessional tensions on the journey to Constantinople are only mentioned by Reinhold Lubenau and Michael Heberer von Bretten (ca. 1560-1623), who both refer to Bartholomäus Pezzen.[342] In fact, the little information that we do have, on the basis of Gerlach and Schweigger's writings, indicates that, at set times, both Catholics and Protestants would gather for communal prayer and Bible reading, thus transcending existing denominational differences within the embassy. Even Lubenau's travel account mentions such communal prayer, which, at least until Ofen (nowadays Buda), was held before the Catholic mass. At the same time, a distinction between Catholics and Protestants *was* made, purely by the fact that, in addition to the communal

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337 "der Herr Orator Pezzen wäre ein gar feuriger Papist". Lubenau as cited in Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* pp. 34-5.

338 This chaplain, the Jesuit Zeffi, is described by Joost Vermeulen as a "counterreformist and exorcising Jesuit court chaplain" ("contrareformatorische en exorciserende jezuïetische huiskappelaan"), who exercised great influence on Pezzen's religious views and actions. As Vermeulen writes, the Jesuit often 'got into his head'. See: Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten,* p. 182.

339 "sie wären nun allen in seiner Hand, es würde ihm keiner entlaufen". Lubenau as cited in Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* p. 35.

340 Von Eytzing was appointed in 1583, after Von Sinzendorf's successor Friedrich Preiner after his premature death in 1583. See: Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften*, p. 25

341 He is even characterized by Evans as a 'moderate Catholic' or even a Protestant. This claim, however, does not correspond to Pezzen's behavior and activities as an ambassador, and seems to rely solely on a letter quoted by von Hammer in which Archduke Ernst writes to Rudolf that 'there is no suitable Catholic candidate to be ambassador', and then recommends Pezzen. It is unclear, however, if Pezzen was assumed not to be a Catholic, or if he was deemed 'less-suitable' for other reasons – e.g. due to a lack of experience or family background. See: Evans, 'Bohemia, the Emperor, and the Porte', p. 93 f34.

342 Vermeulen, 'Christelijke tweespalt', p. 301.

prayer, the ambassador's chaplain also held a denomination-specific service. While such a service may theoretically have been open to all members of the embassy, Christians of the other denomination would nevertheless have been deprived of spiritual guidance according to their own confession, especially with regard to the sacraments. Accompanying the second ever Lutheran ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Schweigger was in the unique position to offer specific Lutheran care to the members of the embassy. While the absence of Lutheran care under Catholic or 'religiously indifferent' ambassadors had not necessarily been a problem, the presence of a Lutheran chaplain did offer new possibilities: Starting under Gerlach, the Lutherans members of the embassy were able, for the first time, to positively distinguish themselves as a group within the entourage, not just by exclusion from and opposition to Catholic ceremonies but by performing and attending their own Lutheran ceremonies and services. These chaplains could oversee the proper maintenance of the Lutheran faith of members of the embassy on their way to Constantinople, and, as such, could contribute to the consolidation of the Lutheran faith outside the borders of the Habsburg Empire.

Lutheranism in Hungary

The presence of a Lutheran chaplain 'on the road' may have been even more valuable considering an apparent lack of proper Lutheran facilities on shore in Hungary and the Ottoman Empire that could be used by Lutheran members of the Habsburg embassy during their journey. In general, travelling was thought to "present numerous trials to the traveller's faith, from distractions and temptations of all sorts to the possible influence of foreign religious opinions and practices".[343] Protestant Christians may have been thought to be especially susceptible to such challenges, as their churches were still in the middle of a process of confessional consolidation and they were still learning what it actually meant to be a Protestant. Not only could this cause them to question their own faith and be tempted by others when faced with certain trials, but they also might not be able to recognize the shortcomings of other Lutherans and Lutheran communities they encountered on the way to Constantinople. Mistaking these for 'true' Lutherans, Lutheran travellers were at the risk of adopting false beliefs and practices from these communities. In addition, the Catholic Church employed an 'active policy' meant to convert Protestant travellers – especially those with political influence - to Catholicism, although this mainly seems to have been confined to those countries and areas where the Roman Church still exercised political influence.[344] Especially when a traveller was still young, and when his religion was tied in with

[343] D. Nolde, 'Religion and the Display of Power: A Wuerttemberg Prince Abroad', in C. Scott Dixon, D. Freist and M. Greengrass, *Living with religious diversity in early modern Europe*, Farnham, Ashgate Publishing, 2009, *n.p.*.
[344] Ibid..

his political authority back home, the religious challenges of travelling required the appointment of a travel preacher, who was responsible for "guaranteeing the regular practice of religious exercises, for reminding the travellers of the guidelines of their faith of origin, and for shielding them from any foreign religious influence".[345] While the presence of such a travel preacher does not seem to have been the norm for embassies travelling to Constantinople, both Gerlach and Schweigger seem to have been endowed with the same responsibilities, not only in Constantinople itself but also on the way there.

Indeed, in addition to "guaranteeing the regular practice of religious exercises", both Stephan Gerlach and Salomon Schweigger show a particular concern for the (lack of) proper Lutheran guidance and organisation in Hungary. In his *Reyßbeschreibung,* Schweigger shows a special interest in the presence of Lutheran communities, the most noteworthy of which were located in the cities of Ofen and Pest, which had been under Ottoman rule since 1541. As Schweigger describes, these communities had their own churches, and their own schools where children were taught the Scripture and the 'Christian teachings', and, as such, they were relatively and openly organised. Nevertheless, the author is highly sceptical about the true religious beliefs and identity of these Hungarian Lutheran communities. Rather than describing them as fellow-Lutheran, he writes that "they all adhere, as far as they pretend, to the evangelical teachings".[346] This scepticism is even bigger when Schweigger describes Protestants in other parts of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire – an evangelical community between Gran and Ofen, for example, is described as actually being closer to Arians.[347] Similarly, Stephan Gerlach writes how the religion of Lutheran community in Ofen, which is surrounded by 'the unfaithful' (Catholics, Calvinists, and Baptists), shows great signs of being Calvinist rather than, as they claim themselves, "the religion taught by Philip Melanchthon".[348]

The distrust with which both chaplains observed and regarded the Lutheran communities in Hungary is not entirely surprising or even unjustified. From its onset, the Hungarian Reformation had been characterized by a "synthesis of different reform practices and a certain theological eclecticism".[349] Rather than simply an extension of the Protestant movements of Germany and Switzerland, it consisted of a wide variety of complex, multifaceted, and dynamic

[345] Nolde, 'Religion and the Display of Power', *n.p.*.
[346] "die sein alle, *wie sie fürgeben*, die evangelische Lehr anhängig" (emphasis mine). Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, pp. 24-5. The term '*evangelisch*' was used by Luther himself in order to describe his own teachings, and was adopted by his followers. While the term was later used to indicate both the Lutheran and the Reformed Church, similar to 'Protestant' or 'Protestantism', Schweigger's use of '*evangelisch*' most likely referred to the Lutheran teachings.
[347] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, pp. 15-6.
[348] Gerlach, *Tage-buch*, p. 11.
[349] L. Ilić, M. S. Springer, and E. Szegedi, 'Protestant Reformers: Johannes Honterus, Primus Truber, and Johannes a Lasco', in H. Louthan and G. Murdock (eds.), *A Companion to the Reformation in Central Europe,* Leiden, Brill, 2015, p. 151.

processes responding to local sentiments in favour of church reform.[350] Local reformers, whose writings were mainly responsible for the advancement of the Reformation in Hungary, were influenced in various ways by Lutheran and Reformed ideas and teachings, mainly through their own studies at German and Swiss universities. Especially in the first few decades of the Reformation, these reformers did not generally and exclusively commit to an explicit confession, but rather showed interest in a variety of ideas of reform – including those that could be labelled Catholic and even anti-Trinitarian. Important figures in the spread of Lutheranism in Hungary, such Primus Truber and Matthias Biró of Déva – who were respectively dubbed the Slovenian and Hungarian Luther[351] - "exhibited different degrees of confessional ambiguity" and showed interest in Reformed ideas and doctrines despite their Lutheran education.[352] Even as an increasing separation was made between Lutheran, Calvinist, Catholic, and anti-Trinitarian confessions from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, mainly as a result of theological debates and disputes, the religious borders remained blurry.[353] A 1566 Hungarian edition of the Heidelberg Catechism, for example, included ideas questioning the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Hungarian Reformed Church, which emerged as the majority-church from the late 1550s, showed undeniable Bezan, Zwinglian, and Melanchthonian influences.[354] Even amongst the Saxon and German-speaking settlements of Upper Hungary and Transylvania, where Lutheran literature from Germany had been available from the very start and Lutheranism quickly became the dominant religion, the Reformation did not strictly follow the lines of the German movement.[355] Despite the shared language, Lutheran catechisms were not simply adopted from Germany, but were rather adapted and written by local reformers who themselves did not strictly commit to any particular external reformer or confession.[356] The Transylvanian Saxon reformer Johannes Honterus, for example, produced an adaptation of Luther's *Kleine Catechismus* (1548),

[350] As David P. Daniel writes: "[T]he Reformation in Hungary should not be considered merely a derivation or extension of the German reform movement. The pressures for reform, the political and ecclesiastical circumstances which shaped its development, and the theological attitudes and formulations of the evangelical reformers in Hungary all contributed to the uniqueness of ecclesiastical reform in sixteenth-century Hungary": David P. Daniel, 'Hungary', in A. Pettegree (ed.), *The Early Reformation in Europe,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992*,* p. 68. Also see: Ilić et al., 'Protestant Reformers', p. 144.
[351] On Primus Truber, see: Ilić, 'Primus Truber'. On Biró, see: J. T. Dennison, 'The Earliest Hungarian Protestant Confessions: Nagyvárad (1544) and Erdöd (1545)', *K:NWTS Seminary,* vol. 3, no. 1, 2008, pp. 4-25; W. Toth, 'Highlights of the Hungarian Reformation', *Church History*, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 149.
[352] Ilić et al., 'Protestant Reformers', p. 144.
[353] Ibid., pp. 151-2.
[354] K. Zach, 'Protestant Vernacular Catechisms and Religious Reform in Sixteenth-Century East-Central Europe', in M. Craciun and O. Ghitta (eds.), *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe,* Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002, p. 55; G. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier 1600-1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania,* Oxford, Oxford University Press*,* 2001, p. 12.
[355] Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses*, for example, were already being read in the German-speaking towns of Hungary a year after their first publication. See: Dennison, 'The Earliest Hungarian Protestant Confessions', *n.p..*
[356] Ilić et al.,'Protestant Reformers', p. 151.

and the Hungarian Leonhard Stöckel (born in modern-day Slovakia) composed a trilingual confession of faith for the German towns of Upper Hungary (also in 1548).[357]

Considering the eclectic and multifaceted character of the Hungarian Reformation, even amongst the German-speaking population, it would not be entirely surprising if the Lutheran communities of Gran and Ofen indeed showed Calvinist and Arian influences or tendencies. Similar to most German settlements, Lutheran reform had found early support in the German-speaking court in Buda as well as amongst the German community in Gran, through whose patronage it further spread amongst the Magyar population. In 1542 and 1543, however, both cities fell to Ottoman rule and most of the German population – or what had been left of it after the Battle of Mohács – left.[358] What remained was thus a dominantly Magyar Lutheran community that could no longer rely on its previous patronage from the German nobility, and that was now isolated from the German movements of reform.[359] While Lutheran preaching was not technically prohibited, the lack of funds and strict controls under Ottoman rule complicated the proper organization and institutionalization of a distinct Lutheran confession and church structure.[360] In Buda, for example, Christians were forced to share the Church of Mary Magdalene, which was divided in a 'Catholic' and a 'Protestant' part – without any further separation between the city's Lutherans and Calvinists. Similarly, all Protestants shared one of the two schools that belonged to the church (the other being used by the Catholics).[361] Not only may this have enabled mutual influence and exchange between Lutheran and Calvinist confessions, thus blurring the confessional boarders, but it also meant that they lacked the distinct structures and institutions to organize themselves in and around as separate and distinct confessions. In addition, German travellers expressed their concerns about the poor education of the Hungarian Lutheran clergy. As Hans Dernschwam wrote in 1555, they were largely illiterate and did not know any Latin, which resulted in a severe lack of Scriptural knowledge.[362]

Both Gerlach and Schweigger's comments on the truthfulness of the Lutheran faith in Ottoman Hungary are illustrative of a time in which Lutheran theologians – and especially those from Tübingen – were highly concerned with the question of true belief and orthodoxy. In order to establish a uniform faith and to end theological disputes and debates, they made clear distinctions between the different (Protestant) confessions and doctrines so that 'foreign'

[357] Zach, 'Protestant Vernacular Catechisms', p. 54.
[358] See: O. A. I. Botar, 'From European Capital to Ottoman Outpost: The Decline of Buda in the Sixteenth Century', *Hungarian Studies Review,* vol. 14, no. 1, 1987, pp. 3-25.
[359] D. P. Daniel, 'Lutheranism in the Kingdom of Hungary', in R. Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550-1675,* Leiden, Brill, 2008, p. 470.
[360] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, p. 24.
[361] Botar, 'From European Capital to Ottoman Outpost', p. 11.
[362] J. Stagl, 'Das Leben der nichtmuslimischen Bevölkerung in Osmanischen Reich im Spiegel von Reisebeschreibungen', in M. Kurz et al. (ed.), *Das Osmanische Reich*, p. 371.

elements could be eliminated and avoided. More generally, German Lutheran communities in Hungary were known to actively avoid links with Hungarian Protestants for the sake of their own religious integrity – mainly out of fear to be "tainted by association with outlawed Sacramentarian views on communion".[363] As chaplains, Gerlach and Schweigger may also have been responsible for the protection of the embassy against such foreign elements, so that the faith of the Lutheran officials would not be compromised.

At the same time, Schweigger seems to have been genuinely concerned about the spiritual state of the Hungarian Lutherans. In a letter to Martin Crusius, written in March 1581 just before his departure from Constantinople, he shares his plans to only briefly return to Germany, in order to visit his relatives, before travelling back to Hungary for a year or longer in order to 'live up to his vows'.[364] The reason why Schweigger never executed his plans to minister in Hungary is unclear, but his intention seems to have expressed a more longstanding desire to extend the German Reformation from the Lutheran centres of learning into Hungary. In 1542, Martin Luther already dispatched three German chaplains to the country. While their primary responsibility was with the Habsburg officers and soldiers who fought for the liberation Buda, these chaplains also received instructions from Melanchthon to "spread the ideas of the Reformation in Hungary".[365] In the following decades, Lutheran military chaplains – mostly from the university of Tübingen – often doubled as local preachers. Moreover, they were responsible for the publication of literature for religious instruction and education, and supported the (theology) studies of Hungarian students at German universities, both of which facilitated the further spread of the Lutheran ideas and ideology.[366]

Due to limited research on the topic, there is still an insufficient understanding of the importance and role of Lutheran chaplains in (the spread of) the Hungarian Reformation.[367] What seems clear, however, is that their activities were mainly confined to the German settlements in the border areas of Royal Hungary. Rather than being part of a missionary initiative from the Lutheran church itself, these ministers were appointed on demand, primarily as court or military

[363] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, pp. 11-12.
[364] "(...) und von dannen nach Ungern auff ain Jar lang oder mehr, mein Gelübd auß zu richten". M. Crusius, *Diarium*, vol. 2, Tübingen, 1577-1582, p. 432. Available from: http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/opendigi/Mh466-2#p=7 (accessed 15 December 2019).
[365] M. Fata, 'Wider den grausamen Erbfeind deß Christlichen Nahmens": Lutheran Military Chaplains from Württemberg in the Hungarian Wars against the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in J. Miller and L. Kontler, *Friars, Nobles, and Burghers – Sermons, Images and Prints,* Budapest, Central European University Press, p. 74.
[366] Ibid., pp. 74-5.
[367] This is also recognized by Marta Fata, who writes that "[n]either church history nor historical research in general has dealt in a systematic way with the topic of preachers from the Austrian and German territories in spite of the importance of their activity … in the soldiers' everyday life on the outer frontiers of Christendom and as foreign preachers in the Hungarian Reformation…". Fata, 'Lutheran military chaplains', p. 75.

chaplains. As such, they relied on the existing organization, network, and activities of the Holy Roman Empire and its army. As has been discussed, Stephan Gerlach appears to have been the first Lutheran chaplain to accompany a Habsburg embassy, and thus to travel beyond the border areas of the Holy Roman Empire. In this capacity, he may also have had the opportunity to get involved with and minister for the local Lutheran communities that he encountered in Ottoman Hungary. His writings, as well as those of Schweigger, however, show no evidence of such activities. This may have been due to logistics – as both chaplains were part of a travelling embassy, their encounters with local Lutheran communities were only brief. Moreover, they were likely complicated by linguistic barriers. Indeed, Schweigger's Italian catechism, which will be discussed later, was partly addressed to the Hungarian Lutherans, which suggests that many of these Lutherans did not read or speak German or even Latin. The fact that Schweigger never returned to Hungary despite his desire and intention to do so, also suggests that the Lutheran Church itself did not have a central missionary agenda – as opposed to the Catholic Church which even had special missionary orders.[368] Where they did take place, missionary activities rather seem to have relied on individual initiatives and patronage. The publication and spread of Schweigger's Italian catechism, for example, was personally funded by the Duke of Württemberg.[369] For this reason, Schweigger's failure to return to Hungary in order to 'live up to his vows' may simply have been caused by a lack of financial means. In any case, it seems clear that the duties and activities of both Stephan Gerlach and Salomon Schweigger as ambassadorial chaplains, at least on the road, were limited to the embassy itself, whose Lutheran members they were ought to provide with spiritual guidance, remind of their Christian duties, and protect against their foreign environment.

[368] See e.g.: C. A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453*-1923, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983; R. J. Clines, 'The Society of Jesus and the Early Modern Christian Orient', in *Jesuit Historiography Online*: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/jesuit-historiography-online/the-society-of-jesus-and-the-early-modern-christian-orient-COM_192582 (accessed 2 January 2020).

[369] G. A. Will, *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-lexicon; oder, Beschreibung aller nürnbergischen Gelehrten beyderley Geschlectes nach ihrem Leben, Verdiensten und Schrifften zur Erweiterung der gelehrten Geschichtskunde und Verbesserung vieler darinner vorgefallenen Fehler, aus den besten Quellen in alphabetischer Ordnung verfasset,* Nürnberg, L. Schüpfel, 1757, p. 651.

3.2 Lutheranism at a multi-confessional embassy

Schweigger's pastoral activities continued after his arrival to Constantinople, although his position technically changed from that of 'travel preacher' to that of court chaplain. The geographical center of his activities in the Ottoman capital was the embassy, which was housed in a caravanserai called the *Nemçe Han* and often referred to as the 'German House'. Upon their arrival, Von Sinzendorf and his following took their residency in these ambassadorial compounds, which were located within the city walls directly next to the Sultan's palace.[370] This was an unusual location, as most European embassies and merchant communities resided in the 'Vorstadt' of Galata, which reportedly had a flourishing Christian community with as many as seven churches open for devotion in 1581.[371] The location of the 'German House' was, in fact, the result of the turbulent relationship between the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Sultan. While in theory the Habsburgs were granted permanent representation in Constantinople since the first Ottoman-Habsburg peace treaty was signed in 1547,[372] in practice, the German House functioned more as a prison throughout the sixteenth century, with the Habsburg officials being considered 'hostages' and guarantees for the good behaviour of their master - the Holy Roman Emperor.[373] Both the ambassador and his following were sent to the Ottoman capital as hostage or collateral, and were only allowed to leave the city once their replacements had arrived. This was not only seen as such by the Ottoman Sultan, but also acknowledged by the diplomats themselves. In a letter of recommendation written for Johann Wild, the ambassador Michael Startzer described himself as imperial "Court servant and … collateral at the Ottoman Porte".[375]

In the early days of Habsburg diplomacy, the 'imprisoned' status of the ambassador was even more outspoken. In his 'Turkish letters', Ogier de Busbecq - the first residential ambassador for the Habsburgs - describes how he was placed under house arrest when his attempts at negotiating a peace treaty between the Holy Roman Emperor and the Ottoman Sultan failed, due to the refusal of the former to do any concessions. The house in which he was ordered to stay was assigned to him and paid for by the Sultan, and was located in "the most populous quarter of Constantinople".[376] Judging by De Busbecq's description of this house, it was the same building in which Joachim von Sinzendorf and Salomon Schweigger took their office and residency several

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[370] The location of the 'Teutschen Legaten Behausen' can be seen on the map of Constantinople in Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 102.
[371] L. Mitler, 'The Genoese in Galata: 1453-1682', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1979, p. 77.
[372] Radway, 'The Captive Self', p. 481. On the peace treaties that were negotiated between both empires see Radway, 'Vernacular Diplomacy in Central Europe'.
[373] Vermeulen, 'Christelijke tweespalt', pp. 56-7.
[375] "Hofdiener und ... an der Ottomanischen Porten Pfandschilling". Ibid., p. 57.
[376] O. G. de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554-1562. Newly Translated from the Latin of the Elzevier Edition of 1633 by Edward Seymour Forster*, trans. E. S. Forster, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1927, p. 202.

decades later.[377] Located within the city, and closely to the palace, it allowed the Sultan to keep a close eye on the Habsburg officials and their visitors.

The 'German House' consisted of two floors, with a large, open space or courtyard in the centre. The lower floor housed the stables, while the ambassador and his household lived on the second floor. This floor had "a verandah running around the court, out of which open chambers which form the outer part of the building, and which consist of a great number of small rooms, all built after the same pattern, like the cells of a monastery".[378] For this reason, various writers mistakenly took the building as having once been a Greek monastery. In reality, however, the 'German House' was shaped in typical Ottoman fashion, and had once been built as a guesthouse for the Atik-Ali mosque.[379] Every room was equipped with simple beds, adding to the modest, monastic feel of the building. The rooms on the ground floor were largely used as stables for horses, pigs, deer, and supposedly even a bear.[380] In the courtyard stood two, separate, wooden kitchen building. More spectacular than the building's exterior was its location on “a high hill on the most beautiful location in the whole city”[381], offering its inhabitants spectacular views over the city, and of the ships that were sailing to and from the harbour of Constantinople. The front windows opened to the busy main street leading to the palace, from which one could see the Sultan on his way to devotions every Friday.

The addition of any facilities beyond the strictly necessary seems to have been reliant on the ambassador on duty. Schweigger describes how David Ungnad had personally financed the construction and decoration of a large, 'fine' dining room.[383] Lübenau, in turn, writes how his master had ordered for the installation of a wine 'cellar' and a bakery in the stables on the ground floor.[384] Despite every room on the upper floor being equipped with its own fireplace, even heat was a luxury that could only be expensed by the ambassador. Schweigger writes how a shortage had driven up the price of wood, resulting in the ambassador's decision to only heat his own rooms, the 'Kredenzkammer', the Secretary, and the rooms of the court master and the chaplain.[385] The rooms upstairs were not only used as bedrooms, but also for other purposes. During Lübenau's stay, these 'cells' housed a pharmacy, a barber, a tailor, a goldsmith, a painter,

[377] De Busbecq describes the front windows of the building opening to the street leading up to the Sultan's palace. From those windows, one could see the Sultan make his way to the mosque for service every Friday.
[378] De Busbecq, *Turkish Letters,* p. 202.
[379] See G. Maclean ‘Strolling through Syria with William Biddulph’, *Criticism*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2004, p. 242, which describes a similar looking building in Aleppo housing the British merchants in that city working for the Levant Company. This building, too, was likened by its European inhabitants to a convent. About the origins of the German House, see: A. Berger, ‘Das Osmanische Reich in der Sicht Westeuropäischer Reisender’, p. 180.
[380] Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* p. 213.
[381] "einem hohen Hügel am schönsten Ort der ganzen Stadt". Ibid., p. 211.
[383] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 52-3.
[384] Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* p. 213.
[385] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, pp. 51-2.

and a tap room. One of the rooms even served as a classroom for members of the embassy interested to learn the Turkish language. Another room, Lubenau writes, was occupied by 'the Jesuit'. The latter, however, seemed to have served as a private room, rather than as a space for religious services. Indeed, Lubenau writes how his master installed a chapel on the ground floor, complete with an altar and "all sorts of silverware", in which he held a daily mass.[386]

Religion at the embassy

In the first few months of his stay and employment in Constantinople, Schweigger was assisted and accompanied by Stephan Gerlach, who did not leave the Ottoman capital until May. During these months, Gerlach supposedly instructed his successor in how to perform his pastoral duties in Constantinople. These primarily centred around the 'Seelsorge' for members of the embassy through regular worship and the administration of the sacraments, and the care for both German and non-German Lutherans who lived as captives and slaves in the Ottoman capital.[388] In addition, Gerlach introduced Schweigger to his network, including his contacts in the Greek Patriarchate. Sadly, the exact nature of Gerlach's instructions remains unclear, as Schweigger does not write about the time he spent with his predecessor, and Gerlach's *Tage-Buch* only mentions the several occasions on which the two chaplains visited the Greek patriarchate and attended ceremonies and celebrations in one of the city's orthodox churches. Nevertheless, the descriptions of both Schweigger and Gerlach offer an insight into the religious life at the embassy at the time of their office.

Lubenau's account, in which he describes the years after 1587, suggests that, during Schweigger's office, the German House lacked a space that was designed to serve specific religious purposes. Indeed, the chaplain does not describe a specific chapel or prayer room within the ambassadorial compounds. Rather, he fulfilled his religious duties in one of the communal rooms. In describing these religious activities, Schweigger writes to have followed the example of his predecessor Stephan Gerlach: Every Sunday he held the 'Evangelion' in the dining room, and on Fridays he would read the psalms of David - both of which, Schweigger specifically mentions, in the German language, and in the same manner as in the Evangelical Church in Germany. Before and after sermons everyone would sing German psalms and songs, and during the 'Hohen Fest' Schweigger would hold communion.[389]

Schweigger also writes that 'those legates who belong to the Catholic church' would bring in a priest from the Saint Peter's monastery in Galata on Sunday to hold mass at the embassy.[390]

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[386] "allerlei Sachen von Silber". Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* p. 214.
[388] Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger', p. 150.
[389] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 68-9.
[390] Ibid., p. 68.

It is unclear whether he is referring to the Catholic members of his own mission, or to previous and later missions that were led by a Catholic ambassador (who thus might not have needed a personal chaplain with them for their full term in Constantinople). Regardless, it reveals that Catholic inhabitants of the German House had access to something that Protestants had not – nearby religious facilities. As previously mentioned, most European (merchant and diplomatic) communities had settled in the 'Vorstadt' of Galata. As the building of Christian churches seems to have been a communal affair, the lack of Protestant churches in Galata and Constantinople is hardly surprising. Most European residents were Catholics from Genoa (Ogier de Busbecq simply called the Galatans 'Genoese'), Venice, and France, which were the only European entities with direct access to the Levantine trade.[391] Although this did not necessarily mean that German or even Protestant merchants were altogether cut-off from trade with and in the Ottoman Empire, the lack of capitulations or diplomatic relations with Protestant powers did result in the integration of Protestant merchants and diplomats into primarily Catholic communities. The German merchant firm of Melchior Manlich, for example, sailed under the French flag and used the help of French consuls in the Levant, while Lutheran travellers such as Reinhold Lubenau integrated into the 'Holy Roman' diplomatic community.[392] As such, there was little need or even opportunity for German Lutherans to form a distinctive, self-sufficient community with its own facilities, including churches. As Reinold Lubenau writes, 'us Germans and Lutherans are few; while there are no German merchants to be found in Constantinople, no church is appointed to them'.[394]

Although they could theoretically freely practice their religion, Lutherans in Constantinople were thus relying on the presence of a chaplain to offer his services and, as such, to form the centre of what little there was of a Lutheran community. As services and ceremonies were mainly held indoors - in Schweigger's time in the dining hall of the Habsburg embassy - this community seems to have been hardly visible. Not all religious services, however, could be done indoors by the chaplain. In some instances, the Lutheran community had to rely on Catholic or Orthodox facilities. Schweigger describes how deceased members of the German embassy who passed away would be buried at the Greek 'Gotssacker' just outside Galata, where the Habsburg officials had bought a small piece of land. The funeral ceremonies seem to have been the same for both Lutheran or Catholic members, and Schweigger's description shows how, on such an event, denominational borders were blurred and crossed. The body was carried to the cemetery by members of the Greek orthodox church, in a casket covered by a black cloth with a white cross,

[391] Mitler, 'The Genoese in Galata', p. 78.
[392] Kellenbenz, 'From Melchior Manlich to Ferdinand Cron'.
[394] "Unserer deutschen und lutherischen wahren wenigk [sic]; den die deutschen Kaufleut sich zu Constentinopel nicht finden lassen, sonsten wird ihnen keine Kirche zu halten versaget werden". Lubenau as cited in Stagl, 'Das Leben der nichtmuslimischen Bevölkerung', p. 372.

"like in Germany".[395] Once on the cemetery, it was placed in a grave on non-denominational, Habsburg ground, and everyone would gather around and sing 'German Christian songs, like in the Evangelical church' and say a few prayers. Schweigger's account, however, seems to have been based on hear-say, as he reports that no-one from the embassy died during the three years of his service, apart from a 'German noble' who had fallen sick in Galata during his travels and was taken in by the ambassador.[396]

A more specific and detailed account of a Lutheran's death and funeral in the Ottoman Empire, albeit not in Constantinople, can be found in the work of Hans Ulrich Krafft (1550-1621), who lived among the French and Venetian merchant communities in Tripoli. Krafft describes how, when one of his Lutheran travel companions by the name of Lutz fell ill, a Catholic priest was called in for him to receive unction. Not wanting to partake in this Catholic practice, Krafft managed to forestall the unction, in the hope that his friend would miraculously recover and remain 'pure'. When Lutz ultimately passed away, however, he had to receive the unction after all in order to be buried at the cemetery of the French Christians. Like in Constantinople, this cemetery was next to a Greek church, and it served as the final resting place of "all deceased foreign Christians".[397] Hans Krafft describes how, on the way to the cemetery, he sang a prayer in the German language. Being the only Lutheran attending the funeral, the other (Catholic) attendees wondered why he was so 'cheerful' – did he not understand that he would be punished by God if he would die in this pagan state? Upon arrival in the church, a priest began the Mass. Krafft, instead, retreated to a corner of the church with his German prayer book.[398]

Not only do these stories reveal the lack of Lutheran facilities, but they also exemplify the permeability of religious borders amongst European communities in the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, tensions between Christians of different denominations were not completely absent, and occasionally even escalated in a notable manner. Until the 1580s it was not uncommon for the ambassador to be a Lutheran while the *nuntius* (the diplomat responsible for the annual tribute) was a Catholic, or vice versa. In the case of Karel Rym and David Ungnad, the potential problems of such a relation were recognized by an Ottoman pasha who tried to fire a quarrel between the two officials by asking them a number of controversial questions about their religion.[399] In other instances, tensions between members of different denominations at the embassy rose on a more everyday level, on the basis of their different customs and mutual lack of

[395] "wie in Teutschland". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 69.
[396] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 69.
[397] "alle abgestorbne Außländische Cristen". H. U. Krafft, *Reisen und Gefangenschaft Hans Ulrich Kraffts,* Stuttgart, Litterarische Vereins, 1861, p. 155.
[398] Ibid., p. 155.
[399] Vermeulen, 'Christelijke tweespalt', pp. 59-60.

tolerance and understanding. During the office of the Catholic Johann von Breuner,[400] who succeeded Joachim von Sinzendorf, many of the personnel at the embassy were Lutherans. When the ambassador requested his goldsmith to make him some 'silver monstrances and crucifixes', the Lutheran goldsmith was highly offended. He even went as far as to complain to the grand vizier, whom he told that the ambassador was forcing him to make idols, and that he would rather become a Muslim than to work for such an unbeliever. As the story goes, this wish - which seems to have been a polemical statement more than anything - was immediately granted by the Sultan.[401]

During Reinhold Lubenau's stay in Constantinople, in 1588, the tensions between Lutherans and Catholics at the embassy reached an all-time high when it came to an outspoken clash between the Lutheran and the Catholic community. In his diary, Lubenau describes an episode in which the embassy was plagued by strange noises and inexplicable events in the wine cellar. Although it was later learned that these were caused by an abandoned baboon who had sought shelter between the barrels, the Jesuit chaplain explained the mysterious events as the works of a ghost trapped in purgatory. The priest suggested holding a ceremony in the cellar to help the soul on his way, but this was initially refused by the ambassador Bartholomaeus Pezzen "because many Lutheran lords were against it" [403] – a surprisingly considerate decision by an ambassador who was known for his ill-treatment of non-Catholics. One day, however, when the ambassador had left the house, such a service was held by the Catholics anyway, under the spectating eye of the Lutheran minority. Once the ceremony had started, the baboon woke up and uttered a loud shriek, which was mistaken by the Jesuit priest for the Devil's call. He responded in great shock, which caused laughter and hilarity amongst the Lutherans who had by now identified the baboon as the cause of all events. This mockery, in turn, offended the Catholics who had gathered in the cellar for the ceremony. The heated quarrels and increasing animosity that occupied the German House for the next few days led the ambassador to decide that - as a sign of respect - everyone in the embassy had to attend Catholic mass on Sundays. Those who refused would be whipped and even chained. In response to these threats, and not willing to compromise on their religious practices, many Lutherans saw no choice but to offer the ambassador their resignation and leave Constantinople. Lubenau followed their example, and found refuge at the English embassy – an example of how religious borders in Constantinople were only permeable

[400] There seems to be disagreement on the spelling of the ambassador's name. In Schweigger's *Album Amicorum* his name is spelled 'Friedrich Breiner', while in Martin Crusius' *Diarium* he is referred to as 'Preiner', 'Preiner', or 'Breyner'. In secondary literature the name can also be found spelled as 'Preyner'. I have chosen to follow Robyn Radway's spelling.
[401] Vermeulen, 'Christelijke tweespalt', p. 60. Strangely, a similar anecdote involving a goldsmith 'turning Turk' around 1591 circulates about the French embassy. See: Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades*, p. 77.
[403] "weil viele lutherische Herrn dagegen waren". Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* p. 244.

to a certain degree.[404] Several years later, Johann Wild still noticed the religious tensions at the Habsburg embassy: "too clear to us were the laboriously tempered tensions which threatened to drive an insurmountable wedge between the Lutheran and Catholic members of the legation at any moment".[406]

Contacts and exchange with the religions of the Ottoman Empire

As has been discussed in chapter one, Stephan Gerlach had been the middle man in an active correspondence between the theological faculty in Tübingen and the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople. Already in 1576, a year before the end of Gerlach's term, the chaplain and the Tübinger theologians debated the continuation of this correspondence – especially in a situation where David Ungnad would be succeeded by a Catholic ambassador and the Lutheran chaplain would thus be replaced by a Catholic one.[407] It was therefore a great relief when Joachim von Sinzendorf was appointed, and even more so when he requested the Duke of Württemberg and the theological faculty in Tübingen for a nominee to fill the position of chaplain. When Schweigger was put forward, the expectations were that he would maintain the relations with the Patriarchate that were established by Gerlach. As Martin Crusius put it in a letter to Schweigger, he hoped "that you will be a second Gerlach to me".[408]

During his first few months in Constantinople, Schweigger worked alongside Gerlach, who guided and supervised him in his duties and activities. These months mainly seem to have been used to introduce Schweigger to the members of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate with whom Gerlach had established a relationship.[409] That Schweigger successfully took over these relations, and developed a close exchange with members of the Patriarchate is clear from his travel account. His detailed descriptions of the Greek Orthodox religion reveal that he spent quite some time observing and discussing this. Moreover, a series of paintings that Schweigger made during his time in Constantinople – which include portraits of Patriarch Jeremias II and his rival (and predecessor as well as successor) Metrophanes III - suggests that he was, indeed, a welcome guest.[410] This is also demonstrated by Schweigger's description of the wedding of Theodor

[404] Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* pp. 242-5. The English had established their first embassy in 1583 under the Levant Company, resulting in the first permanent 'Protestant' settlement in Constantinople. See*:* H. G. Rawlinson, 'The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8', *Transactions of the Royal Society*, vol. 5, 1922, pp. 1-27; Berger, 'Das Osmanische Reich in der Sicht Westeuropäischer Reisender', p. 176.
[406] "Zu deutlich zeigen sich uns die mühsam gebändigten Spannungen, die zwischen den lutheranischen und den katholischen mitgliedern der Gesandtschaft jeden Augenblick eine unüberbrückbare Kluft aufzureißen drohten". Wild as cited in Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften*, p. 210.
[407] Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger', pp. 150-1.
[408] "daß du mir ein zweiter Gerlach sein wirst". Ibid., p. 158.
[409] Ibid., p. 157.
[410] These portraits are referred to by Martin Crusius' in his *Hodoeporicon*, p. 482, as well as in a letter to David Chytraeus,. See: Stockhausen, *Vermischte Briefe,* p. 179 ; Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger', p. 153.

Zygomalas, the Greek Protonotary and one of Martin Crusius' informants, to which he was invited as a friend. Nevertheless, the hopes of tightening the bonds with the Greek Orthodox Church proved idle. As has been discussed in chapter one, the attempts at theological rapprochement or even unification already received a negative response during Gerlach's stay in Constantinople, and under Schweigger's mediation the Patriarch only sent two more letters to Tübingen, which essentially repeated the same points of disagreement.[411]

Perhaps Schweigger was too stubborn in his own religious convictions to support and encourage unity between the Lutheran and Greek Orthodox Churches. While his description of the Greek religion is quite informative, relying on close observation, Schweigger cannot neglect subjecting it to some fierce critique. In an unnuanced rejection of the entire religion, Schweigger writes that "I expect it to no longer be a secret to many in Germany, due to the various writings of the Patriarchs to the scholars in Tübingen, that, sadly, the Greeks are deeply and bitingly stuck in superstition and ignorance".[412] Viewing Greek Christianity as a superstition that did not contain the fundamentals for salvation, Schweigger may have even been concerned for the well-being of the Lutheran community if true rapprochement would take place. In any case, the minister seems to have been more concerned with his pastoral activities in Constantinople than with Württemberg's ecumenical mission with regard to the Greek Orthodox Church. At the same time, his relationship with members of the Greek Patriarchate demonstrates that religious differences, no matter how irreconcilable, were no obstacle for friendly encounters and exchange.

In Constantinople, cross-religious contacts were not only established between members of the embassy of different denominations, but also between Christians and Muslims. The latter were mostly converts, who were often used as informants by the Habsburgs and could even find employment at the embassy.[414] A report by Reinhold Lubenau suggests, however, that connections were also made with Turkish Muslims. In his travel account, he writes how Turkish visitors would be invited to the embassy, where they would join in friendly eating (and

[411] Although the official correspondence between Tübingen and Constantinople ended with these letters, Schweigger did bring a wealth of other Greek documents back with him to Germany, such as charters, books, and other (unrelated) letters. See: Engels, 'Salomon Schweigger', p. 241.

[412] "Ich halt dafür / es werde nunmehr männiglichen in Teutschland unverborgen seyn / aus den vielfältigen Schrifften deß Patriarchen an die Gelehrten zu Tübingen / daß die Griechen im Aberglauben und Unverstand leider gar tieff und biß über die Ohren Stecken". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 211.

[414] For the role of renegades in Habsburg diplomacy and intelligence, see e.g.: G. Zahirović, 'Two Habsburg Sources of Information at the Sublime Porte in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', in M. Baramova et al. (eds.), *Power and Influence in South-Eastern Europe: 16-19th Century*, Berlin, 2013, pp. 417-423; T. P. Graf, 'Of Half-Lives and Double-Lives. "Renegades" in the Ottoman Empire and Their Pre-Conversion Ties, ca. 1580-1610', in P. Firges et al. (eds.), *Well-Connected Domains. Towards an Entangles Ottoman History,* Leiden, Brill, 2014 pp. 131-149; T. P. Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades,* especially pp. 164-206.

presumably even drinking) with their Habsburg hosts.[415] Further evidence of such 'everyday' interactions between Turkish Ottoman subjects and the members of the Habsburg embassy is, however, absent.

The close contacts between members of the Habsburg legation and converts working at the embassy is illustrated in a letter written by Schweigger to his father in May 1578 - barely five months after he arrived in Constantinople - which has survived in copy in the diary of Martin Crusius.[416] The letter contains some personal messages and well-wishes addressed to the several members of Schweigger's family, a short account of Schweigger's own situation and activities in the Ottoman Empire, and a few so-called 'Türckische Zeitungen' - news reports. In addition to this, a total of 9.5 pages are dedicated to a 'summary' of the 'Turkish religion, beliefs, and ceremonies' ("Türcken religion, glauben, und ceremonien").[417] As Schweigger writes, he had received this information from the aforementioned dragoman, who had been captured fifty years earlier in Hungary and had converted to the Islamic religion, and was now working at the Habsburg embassy. During the first five months of Schweigger's stay in the German House, this Hungarian Muslim already seemed to have turned into an informant in matters of the Islamic religion, which he told Schweigger about in Latin - the only language they apparently shared.[418]

The amount of information that Schweigger had already gathered in a matter of months is a clear reflection of his interest in the Islamic religion. At the same time, this interest was obviously driven by the minster's own, Christian concerns. The description starts with a two-page account of the Islamic views on God, Christ, and the Bible, as well as on the prophets of the Old Testament. While Schweigger's description of Islam contains a fair amount of detailed information about topics such as prayer (including the Arabic prayers themselves), circumcision, and the Islamic educational system at the *madrassas*, it also includes returning comparisons between Islam and (true) Christianity. The fact that the majority of the religion is performed in Arabic, for example, is compared to 'how things are done by the nuns, who read the Psalters in Latin, and thus do not understand them'.[419] Schweigger also reports about an Islamic version of

[415] "Reinhold Lubenau (…) similarly reports how Muslim Turks, invited to his house, would burst into loud shrieking before putting the glass to their lips, in hopes that their soul might move elsewhere while they engaged in drinking, so as not to become tainted by this sin". Matthee, 'Alcohol in the Islamic Middle East', p. 103. Similarly, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq wrote that "The drinking of wine is regarded by the Turks as a serious crime, especially among the older men ; the younger men can commit the sin with greater hope of pardon and excuse (…)". O. G. de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq,* transl. Edward Forster, Oxford, 1927, pp. 9-10. It is possible, of course, that such reports were invented by Christian in order to emphasize the alleged hypocrisy of Muslim piety. Nevertheless, in the case of Lubenau, it does seem to indicate the presence of Muslim visitors at the Habsburg embassy.
[416] Crusius, *Diarium*, vol. 2, pp. 97-119.
[417] Ibid., p. 103.
[418] Ibid., p. 103.
[419] Ibid., p. 105.

the Lord's Prayer, which is very similar to the Christian one, but denies God his fatherly title.[420] Furthermore, Schweigger writes, Muslims follow the same ten commandments. However, "baptism, the eucharist, the faith, and other elements of or religion aren't there".[421] Instead, they try to attain salvation by insincere 'good works'. What is also apparent, is that Schweigger continued to learn about the Islamic religion after writing this letter to his father, likely by interacting with more and other Muslims.[422] Most of the information from Schweigger's letter found its way into the *Reyßbeschreibung* (sometimes almost word-for-word), where it was supplemented and refined.

That so-called renegades could be important informants and even friends – despite their 'betrayal' of the Christian faith – is also clear from the famous convert Adam Neuser, who frequented the Habsburg Embassy in Constantinople and maintained a close friendship with Stephan Gerlach.[423] The latter describes in his diary how he and the ambassadorial secretary (and future ambassador) Peter von Eytzing were invited by Neuser shortly after their arrival in Constantinople, and how they spent the whole afternoon ("from lunch until the evening"[424]) talking about God, Christ, and Neuser's conversion.[425] Neuser's name appears several other times in Gerlach's diary, thus indicating that the two regularly met. One recurring topic in their conversations, apart from Neuser's apostacy from Christianity, was their shared disdain for the Calvinist confession, which, according to Gerlach, was to blame for Neuser's conversion to Islam. As can be read in a marginal note in Gerlach's diary, "the Calvinist religion makes Arians and Turks".[426] Not only did Neuser maintain friendly relationships with members of the embassy, the former minister from Heidelberg was even trusted to provide intelligence and counter-intelligence services to the ambassador.[427] For these services he got paid by the Holy Roman

[420] It can be assumed that Schweigger referred to *al-Fatiha*, which is still commonly compared to the Lord's Prayer (as found in Matthew 6:9-13 (NRSV)) but also to the Jewish Shema (Deuteronomy 6:4-9). See, e.g.: J. Dupuche, F. Morgan, and F. Tuncer, 'Three Prayers in Dialogue: The Shema, the Lord's Prayer, and al-Fatiha', *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, vol. 52, no. 4, 2017, pp. 587-609.
[421] "der tauff, nachtmal Christi, der glaub, und andere puncten unser glaubens, seien nichts". Crusius, *Diarium*, vol. 2, p. 109.
[422] Schweigger's *Album Amicorum*, for example, contains some inscriptions in Turkish and Arabic.
[423] In recent years, Adam Neuser has received increasing attention. For an overview of the current literature on Neuser, see: Graf, 'Of Half-Lives and Double-Lives', p. 144f39. For a short biography of Neuser, see: M. Mulsow, 'Adam Neuser', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500-1900*: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-ii/adam-neuser-COM_26149 (accessed 2 January 2020).
[424] vom Mittag-Essen an / biß auf den Abend". Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* pp. 34-5.
[425] Ibid..
[426] "Calvinischer Glaub machet Arianer und Türcken". Ibid., p. 35.
[427] See: Graf, 'On Half-Lives and Double-Lives', p. 145.

Emperor.[428] It shows the permeability of both religious and political borders – Neuser was a renegade *and* an exile –in Constantinople at the end of the sixteenth century.[429]

On the one hand, this permeability was an advantage. It offered residents and guests at the German House the possibility to engage in religious conversation and learning, while it provided the Habsburg officials with valuable intelligence. On the other hand, being surrounded by peoples of other confessions and even religions – both inside and outside the embassy – could form a serious challenge, or a 'trial of faith', maybe especially to those who belonged to the absolute religious minority and did not have access to their own religious facilities. Reinhold Lubenau, for example, said a special daily prayer meant to strengthen his faith during his time in Constantinople. In this prayer, he asked the Lord to protect him from temptation in these 'pagan lands', and not to allow him to forget His Word, so that eventually he could safely return to his beloved home country.[430] The fact that even someone living in the (relative) safety of the Habsburg embassy experienced his stay in Constantinople as a challenge to his faith suggests that the presence of a Lutheran minister, who could provide spiritual and pastoral support during this trial, was not just a luxury. As has previously been discussed, the act of Lutheran preaching itself was seen as an event through which evil challenges and temptations could be kept at distance. Moreover, such a minister could ensure that Lutherans in Constantinople would not forget the fundamentals of their religion. This was likely why Schweigger initially tried to extend is stay in the Ottoman capital and offered his continued services to Von Sinzendorf's successor Johann Friedrich Breuner. Himself a Catholic, Breuner declined Schweigger's offer, despite the fact that – according to Schweigger – the vast majority of his embassy staff was Lutheran.[431] Encouraged by Joachim von Sinzendorf, Schweigger nevertheless managed to arrange some sort of succession in order to ensure continued Lutheran 'Seelsorge' in Constantinople. As happened more often in the Lutheran diaspora in the absence of trained and available clergymen, he appointed a number of laypeople as 'ministers'[432]. These were "Herrn Franziscum von Bellerbekh … a very godly and

[428] Presumably for reasons of 'establishing and maintaining the peace' between the two Empires. See: Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* p. 98.
[429] In fact, Gerlach is said to quote no fewer than twelve German renegades. See: Zahirović, 'Two Habsburg Sources', p. 420 fn. 13.
[430] "O Heer in Uw Hoge hemel, wil naar me luisteren en mij verhoren en mij in deze heidense landen steeds beschermen en voor alle kwaad behouden, en me voor de vervloekte mohammedaanse sekte bewaren en me niet in verzoeking brengen, zodat ik door listen noch door gunsten en gaven, door zuch naar hoge ambten of waardighedenm nboch door bedreigingen en allerlei ongeluk, door gevangenschap en ketens noch door wat dan ook, Uw woord zal vergeten. Maar verleen me Uw genade, zodat ik alles zal verachten, en het lot dat U voor mij heft uitgetekend geduldig zal dragen om me eindelijk, wanneer het U behaagt, middelen en wegen te tonen hoe ik, gezond en wel, uit deze heidense landen terug kan keren naar de mijnen in mijn geliefde vaderland". Dutch translation from: Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten,* p. 262.
[431] Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger', p. 169. This information is taken from a letter from Schweigger to Stephan Gerlach, written in Constantinople, which is copied into Martin Crusius' diary. Crusius, *Diarium*, vol. 2, pp. 423ff.
[432] Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger', p. 169.

brave hero, well-read in history but mostly in the Holy Scripture … Herr Ambrosius Schmeisser, who will be with the new ambassador for another year … [and] Herr Paulus Rosa, *juris licentiatus,* who are all trustworthy men and are my good friends".[433] In addition, Schweigger published his *Il Catechismo,* which was also partly meant as a 'keepsake', in order to fill the void after his departure from Constantinople.[434] This catechism, however, was mainly aimed at a third group of Lutherans that Schweigger encountered in the Ottoman Empire (in addition to 'local' Lutherans and Lutherans at the Habsburg Embassy) – namely the Lutheran captives and slaves.

[433] "Herrn Franzciscum von Bellerbekh … ain sehr gottseliger glerter und dappferer Held, inns historiis wol belesen, ahm moisten aben inn H. Schrifft … Herr Ambrosius Schmeisser, der ain Jar lang noch bey dem neuwen Hern orator zu bleiden hatt … [und] Herr Paulus Rosa, juris licentiatus, die alle meine vertraute Herrn und gute freund sein". Letter from Schweigger to Crusius. Crusius, *Diarium,* vol. 2, p. 434.
[434] Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger', p. 174.

3.3 Life outside the embassy: captives and slaves

It is clear from Schweigger's writings that the minister was particularly concerned with the fate of those Lutherans who had been captured by the Ottomans, and who were kept in the Empire either as prisoners or as slaves. These concerns were primarily related to issues of religious identity and steadfastness in captivity. Although tensions between Germans of different denominations could flare up with incidents such as those described above, German Lutherans were theoretically free to practice their own religion in Constantinople and at the court. In luckier times, during the office of Lutheran ambassadors, they would even have their own chaplain who could lead services and offer spiritual guidance where necessary. For the unfree, however, the question of religious identity was a much more pressing one. Not only were they continuously confronted with the Islamic religion[435], but also with Christians of other denominations - especially Catholics. This exposure to non-Lutheran religions, in combination with religious doubts and loss of faith that may be caused by their misfortune, the strengthening and maintenance of the Lutheran faith and identity of these captives was a pressing matter.

Schweigger's first close encounter with a Lutheran slave seems to have been a rather traumatising experience. Although Schweigger himself is silent about the event, it is described by Stephan Gerlach in his diary. Gerlach writes how, on the 11th of April 1578, a certain 'Georg aus der Steyermarck' arrived at the embassy. He had been caught as a Barbary slave eighteen years earlier, and had escaped his first master after several years of abuse and maltreatment. He had fled to Asia, where he was obtained by a second master whom he had served for twelve years, and who had recently granted him his freedom. Convinced that his first master was still looking for revenge, the paranoid George now sought the protection of Joachim von Sinzendorf. Gerlach describes how he met with George for confession, during which he asked him if he had done something bad, other than escaping, that caused him to be so fearful of his previous owner. After Georg denied this, Gerlach told him that he should pray and put his trust in God, who had thus far shown his grace by leading Georg - a German Lutheran - into the arms of trustworthy fellow-believers. When they said their goodbyes, Georg told Gerlach that he would return so that the minister could 'teach him again in his Catechism'.[436] Two hours later, however, it was found out that the former captive had hung himself. As Gerlach writes, his experiences as a slave had made him lose all his trust in God, causing him to be too scared, despite having no indication that God

[435] As we can tell from the writings of Martin Luther, for example, the (forced) conversion of captives and slaves to Islam was a great concern for religious authorities at home. This was not entirely unjustified – especially slaves were prone to conversion e.g. out of hope for better treatment, desperation, or 'punishment' (e.g. for attacking their Muslim master or for being caught with a Muslim woman. In this case they could be faced with a choice between execution or conversion). See: Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten*, pp. 262-304.
[436] Gerlach, *Tage-Buch,* p. 481.

would not save him. The tragic event clearly showed the spiritual dangers of Ottoman slavery, and demonstrated the possible consequences of a Christian's loss of fate.

Although Schweigger is silent about the episode with Georg, which took place during his first few months in Constantinople, his travel account does show a more general concern with Christian and Lutheran captives. As he writes, every year, many thousands of Christians are "captured [by the Ottomans] and hard-heartedly forced into eternal service".[437] In this context, he mentions '2000 souls' that were taken from Canisa (Nagykanizsa in Southwest Hungary) in 1575, and '400 prisoners, 147 Croatian slaves, 1000 persons, and 170 'taken souls'' that were taken into Constantinople in 1576.[438] Amongst these captives, Schweigger is especially concerned with those of the 'Evangelical' faith, and it was for them that he writes to have translated the Lutheran Catechism into Italian. In the preface to his catechism, Schweigger directly addresses "the poor Christian slaves of the great Turk, in Constantinople and in other places of 'Turchia', mainly Germans, Hungarians and Croats: and (...) all others belonging to the 'crown lands', who hold in higher estimation the doctrine of God, than the traditions of the humans".[439] The latter remark should be read a condescending sneer to Catholic and possibly also (Greek) Orthodox worshippers - who, as we have seen, were commonly accused by Protestants of favouring human tradition over the Gospel. This indicates that the Catechism was addressing Protestant (Lutheran) captives in Constantinople and other parts of the Ottoman Empire. More specifically, Schweigger identifies his audience as primarily being Germans, Hungarians, and Croats, who were all inhabitants of the 'crown lands'. As such, the *Catechismo* is directed to all Protestant subjects of the Habsburg empire that were taken captive by the Ottomans - both from the German speaking countries as well as from the Hungarian and Croatian territories that fell under Habsburg jurisdiction. It is for this reason that the minister chose to publish his work in Italian - the *lingua franca* amongst Europeans in the Mediterranean - rather than in the German language which he commonly used in matters of religion.

Considering the usual emphasis on vernacular languages within Lutheranism, as well as the little involvement Schweigger seems to have had with the Lutheran communities he encountered in Hungary, the minister's concern with not just German but also Croatian and Hungarian Lutheran captives might seem somewhat surprising. However, the assistance of and interaction with Habsburg captives of *all* ethnic backgrounds had, in fact, been an important task

[437] "unnd ihrer viel tausend alle Jahr gefangen werden / und in hartselige ewige dienstbarkeit greaten". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 94.
[438] Ibid., p. 94.
[439] "Agli poueretti Christiani Schinaui del gran Turcho, in Constantinopoli, & in altri luogi per la Turchia, principalmente gli Allamagnu, Ungari, & Chruuati: & per tutti altri, li quali stimano piu la dottrina d'Iddio, che le tradicioni delli huomini". S. Schweigger, *Il Catechismo translato della lingua todescha in la lingua italiana per Salomon Sveigger, Allemagno Wirt. Predicatore del Evangelio in Constantinopoli*, Nürnberg, Catarina Gerlachin, 1592, p. 1.

of the embassy in Constantinople since the early days of Habsburg-Ottoman diplomacy.[440] In this light, Schweigger's concern with both German, Croatian, and Hungarian Lutherans - or: 'Habsburg Lutherans' in general - might have been related to his official duties as a chaplain. Indeed, the travel accounts of both Salomon Schweigger and his predecessor Stephan Gerlach show a more general concern with Christian captives from German-speaking, Hungarian, and Croatian territories. Especially Gerlach's *Tage-Buch*, which contains a wealth of detailed information of a more administrative nature, frequently mentions the arrival or 'passing through' of Croatian, Hungarian, and German captives in Constantinople. As Gerlach describes, they were often paraded past the German House, before they were imprisoned as a means to 'keep the peace'.[441] Similar processions are described by Salomon Schweigger in his *Reyßbeschreibung*, as well as by other diplomats such as Bartholomäus Pezzen*.* It was a regular power display that the Ottoman Sultan clearly took pleasure in, as it reminded the Emperor's delegates of the fact that they were on *his* turf.[442]

As Gerlach's diary suggests, captives and slaves were an important tool in the balancing act of Habsburg and Ottoman power. Therefore, the taking and exchange of captives formed an important part of Habsburg-Ottoman politics and peace negotiations. On the one hand, the taking of captives on both sides during military confrontations served as a means to balance the power between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans by creating mutual leverage. At the same time, the mutual release of such captives was an integral part of the annual peace negotiations. In his diary, Gerlach describes how in August 1574, in negotiating the extension of the peace treaty that had been signed by Maximilian II and Selim II in 1568, representatives of 'both emperors' discussed the number of captives that were to be released.[443] Judging by Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung*, this usually followed a set pattern: "The liberation of prisoners happened as follows: every year, an imperial delegate comes to Constantinople with gifts of worship. When he returns home, he requests the liberation of several Christians from the Sultan. Generally, he is granted four of them"[445]. Occasionally, the Habsburg ambassador also acted directly as a representative or spokesperson for particular captives. Gerlach writes how, on 16 February 1575, David Ungnad

[440] For the personal efforts of diplomats, travelers, and pilgrims in Constantinople in freeing European slaves, see: Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten*, pp. 168-9.
[441] E.g. "Den 16. [September 1574] hat man 20. Ungarn und Deutschen aus Siebenbürgen gefangen / bey unser Pforten fürüber / in deß Kaysers Gefängnus gebracht : So wird der Fried gehalten" (p. 27); "Den 14. [November 1574] hat man bey die 60 Gefangene auß Ungern / mit 3. Fahnen / Drommeten und Paucken / vor unser Hauß vorüber geführt / so halten sie den Frieden". Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* p. 39.
[442] Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten,* p. 122.
[443] Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* p. 61.
[445] "Mit außbitten der gefangenen hat es diese gelegenheit: Es kompt jarlich ein Keyserlicher Gesanter gen Constantinopel mit Verehrungen / wann dann derselbig wider heraus zeucht / helt er bey dem Sultan umb erledigung etlicher gefangener Christen an / da werden gewöhnlich vier derselbigen im bewilligt …". Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 95.

ransomed a certain 'Christoph Prugger' at the request of his relatives,[446] and similarly Franciscus Omichius reports that the ambassador negotiated for the release of a certain nobleman named 'Stefan Hackeleder' in Buda.[447]

At the same time, the taking of captives could endanger the status quo, as it was a clear violation of the peace treaty that was signed in 1547 that had been annually renewed since. Especially on the Ottoman side, there existed a highly lucrative system of ransom slavery in which soldiers traded and sold captives that were taken at the Ottoman-Hungarian frontier during raids on the enemy's side.[448] A small proportion of such ransom slaves found their way to Constantinople, where they could end up as valuable 'major captives' (often German but later also Hungarian and Croatian army officials from a higher rank[449]) who were gifted to the sultan, as private slaves, or as captives in one of the city's larger prisons. One of the responsibilities of the Habsburg ambassador was to minimise the tensions at the Croatian and Hungarian border to the best of his abilities through negotiations at the Ottoman court, in order to protect the Habsburg subjects that were living in these areas.[450] In reality, however, the efforts of the ambassador were often irrelevant, as he was ultimately subject to the Sultan's arbitrary will. As already mentioned in chapter two, Schweigger describes in his *Reyßbeschreibung* how the Sultan would violate the status quo by capturing Habsburg Christians at the border during times of truce. Protests by the ambassador, however, were met with mockery and with false testimonies by the captives declaring that they had been captured during aggressions that had been initiated by the Habsburgs.[451]

The freeing of slaves was not only a part of the *official* diplomacy between the European authorities and the Ottoman Empire. Often, diplomats also used their personal funds and resources to assist refugees and escapees.[452] Ogier de Busbecq, for example, got himself into serious financial trouble by helping prisoners from the Tower of Galata pay for their – often substantial – ransom. As he writes, "indeed I am afraid that in getting them out of prison I have got myself into it".[453] Instead of paying for the liberation of captives, other ambassadors used more illicit means to help them. According to Schweigger, it was a regular practice to secretly bring people into the embassy, and to transport them to the West either by hiding them in

[446] Gerlach, *Tage-buch,* p. 81.
[447] F. Omichius, *Beschreibung Einer Legation und Reise / von Wien aus Ostereich auff Constantinopel / Durch den Wolgebornen Herrn / Herrn David Ungnadn / Freyherrn zu Sonneck / und Pfandsherrn auff Bleyburgk / Auß Römischer Keyserlichen Maiestat befehlig und abforderung an den Türckischen Keyser / Anno 72. Verrichter*, Güstrow, Fürstlichen Mechelnburgischen Hofflager, 1582, p. 15.
[448] See: G. Pálffy, 'Ransom slavery along the Ottoman-Hungarian frontier', pp. 35-83.
[449] For the ethnic composition of border troops, see*:* N. Stafanec, 'Demographic changes on the Habsburg-Ottoman Border in Slavonia', in Kurz et al., *Das Osmanische*, pp. 551-578.
[450] Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* p. 312ff.
[451] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 64.
[452] Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten,* p. 171.
[453] De Busbecq, *Turkish Letters,* p. 329.

carriages or by bribing the relevant officials.[454] Renegades – who, as has been discussed, sometimes provided intelligence and other services to the Habsburg authorities - could play an important role in these practices. It was said, for example, that Bartholomeus Pezzen had an agreement with the 'guardian pasha' of the Tower of Galata, who was a renegade from Sulz with whom he maintained a close friendship.[455] Similarly, dragomans could prove valuable allies in the liberation of slaves.[456] Generally, Habsburg ambassadors thus seem to have devoted much of their time and resources to the assistance of captives in the Ottoman Empire.

Life and religion in captivity

Unable to prevent the capture of Habsburg subjects, mainly in battle and at the Habsburg-Ottoman border areas in Hungary and Croatia, the fate of these captives was another great concern for the Habsburg embassy. As is clear from the description in De Busbecq's *Turkish Letters*, the German House often served as a shelter or place of refuge for prisoners and slaves seeking the help of the ambassador to lighten the burdens of their existence or even to obtain their freedom. Indeed, the living conditions of Christian captives in the Ottoman Empire were often pitiful, depending on when and where they were captured and where they then ended up. The largest 'slave prison' in Constantinople seems to have been a place that was popularly referred to by the European population of the city as 'el Bagno del Granturco'.[457] It was usually inhabited by five to six hundred 'Christians', who were forced to work in the city's mining pits or on building projects. In his travel account, Reinhold Lubenau describes how the prisoners lived in small cells, and were woken up early every morning by the jailer to spend the day doing hard, manual labour, such as "hauling chalk, wood, stone, and everything else that is needed for construction".[459] The greatest threat to any moderately healthy European male that was taken captive around 1600, however, was to end up working on the galley's. On the galley's, the slaves did not have 'so much room as to stretch [their] legs', "[t]he stroke regular and punctual, their heads shaved unto the skull, their faces disfigured with disbarbing, their bodies all naked, only a short linen pair of breeches to cover their privities ... all their bodies pearled with a bloody sweat".[460]

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[454] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 95.
[455] Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten,* p. 171.
[456] Ibid., pp. 172-3.
[457] Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* p. 382. Ottoman prisons housing public slaves were often referred to by these slaves themselves as 'baths'. Most of these prisons had been specifically built for the purpose of housing slaves, but, allegedly, some of the old bath houses in Constantinople had been converted to slave pens during the sixteenth century – hence explaining the name. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters,* p. 110.
[459] "Kalk, Holz, Steine, und was sonst zum Bau notig is, schleppen". Lubenau as cited in Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* p. 383.
[460] An English former galley slave as quoted in: Colley, *Captives*, p. 60.

Another category of European captives in the Ottoman Empire, apart from slaves and political 'prisoners of war', were the so-called 'Strafgefangene', such as the German merchant Hans Ulrich Krafft who was imprisoned in Tripoli as a debtor when the company he worked for went bankrupt.[461] These captives were usually imprisoned in a 'general prison' that housed people from different - both Ottoman and non-Ottoman - backgrounds. The prison that is described by Krafft consisted of a large courtyard surrounded by small, dark cells, one of which Krafft was forced to share with his French colleague. While most of the Ottoman prisoners received alms that were collected through Islamic charity, Krafft describes that without similar funds it was hard for him to survive and reach some level of comfort. At the same time, Christian slaves and captives in the Ottoman Empire had - at least theoretically - certain rights and liberties. With their master's permission, they could own property and get married, and they could even set up businesses catering to other Christian captives as long as they handed over a percentage of their profits.[462] In 'el Bagno' itself, captives had access to a 'Spielplatz' where they could spend their free time playing games after dinner, and also to a tavern where those with enough money could buy extra food - such as salads and meat - and even wine.[463]

In general, however, the accounts of former captives and other visitors of the Ottoman Empire, such as Schweigger, create a grim image of the living conditions of Christian captives. Since the establishment of the German House, the embassy had been frequently visited by captive Habsburg subjects seeking help to lighten the burden of their existence. In his *Turkish Letters,* Ogier de Busbecq describes how, even during his house arrest, he did everything in his power to help the prisoners in the 'tower of Pera or Galata'. Seeing the bad state in which these found themselves, "I therefore sent visitors to express my sympathy, and assure them of my readiness to give them such assistance as lay in my power. From that time my house was the general rendezvous of all the prisoners, not was I ever backward in giving them help as far as my means allowed".[464] These prisoners sought assistance with a great variety of problems, be it requesting food and blankets, or bribing the prison guards to treat them better.[465]

Another form of assistance that could be given to Christian captives from within the embassy was that of a more spiritual nature. In theory, captives were free to practice their own, Christian religion and they often even had access to religious facilities such as a prison chapel. In reality, however, such religious facilities were dominantly Catholic, funded and run by Catholic

[461] A distinction between 'Kriegsgefangene' and 'Strafgefangene' in the Ottoman prisons is made by M. Scheutz, '"Ist mein schwalben wieder ausbliben." Selbstzeugnisse von Gefangenen in der Frühen Neuzeit', *Comparativ*, vol. 13, no. 5/6, 2003, pp. 189-210.
[462] Colley, *Captives*, pp. 58-9.
[463] Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* pp. 385-6.
[464] De Busbecq, *Turkish Letters,* p. 326.
[465] Ibid., p. 329.

priests and missionary orders and serving the vast Catholic majority.[466] Reinhold Lubenau describes how, every evening, the bells of the prison chapel were rung, after which everyone would get down on their knees to say the Lord's prayer and the Hail Mary. Two candles were then lit, and the bell ringer would go around with the *pacem* and a money-box, and 'all prisoners of the papist religion' would kiss the the *pacem* and, if they had it, would donate an Asper - a silver coin.[467] The collected money was used to pay a (Catholic) priest or monk to travel to the prison and hold Mass in the chapel.

The exclusively Catholic nature of religious facilities and services in prison was an explicit concern for a Lutheran minister like Salomon Schweigger. Writing about his first encounters with 'Evangelical' captives in Constantinople, he describes how they were not only deprived of 'physical food', but also of 'spiritual food'. While Catholic and Orthodox Christians were able to use the religious facilities in prison or of nearby churches on Sundays and feast days, 'those Germans and Hungarians who confess to the Evangelical Teachings' were 'deprived of the Word and the Sacraments', as they did not have any churches or permanently available chaplains or ministers to turn to. Lutheran prisoners and captives in search of spiritual guidance could therefore be tempted to use the services of Catholic priests and facilities, especially when they started questioning their own faith. In addition, Catholic missionaries were known to devote considerable effort to the active conversion of other Christian captives – especially because the Catholic authorities explicitly forbade them to convert native Muslims or renegades.[468] As such, Lutheran captives, deprived of spiritual guidance, were facing both internal and external threats to their faith.

Other than their lack of religious facilities, very little is factually known about the history of Lutheran captives in the Ottoman Empire. Catholic missionaries were responsible for counts and the collection of other data, but these often left out non-Catholic captives. As a result, it is hard to even provide a good estimate of how many Protestant slaves and captives were present in the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century.[469] Moreover, the lack of centralised Lutheran missionary organisations means that there are no general sources for the help that was offered to such captives by (members of) the Lutheran church. Some information can, however, be distracted from the writings of Schweigger and, to a lesser extent, Gerlach. While it remains unclear whether the assistance of Lutheran Habsburg subjects in the Ottoman Empire was one of their *official* responsibilities, both chaplains, as the first Lutheran ministers to reside in Constantinople for an extended period of time, were in the unique position to offer such and to

[466] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, pp. 119-21.
[467] Teply, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften,* pp. 384-5.
[468] Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters,* p. 112.
[469] Ibid., pp. 12-3, 112.

tighten the bonds between these Lutherans and the Lutheran mother church in Germany. In fact, Schweigger's *Il Catechismo* seems to have been a first attempt at a more centralised mission to help Lutheran captives – of all nationalities – in the Ottoman Empire, and to include them in the more general Lutheran programme of confessional consolidation.

3.4 Il Catechismo as a "Schriftenmission in der Kriegsgefangenenseelsorge"

Already during his office in Constantinople, Schweigger tried to come to the aid of Lutheran captives by requesting the ambassador to order them hymn and prayer books and 'similar letters of consolation' as far as these were available.[470] These texts, however, were all written in the German language, and were thus inaccessible to non-German Lutherans. As there were no Hungarian or Croatian organizations to help them either, Schweigger might have been their only resource for spiritual guidance, despite the linguistic barrier - and it was in this light that he might have decided to publish his Italian catechism, *Il Catechismo*. The only currently known edition of the work is the one that was published in Tübingen in 1585.[471] The *Nürnbergisches Gelerhrten-lexicon*, however, reveals the (previous) existence of two other editions. Amongst Schweigger's publications, it lists an Italian catechism that was published in 1592 by Katharina Gerlach in Nürnberg, the subtitle of which reads that "This Italian Catechism has been printed for the first time in 1582 at the costs of the duchy of Württemberg for the sake of the Christian slaves in Constantinople, and has been handed out amongst the slaves in Turkey as a gift".[472] This thus reveals that Schweigger's *Il Catechismo* was first published in 1582, financed by the Duke of Württemberg.

The Italian booklet was a translation of Martin Luther's *Kleiner Katechism*, which was originally written in 1529 for the religious education of children. In short, it explains the essence of the Christian faith in a Lutheran perspective by exploring the 'six chief parts of Christian doctrine'[473], as well as containing daily prayers, a table of duties for Christians, and a guide for Christians in preparation for Holy Communion. In this respect, the Small Catechism was not only a useful instrument in the instruction of children, but could also be seen as a short religious guide and prayer book for any Christian (Lutheran) individual. This was also recognised as such by Salomon Schweigger. In the preface to his *Catechismo*, he writes that this work would offer the reader all the basics necessary for salvation - 'the prayer and *patrolla* of God, and the most holy sacrament'.[474] As such, it contained what the minister considered to be the true essence of Christianity.

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[470] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 97.
[471] Schweigger, *Il catechismo*. Copies are held at the British Library in London and at the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar, Germany.
[472] "Dieser Ital. Katechismus ist zum Behuf der Christen-Sclaven zu Constantinopel zuerst 1582 auf Herzogl. Würtembergische Kosten gedruckt und als ein Geschenk in der Türkey unter den Sclaven ausgetheilet worden". Will, *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-lexicon*, p. 651.
[473] The Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, The Lord's Prayer, the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, Confession, and the Sacrament of the Altar. See: http://catechism.cph.org/about.html (visited 19 March 2018).
[474] "(...) ma il pasto sprituale, cio è la predigcha, & patrolla d'Iddio, con gli santißimi Sacramenti, con quali si conforta, pasce & mentene l'anima per viuer la eternamente". Schweigger, *Il Catechismo,* p. 2.

In a religiously diverse environment such as Constantinople, the essence of Christianity was an important question. On a day-to-day basis, Christians encountered people from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds. Within this climate, especially slaves and captives were thought to be susceptible to religious transgression and conversion. In the first place, they faced the risk of forcible or even voluntary conversion to Islam. According to Islamic law, it was illegal for Muslims to keep other Muslims as slaves. However, this only related to the *enslavement* of Muslims, while a slave who was captured prior to his conversion remained unfree. Nevertheless, in both the hadith and the Qur'an, the emancipation of a slave, and especially a *Muslim* slave, is encouraged as a highly pious deed.[475] As such, Christian slaves could increase their chances of gaining freedom without paying ransom by converting to the religion of their warders and becoming official subjects of the Sultan. Often, however, their status was merely changed from that of slave to that of servant.[476] Although forcible conversion was prohibited by Islamic law, and only seems to have happened by exception[477], many travel accounts - including Schweigger's - describe how, upon arrival in Constantinople, those captives who wished to convert to the Islamic religion were gathered in a public ceremony in which they accepted the Islamic creed and were circumcised.[478] Bearing in mind that conversion opened up new possibilities for release, many of those captives 'turning Turk' might have felt pressured into doing so, despite the fact that their conversion was not forced. Schweigger, however, writes that this was idle hope, as these converts were nevertheless 'chained unto the galleys, and thus experienced the well-deserved punishment for their unbelief and unsteadiness'.[480]

Secondly, captive Lutherans faced the danger of getting carried away in the practices of other religions. In an environment where they did not have access to their own religious resources, but Catholic facilities were readily available, it is not unthinkable that some captives would have joined Catholic services and rituals, especially if they were unaware of the exact differences between the two and of the consequences of religious transgression. Other possibilities were that captives would be influenced by the theological ideas of other denominations or even heresies: "That he [the Lutheran captive] was alone in his religious relations as an evangelical Christian, and was therefore in danger of succumbing to foreign

[475] Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades*, p. 76.
[476] Pálffy, 'Ransom slavery', p. 54; Müller, *Franken im Osten,* pp. 354-5.
[477] Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades*, p. 78.
[478] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 95.
[480] Ibid., p. 95. A similar situation is described in a letter from Friedrich Preiner to Emperor Rudolf II in 1583: "In June 1583, twenty 'Hungarian prisoners' were brought before the *divan* where eleven of them 'turned Turk'. In spite of having embraced Islam, the converts along with the other nine prisoners were sent to the galleys." Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades,* pp. 76-7.

influences, is clear".[481] A third danger was for Lutheran captives to lose their faith and religious practice altogether.[482] Naturally, from a Lutheran perspective, all these instances of religious transgression and/or apostasy would have far-reaching consequences on the salvation of the captives' souls.

Third, captives and slaves were at the risk of losing their faith altogether due to their troubled existence. In his diary, Gerlach is aghast that the Germans in *Il Bagno* are 'entirely worthless' in terms of religion. As he writes, they are 'neither Turks nor Christians, they have no faith – hogging, drinking, fornication and rowdiness, that is what their religion consists of'.[483] In many ways, his captivity was thus a test of the Lutheran's steadfastness, and the weaker his religious foundation, the weaker this steadfastness was expected to be. In this context, Schweigger intended for his catechism to be somewhat of a religious 'holdfast', rather than just an educational manual, reminding the reader of the articles of Christian faith 'so that those who have forgotten them for their servitude and travails learn them again, and that others who have not forgotten them can keep their faith in Christ our Lord by reading this work more often'.[484] Apart from Schweigger's relatively lengthy introduction, the 21-page *Catechismo* contains the Commandments, the Apostolic Creed (listed in Italian as 'the Articles of Christian Faith'), the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments ('the Holy Baptism' and 'the Supper of the Lord Jesus Christ'), and a section on penitence, containing 'Now a confession to confess sins', and 'the Absolute'.

Schweigger's Italian catechism shows a few significant differences with Luther's original *Kleiner Katechismus*: the explanation of the Ten Commandments and the Apostle's creed is followed by a conclusion which is not found in Luther's work, while at the same time the last few chapters of Luther's original are omitted. The omitted chapters are mainly of an instructional nature, focussing on confession and absolution, and on the organisation of a Christian family and household. The fact that captives in the Ottoman Empire did not usually have access to a minister for confession, and that they were far removed from their homes and families might well have been the reason for Schweigger to leave these chapters out of his *Catechismo*, so as to only offer these captives the bare foundations on the basis of which they could practice their religion in captivity. The importance of these foundations is also stressed by Gerlach, who, during his stay in

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481 "Daß er [the Lutheran captive] in religiöser Beziehung als evangelischer Christ einsam war und so in der Gefahr stand, fremden Einflüssen zu erliegen, dürfte eindeutig sein". Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger', p. 166.

482 L. Santini, 'A proposito di una traduzione italiana del "Piccolo catechismo" die M. Lutero', *Nuova Rivista Storica,* vol. 49, no. 5-6, 1965, p. 633.

483 "het zijn 'Turken noch christenen, en ze hebben geen enkel geloof; vreten, zuipen, ontucht en baldadigheid, daaruit bestaan hun geloof'". Gerlach quoted in Dutch translation in Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten*, p. 157. Vermeulen does not refer to a specific page in Gerlach's *Tage-Buch*.

484 "Insegnando vi nelli articoli della fede nostra Christiana, accioche quelli chi hauiano dismenticati li, per la lor seruitute & trauagli, cosi di nuouo impararanno:ma altri chi non hanno li dismenticati, à questo modo, legend pur spesse uolte questa scrittura, poteranno mantener la lorfede in Christo Signore nostro". Schweigger, *Il Catechismo,* pp. 2-3.

Constantinople, experienced a 'joyful encounter' with a Lutheran from Thuringen who had served as a slave in Gallipoli for eleven years. Although he had not heard the Gospel since his enslavement, this man had remembered the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. As Gerlach writes, these had offered enough support and consolation for this man to hold on to his faith, despite his miserable existence as a slave.[485] Similarly, Schweigger's catechism was meant as 'a little Bible, an almost eternal prayer, which contains the entire doctrine of the Christian faith by which all are to be saved, and without which it is impossible to enter the eternal life'.[486]

Schweigger's concern with the souls of Lutheran captives is also reflected in the fact that this was likely the main reason for him to learn the Italian language. As Luigi Santini writes, the minister developed the desire to learn Italian upon noticing that most Christian slaves in the Ottoman capital ('even the most humble amongst them'[487]) spoke the language. He was encouraged in his endeavour by the ambassador and the official translator Mathia dal Faro, and the language used in the *Catechismo* - assuming that Schweigger was indeed himself responsible for the translation - suggests that the author was taught within the Venetian milieu of Constantinople.[488] Further adding to the suspicion that Schweigger already composed *Il Catechismo* during his stay in Constantinople are the fact that the preface is dated 1 January 1581. Moreover, Santini writes that the minister carried his catechism with him on his journey through the Balkans and Italy back to Germany.[489] Once he was back in Württemberg, he was able to publish the booklet under the patronage of duke Ludwig, and the largest part of the edition was sent back to the embassy Constantinople – which might explain why we do not know of any current copies of this edition. All of this demonstrates Schweigger's far-reaching involvement with the Lutheran captives of the Ottoman Empire, even though the exact nature of this involvement on a day-to-day basis remains unclear.

Schweigger's *Il Catechismo* has been labelled as the first attempt at a 'Scriptural mission in the pastoral care of prisoners of war' (Schriftenmission in der Kriegsgefangenenseelsorge ")[490]. The publication of (Italian) catechisms and religious texts directed at Eastern-European Christians in general, however, was not an uncommon practice within the German Lutheran climate of the late-sixteenth century. Especially the theologians at Tübingen, led by Jakob Andreae, were active in using such texts as instruments of religious edification and propaganda

[485] Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten*, p. 157.
[486] "Cio è quisto Catechesimo, essendolo una piccolo bibia, ó una quasi perpetua predigcha, la quale comprende tutta la dottrina della fede Christiana, per la quale son de saluar tutti quanti, & senza la quale, impoßible è consequir la vita eterna (...)". Schweigger, *Il catechismo,* pp. 3-4.
[487] Santini, 'Piccolo catechismo', p. 633.
[488] Ibid..
[489] Ibid., p. 634.
[490] Ibid., p. 635.

mostly amongst the peoples of the Balkans.[491] These efforts were not only shared by theologians and clergymen, but also by the local Lutheran elite. A particularly influential figure was the Austrian nobleman Hans Ungnad von Sonneck (1493-1564), who tried to further the cause of the Reformation by having various works translated into different Slavonian dialects and even into the Turkish language, which he distributed at his own expense. With the help of the duke of Württemberg, he even established his own printing press in Tübingen, known as the 'Windische, chrabatische und cirulische Thrukerey' or the 'Uracher Bibelanstalt'.[492] Under the direction of the Slovenian reformer Primus Truber, the Serbian priest Antonio Dalmata, and the Bosnian clergyman Stephen Consul, the press collected, translated and composed a variety of religious texts, such as the New Testament and Psalms, directed at "the inhabitants of Croatia, Dalmatia, Bonia, Servia, and Bulgaria, [who] have never hitherto had all the books of Scripture, nor any Catechism, translated into their tongue (...)".[493]

It was also in this context that the first ever Italian translation of Luther's *Kleiner Katechismus* was printed in Tübingen in 1562 under the title *Catechismo piocciolo di Martin Luthero, verso dal Latino in lingua Italiana, per gli fanciugli*. The work was published anonymously but has been attributed to Antonio Dalmata, which also makes it likely that it was printed at Ungnad's press. It was not translated directly from Luther's German *Kleiner Katechismus,* but rather from Johan Sauerman's Latin edition, and it served as the basis for subsequent Italian translations and editions.[494] Schweigger, in turn, seems to have been the first to make an Italian translation that was directly based on the German original, and it has been suggested that this publication, too, should be seen in the light of a larger programme of Lutheran confessionalization in Württemberg in the second half of the sixteenth century. Within this programme, theologians sought to form a Lutheran unity, founded upon communal theological statements, that was clearly separated and delineated from other denominations. As such, they formulated what should be seen as the core of the Lutheran faith, while at the same time eliminating any 'foreign' - especially Reformed - traces. [495] It were these tendencies that led to the publication of Lutheran creeds such as the Formula of Concord in in 1577. Moreover, the Tübingen theologians made active attempts to spread the Augsburg Confession and the Lutheran creed, as it was formulated in the Formula of Concord, outside of the German territories, as has already been demonstrated in their search of rapprochement with the Greek Orthodox church. As Luigi Santini writes, Schweigger's

[491] Santini, 'Piccolo catechismo', pp. 628-630.
[492] J. Townley, *Illustrations of Biblical Literature, Exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings, from the Earliest Period to the Present Century, Including Biographical Notices of Translations, and Other Eminent Biblical Scholars,* vol. 3, London, 1821, pp. 270-277.
[493] As wrote Primus Truber in the preface to a Croatian translation of the New Testament. Townley, *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, p. 271.
[494] Santini, 'Piccolo catechism, pp. 628-629.
[495] Ibid., p. 630.

Catechesimo, too, clearly reflects the language of the Augsburg Confession and its 'Apologia', as well as that of the Formula of Concord. As such, it reflects the Lutheran programme of confessionalization, and could be seen as a part of the efforts of the Lutheran church to extend its confession-building activities outside the German country borders.

The religio-political character of Schweigger *Catechesimo* is also reflected in the fact that it was firstly published under the patronage of the duke of Württemberg. In fact, Lutheran confession-building and propaganda seems to have been an inherent part of Württemberg politics: Ludwig's father and predecessor Herzog Christoph von Württemberg had been one of the primary figures to support and facilitate the establishment of Hans Ungnad of Sonneck's printing press in Tübingen the 1560s. Ludwig's patronage of the publication of Schweigger's *Catechesimo* should thus be understood as a part of the duke's more general efforts to further the cause of the Lutheran church and its confession-building activities, and to free it from Calvinist and Catholic influences.[496]

As a more self-conscious part of Lutheran politics, the publication of *Il Catechesimo* could also have helped to further Schweigger's personal career within the Lutheran church. Without undermining the minister's sincere concern with Lutheran slaves that caused him to translate the catechism during his stay in Constantinople, the subsequent publication of this work created somewhat of a physical testament - like a cv or portfolio - to Schweigger's ministering activities abroad. This is demonstrated by an inscription of the author in the copy of *Il Catechesimo* that is held at the British Library, indicating that Schweigger gifted this copy to 'Denn Edlenn und Ernuestenn Herrn Ernst Haller von Hallerstein' in 1592.[497] Considering that the latter was a member of the city council of Nürnberg, Schweigger's gift may well have been intended to build himself a good reputation in the city. Moreover, the publication of *Il Catechesimo* clearly demonstrated Schweigger's strong 'neighbourly love' - an essential trait for a Lutheran Christian and especially for a minister. In his preface, Schweigger writes that Christians should not only strife for their own well-being but also for that of their neighbours, who they should look after in God's name.[498] Oddly enough, he also admits in his preface that the quality of the translation is not very good in terms of its language, but that all its contents are true and that it is therefore sufficient to learn the Christian foundations from.[499] It is likely that during his stay in Constantinople he did not have access to any better translation, but the fact that Schweigger also

[496] For a short biography of Ludwig, see: Alberti, von, 'Ludwig III.', in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* vol. 19, 1884, pp. 597-598. Available through: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd100655378.html#adbcontent (accessed 16 December 2019).
[497] "Denn Edlenn und Ernuestenn Herr Ernst Haller von Hallerstein, Ratsverwanten der Kaiserlichen Reichsstat Nürnberg, seinem sonsers günstig herrn und *patrono, autor donodedit*. Den 27. Febru: Anno 1592".
[498] Schweigger, *Il Catechesimo*, p. 1.
[499] Ibid., p. 4.

chose to *publish* this particular translation, rather than a more authoritative or qualitative one, suggests that he wished for his own name to be outspokenly connected to the publication. As the author writes, the work is a demonstration of his 'Christian charity', and will help the reader as such.

All in all, Schweigger's publication of *Il Catechesimo* could be seen as an active contribution to the process of Lutheran confessionalization that had its centre in Württemberg. By presenting the reader with the bare fundamentals of Christian religion according to the newly established Lutheran creed, the publication extended the influence of the Lutheran church in Württemberg to the Ottoman Empire, where it could contribute to the establishment or maintenance of a Lutheran confession that followed the lines that were set out in Tübingen, and that was clearly demarcated from other Christian denominations. As a 'summary of the Christian faith', however, the work could not only offer potential help and support to captives, but to anyone in need of a reminder of the foundations of their Lutheran religion. Offering religious instructions that could (and should) be followed even under the direst circumstances, it also provided a basic religious manual to Lutherans in Germany - regardless of their situation. In this sense, the process of confessionalization could not only be exported and applied to Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire, but the fate of Lutherans abroad could also be integrated into the discourse of confession-building at home.

3.5 The Lutheran 'diaspora' in public narratives

The way in which Salomon Schweigger integrated questions of Lutheranism and Lutheran identity in the Ottoman Empire into the German religious discourse is perhaps even clearer in the case of a the captivity narrative of Johann Wild, which was first published in Nürnberg in 1613 with a lengthy (17-page) preface written by Schweigger.[500] The work tells us how, in 1604, the nineteen-year-old Johan Wild had travelled to Hungary in order to join the Habsburg forces as a *Landesknecht* in their fight against 'the arch-enemy' ("den Erbfeind").[501] After several successful battles against the Turks, he was ultimately captured by Hungarian anti-Habsburg forces and sold into Ottoman slavery.[502] In a brief period of time, Wild was sold and resold no less than five times until he ended up as the personal servant of a Persian merchant based in Cairo. With this master, who earned his money in the slave trade, Wild undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina and travelled to a number of other places such as Yemen, Sinai, Jerusalem, and Damascus. Upon his return to Cairo Wild was sold once again, to a master who granted him his freedom after one year of service. His letter of release did not put an end to Wild's misfortune in the Ottoman Empire. The ship on which he sailed from Cairo to Constantinople, the first leg of his journey to Germany, got shipwrecked, and Wild lost all his money and possessions. Without the means to fund his journey home, the former-slave returned to his old master in Cairo and offered him his services as a 'free man'. After an additional year in the city, Wild had collected enough money to once again travel to Constantinople, where he received the help from the Habsburg ambassador Michael Starzer in order to return to Germany. He finally arrived in Nürnberg on 22 October 1611.

In modern literature, Wild's *Neue Reysbeschreibung eines gefangenen Christen* has mainly received attention as a rich source of information about the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman captivity at the start of the seventeenth century. It is known as one of the earliest European eye-witness accounts of Mecca and Medina, and also contains one of the first descriptions of the Turkish *hamams* in the German language (the first one, in fact, being Schweigger's).[504] Especially through his experience as a house slave or personal servant of different members of Ottoman society (Persian and Turkish), and as a member of a variety of travel groups with a different character (slave trade, pilgrimage, merchant), Wild gained valuable insider-perspectives of Ottoman culture and society. In addition, his account provides detailed information on how a

[500] A reprint of the work followed in 1623, under the same title and with the same publisher.
[501] Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung* (repr. 1964), p. 39.
[502] These forces were led by the Hungarian nobleman Stephen Bocksay or Bocskai (1557-1606), who challenged the Habsburg rule of Transylvania and Royal Hungary. For a brief account of this complicated episode in Habsburg and Hungarian history, see Karl Teply's introduction to the reprint of Johann Wild's captivity narrative.
[504] See, e.g.: A. Jeffery, 'Christians at Mecca', *Muslim World*, vol. 19, no. 3, 1929, pp. 221-235; A. Ralli, *Christians at Mecca,* London, W. Heiemann, 1909, pp. 34-40; Kula, 'Vom Wissen um die Leserschaft', pp. 10-24.

Habsburg subject was captured and sold into Ottoman slavery, on the challenges that he faced during his captivity, and on how he finally managed to return to his home country.[505]

Reintegration through writing

There is however, another dimension to Johann Wild's captivity narrative that, together with Schweigger's preface, has been largely neglected – namely its contemporary practical purpose and cultural significance.[506] Generally, captives and slaves returning from the Ottoman Empire were regarded by their home society with a certain degree of distrust. Bringing home with them new, 'foreign' experiences and knowledge, they were treated with suspicion, as a potential threat or disruption to the established identity of their social group upon their return.[507] This was especially the case with regard to their religion - during their exposure to Islamic society, it was believed that slaves and captives were at a high risk of (voluntary and involuntary) conversion or loss of faith.[508] Moreover, having spent an extended period of time with 'the enemy', the general fear was that they had shifted their loyalty during their absence. In order to regain full acceptance within their old community, these returnees thus had to 'prove' their unchanged trustworthiness. In England, such proof was given during extensive ceremonies organized by the Anglican church, in which former captives publicly confessed their faith and were "reclaimed as Protestant Britons" by the church and accepted their social roles and responsibilities as such.[509] After their public confession, which ought to 'absolve' them from any suspicions, their identity had been (re)established and they were readmitted into their community. In Spain, interrogations by the Inquisition served a similar purpose of absolution and reintegration.[510] It is unclear whether similar practices of reintegration took place in the German lands, and especially in the seventeenth century. While there are reports of public confirmation of former-slaves in the Lutheran churches of Denmark and Norway in the eighteenth century, evidence of such rituals is

[505] Indeed, what generally set European captivity narratives apart from 'regular' travel accounts is that they contained detailed descriptions of how the individual was captured, how he dealt - or struggled to deal - with the following challenges and sufferings, and how he finally managed to escape or was ransomed or released. See: Colley, *Captives,* p. 13.
[506] In general, travel accounts and captivity narratives have rarely been subjected to narrative analysis and have instead been treated solely as historical sources, despite the fact that they are textual and literary phenomena that "live on the intersection of travel literature, religious writing, and prose fiction". See: M. Hartner, 'Pirates, Captives, and Conversions: Rereading British Stories of White Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Anglia*, vol. 135, no. 3, 2017, p. 417.
[507] As Justin Stagl writes, "experts on foreign groups are suspect as to the loyalty towards their own". Moreover, travel was generally expected to change the traveler, who would not only explore their environment but also themselves. As such, he became "a menace to the identity of his group". Stagl, *History of Curiosity*, 12.
[508] Colley, *Captives*, p. 45.
[509] Ibid., p. 45.
[510] M. Rheinheimer, 'From Amrum to Algiers and Back: The Reintegration of a Renegade in the Eighteenth Century', *Central European History,* vol. 36, no. 2, 2003, p. 215.

absent in the case of German Lutheran communities.[511] It has been suggested, however, that captivity narratives - or, more generally, the writing of an autobiography - fulfilled a similar function.[512] Through their writing, former captives could defend themselves from the common suspicions of having unnecessarily provoked their captivity, of having lost their 'true faith' during their absence, and of having fought against the Christian world.[513] As such, they could publicly proclaim their unchanged loyalty to their home community and fatherland, by which they consequently hoped to be once again embraced and accepted. For this reason, such narratives have also been characterized as *rites of passage* through which travellers reintegrated into their native lands and society.[514] In this context, Wild's *Neue Reysbeschreibung* was not only a way for the author to share his experiences and observations – and maybe earn some money along the way – but also seems to have been an important instrument in his reintegration into German Lutheran society.

Indeed, throughout his captivity narrative, Johann Wild addresses the common themes and suspicions with regard to returnees. In describing his capture by the Hungarians, he continuously stresses that this occurred while he was faithfully and voluntarily serving his 'Imperial Majesty' against the Christian archenemy.[515] He defended his fort for as long has he could, despite suffering great hunger, thirst and other grief.[516] When it finally became clear that Wild's forces were greatly outnumbered and that their bastion would be taken over by the Hungarians, Wild still did not simply surrender himself to the enemy but instead tried to hide until he was discovered.[517] As such, the author makes it clear that he held on to his loyalty and freedom for as long as he could, and that he in no way provoked his capture. Similarly, Wild stresses that his return to Cairo after his release was entirely involuntary, and that it was rather the result of his great misfortune. Short remarks throughout the work also emphasise Wild's continued loyalty to his home country and religion during his captivity and enslavement. As Karl Teply writes, Wild demonstrates a continuous willingness to 'take on every conceivable hardship

[511] See: Rheinheimer, 'From Amrum to Algiers'.
[512] Ibid., p. 215.
[513] This was an especially important issue, as renegades were often seen not only as religious 'traitors', but also as political ones who turned against their home country and society and played a crucial role in the Ottoman military victories over Christian forces and were thus an active threat to the safety of the Christian world. See: Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades,* p. 12; C. 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 «Aegyptia Servitus» (1610)', in K. von Greyerz and K. Siebenbüner (eds.), *Religion und Gewalt. Konflikte, Rituale, Deutungen (1500-1800),* Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006, p. 106.
[514] M. Harbsmeier, 'On travel accounts and cosmological strategies: Some models in comparative xenology', *Ethnos*, vol. 50, no. 3-4, 1985, pp, 273-312.
[515] Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung* (repr. 1964), p. 39.
[516] Ibid., pp. 45-6.
[517] Ibid., pp. 47-8.

and danger in order to return to his "dear fatherland" and to preserve his faith'.[518] Moreover, he repeatedly comments on how the situation in Germany is better than that in the Ottoman Empire,[519] he describes his unspeakable joy whenever he encounters a fellow countryman of the same religion,[520] and - perhaps most importantly – he keeps referring to his unchanged Christian faith. In a manner that is typical of early modern captivity narratives, Wild 'proves' this unchanged faith by presenting his fate in the Ottoman Empire within 'the topography of Christian salvation'.[521] As he writes, his capture and captivity itself, as well as all other suffering and misfortune that he experienced, were all part of God's plan. It was through his Christian faith and patience that Wild was able to accept and endure these challenges, which, at the same time, he survived and overcame with God's help and grace. As a result of his own religion and God's Providence, he recovered from the plague and a severe eye-infection, he was saved from multiple battles and shipwreck, he managed to find the patience to withstand the ill-treatment by his Persian master – 'a stern and merciless dog' ("ein strenger und unbarmherziger Hund") who did nothing but scold and beat.[522] In the end, he manages to safely return to his home country – the ultimate proof of his true faith.

The functioning of Wild's *Reisbeschreibung* as a public testimony to the author's good faith and character is also reflected in the two 'letters of recommendation' that were published at the end of the work. The first is written by Michael Startzer, who was the Habsburg ambassador in Constantinople at the time of Johann Wild's liberation and return. Startzer confirms that Wild had travelled to him in Constantinople with a 'Freybrieff' of his master, after having spent seven years in Turkish slavery, and that he asked for the ambassador's help to 'return to Christianity'. More importantly, he writes that Wild stayed with him for five months, awaiting an opportunity to travel back to Germany, during which he behaved most honourably and honestly. Initially, the letter had been meant to guarantee Wild's safe passage through the Habsburgs lands, as a 'good and honest person'. Included in the captivity narrative, however, it seems to have functioned as another confirmation of Wild's trustworthiness as a member of the German Lutheran society to which he clearly intended to return. Moreover, it showed that Wild had officially been granted 'renewed access' into Germany and the Christian world by the Habsburg institutions – thus also

[518] "Stets ist er bereit, jede nur erdenkliche Mühsal und Gefahr auf sich zu nehmen, um sein "liebes Vaterland" wiederzusehen und sich den Glauben seiner Väter zu bewahren". Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung* (repr. 1964), p. 29.
[519] Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung,* reprint 1964, p. 54.
[520] Ibid., pp. 142 and 179.
[521] Rheinheimer, 'From Amrum to Algiers', pp. 219-220.
[522] Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung* (repr. 1964), pp. 104 and 112.

indirectly invoking their authority.[523] In a similar way, the second letter of recommendation attests to Wild's honesty, reliability, work ethic, and love of his fatherland. It is written by his former superior in the army, Gotthard von Starenberg, who recalls Wild as an honest and dutiful soldier who never refused service, and who was captured by the Turks while fulfilling his heroic duty. Apart from presenting him as a brave and trustworthy citizen, this letter also acquits Wild of any suspicions of having intentionally left the army and the Christian world to which he was now intending to return.

Despite Wild's insistence on his unchanged loyalty to his faith and fatherland, however, there were several instances in which he could simply not deny his transgression. Although he never explicitly admits it, it is clear that he must have converted to the Islamic religion during his captivity. He was allowed access to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina as well as to the Sacred Mosque on Temple Mount, all of which Wild himself admits were strictly off-limits to non-Muslims: "If one would be found there, he would have to be burnt without mercy".[524] Not only did Wild enter these holy sites of Islam, but his descriptions suggest that, at least on some occasions, he joined his master in the religious rituals and prayers.[525] In addition, the author fought several battles against Christian forces while protecting himself and his fellow travellers.[526] Instead of denying these transgressions, Wild seems to have used his captivity narrative in order to *justify* these. As his descriptions suggest, he saw them merely as an outward matter, while internally he never lost his religious integrity and allegiance. When describing the communal prayer in the mosque on the Temple Mount, for example, Wild writes that, while all Muslims followed the imam, "I, however, prayed in my heart to God"[527]. During the pilgrimage to Mecca, he similarly describes how he wore the prescribed dress and followed along with the mandatory cleansing rituals in order to enter the state of *ihram*, despite the fact that "I did not care".[529]

Wild does not necessarily seem to have viewed his conversion as a transgression, but rather as an element or attribute of his part in God's plan. In his introductory text, dedicated to the city council of Nürnberg, the former slave compares the history of his captivity to a theatre play, in which he played the different parts that God gave to him. Like an actor is expected to

[523] As has been discussed above, ambassadors were often unwilling to assist former slaves and captives when they were distrusting of their religion and motives. This was especially true for Habsburg subjects who expressed affinity with the Islamic faith. When the ambassador Michael von Eytzing found out that one of his servants wished to convert to Islam, he had him shackled and sent home in order to be imprisoned. See: Vermeulen, *Sultans, slaven en renegaten*, p. 351.
[524] "Wenn einer allda gefunden würde, müßte er ohne alle Gnade verbrand werden". Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung* (repr. 1964), p. 130.
[525] In Jerusalem, for example, Wild writes how he gladly joined his master in the mosque on Temple Mount, where he joined in with the ritual washing as well as with the prayers. See: Wild, reprint 1964, pp. 197-9.
[526] See, for example, his description of a violent encounter with Maltese 'Christenschiffe'. Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung* (repr. 1964), p. 249.
[527] "ich aber betete in meinen Herzen zu Gott". Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung* (repr. 1964), p. 198.
[529] "mir's nichts ums Herz war". Ibid., p. 115.

behave in accordance with the person which he has accepted to represent, Wild did similarly with the roles bestowed on him by God - he 'played' them with full conviction and dedication, as a sign of his religious obedience and resignation. As he writes, God needs many different 'Persons' in his 'comedy', and "when the almighty *choragus* or leader imposes a character on you, it is appropriate that you behave accordingly and spare no effort in honouring the part".[530] When he was allowed or ordered to once again give up these roles, he returned to his true or former self, 'just like the actor puts back his clothes and accessories and returns to who he was before playing his role'.[531] In his preface, Wild mainly emphasises how this interpretation of his fate allowed him to patiently and obediently accept his captivity. But it could also be read as a justification of his far-reaching integration into his social and cultural milieu. Early on in his captivity narrative, Wild describes how he started dressing in 'Turkish' clothes, and throughout his years of servitude he learned the Arabic as well as the Turkish language.

Playing the 'role' of an Ottoman slave with full zeal and dedication, Wild seems to have accepted all those things that were expected from him in this capacity - including conversion. At the same time, the 'comedy' allegory allows Wild to justify this conversion as 'fictitious', as merely an attribute of his equally fictitious role. Putting on Turkish 'costume', he started behaving accordingly and showing the appropriate traits, but once he would remove his costume these traits would no longer be there either, as they were never part of his own, inner person.[532] Wild thus explains his conversion to Islam as a form of 'Nicodemism'[533], not necessarily in order to conceal his true religious beliefs but rather to play the role that was bestowed upon him by God with the fullest conviction and zealousness. As such, his far-reaching integration into Ottoman

[530] "Wenn nun der allmächtige Choragus oder Vorsteher einem jeden eine Person auferlegt, so gebührt es sich, daß jener sich derselben gemäß betrage und es an keinem möglichen Eifer fehlen lasse, daß er damit möge Ehre einlegen". Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung* (repr. 1964), p. 37.
[531] Ibid., p. 36.
[532] Conversion was often related to a change of 'dress', and especially a change of hat - "Taking the turban" was even one of the most common expressions for converting to Islam. The adaptation of Turkish dress, including the turban, was generally seen as a (first) marker of both cultural and religious integration into Ottoman culture, even if the Muslim creed had not (yet) been uttered. This view could be shared by both Christians and Muslims. See: Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters,* p. 105; Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades*, pp. 89-117, esp. p. 107; Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford, Stanford University Press , pp. 149-150. For a first-hand account by Johann Ulrich von Wallich (1624-1673) of a Christian's conversion to Islam in which the convert literally had to strip out of his 'former' clothes as a marker of shedding his former religious identity, see: *Al-Koranum Muhamadanum,* folio Ffffff † iij.
[533] The issue of 'Nicodemism', or of 'simulation' and 'dissimulation' into the surrounding culture, was especially prominent in Calvinist thought. See: P. Zagorin, *Ways of Lying. Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University Press, 1990; F. M. Higman, 'The Question of Nicodemism' in W. H. Neuser (ed.), *Calvinus Ecclesiae Genevensis Custos*, Frankfurt am Main, Verlag Peter Lang GmbH, 1984, pp. 165-171; C. M. N. Eire, 'Calvin and Nicodemism: A Reappraisal', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1979, pp. 44-69; C. M. N. Eire, 'Prelude to Sedition? Calvin's Attack on Nicodemism and Religious Compromise', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, vol. 76, 1985, pp. 120-145.

and Islamic society was almost presented as a religious act in itself, as a sign of Wild's Christian obedience.[534]

Presenting his captivity in a narrative framework or topography of salvation allowed Wild to publicly testify to his unchanged Christian faith and loyalty to his home country, and at the same time justify any transgressions. As such, it may have facilitated his reintegration and acceptance into the German Lutheran community in Nürnberg. That Wild's captivity narrative was used for such a purpose is also suggested by the addition of Schweigger's preface. As a minister of the Stiftskirche in Nürnberg, Salomon Schweigger's 'endorsement' of Wild's work could also be seen as a confirmation of the author's good Lutheran faith and of his credibility as a returning member of the community. Not only does Schweigger provide Wild's captivity narrative with his clerical authority, but he also contributes to its interpretation within the context of spiritual challenge and endurance. In a way similar to his own travel account, Schweigger uses examples from history, ancient writings, and - most importantly - the Bible to argue for the religious benefits of suffering and servitude. By referring to Biblical stories and to the words of Christ and his apostles, Schweigger argues that misfortune and servitude should be seen as a Christian 'school of the cross' by which God shapes and tries the faith of his subjects, who, through this experience, are taught patience and other 'godly virtues' and learn to put their fate in God and his Divine Providence. It is in such a way, he writes, that Wild's experiences as a captive in the Ottoman Empire should be interpreted: "just how the Patriarch Joseph had also spent up to thirteen year in servitude, so God our Lord, in his school of tribulations, in his school of the cross, made his Disciple [Johann Wild] learn for seven years to 'spell out, decline, and conjugate' faith, patience, experience, and hope, and to learn modesty, humility, obedience and other godly virtues by heart".[535]

However, Schweigger does not seem to have agreed with the author's presentation of his conversion as an acceptable and even pious form of dissimulation. Instead, he seems to characterize such 'outward conversion' as an undesirable deviation, as a sign of the loss of faith

[534] In a similar way, Michael Heberer von Bretten (ca. 1560- ca. 1623) argued that his 'deeds in war' against the Christians as a galley slave should be pardoned due to the fact that it was God who brought him into captivity, and his obedience as a slave was thus ultimately obedience to God. See: Ulbrich, 'Religion und Gewalt', p. 106. Not only does this seem to have been a defense against suspicions from within the German Lutheran society, but also against Luther's *Heerpredigt wider die Türken*, in which Luther stated that Ottoman captives were ought to be obedient to their masters – in fact, that "to fight against the Turk is the same as resisting God" - *unless* they were required to fight against other Christians. See: M. Luther, *Eine Heerpredigt wider den Turcken*, Nürnberg, Stuchs, 1530; and L. Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity and the Making of Czech Identity*, p. 59.

[535] "gleich wie der Ertzvatter Joseph auch biß ins 13. Jar in der Dienstbarkeit hat zugebracht ... Also hat Gott der Herr in diser *Schola tribulationis*, in der Creutzschul diesen seinen *Discipel* [Johann Wild] die 7. Jar uber lernen den Glauben / Gedult / Erfahrung / und Hoffnung buchstabiren / hindersich und fürsich *decliniren* und *conjugiren*, Item das heist die Bescheidenheit / Demut / Gehorsam / und andere Gottselige Tugenden / außwendig lernen". Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung*, page 12 of Schweigger's 'Vorrede'.

and trust in God, that is nevertheless forgivable as long as the believer repents in time. As Schweigger writes, 'sorrow weakens the flesh', and “as the faithful are made of flesh and blood, they are not immune to this”.[537] As such, he argues, misery and adversary cannot take place without any pain and damage - the latter seemingly referring to acts of religious deviation as a result of this pain. Schweigger illustrates this point with the Biblical story of Job, who, entranced by his misfortune, 'cursed the day he was born'. However, the author continues, the faithful are able to repair such damage, and to recover from such religious deviations. 'They do not persist in their impatience, but they turn themselves to God and conquer their own weakness with patience'.[538] This, too, was demonstrated in the Bible: When Job spoke to God and admitted that he had spoken unwisely, and about matters he could not know and understand, and, as such, repented from his sin, God rewarded him with his grace.[539] The connection of Wild's captivity narrative to the Biblical story of Job's 'rebellion, repentance, and restoration'[540], suggests that Schweigger interpreted the former's conversion to Islam as an act of transgression that was caused by his suffering and a temporary loss of faith. Ultimately, however, he was 'restored' from his sinful rebellion - his conversion - through repentance.[541]

On the one hand, the integration of Wild's captivity into a narrative of salvation and salvation history may have been a literary trope, designed to gain public trust and to facilitate the former captive's reintegration into German Lutheran society.[542] Indeed, it captured Wild’s ‘foreign’ experiences in familiar terms, and, as such, neutralized these and even endowed special meaning to them.[543] On the other hand, if Wild indeed converted during his stay in the Ottoman Empire, it may be assumed that he was required to do penance and to 'reconvert' after his return to Nürnberg in order to re-enter the Lutheran community. If so, it is possible that Salomon Schweigger was involved with Johan Wild and his publication as more than a 'referee', and that he acted as a religious counsellor in order to guide Wild back to his former community and religion. On the formerly-Danish island of Amrum (now a part of Germany) in the eighteenth-

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[537] "denn die glaubigen seyn auch Fleisch und Blut / sie sein nicht unempfindlich ..." Ibid., page 9 of Schweigger's 'Vorrede'

[538] "Sie beharren nicht in solcher ungedult / sondern sie bittens unserm lieben Gott ab / und uberwinden ihr Schwachheit mit gedult (...)". Ibid..

[539] Ibid..

[540] An online search shows that even today the story of Job is often presented and interpreted in the context of 'rebellion' (or loss of faith), 'repentance', and 'restoration'.

[541] Such deviation, however, only seems to have been forgivable for those returning to the Lutheran faith. Indeed, Schweigger is a lot less forgiving when he describes the conversion of a Georgian prince, who in return hoped to be awarded with the power to rule over his lands. As Schweigger argues, the prince was inspired by Satan to resort to such ‘cursed despairing means’ and to deny his Christian faith. See: Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 82.

[542] Indeed, this was a common theme in contemporary captivity narratives. See: Ulbrich, ‘Religion und Gewalt’.

[543] About the ‘neutralization’ of the unfamiliar by capturing it in familiar terms and structures, see: J. Stagl, ‘Die Beschreibung des Fremden in der Wissenschaft’ in: H. P. Duerr (ed.), *Der Wissenschafler und das Irrationale*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main, 1981, pp. 273-295.

century, as a part of their social reintegration, Lutheran repatriates from the Ottoman Empire went through a process of religious counselling in which they shared their experiences with a priest in order to structure them and come to terms with them in the light of their Christian faith, of which they were simultaneously reminded and reinformed.[544] Such counselling seems to have been especially meaningful for returning renegades, and it could culminate in the publication of an autobiography or travel account in which the returnee "created a personal mythos that repressed his apostasy and made it seem as if returning home had been the objective of all his actions".[545] In this sense, Wild's captivity narrative should not only be seen as a *tool* in the author's reintegration, but perhaps also as a *reflection* of this – as the result and end-product of a signifying process, as a confirmation of his reconversion to (or confession of) the Christian faith, and as a testament to his re-entry into the Lutheran community and religion.[546]

From individual experience to 'collective memory': German captivity narratives as instruments confession-building

In addition to its practical function as a tool of reintegration, Johan Wild's narrative contained important religious lessons for the German reader. As has been discussed, in his preface, Schweigger repeatedly insists on the benefits of (Christian) suffering as God's *Creuzschul* through which the believer learns about and is strengthened in the Christian virtues of patience and endurance, and is taught to rely on his faith in God and Divine Providence. It is through such misery, Schweigger writes, that one also learns to be virtuous, grateful, and patient in times of prosperity, and not to attach any spiritual value to good luck and wealth. Not all Christians, however, experience such misery directly. They can nevertheless learn the same lessons through the experiences of others. As Schweigger concludes his preface, Wild's captivity narrative demonstrates “How blessed, by God’s grace, are we Germans in our lands, especially in those places where the pristine teachings of the Holy Gospels are in swing”.[547] By letting him indirectly share in Wild's experience, the account is thus expected to make the German reader both aware of and grateful for the (relative) lack of misery in his home country without having to experience

[544] See: Rheinheimer, ‘From Amrum to Algiers’, pp. 209-233.
[545] Ibid., p. 233.
[546] Audra Simpson characterizes captivity narratives as 'Alchemies of race and citizenship', thus emphasizing their transformative ('alchemical') potential. They were typically "stories of kidnapping, naturalization, and cultural transgression", while, at the same time, their narrative framework could also 'neutralize' such transgression. In the case of Johann Wild, this was done by presenting this transgression as ultimately effectuating a spiritual 're-awakening' and transformation. See: A. Simpson, ‘From White into Red: Captivity Narratives as Alchemies of Race and Citizenship’, *American Quarterly*, vol. 60, no. 2, 2008, p. 253.
[547] "Wie selige Leut seyn von Gottes Gnaden wir Teutschen in unsern Landen / vornemblich an denen Orten / da die ungefälschte Lehr / das heylige Evangelium im schwang gehet." Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung,* p. 16 of Schweigger’s ‘Vorrede’.

such misery first-hand. As Michael Harbsmeier has argued, the accounts of travellers could serve not only as individual rites of passage, but also for the social community or cultural formation to which he belonged to reaffirm and sometimes even refine its own identity by relating itself to various kinds of otherness.[548]

In fact, Schweigger implies that suffering - despite its spiritual benefits - is unnecessary in those areas that are ruled by Protestant authorities. As he writes, these authorities do not only ensure worldly peace - and, as such, the absence of large-scale suffering - but their laws and regulations also ensure and maintain 'discipline, virtue, chastity, and godly sustenance' amongst the Christian subjects.[549] As such, obedience to these authorities establishes the godliness and chastity that are ought to characterize a proper Christian life, and no suffering is thus required in the German Protestant lands in order for Lutherans to acquire these Christian qualities. In this way, Schweigger's introduction could be read as a latent call for the German reader to obey the Protestant authorities. Seen in the light of the process of confessionalization, this may have been a conscious attempt to promote the formation of a clear and homogenous Lutheran community and identity on the basis of the rules, legislations, and instruction of the German Lutheran authorities – who, according to the Lutheran views on law and reign, are responsible for the execution of God's will in the worldly domain.[550] It is through them, Schweigger argues, that Christians are led on the right path towards salvation, and acquire the necessary qualities and virtues. Led by the light of the Gospels, they ensure that the Lutheran community is "not 'a people', but 'God's people'".[551]

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[548] Harbsmeier, 'Elementary structures of otherness', pp. 337-55.

[549] 'Zucht, Tugend, Erbarkeit und Gottselige Nahrung'. The relation between (obedience to) worldly authorities and 'Zucht, Tugend, und Erbarkeit' had also been discussed in a lengthy work by the Lutheran reformer Erasmus Sarcerius (1501-1559) in his *Von einer Disciplin. Dadurch zucht / tugend und Erbarkeit mugen gepflantzet und erhalten weren. Und den offentlichen Sunden / schanden und lastern ein abbruch geschehen. Item was hierbey die Weltliche Obrigkeit / Kirchendiener / und Unterthanen zu thuen schuldig und pflichtig sein. Desgleichen auch durch was mittel und wege sie anzustellen und zuerhalten* (1555). While this does not necessarily imply a direct link between Sarcerius' work and Schweigger's – although the wording is very similar – it seems to indicate a certain line of thought within German Lutheranism with regard to obedience and the development of Lutheran qualities.

[550] While true believers were thought to be justified by faith alone, the common Lutheran view, also expressed in the Book of Concord, was that God's Law was created in order to maintain outward discipline, to lead men to knowledge of their sins, and to help the believer in his constant struggle between spirit and flesh. As such, it was meant to ensure that Christians would follow the Gospels and stay on their path towards justification and salvation. In the worldly domain, this Godly law was exercised through the secular laws of the Lutheran authorities, who should be seen as an extension of God's power and as the guards and keepers of his will. See: Book of Concord VI. 'The Third Use of the Law'. Available through: http://bookofconcord.org/fc-ep.php#VI.%20The%20Third%20Use%20of%20the%20Law. (accessed 15 December 2019).

[551] "nicht ein Volck / Nun aber Gottes Volck …". Vorrede, last page. This seems to have resonated with the Lutheran doctrines of 'two reigns' and 'law and gospel', which both related to the issues of God's (secular) laws and the Christian duty of obedience to God's law and will. See: A. Nygren, 'Luther's doctrine of the Two Kingdoms', *The Ecumenical Review,* vol. 1-2, 1949, pp. 301-310.

Schweigger's insistence on the religious importance of obedience to the Protestant authorities, in fact, resonates with the Lutheran doctrines of 'two reigns' and 'law and gospel'. While true believers were thought to be justified by faith and the gospels alone, the common Lutheran view, also expressed in the Book of Concord, was that in addition God had created a law, designed to maintain outward discipline, to lead men to knowledge of their sins, and to help the believer in his constant struggle between spirit and flesh.[552] As such, it was meant to ensure that Christians would follow the Gospels and stay on their path towards justification and salvation, especially in the face of evil. In the worldly domain, this Godly law was exercised through the secular laws of the Lutheran authorities, who should be seen as an extension of God's power and as the guards and keepers of his will.[553] By presenting the Lutheran authorities as the guards and keepers of God's law, which, in turn, had been designed to help the believers in their way of righteousness, acceptance of and obedience to these authorities thus becomes a religious act in itself, as the indirect obedience to God's will. By instructing the Lutheran reader to be obedient to his Protestant rulers, Schweigger thus sends him on the right way towards salvation while, at the same time, he contributes to the consolidation of power of the Lutheran authorities and institutions – something that was of special importance in the process of Lutheran confessionalization that followed the Peace of Augsburg, and that had also involved the composition of the Formula of Concord.

Yet, as is demonstrated by Wild's captivity narrative, not all Lutherans live in countries ruled by Protestant authorities, and in accordance with God's Law.[554] As such, they do not receive any 'secular' help and assistance in the strengthening and maintenance of the Christian virtues that facilitate – but not constitute – salvation. In his preface, however, Schweigger seems to ascribe the same disciplining and penitential qualities to the concept of suffering. Like obedience to the Protestant authorities, the endurance of suffering through servitude, captivity, persecution and misfortune, and other endangerments to life and limb in the absence of such authorities will strengthen the believers Christian virtues, and will teach him patience, discipline, and righteousness. As such, the experience of suffering is almost presented as another manifestation of God's Law and Will, to which the believer can be obedient and from which he can profit by surrendering to it. In his preface, Schweigger thus also indirectly instructs the reader to embrace and endure any present or future suffering as an act of Christian piety and a demonstration of their faith. On the one hand, this precludes rebellion against the situation and, therefore, God's Will – which, as a sign of impatience and disobedience, constitutes un-Christian behaviour. On the

[552] See: Book of Concord VI. 'The Third Use of the Law'. Available through: http://bookofconcord.org/fc-ep.php#VI.%20The%20Third%20Use%20of%20the%20Law. (accessed 15 December 2019).
[553] Nygren, 'Luther's Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms', pp. 301-310.
[554] Indeed, worldly power could be exercised in a 'Christian' (Lutheran) and 'un-Christian' manner. See: Nygren, 'Luther's Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms'.

other hand, it prevents the loss of faith or even conversion in the face of misery. As such, the concept of suffering serves as a safety measure against apostacy and loss of faith in the absence of Christian law and contributes to the salvation of individual Lutherans as well as the Lutheran community. In this context, Wild's captivity narrative is used by Schweigger as both an example and as a proof of the penitential power and potential of such 'obedient suffering' and the surrender to God's Will. It demonstrates how, through his resignation to his fate, Wild received God's help and was saved time and again – and ultimately managed to return to the Christian world. Even Wild's brief (outward) deviation was absolved by his unchanged or returned faith and trust in God.

By presenting Wild's captivity narrative as an example of and testimony to Christian patience and obedience, Schweigger thus places special emphasis on the former-captive's alleged suffering in the Ottoman Empire: "What hunger and grief, frost and heat, what danger to life and limb, on water as well as on land, has he endured. How merciless have the Barbarians treated him, how did they strike and beat him.".[556] Looking at the totality of Wild's account, however, the descriptions of his suffering and endurance – or that of other Christians in the Ottoman Empire - are few and brief, and contrast sharply with the author's otherwise relatively 'objective' and even 'positive' descriptions of his environment.[557] While Schweigger fleetingly refers to the value of Wild's factual observations, "which cannot be found in other travel books"[558], his disproportionate focus on the theme of suffering suggests once more that his presentation of Wild's narrative served a specific goal. Through Wild's suffering, the Lutheran reader ought to recognize "God's unspeakable mercy" through which they have received the light of the Holy Gospels and are enlightened on their path towards salvation, and for which they should thank Him from the bottom of their hearts.[559] As such, Wild's personal experience is turned into a communal narrative through which the Lutheran community is reminded of the power of its faith and of its elect status. Moreover, by his insistence on living up to this elect status through Christian obedience to the Protestant authorities and through the endurance of suffering, Schweigger seems to have consciously used Johan Wild's captivity narrative not only as a source for a common Lutheran narrative, but also as a disciplinary and edifying tool.

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[556] "Was für hunger und kummer / frost und hitz / was für gefahr Leibs und Lebens / zu Wasser und Land / hat er außgestanden / wie unbarmhertzig seyn die *Barbari* mit ihm umbgangen / wie haben sie ihn zuschlagen und geprügelt". Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung,* page 12 of Schweigger's 'Vorrede'.

[557] This ambivalence has led Tobias Graf to suggest that Wild's descriptions of his suffering are, in fact, the result of editorial intervention, meant to "counterbalance Wild's praise of the Ottomans". There is no conclusive evidence, however, to suggest that these passages were written by someone other than Wild, and, consequently, to characterize both his experienced suffering and the strength that he drew from his faith as invented or insincere. See: Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades,* p. 35.

[558] "… die man in andern Reysbüchern nicht findet…". Wild, *Neue Reysbeschreibung*, p. 15 of Schweigger's 'Vorrede'.

[559] "unaußsprechliche Wolthat Gottes". Ibid., pp.16-17 of Schweigger's 'Vorrede'.

It was not uncommon for captivity narratives to serve a (religious) didactic function, as these narratives often stressed the greatness of (the Protestant) God and his Divine Providence and Mercy.[560] Possibly the most well-known example of such use of a captivity narrative in the German-speaking world was the fifteenth-century *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum* by Georgius of Hungary. In 1437, the author had been captured by the Ottomans during the siege of Mühlbeck, after which he lived in the Ottoman Empire as a slave for two decades. In his *Tractatus*, Georgius shares the memories of his servitude, during which he experienced a grave religious crisis. "He has lost all hope of liberation, feels abandoned by God, is exhausted and broken (…) and wonders if he has followed the wrong religion all along".[561] As a result, he started to develop an increasing interest in Islam, which also led to a more intimate involvement with the religion. He showed an especially close affiliation to one particular dervish, whose ceremonies he attended and whose prayers he even learned. According to Georgius' own testimony, this period of 'flirtation' with Islam lasted for about seven to eight months. By then, he 'suddenly' and 'with God's help' he came to the realisation that the "seductive exemplarity" ("verfürische Vorbildlichkeit") of the Turks was in fact no more than mere Devilish pretence, and he regained his Christian belief more strongly than ever before.[562]

For the author, the description of how he overcame his religious crisis purely on the basis of his faith seems to have functioned primarily to assure the reader that he had never lost his Christianity. The *Tractatus* has therefore been characterised as a "narrative framework to reconstitute his [Georgius'] own identity as a Christian".[563] At the same time, his story demonstrated the power of faith alone and of God's Divine Providence. As Georgius writes, his involvement with Islam led him to realise that, in fact, the Islamic religion only appeared superior to Christianity due to the 'Sittenverderbnis' - the 'moral corruption' - of the Christian world.[564] What was needed in order to offer resistance to the temptations of this Devilish religion, and to be saved from his dismal situation, was a return to *true* Christianity, which - for the author - was exclusively contained in the individual's faith in God and in the Biblical foundations.

Although Georgius wrote his captivity narrative prior to the Reformation, his account of how he overcame his religious crisis and personal misery through his faith in God and the Bible alone has a particularly Protestant ring to it, as it locates the true core of Christianity in its inner

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[560] Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades*, p. 92.
[561] "Er hat alle Hoffnung auf Befreiung verloren, fühlt sich von Gott verlassen, ist erschöpft und gebrochen (...) und fragt sich, ob er nicht bisher doch der falschen Religion angehangen hat". G. de Hungaria (1481), *Tractatus de Moribus, condictionibus et nequica turcorum. Traktat über die Sitten, die Lebensverhältnisse und die Arglist der Türken. Nach des Erstausgabe von 1481 herausgegeben, übersetzt und eingeleitet von Reinhard Klockow*, reprint 1993, Cologne, p. 19.
[562] De Hungaria, *Tractatus*, p. 19.
[563] A. Classen, 'Life writing as a slave in Turkish hands: Georgius of Hungary's reflections about his existence in the Turkish World', *Neohelicon*, vol. 39, 2012, p. 55.
[564] De Hungaria, *Tractatus,* p. 44.

experience rather than in outward rituals and tradition. This was also recognised by Martin Luther, who supported a reprint of Georgius' work in 1530 and even provided this publication with a preface by his own hand. In this preface, Luther writes that the author should truly be praised "for the noble zeal, candor, and diligence by which, to the extent he was able, he distinguished himself faithfully".[565] As the reformer hopes, the example of Georgius and his hardships in the Ottoman Empire will show the reader that true faith - of which the 'Turks and papists' are void - is in the articles of Christ, and that nothing can harm those who hold on to these articles: "justified by faith in him our sins are forgiven and we are saved".[566] In this context, the Turkish threat and the accompanying hardships should mainly be seen as a test in theological clarity and faithfulness.[567] In a similar way, the former-captive Hans Ulrich Krafft (1550-1621) describes how he was only able to overcome the hardships of his imprisonment with his strong faith in God. Initially, after his imprisonment, Krafft went on a hunger strike in response to the primitive conditions in his cell. After a few days, however, he gave this up, realising that "in good conscience, as it should be, I had to resign myself to living according to God's will".[568] Following this realisation, and making peace with his current fate, he started thanking God for his daily bread and prayed that He would take pity on his poor soul. That Krafft's penance and patience was rewarded was demonstrated in the fact that he managed to safely return to his home country. In a similar way, Schweigger endorsed Johann Wild's captivity narrative as a demonstration of Divine Providence.

As such, the captivity narratives of Christian writers were used as an example of how to maintain godly virtues - faith, hope and patience - even in the face of hardship. Moreover, the return of these former captives was presented as an individual testimony to God's grace – a view that, according to Claudia Ulbrich, is especially prominent in early modern Protestant travel accounts written in the vernacular language.[569] The fact that the return of former captives was presented as a sign of God's grace also implies that the behaviour and faith displayed by these writers during their captivity was thus correct and penitential behaviour in the eyes of God. As such, these writers were presented as examples to the Lutheran community, and their travel accounts can be characterized as 'Protestant' or 'Lutheran' not (only) because they were written by Lutherans, but also because they gained a particular Lutheran value.

[565] Henrich and Boyce, 'Martin Luther – Translations of Two Prefaces of Islam', p. 261.
[566] Ibid., p. 260.
[567] Ibid., p. 256.
[568] "weil ich mich aber gewissenshalber, wie es sich gehört, habe darein finden müssen, nach Gottes Willen zu leben". Krafft, *Reisen und Gefangenschaft*, p. 79.
[569] Ulbrich, 'Religion und Gewalt', p. 101.

Chapter 4: Schweigger's *Türcken Alcoran*

As we have seen in the previous chapter, one of Schweigger's main concerns with regard to Lutherans in the Ottoman Empire was the maintenance of their Lutheran faith and identity. One of the ways in which he aimed to establish this was by strengthening this faith through his pastoral activities and his publication of the Italian Catechism as a basic handhold. Another way to protect the orthodoxy of Christian faith, however, was by refuting the Islamic religion itself, and by revealing its dangerous lies. It was to this end that, in 1616, Schweigger published his German Qur'an translation, titled *Alcoranus Mahometicus. Das ist: Der Türcken Alcoran, Religion und Aberglauben*. As the title page indicates, the text was not translated directly out of the Arabic original, but was rather taken after an earlier Italian translation. In his preface, Schweigger writes that he had obtained this Italian edition during his stay in Constantinople. Observing with great astonishment all the 'blasphemy and abominations' ("Lästerung and Greuel") that the Qur'an contained, the author had wished for the German nation to learn about this 'collection of sins' ever since.[570] Once he returned to Germany in 1581, Schweigger spent several years trying to retrieve a copy of the Italian Qur'an so that he could translate it into German, until it finally came 'flying to him without any danger'.[571] The author does not explicitly state where or how he managed to find the work, but the fact that he published his German Qur'an no less than 35 years after he returned from Constantinople suggests that it had not been an easy task.

It is a well-known fact today that the Italian Qur'an on which Schweigger based his translation was a work that had been published in Venice in 1547 under the title *L'Alcorano di Macometto.* This, in turn, was based on Theodor Bibliander's 1543 publication of the first Latin translation originating in twelfth-century Toledo.[572] As such, Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahomaticus* was at least three times removed from the original Arabic Qur'an text. For this reason, it has received very little attention in modern scholarship, contrary to its predecessors. Whereas Bibliander's publication provided the first *printed* translation of the Qur'an in Europe, Arrivabene's work has come to be known as the first translation of the Qur'an into a European vernacular language. The works have been studied in great detail over the past years by scholars such as Thomas Burman and Pier Mattia Tommasino.[573] Being directly based on these earlier, more 'monumental', publications, it seems like Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* is considered not to have added anything in particular to the field of Qur'an translations in early

[570] S. Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus, das ist: der Türcken Alcoran, Religion und Aberglauben*, Nürnberg, 1616, page 2 of 'Vorrede'.
[571] Ibid., page 1 of 'Vorrede'.
[572] H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation,* Beirut, Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischer Gesellschaft, 1995, pp. 268-269.
[573] See: Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*; P. M. Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an*.

modern Europe. In Hartmut Bobzin's monumental *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation,* for example, the work is only briefly described as one of the side-products of Bibliander's publication and its Italian translation.[574]

Neglecting Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* as no more than a literal translation of the Italian *Alcorano*, however, is to ignore the conditions and considerations that were specific to the work, which was, ultimately, a *German* publication that was edited, translated and printed in Nürnberg. Even though the work was based on the Italian translation, there are some significant differences between the two publications that should not be overlooked. Moreover, the author's motivations behind the translation seem to have been very specific to its direct, local context. While the work is partly rooted in anti-Islamic polemics, it more generally targeted the issue of heretic thought within Christianity. The fight against heresy and unbelief was not only fought by confessional groups in their struggle for authority and recognition, but it was also one that was particularly prominent in Schweigger's direct environment in Nürnberg when the *Alcoranus Mahometicus* was published. At the time, both secular and religious authorities were dealing with a small but prominent group of Socinian heretics at the University of Altdorf. In this light, Schweigger's German Qur'an may have been a conscious contribution to the debates about Lutheran orthodoxy and Christian heresy that surrounded the Socinian affair in Nürnberg.

By reconstructing and analysing the (publication) history of Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, this chapter demonstrates how the Islamic religion was integrated into the Lutheran discourse in Germany, also on a *theological* level. Not only did theologians seek to reveal and refute the false Islamic beliefs, but the latter also played a prominent part in debates on Christian orthodoxy and heterodoxy after the Reformation. As knowledge about the Islamic religion grew into a polemical weapon it was continuously improved, and this improved knowledge subsequently found its way into the public sphere through polemical and apologetic theological treatises and publications in the vernacular language. Placing Schweigger's *Türcken Alcoran* within the European tradition of Qur'an translations and anti-Islamic polemics, and looking at the conditions and considerations that led to its publication in 1616, it is clear that Schweigger's second full-length publication was yet another expression of confessional concerns within Christianity. Whereas the author's *Reyßbeschreibung* had argued for the organisation of a Christian life and society according to Lutheran principles, his Qur'an translation can be related to a variety of more theological pastoral concerns. Not only can these concerns be read in the light of broader European Christian-Islamic or Catholic-Protestant polemics, but they can, in fact, be traced to the more local context of early seventeenth-century Nürnberg. Considering the concerns and conditions that inspired and facilitated Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, this chapter

[574] Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation,* pp. 268-271.

aims to demonstrate once more how confessional tensions and confessional identity building could be an incentive for the collection and construction of knowledge about the Islamic religion. In this light, Schweigger's Qur'an translation forms another clear example of the role that was played by Ottoman Empire and the Islamic religion in the construction of a Lutheran confessional identity around 1600.

4.1 In search of Muhammad's Qur'an

Schweigger's earliest mentioning of the Qur'an can be found in the letter that he sent to his father from Constantinople on 21 May 1578.[575] Based on his conversations with a converted Greek dragoman at the embassy, Schweigger writes that the Islamic religion counts a total of 104 books containing 'spiritual writings' ("geistliche Schrifften"). The last of these, he claims, is the *Alcoran*, which contains the sum of all these writings as well as all Islamic 'ceremonies'. The text was revealed to Muhammad, who, at forty years of age, had been ordained as a prophet by God – which had also given the former merchant the skills and wisdom to understand and explain the Qur'an. At the time of writing, Schweigger does not yet seem to have encountered the Italian Qur'an text, as there is no mentioning of the work.

Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* contains more extensive references to the Qur'an. In his description of the Islamic religion, Schweigger writes that the Muslims believe that the Qur'an was revealed to Muhammad as a new book of law, following the Old Testament and the New Testament. Whereas the Old Testament had been meant to install in people the fear of God, and the New Testament had been revealed in order to teach them about God's grace and forgiveness, the Qur'an was seen as the final law that formed the perfect balance between the previous two.[576] Needless to say, Schweigger rejected this Islamic view on the Qur'an, and rather characterised the text as a deliberate and false fabrication by Muhammad, directed against Christianity. In a chapter specifically dedicated to the 'Contents of the cursed Alcoran', he writes that the Qur'an is an incomprehensible book filled with lies. Schweigger claims that even the Qu'ran text itself admits to the inconsistency of its contents: 'The best part of the Alcoran is that, where it is mentioned, that of its 12.000 verses, no more than 3.000, that is one-fourth, hold the truth, and the other 9.000 are lies'.[577] Although Schweigger does not provide a source for this claim, it leads the author to conclude that even the Devil himself, as the ultimate inspiration for the Qur'anic text, warns the Islamic believers against the "Alcoranischen Greuel", which is characterised as a "work of lies, which one should not believe, or he will be lost, forcefully, through these lies, whether the Devil likes it or not".[578]

Schweigger thus presents the Qur'an as a work of lies written by Muhammad, which is rejected not only by God but maybe even by the Devil himself. Therefore, he argues, those who follow its law simply *choose* to do so, despite the fact that they should know better. It is also for this reason, the author writes, that Islam only allows its own believers to read the Qur'an. In fact,

[575] A copy of this letter can be found in Martin Crusius' *Diarium,* vol. 2.
[576] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, pp. 177-8.
[577] "Das Best im Alcoran ist dieses / da gemeldt wird / daß unter den 12000. Sprüchen nicht mehr als die 3000. das ist der vierdte theil / waar sey / die 9000. übrigen seyen erlogen". Ibid., p. 181.
[578] "Lügenwerck / dem man nicht soll glauben geben / und wollen mit gewalt / es sey dem Teuffel lieb oder leyd / durch die Lügen verlohren werden". Ibid., p. 178.

he claims, it is even forbidden for Muslims to discuss their Holy Book with non-Muslims, as revealing its contents would allow these to be easily refuted, thus bringing out Muhammad's lies to both Muslims and non-Muslims. As Schweigger argues, many Christians are persuaded by the fact that Islam praises God as almighty and holy, and that it acknowledges Christ as the mightiest of prophets, born out of immaculate conception, and his Gospel as the truth. In this respect, the Islamic religion appears to these converts as compatible with their own Christian beliefs. In reality, however, the Qur'an contradicts both the Apostles' Creed and the Christian Gospel - it rejects the divinity of Christ by denying that He was the Son of God, and, as such, it denies the Holy Trinity as well as the truth of the Gospel in which Christ is said to be both God's Word and God's Son.[579]

Curiously, Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* does not mention the Italian Qur'an either. Nevertheless, the travel account does tell us how the author's experiences in the Ottoman Empire convinced him that reading the Qur'an 'in the light of the Gospels' would self-evidently show the anti-Christian nature of the Islamic religion. According to this view, a German translation of the text would thus generally benefit the refutation of Islam. After his return to Germany, Schweigger therefore spent several years trying to retrieve a copy of the Italian Qur'an that – according to the preface in his *Alcoranus Mahometicus* – he had read in Constantinople, so that he could translate it into his mother tongue.

A European construct: the genealogy of Schweigger's Qur'an

Already since the twelfth century, European Christians had expressed the idea that Islam had to be studied from 'within' – on the basis of authentic Islamic sources such as the Qur'an – in order to successfully fight it. Thus, right from the start, European attempts at translating the Qur'an were motivated by polemical sentiments in the light of the confrontations between Christianity and Islam. What is considered to be the first, complete Qur'an translation into a Western language was conceived in context of Christian-Muslim confrontations on the Iberian Peninsula. In 1142, Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny and advisor of the Spanish emperor Alfonso VII, commissioned a translation of the Qur'an along with a number of texts about the Islamic religion and history, which all together came to be known as the *Corpus Toletanum*. The collection was meant to provide Christian scholars with a body of authentic Islamic texts from which they could learn about Islam in order to successfully refute it.[581]

[579] Schweigger, *Reyßbeschreibung*, p. 181.
[581] Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom,* p. 15.

The Qur'an text, along with a compilation of Muslim traditions known as the *Fabulae Saracenorum*[583], was translated into Latin by the English theologian Robert of Ketton (c. 1110-1160). This work, titled *Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete* ('The religion of Muhammad the pseudo-prophet') would become the most widely read Latin version of the Qur'an.[585] The quality of this Latin translation has long been questioned, but recent scholarship – especially by Thomas Burman[586] - has demonstrated that the work is not as polemical as had often been argued, and that differences between the Latin text and the Arabic original were the inevitable result of the complicated process of translation. In their work, European Qur'an translators were faced with a dilemma that was inherent to the ambiguous, poetic nature of the Qur'anic Arabic language. In the Islamic tradition, this ambiguity was considered to be one of the characteristics of divine speech, thus attesting to the Qur'an being God's revelation. This understanding was part of the doctrine of *i'jāz,* in which the beauty of the Qur'an - it's aesthetic value - was considered the proof of its divine origins.[587] To European readers, however, this ambiguity often felt to obscure the true meaning of the text.

Translators were thus faced with a dilemma: they could either choose to try and stay true to the Qur'anic *style*, in all its poetic ambiguity, by attempting a word-for-word translation, or they could attempt to translate the text in such a way that would reveal its (alleged) religious *meaning* to the European reader. In the case of the latter, this would automatically imply the neglect of, or even a certain degree of disregard for, the Islamic value of *i'jāz*. Indeed, polemicists sometimes deliberately exploited the ambiguity of the Qur'anic language in a strategy known as "textual agnogenesis": the creation of ignorance around a text, in which the boundaries between misreading, manipulation and interpretation are blurred.[588] For centuries, scholars have accused Robert of Ketton of using such tactics - or, as Burman calls it, a 'God-like way of translating'. As Juan de Segovia (c. 1393-1458) already argued in the fifteenth century, Ketton altered the meaning of Qur'anic terms, left out what was explicit in the text, and included in his Latin translation those things that were only implicit in the Arabic original.[589] Burman has demonstrated, however, that Ketton's work, although admittedly a thorough paraphrase, is not as polemic and misleading as the scholarly consensus has held it to be, and that the sometimes

[583] The origins of these texts are hard to trace, especially because Robert of Ketton deliberately omitted the chain of authority (*isnād*) as "the Arabic names would mean nothing to his Latin readers". See: J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1964, pp. 75-83.
[585] Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom,* p. 15.
[586] Most importantly, see: T. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*, *1140-1560,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007; 'Tafsīr and Translation'.
[587] J. Loop, "Divine Poetry? Early Modern European Orientalists on the Beauty of the Koran", *Church History and Religious Culture,* vol. 89, no. 4, 2009, p. 455.
[588] See: Pier Mattia Tommasino, 'Textual Agnogenesis and the Polysemy of the Reader: Early Modern European Readings of Qur'ānic Embryology', in M. García Arenal (ed.), *After Conversion. Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity,* Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2016, pp. 155-173.
[589] Burman, 'Tafsīr and Translation', p. 705.

questionable quality had more to do with Ketton's philological ability than with intentional distortion.[590] In his translation and interpretation of the Arabic text, Robert of Ketton strongly relied on Islamic exegetical works. Although he sometimes, admittedly, seems to have opted for the most contentious translation of Arabic words and terms – thus creating some form of polemical distortion – his translations were never complete inventions but rather relied on existing Qur'an exegesis.[591] Moreover, Ketton's 'paraphrase' was maybe not a word-for-word translation, but was nevertheless highly thorough and exhaustive. As such, the text reflects the Islamic meaning of almost the entire substance of the Qur'an.[592] In addition, Ketton wrote his translation in "elaborate, periodic Latin prose of the sort that contemporary rhetorical manuals recommended for important documents".[593] All in all, his readers thus encountered a Qur'an translation that presented itself as a prestigious and authoritative source about Islam, rather than as a polemical treatise about the religion.[594] Nevertheless, the Latin Qur'an was a clear step away from the original Arabic text. Not only was it a "well-informed paraphrase" [595], but Robert of Ketton had also taken a number of liberties with regard to the overall structure of the work. He divided several of the Qur'an's chapters into smaller ones and thoroughly rearranged their verses, ending up with a total of 123 *azoaras* – nine more than the original 114 surahs.[596]

This distance between the Arabic Qur'an and its Latin translation was further increased when the latter was printed for the first time in Basel in 1543 – four centuries after its initial making. It was part of a larger compendium titled *Machumetis saracenorum principis eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina ac ipse alcoran*, initiated by the Swiss humanist and reformer Theodor Bibliander (1509-1564). Motivated by the contemporary 'Islamic threat' coming from the Ottoman Empire - which had reached an all-time high with the siege of Vienna in 1529 and the conquest of Buda in 1541 - Bibliander argued that accurate knowledge about Islam would benefit both the defence of Christianity and the conversion of Muslims. And, for a humanist like him, such knowledge had to be extracted from texts.[597] In three lengthy volumes, the *Machumetis saracenorum principis* presents and unprecedented collection of theological, historical, and geographical texts from and about Islam. Volume one, which also contains the Qur'an translation as its centre piece, is primarily based on the *Corpus Toletanum.* Its first texts are prefaces by Philip

[590] Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*, p. 8, 16-17.
[591] See, for example, Burman's discussion of Robert's translation of verse 12:31: *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom,* p. 28. For the general use of Qur'an exegesis by medieval Latin Christian translators, see: Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom,* pp. 36-59, and 'Tafsīr and Translation'
[592] Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom,* p. 35; 'Tafsīr and Translation', p. 707.
[593] Ibid., p. 7.
[594] Ibid., pp. 7, 13-14.
[595] Z. Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an. The Politics of Translation and the Construction of Islam,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 1.
[596] J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1964, p. 111.
[597] J. Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic studies in the seventeenth century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 26.

Melanchthon and (in some copies of the 1543 edition[598]) Martin Luther, which are followed by an 'apology' written by Bibliander himself. After this come Peter the Venerable's *Epistola ad dominum Bernhardum Claraevallis Abbatem* and *Summula brevis contra haereses et sectam diabolicae fraudis Saracenorum, sive Ismahelitarum*, and Robert of Ketton's Qur'an translation. The *Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete,* then, is followed by the three texts of the *Fabulae Saracenorum*. Finally, volume one is closed by a series of *annotations*. The second volume of Bibliander's work has been identified as its 'theological' part, and it contains the (polemical) writings of renowned fourteenth- and fifteenth- century authorities on Islam.[599] Where volume one had presented the 'sources', volume two provided their refutations.[600] The third volume, finally, is dedicated to the 'history of the Saracens'. It only contains contemporary works, and could be seen as 'the most cohesive collection of *Türkenbüchlein* of the sixteenth century'.[601]

Bibliander's publication has been considered to be the starting point of a new approach to Islam, in which 'distorted second-hand knowledge' was replaced by more reliable sources about the religion.[602] The editor's aim to provide an accurate and authentic image of Islam is reflected in the way in which he attempted to improve Robert of Ketton's original Qur'an translation. In order to establish its accuracy, Bibliander compared his manuscript of Ketton's Qur'an with two other Latin manuscripts as well as an actual Arabic Qur'an manuscript.[603] While Bibliander's linguistic skills may have allowed for a rough comparison between the Arabic Qur'an text and its Latin translation, they were in any case insufficient for Bibliander to make his own translation.[604] He generally seems to have been satisfied with Ketton's work, but some of the Qur'an chapters were substituted with more contemporary translations by Riccoldo da Montecroce (as they were contained in his polemical *Confutation Alcorani*) and by Guillaume Postel (taken from his Islam refutation in *De orbis terrae concordia libri IV*).[605] Lacking the skills to immediately translate the Qur'an from the Arabic original, it was the closest Bibliander could get to an authentic rendering of the Islamic text.

At the same time, Bibliander was responsible for a number of distortions in the Latin Qur'an translation, thus moving it further away from the original Arabic text. Despite his thorough comparison, Bibliander copied many of Robert of Ketton's (interpretative) mistakes into his own

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[598] Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*, p. 111.
[599] Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation,* p. 217.
[600] Ibid.; Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an,* p. 2175.
[601] Ibid.; Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation,* p. 219.
[602] Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger,* p. 26.
[603] The findings of this comparison are listed in the appended 'Annotations on the Variant Readings of the Four Different Exemplars'. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom,* p. 113. See also: Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation,* pp. 230-1.
[604] Scholars like Bobzin and Fück have demonstrated that Bibliander's knowledge of Arabic was quite limited. See: Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation,* pp. 170-6, and J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1955, p. 6.
[605] Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation,* pp. 171-5.

publication. [606] Moreover, he added his own errors and misunderstandings by occasionally misreading Ketton's Latin translation of the Qur'an.[607] In addition, Bibliander expanded the total number of 'azoaras' to 124, by numbering the first sura, al-Fātiha, which Robert of Ketton had instead taken for an opening prayer.[608] While this was a legitimate correction, Bibliander's Qur'an now counted even more 'azoaras' than the 113 surahs of the original text.

The biggest distortion, however, occurred when Bibliander's Latin publication was subsequently translated into Italian. This work was published in 1547 in Venice by Andrea Arrivabene, under the title *L'Alcorano di Macometto*. Despite claims on the title page that it was translated directly from the Arabic original, this Qur'an was in fact directly based on Bibliander's publication of Robert of Ketton's Latin text. The work has long been neglected by scholars – likely due to the fact that it is three times removed from the Arabic Qur'an, as with Schweigger's German translation – but recent publications have shed new light on this "European book".[611] As Tommasino argues, Arrivabene intended for his publication to be a "handy companion to Islam", which - due to its smaller and cheaper size - would be accessible to a wider readership than Bibliander's work, and that would provide its readers with information about Islamic history and the Islamic religion.[612] For this purpose, Arrivabene's translator – who has recently been identified as Giovanni Battista Castrodardo[613] - thoroughly reworked Bibliander's edition of the Latin Qur'an. After a brief preface by Arrivabene, the work opens with a lengthy introduction on Islamic and Ottoman history based on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources, such as Italian and Central European *turcica*, Spanish polemical works, and Venetian humanistic historiography.[614] The introduction is followed but what are presented as 'the three books of the Qur'an'. The first of these – *Il Primo Libro dell'Alcorano*[616] – is in reality a summary of the *Fabulae Saracenorum*. Book two and book three, in turn, are condensed versions of Robert of Ketton's Qur'an as it was published by Bibliander in 1543. In his Italian translation, Castrodardo respected the beginning and end of the individual surahs – now called 'chapters' (*capitoli*) – but cut "broad swaths of narrative passages of the Latin text … thus making room for the sections that were theologically crucial and of particular doctrinal interest".[617] While the structure and sequence of the surahs is left intact, their numbering is changed due to their separation into two individual

[606] Boettcher, 'German Orientalism in the Age of Confessional Consolidation', p. 103.
[607] See: Tommasino and den Boer, 'Textual Agnogenesis', p. 470.
[608] J. Loop, 'Introduction: The Qur'an in Europe – The European Qur'an', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies,* vol. 20, no. 3, 2018, p. 4.
[611] See: P. M. Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an. A Renaissance Companion to Islam,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018*;* H. den Boer and P. M. Tommasino, 'Reading the Qur'an in the 17th-century Sephardi community of Amsterdam', *Al-Qantara*, vol. 35*,* no. 2, 2014, pp. 461-491.
[612] Tommasino, 'Reading the Qur'an', p. 468.
[613] See: Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an,* pp. 71-92.
[614] Ibid., p. 469.
[616] Arrivabene, *L'Alcorano di Macometto*, p. 1A.
[617] Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an,* p. 118.

books. Bibliander's surah 1 to 28 form chapter 1 to 28 in book two, and surah 29 to 124 are now numbered chapter 1 to 96 in book three. In addition, the translator added a number of misunderstandings to the text that were caused by his own misinterpretation and mistranslation of the Latin – likely caused by hastiness.[618]

The Italian text that Schweigger used as the basis for his German translation was thus far removed from the original Arabic Qur'an text. It was a culmination of (European) additions, edits and errors of translation that were applied to an *Urtext* that already, in its essence, was a European reworking of the Qur'an and Qur'anic exegesis. Schweigger, however, had been ensured during his stay in Constantinople that the Italian Qur'an was an accurate reflection of the Arabic original. As he writes in his preface, 'in Constantinople, at the embassy, I have received credible information from two dragomans - born Greeks, and well-versed in the Arabic language – that out of all versions of the Alcoran, this one is the best and truest'.[619] In lieu of the Arabic original, which Schweigger could not read, he thus believed the Italian Qur'an text to be a reliable source for his translation.

'Here we have the true Alcoran'

One of the questions that has been repeatedly asked with regard to Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, is why the minister chose to use the Italian *L'Alcorano* rather than Bibliander's *Machumetis saracenorum principis* as the basis for his translation. Especially considering the apparent difficulties that Schweigger faced in acquiring a copy of the Italian Qur'an, scholars have wondered why the minister did not instead opt for Bibliander's widely known and therefore likely more easily available publication.[620] It is unlikely that Schweigger was unfamiliar with the work. As we have seen, it was used and discussed in his direct circles at the University of Tübingen, where both Jakob Andreae and Lukas Osiander had published adaptations of the Latin Qur'an using Bibliander's *Machumetis saracenorum principis*. Moreover, as will be discussed later in this chapter, one of Schweigger's colleagues at the embassy in Constantinople is said to have taken a copy of Bibliander's Qur'an with him to the Ottoman Empire in order to discuss it with the local population.[621]

It seems equally unlikely that Schweigger was unable to read Bibliander's Latin publication. He had enjoyed the classical education that was required to become a fellow at the

[618] Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an,* p. 119.
[619] "(…) dann ich zu Constantinopel in deß Romischen Kaysers Herren Legaten Behausung von zweyen Dolmetschen / so geborne Griechen / unnd der Arabischen Sprach wol erfahren / glaubwurdigen Bericht eingenommen / daß auß allen *Versionibus* deß Alcorans / diese gegenwertige *Versio* die beste unnd eigentlichste sey (…)". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* p. 3 of 'Vorrede'.
[620] Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation,* p. 269.
[621] This colleague was the Czech reformer Václav Budovec z Budova (1551-1621). See: Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity, and the Making of Czech Identity*, p. 78.

University of Tübingen, including seven years at the *Latein- und (evangelischen) Klosterschulen*. Especially those fellows who were selected for the theology degree, only about ten out of 120, were already very well-educated when they started university. At the Faculty of Theology, too, a large part of the curriculum seems to have included Latin texts. While it is unclear whether the professors used the German or Latin Bible when teaching the Scriptures, one professor (out of four) was entirely responsible for lecturing on Melanchthon's *Loci communes*[622], and disputations were all written in Latin[623]. That Schweigger had a sufficient knowledge of Latin is also clear from his correspondence with Martin Crusius. Although Schweigger himself clearly preferred to write in German, Crusius' letters were all written in Latin. Considering that Schweigger was an important informant and mediator between Tübingen and Constantinople, it is unlikely that Crusius would have written his messages and instructions in a language that Schweigger did not fully understand. Even *if* Schweigger's Latin was not entirely fluent, it would probably have been better than his Italian. The minister had only started learning Italian during his office in Constantinople, so that he would be able to offer spiritual guidance to non-German Lutherans. When he returned to Germany and intended to start on his Qur'an translation, Schweigger thus only had a maximum of three years of experience with the Italian language, whereas he had likely been learning and reading Latin for more than half of his life. In this respect, the choice of the Italian Qur'an over its Latin predecessor does not seem to have been one of convenience.

In fact, Schweigger does not seem to have realized that the Italian Qur'an was based on Bibliander's print of Ketton's twelfth-century Latin text. Instead, supported by his conversation with the Greek dragomans in Constantinople, he seems to have believed the publisher's claim on the title page that the work had been 'newly translated from the Arabic into the Italian language'.[624] This is reflected in the title page of the *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, which states that this Qur'an text had 'first been translated from the Arabic into the Italian, and now into the German language'.[625] Moreover, Schweigger appears to have been confused about the nature of Robert of Ketton's work. In the preface of his *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, the minister defends his publications against 'those who would think of it as an unnecessary, futile effort'.[626] As he writes, these people will argue that 'everything that needs to be known about the Turks has already been put into

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622 S. Mobley, 'Confessionalizing the curriculum: The faculties of arts and theology at the universities of Tübingen and Ingolstadt in the second half of the sixteenth century', PhD Thesis, The University of Wisconsin, 1998, p. 334. Available from: https://search.proquest.com/docview/304456867/?pq-origsite=primo (accessed 20 April 2020).
623 Ibid., p. 335.
624 "Tradotto nuovamente dall'Arabo in lingua Italiana". *L'Alcorano di Macometto*, title page.
625 "Erstlich auß der Arabischen in die Italianische : Jetzt aber inn die Teutsche Sprach gebracht". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* title page.
626 "Wann aber jemand in diese Gedancken möchte gerahten: Es were ein unnötige vergebliche Arbeit und Unkosten (…)". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, p. 2 of 'Vorrede'.

words'.[627] Schweigger responds, however, that existing literature on the Qur'an is scarce and incomplete. While others have indeed written *about* the Qur'an, the *actual* 'Alcoran' cannot be found amongst their writings. In this respect, he refers to an 'excerpt of the Qur'an' that was published by Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter (1506-57) in 1543. As Schweigger writes, this text only provides a very brief summary of the Qur'anic surahs – it tells the reader what each surah is about, but it does not describe the *whole* surah.[628]

The 'excerpt' to which Schweigger refers is Widmanstetter's *Epitome of the Qur'an,* which was printed in Nürnberg together with a text titled *The Theology of Muhammad*. The latter was a reworking of the *Doctrina Mahumet,* which was one of the three texts of the *Fabulae Saracenorum* and had been translated by Herman of Carinthia as a part of the *Corpus Toletanum.*[629] The *Epitome*, in turn, was a printed edition of an abridgement of Robert of Ketton's Qur'an that had been circulating in manuscript form.[630] Widmanstetter, however, claimed that his *Epitome of the Qur'an* was, in fact, what Robert of Ketton had originally translated, using an Arabic abridgement of the Qur'an by an anonymous Muslim as his source text.[631] As a consequence, Schweigger may have been fooled to believe that Ketton's Qur'an translation was no more than an abridgement of the original Qur'an. In addition, Schweigger was under the impression that Widmanstetter's *The Theology of Muhammad* had originally been translated by Robert of Ketton. In his discussion of Widmanstetter's publication, he writes that 'this *Theologiam* has been translated by Robert of Ketton, an Englishman, from the Arabic into the Latin language'.[632] It is therefore possible that he knew about Bibliander's publication of Ketton's text, but that he didn't deem it relevant for his Qur'an translation, as he falsely assumed this text to be either a summary of the Qur'an or an Islamic theology. Feeling confident that his Italian Qur'an was the best and only complete translation of the Qur'an (at least in a language that was accessible to him), he may have deliberately ignored the *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* – thus remaining oblivious of the fact that not only did the work contain a Latin translation of the *full* Qur'an, but also that this Latin Qur'an had formed the basis of the Italian text.

Schweigger is equally dismissive of other works that only contain small parts of the Qur'an. He specifically refers to the refutations of Riccoldo da Montecroce (ca. 1243-1320) and Dionysius von Rickel (Dionysius Carthusianus, ca. 1402/3-1471). The former's *Confutatio*

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[627] "(…) es sey allbereit schon alles inn Schrifften verfasset . was von den Turcken zu wissen von nohten (…)". Ibid..
[628] Ibid..
[629] Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*, p. 106.
[630] For the somewhat complicated origins and history of the text, see: Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom,* pp. 98-110
[631] Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom,* p. 110-1.
[632] "Diese *Theologiam* hat *Robertus Ketenensis* ein Engeländer auß dem Arabischen in das Latein gebracht (…)". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* p. 3 of 'Vorrede'.

Alcorani had been published in German translation by Martin Luther in 1542[633], while the latter's *Contra perfidiam Mahometi* and *Dialogus disputationis inter Christianum et Sarracenum* had been printed for the first time in 1533 under the title *Contra Alchoranum & sectam Machometicam libri quique*.[634] Contrary to what is stated in *Christian-Muslim Relations,* namely that these authors were referred to by Schweigger as his sources, Schweigger places the value of these works below his own.[635] As he writes, these works 'only refute a few of the primary abominations'.[636] His own work, in contrast, 'presents the text of the *true* Qur'an'.[637]

The first full Qur'an in German: a Lutheran project?

Despite Schweigger's apparent misunderstanding with regard to the works of Robert of Ketton and Theodor Bibliander, and in spite of the quality of his Italian source text, he did successfully meet his goal – namely to provide the first German Qur'an translation. Earlier publications in the German language had all been very selective, and had mostly taken the form of Qur'an refutations rather than translations. The earliest known publication containing translated passages from Ketton's Qur'an in the German language appeared in 1540 in Strasbourg, under the title *Alchoran. Das ist des Mahometischen Gesatzbuch und Türckischen Aberglaubens ynnhalt und abländung*.[638] The translator of the work is unknown, but it is clear that he wrote his text on the basis of Dionysus von Rickel's *Contra Alchoranum et sextam Machometicam* – the Qur'an refutation that was also mentioned by Schweigger in his preface. This work, in turn, had been based on Robert of Ketton's Latin Qur'an as well as on Riccoldo da Montecroce's *Confutatio Alcorani*.[639]

The *Alchoran* was followed by Lukas Osiander's *Bericht / Was der Türcken Glaub sey / gezogen auß dem Türckischen Alcoran / sampt desselben Widerlegung*, which was published in 1570. This work, as had been discussed in Chapter 1, was based on Bibliander's publication of the Qur'an, and presented (as well as refuted) what Osiander considered to be its most important teachings. More closely to Schweigger's publication, in 1604, another Lutheran minister named Heinrich Leuchter published a work titled *Alcoranus Mahometicus. Oder: Türckenglaub / auß deß Mahomets eygenem Buch / genant Alcoran unnd seinen 124. darinn begrieffenen* Azoaris, *in ein*

[633] *Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi / Prediger Ordens / Anno 1300,* Wittenberg, 1542.
[634] *Contra Alchoranum & sectam Machometicam libri quique*, Cologne, 1533.
[635] D. Thomas and J. Chesworth (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographic History. Volume 9. Western and Southern Europe (1600-1700),* Leiden, Brill, 2017, p. 896.
[636] "Darinn werden allein etliche / unnd die fürnembsten Grewel widerlegt (…)". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* p. 3 of 'Vorrede'.
[637] "Hie aber haben wir den Text deß rechten Alcorans (…)". Ibid..
[638] *Alchoran. Das ist des Mahometischen Gesatzbuch und Türckischen Aberglaubens ynnhalt und abländung,* Strasbourg, Johann Schott, 1540.
[639] H. Bobzin, 'Von Luther zu Rückert. Der Koran in Deutschland: Ein weiter Weg von der Polemik zur poetischen Übersetzung', *Akademie Aktuell,* vol. 32, no. 1, 2010, p. 14.

kurtz Compendium *zusammen gebracht*.[641] As the title indicates, this publication only presents a summary of the Qur'an, rather than an integral translation. Like Osiander's *Bericht*, this summary was written on the basis of Bibliander's publication of Robert of Ketton's Latin Qur'an.

While none of these works contain a full translation of the Qur'an, they demonstrate a desire – especially amongst Lutheran theologians and/or ministers – to present the Qur'anic contents in the German vernacular. In composing their works, these authors may have been directly inspired by Luther, who stated in his introduction to Theodor Bibliander's publication that "one cannot do any greater sorrow to the Turks or Muhammad (more than with any weapon), than to expose their Alcoran to the Christians".[642] The reformer echoed the old argument that reading the Qur'an was a prerequisite for any "legitimate attempt" to fight the Islamic religion.[643] It had led him to translate the *Confutatio Alcorani* into German – which, although not a translation of the Qur'an itself, contained the first printed translation of some of its verses in German – and to endorse Bibliander's publication of Ketton's Latin translation. Luther never, however, fulfilled his greater wish – namely to translate the Qur'an into German.[644]

The main reason for Luther's desire to publish the Qur'an text was so that pastors and theologians could use it as a reference for their sermons. In addition to using it in order to develop apologetic and polemical responses to Islam, they could "preach to the people the abomination of Muhammad".[645] In the light of the Lutheran insistence on preaching in the vernacular, it would make sense for such a reference work to also be available in the vernacular language. Moreover, the Lutheran doctrine of *sola scriptura* seems to have extended to the reading of the Qur'an. While many Christian authorities – including Philip Melanchthon – deemed the reading of the Qur'an too dangerous unless it was accompanied by an interpretative (polemical) framework, Luther seems to have seen no harm in Christians reading Islamic sources, and particularly the Qur'an in its 'pure' form.[646] In his Protestant view, the only authoritative source for (the study of) a religion was its scripture. With regard to the Qur'an, he argued that it not only benefitted the study of Islam, but also contributed to a better understanding of Christianity. Luther was convinced that the Islamic religion was fundamentally antithetical to Christianity. In this respect, the Qur'an also formed an antithesis to the Bible, and, as such, presented Christian readers with teachings that were fundamentally untrue (and therefore heretical). Learning about these teachings would

[641] Osiander, *Bericht / Was der Türcken Glaub sey*; H. Leuchter, *Alcoranus Mahometicus. Oder: Türckenglaub (...)*, Frankfurt, Nicolaus Hoffman, 1604.
[642] "[weil] man dem Mahmet oder Turcken nichts verdrieslichters thun … kan (mehr den mit allen waffen), den das man yhren alcoran bey den christen an den tag bringe". Luther as quoted by H. Bobzin in 'Von Luther zu Rückert', p. 15.
[643] Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*, p. 91.
[644] Ibid..
[645] Luther as quoted in Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*, p. 217.
[646] Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam,* p. 212.

effectively also teach the reader about true religion – indeed, "in order to make the truth known one also had to condemn errors and false doctrine militating against it".[647]

Paradoxically, this view turned the Qur'an into somewhat of an authoritative source for Christianity. As such, according to the principle of *sola scriptura*, it required no interpretative guidance or interference by extra-textual authorities other than the Bible. Indeed, Luther saw no danger in the reading of the Qur'an by "convinced or educated Christians"[648] – in other words, Christians with a solid understanding of the Biblical fundaments of true Christianity. He seems to have been convinced that reading the Islamic text in the light of the Bible would self-evidently show its fundamental incompatibility with the Christian faith and doctrines. A similar view is expressed in Heinrich Leuchter's *Alcoranus Mahometicus. Oder: Türckenglaub*. Throughout the work, Leuchter juxtaposes his summaries of the Qur'anic doctrines with parallel passages in the Bible as a means of refutation.[649] Again, this presupposes an antithetical relationship between the Qur'an and the Bible, in which the Bible contains the true teachings and the Qur'an presents related heretical beliefs. Even in instances where the Qur'an seems to correspond to – rather than oppose – Biblical teachings, Luther argues that it does not contain their essential elements, and therefore remains no more than a theological invention and fabrication.[650]

In this way, Luther solved an apparent paradox in the Qur'an – namely that it contained certain passages that seemed to confirm the Christian doctrines. As a result of this paradox, Christian commentators on or readers of the Qur'an often used the text both as a confirmation of and a challenge to Christianity - sometimes citing it in order to confirm their own beliefs and at other times polemicizing against it.[651] This can also be seen in Bibliander's publication, in which a substantial part of the marginal annotations refer to parallel passages in the Bible (indicated by book and chapter). Some of these are meant to point out conflicting views about certain issues, while others are meant to demonstrate congruency between the Qur'an and the Bible.[653] It shows that for Bibliander, as for Luther, all doctrines had to be 'tested' in the light of Scripture. However, whereas Bibliander only rejected the Qur'anic teachings *if* they were inconsistent with the Bible, Luther already presupposed their falsity by characterising the Qur'an as inherently antithetical to Scripture and true religion. But instead of rejecting the Qur'an altogether as untrue and

[647] Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*, p. 213.
[648] Ibid., p. 212.
[649] Leuchter, *Alcoranus Mahometicus. Oder: Türckenglaub*. Also see: Loop, 'Introduction: The Qur'an in Europe – the European Qur'an', p. 6.
[650] Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam,* p. 215-6.
[651] See: Daniel, *Islam and the West,* p. 190-200 ; Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Western Christendom,* pp. 96, 120.
[653] Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation,* p. 231; Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Western Christendom,* p. 216.

therefore useless to Christianity – as was generally done by the opponents of its publication[654] – Luther argued that it should be used in Christian apologetics, as a source of false teachings that were threatening true religion. As such, like the Bible itself, it should be available in the vernacular for all Germans to study.

Schweigger shared many of Luther's views on the Qur'an, and in a way he may have carried out the task that Luther was never able to complete. His German translation was born out of the conviction that the Qur'an text should be available to the general public. In his preface, he laments the fact that the most prominent Christian writings on the Qur'an are in Latin, 'which cannot be enjoyed by the German'.[657] Moreover, his search for what he believed to be the most accurate Qur'an edition in order to form the basis for his own, German translation – as well as his disdain for works that only contain an adaptation of the Qur'an – demonstrates Schweigger's dedication to provide an accurate and complete reflection of the original Qur'an text. This may well have been the result of a purist Lutheran insistence on scriptural authority and integrity – even when the scripture in question was a false or heretical one. In fact, as will be discussed later in this chapter, Schweigger seems to have shared Luther's view of the Qur'an as an 'anti-Bible', and therefore as a crucial source of heretical beliefs that should be fought and avoided in order to strengthen the true Christian faith. In this respect, too, it was important for a Qur'an translation to present the entirety of the Qur'anic contents, so that all heretical beliefs could be identified. Moreover, as an apologetic source for Christianity, Schweigger appears to have shared Luther's conviction that no interpretational framework was needed in order to read the Qur'an – as long as it was read by someone with a proper understanding of the Bible. As will be shown in the next section, the minister presented his *Türcken Alcoran* in a remarkably 'pure' form, without any interpretational guidance or polemical refutations. In fact, Schweigger's Lutheran concerns seem to have caused him to create the first non-polemical Qur'an publication in a western language.

[654] See, for example, the trial around Bibliander's publication: H. Clark, 'The Publication of the Koran in Latin a Reformation Dilemma', *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* vol. 15, no. 1, 1984, pp. 3-12.
[657] " … jedoch allein Lateinisch / dessen der Teutsche nicht kan geniessen." Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, p. 3 of 'Vorrede'.

Table 4.1: Differences between Bibliander, Arrivabene, and Schweigger

Bibliander's Qur'an (1543)	**Arrivabene/Castrodardo (1547)**	**Schweigger (1616)**
Included in <u>volume one</u> of Bibliander's three volume *Machumetis Saracenorum Principis*. Structure of volume one: • Prefaces by Melanchthon and (in 1550) by Luther • Apology by Bibliander • Peter the Venerable's *Epistola ad dominum Bernhardum Claraevallis Abbatem* and *Summula brevis contra haereses* (both from the *Corpus Toletanum*) • **Latin Qur'an by Robert of Ketton, now 124 chapters** (1+123) • Three texts of the *Fabulae Saracenorum* • Annotationes (incl. medieval ones)	Three books, containing 137 chapters, preceded by an introduction: • Lengthy introduction on Islamic and Ottoman history, based on 15th- and 16th-century *turcica*, polemical works, and historiography • "**Book One of the Qur'an**": summary of the Islamic doctrines based on the *Fabulae Saracenorum,* in 13 chapters • "**Book Two of the Qur'an"**: condensed version if Bibliander's surah 1-28 (now called 'chapters') • "**Book Three of the Qur'an**": condensed version of Bibliander's surah 29-124, now numbered 1-96	Three books, containing 137 chapters, preceded by a short preface and supplemented with a detailed index: • Seven-page preface and justification • "**Book One**", chapter 1-13 • "**Book Two**", chapter 1-28 • "**Book Three**", chapter 1-96 • Detailed Index (18 pages)

4.2 A first non-polemical Qur'an?

Due to its genealogy, and the fact that it was ultimately rooted in the Christian polemical tradition of Qur'an studies, Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* has been characterised as "full of mistakes and omissions and (...) so highly polemical that it might not qualify as a translation".[689] However, although Schweigger did end up with a Qur'an that was far removed from the original, this was mainly the result of earlier changes that had been made to the text. Looking at the way in which the minister translated and edited the text, what stands out most is his determination to present what he believed to be an authentic rendering of the Islamic sacred text, free from Christian (non-Islamic) additions and interpretations.

When Schweigger finally managed to find a copy of the Italian Qur'an, he not only translated the work into German, but he also removed most of its non-Islamic additions in what seems to be an attempt to 'restore' the authentic Qur'an text to the best of his abilities. Most noticeably, Schweigger omitted the Italian, fifty-page introduction, which consisted of a discussion of Ottoman and Islamic history based on contemporary *turcica.* Hartmut Bobzin has suggested that Schweigger considered this part of Arrivabene's work superfluous in the light of his own *Reyßbeschreibung*, which contained similar information about the Islamic world. [690] There are no indications, however, that Schweigger expected his Qur'an translation to be read in tandem with his travel account.[691] Rather, the omission of Arrivabene's introduction seems to have been part of a more general effort to shed the Italian Qur'an of its non-Islamic and polemical additions. By removing this text, Schweigger was left with what he believed to be the three books of the Qur'an. These were translated in an almost word-for-word manner, again demonstrating Schweigger's desire to stay true to the original text.

In reality, as we have seen, the first book of the *L'Alcorano* had been a reworking of the *Fabulae Saracenorum*. That it was not a part of the original Qur'an text, as it was revealed to Muhammad, can even be inferred from the fact that it contains historical information that clearly outdated the Islamic revelation. From a Christian perspective, the *Fabulae Saracenorum* might nevertheless have appeared as an indisputable part of the Qur'an, due to the fact that, like the Old Testament, it contains both a version of Genesis and a genealogy of prophets which together form

[689] N. Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East. Discourses and Practices, 1000-1989*, Ann Arber, University of Michigan Press, 2010, p. 73.
[690] Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation,* p. 269.
[691] There is, however, at least one copy of Schweigger's Qur'an – now held at the British Library, shelfmark 1425.c.1.(1.) – that is bound together with his *Reyßbeschreibung* as well as with Johann Wild's captivity narrative. The binding is engraved with the weapon of Johann Wilhelm Kress von Kressenstein a member of the Nürnberg city council, whose ex libri can also be found in the work. Nevertheless, binding these three works together seems to have been a personal initiative, rather than the intent of the writer.

something like a pre-history of the Islamic religion.[693] The text begins by naming those things which God first created - the Pen, Adam, the Throne, and Paradise, and continues with a chronology of patriarchs and prophets starting with Adam and culminating (via Christ) in a biography of Muhammad and the founding of the Islamic religion. The last section of the book contains the biographies of the first caliphs. As Schweigger writes, the text demonstrates "with what evil artistry the Mahometan Empire and its religion have started"[694]. As such, it formed an important source about the Islamic religion and its origins.[695]

In addition to the introduction, Schweigger also removed the numerous marginal, and largely polemical and apologetic annotations that accompanied the Italian Qur'an text. Schweigger replaced these with short and objective summaries of the Qur'an text itself. Even in highly contentious passages that were the traditional subject of fierce Christian polemics, the accompanying annotations are entirely neutral. The Qur'anic section that denies the divinity of Christ, for example, is summarized in a marginal annotation simply as "Jesus nicht Gottes Sohn" - 'Jesus is not the Son of God'. Two other annotations on the same page read that "Christians want to erase the truth", and that "Muhammad had brought the true teachings" (which the Christians had tried to erase).[696] These summaries make it very clear that Schweigger was aiming to present the Qur'anic teachings from a purely *Islamic* point of view, even if this meant expressing anti-Christian beliefs. Indeed, nothing about these annotations reveals that they were written by a non-Muslim.

Schweigger was not the first one to 'de-polemicize' the Qur'an text. In fact, Bibliander had already done this to a large degree. He removed the polemical twelfth-century annotations that often accompanied Robert of Ketton's translation from the margins, and replaced them with his own notes. These mostly consist of a running analysis of the text in concise and neutral summaries, which also refer to passages without obvious polemical or apologetic potential. In contrast, the twelfth-century notes to the Qur'an are clearly preoccupied with "pointing out its apparent absurdities and explaining its obscurities".[697] Moreover, these older annotations are mostly confined to the first few chapters, whereas Bibliander's notes cover the entire Qur'an text. Even Bibliander, however, cannot resist placing at least a few polemical remarks. His annoyance

[693] As Den Boer and Tommasino write, the three books of the Qur'an as they are found in Arrivabene and Schweigger's works were long considered as a unit. Tommasino and Den Boer, 'Reading the Qur'ān in the 17th-Century Sephardi Community of Amsterdam', p. 470.
[694] "mit was bösen Künsten das Mahometanische Reich / unnd dieselbe Religion jeinen anfang genommen". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, p. 1.
[695] And this was not an entirely wrong view. The *Fabulae Saracenorum* were Latin translations of Arabic Islamic traditions, and were therefore considered by Christians to form an integral part of the Islamic canon.
[696] "Christen wollen die warheit außloschen", and "Machomet hat die recht Lehr bracht". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, p. 143.
[697] Burman, *Reading the Qur'an,* p. 115.

is clear, for example, when he notes that Muhammad "does not cease to deny the son of God".[698] In addition, a large number of Bibliander's notes refer to parallel biblical passages. While these parallels are often meant to point out similarities, rather than polemical differences, these notes demonstrate that Bibliander primarily sought to understand the Qur'an from a Christian perspective. Schweigger's German Qur'an, on the other hand, seems to have aimed at presenting the Qur'an text from a purely *Islamic* point of view.

There is only one curious instance where Schweigger seems to truly 'comment' on the Qur'an text. In the opening sentence of the first surah, the German Qur'an reads that, at the beginning of the creation of the world, God first created a feather with which "all those things that were and that will remain until the end, were noted down and marked out".[699] In the marginal annotation, Schweigger comments – rather sarcastically – that "God created a feather so that he could write, but forgot to create paper and ink".[700] It is unclear why Schweigger chose to start his Qur'an translation with a comment so dissonant from his otherwise very neutral annotations. The Italian Qur'an does not contain any similar remarks, and no other source can be found for this interpretation of the opening verse. Apart from the occasional terminology that reveals Schweigger's Christian background – such as the recurring references to 'good works' and the use of the term 'Turk' for 'Muslim' – it is the only time that the author's own voice is clearly visible in the Qur'an text and its accompanying annotations.

Schweigger's annotations are not only remarkably neutral, but they are also plentiful. The numerous concise summaries show that Schweigger did not simply translate the Italian text into German, but that he went through the text thoroughly in order to distract from it the Islamic teachings. In addition, some of the annotations clarify, rather than summarize or condensate the German Qur'an text. When describing the end of the World, for example, the text reads that this will be "when the sun rises in the Occident, and sets in the Orient"[702]. In the margin, this is summarized by Schweigger as "the course of the sun will be turned around", thus explaining the implications of the text.[703] In other instances, the annotations do not summarize or clarify the adjacent or corresponding passage, but rather refer to its contents. The Qur'anic passage that lists the years between the Prophets, for example, is referred to by Schweigger as "a timeline from

[698] As quoted in Burman, *Reading the Qur'an*, p. 116.
[699] "alle die jenigen sachen / so von an begin der Welt gewesen seyn / unnd biß an das End bleiben werden, *notiert*, und affgemerckt werden." Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, p. 1. This is a literal translation of the Italian: "Nel principio della creatione del Mondo, Iddio fabricò quatro cose con le sue propie mani. Delle quali, la prima fu il calamo, con che si notano tutte le cose, che furono dal principio del mondo, e saranno fino al sue fine", A. Arrivabene, *L'Alcorano di Macometto*, Fano, 1547, p.1 v.
[700] "Gott schaffet im anfang ein Feder / weil er sonst nicht schreibe können / hat aber des Papier und Dunten zuschaffen vergessen". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* p. 1.
[702] "wann die Sonn in Occident auffgehen / und in Orient untergehen wirdt". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, p. 37.
[703] "Der Sonnen lauff sol sich verkehren". Ibid., p. 37.

Adam up to Muhammed"[705]. In another example, Schweigger summarizes a passage that describes how non-Muslims should be buried as "What happens to those who die without Muhammad's law".[706] Annotations like these invite the reader to read the text itself, rather than to learn its contents from a summary, and they point out where certain information can be found. While, philologically, this may not have been a task as impressive as Robert of Ketton's had been, it nevertheless demonstrates that Schweigger was not simply searching for polemical material but was rather interacting with the Qur'an on a textual level.[707]

With regard to the actual Qur'an text itself, Schweigger's German translation generally closely follows the Italian. There are, however, a few small (but nevertheless remarkable) differences between the two texts. In his analysis of Arrivabene's publication, Pier Mattia Tommasino has pointed towards the misinterpretation in 'Capitolo XXIIII' of the passage stating that the Qur'an was revealed to Muhammad 'in order that you may warn the mother of the cities' - that is, Mecca. While this passage was translated into Latin correctly by Bibliander, the Italian translator misunderstood this Latin passage, and translated it as 'so that you can preach and spread the mothers through the cities', noting in the margin that 'the mothers are his (Muhammad's) sermons'.[708] In Schweigger's German Qur'an, however, this part of the first sentence of 'Das XXIV. Capitel' is wholly absent. Perhaps Schweigger chose to leave out this passage in order to avoid any confusion or ambiguity. Even without knowing that this was a misinterpretation, the passage makes little sense, and the Italian annotation shows that it needed additional explanation.[709] Schweigger, however, mostly stays clear of such paratextual commentary or reflection, and rather seems to have wanted the Qur'an text to speak for itself. Moreover, he may not have wanted to rely on the Italian annotations in order to explain the text, considering these annotations were written by a Christian rather than a Muslim. Whereas the annotations in the margins of the first sentence of the Italian 'Capitolo XXIII' read "Full of his usual screams and lies", "The mothers are his sermons", and "Angels pray for men"[710] - which could all be read as points of contention - Schweigger's German annotation simply summarizes the contents of the passage as "Alcoran den Machomet zugestellt" - 'the Qur'an is revealed to Muhammad'.[711] Another sign of the translator's remarkably neutral, unpolemical tone.

[705] "Ein zeitregister von Adam biß auß Machom." Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, p. 47.
[706] "Was von denen zuhalten / die ohne deß Mach. Gesetz sterben". Ibid., p. 44.
[707] See also: Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom,* p. 13.
[708] Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an,* p. 119.
[709] According to Tommasino, Castrodardo based this explanation on his memory of medieval rubrics that characterized the fātiha - the sura that opens the Qur'an - as "the mother of the Qur'an". See: Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an*, p. 119.
[710] "Pieno delle sue folite ciancie, e mendaci", "Le madri sono le sue oration", "Gli angeli pregano per gli huomini". Arrivabene, *L'Alcorano di Macometto*, p. 79.
[711] Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* p. 222.

There is, however, a more curious difference between Schweigger's German text and its Italian source, which can be found in the same chapter 24 of book two. In Schweigger's Qur'an, the opening sentence includes a reference to the 'Gerichtstag' - the Day of Judgement - which is entirely absent in the Italian Qur'an.[713] At first glance, working under the assumption that he based his translation on Arrivabene's publication, Schweigger's inclusion of the Day of Judgement might appear as an attempt to connect the Qur'an to the Protestant Apocalyptic interpretation of the Islamic religion. A look at the original surah 42, however, reveals that this passage does indeed mention the 'Day of Assembly', which is the Islamic day of Resurrection. This raises the inevitable question of how this original reference ended back up in Schweigger's German Qur'an. If Schweigger did indeed rely on Arrivabene's Qur'an publication for his own translation, he must have made this correction on the basis of external information. It is not unthinkable that he discussed the Qur'an's contents during his three-year stay in Constantinople, either with Muslims or with others who could read the Arabic text. Another possibility is that the copy that was used by Schweigger contained a handwritten comment or correction by a previous reader. Yet another explanation would be that Schweigger did not only use the Italian Qur'an when he made his translation, but that he also consulted other publications such as Bibliander's *Machumetis Saracenorum principis*. In the latter, a marginal annotation accompanying 'Azoara LII' (which corresponds to Arrivabene and Schweigger's chapter 24) states that "Per Alcoran prædicanda indicij novissimi dies"[714] – 'the Alcoran announces the last days'. In all these instances, Schweigger would have used external information in order to correct the Italian Qur'an text, which would attest to the author's dedication to present an accurate and authentic Qur'an to the German reader.

A last, more complicated possibility, is that this information was already present in Schweigger's source text. He could have used a handwritten copy of the Italian Qur'an in which the reference to the Day of Judgement was already reinserted by the copyist. Instead of the Qur'an that was published in 1547, this might have been an (anonymous) Italian reworking or adaptation of Arrivabene's work in which the changes and corrections that we see from the Italian to the German translation had already been made. This would explain why Schweigger was struggling to locate a copy of the text despite the fact that, as Tommasino argues, Arrivabene's Qur'an was widespread and widely read. It would also explain why Schweigger did not mention Arrivabene by name, even though he did list the names of other European authors who had published

[713] Compare the German "Der unbegreiffliche / weise und hohe Gott hat dich darumb erschaffen / daß du auß disem Arabischen Buch **den kunfftigen letzten Gerichtstag** verkundigen / das gute und bose den Leuten weisen / und zukunfftige ding weissagen sollest" (Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* p. 222-3) with the Italian "Iddio incomprehensibile sapiente, maßimo, del quale è il creato à Te, si come a predecessori, da il libro Arabico, accioche tu predichi, e dia la madri per le uille, mostrando il di futuro, e il bene, e il male che debbe auenire" (Arrivabene, *L'Alcorano,* p. 79v-80r).
[714] Bibliander, *Machumetis Saracenorum principis,* Basel, 1543, p. 149.

translations and adaptations of (parts of) the Qur'an. Without finding such a manuscript, however, this theory remains mere speculation.

Publishing a 'bare' Qur'an

Even *if* Schweigger based his translation on a different text than has been assumed, and he was not himself responsible for the changes made to the Italian Qur'an, it is nevertheless remarkable that he was able to publish his 'stripped' version of the Qur'an, without the addition of polemical texts and/or refutations.[715] It has often been suggested that, even when authors, translators, and/or publishers aimed to present an authentic account of the Islamic religion and the Qur'an, such refutations and commentaries were a prerequisite for their works to bypass censorship and to be approved for publication.[716] Indeed, the controversy surrounding the publication of Bibliander's work shows that, in mid-sixteenth century Basel, the printing of the Qur'an text for a European market was still a controversial matter. The project was contested by the municipal authorities, who had not been informed prior by the printer as the law of censorship required.[717] Opponents of the work argued that there was nothing in the Qur'an worth reading, and that its dangerous, heretical contents could only harm, rather than benefit, the Christian world. Bibliander, however, could count on the support of a number of European scholars and reformers, amongst whom Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon. They argued that the Qur'an should be printed precisely *because* of its dangerous contents, as such a publication could serve to warn the Christian public about these dangers. Ultimately, Bibliander's work was only printed with the addition of large quantities of (anti-Islamic) 'theological guidance', meant to guide the less-learned Christian reader through the Qur'an text. Even then, the publisher was not allowed to state his own name or the place of publication on the title page. Clearly, the municipal authorities, while permitting the project, did not want to be openly associated with the printing of such a controversial text.

Similarly, Arrivabene's *Alcorano* was provided with a polemical and interpretative framework which, according to Pier Mattia Tommasino, was meant to bypass censorship.[721] That

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[715] Despite an article on the *Nordbayern* website that mentions a Qur'an text that was published in the city in 1703 "natürlich [mit] der obligatorischen Widerlegung desselben". V. Altnordu, 'Nürnberger veröffentlichte die erste deutsche Koranübersetzung', *Nordbayern,* 8 May 2013, https://www.nordbayern.de/region/nuernberg/nurnberger-veroffentliche-die-erste-deutsche-koranubersetzung-1.2890895 (accessed 16 January 2020).

[716] On the debate about the necessity of polemical additions to Qur'an publications, se: N. Malcolm, 'The 1649 English translation of the Koran: Its Origins and Significance', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* vol. 75, 2012, pp. 261-95; and, M. Feingold, '"The Turkish Alcoran": New Light on the 1649 Translation of the Koran', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 4, 2012, pp. 475-501.

[717] H. Bobzin, 'Latin Translations of the Koran. A short overview', *Der Islam: Journal of the History and Culture of the Middle East,* vol. 70, no. 2, 1993, p. 195.

[721] Tommasino and Den Boer, 'Reading the Qur'an in the 17th-century Sephardi community of Amsterdam', p. 472.

the publication was approved by the authorities can be seen on the title page, which contains a 'license to print' – above the year of publication, it states "Con Gratie, e Priuilegii".[722] Nevertheless, as with Bibliander's publication, the *L'Alcorano* was printed without the publisher or place of publication on the title page. Again, the local authorities may not have felt enough at ease with the work to be explicitly connected to it.

Indeed, both Bibliander's Qur'an and its Italian translation show that even official approval was no guarantee for general acceptance. Despite the polemical notes and refutations that accompanied the texts, both works were placed on the Catholic Index.[723] The ten rules concerning prohibited books that were drawn during the Council of Trent explicitly condemned the publication, sale, reading, and possession of books written by heretics.[724] Moreover, those who did read or possess books "by heretics or writings by any other author condemned and prohibited by reason of heresy or suspicion of false teaching" would risk a sentence of immediate excommunication.[725] As is indicated by the title of Arrivabene's and Schweigger's publications, the Qur'an was commonly considered to have been written by Muhammad, who - in turn - was generally condemned as a heretic. As such, Qur'an publications and translations could only have been expected to eventually be placed on the Index.

For Oporinus, a Protestant publisher operating in a Protestant city, Catholic censorship was of little concern. At most, it would mean that his books would have less commercial success in the Catholic world. For those involved in the Italian translation, however, the risk seems to have been bigger. Immediately after he finished working on the Qur'an, in 1548, the translator Giovanni Battista Castrodardo moved back to his hometown Belluno, where he hid his Venetian connections and his work as a translator for the last forty years of his life.[726] And with success – he was only identified as the writer behind the *L'Alcorano* in 2008.[727] Arrivabene seems to have feared the Roman Catholic authorities less, possibly due to his generally non-conformist views.[728] Indeed, the publisher presumably operated a "well-known programme of publishing the works of heterodox thinkers".[729] With readers of 'heretical works' facing the same punishment as those

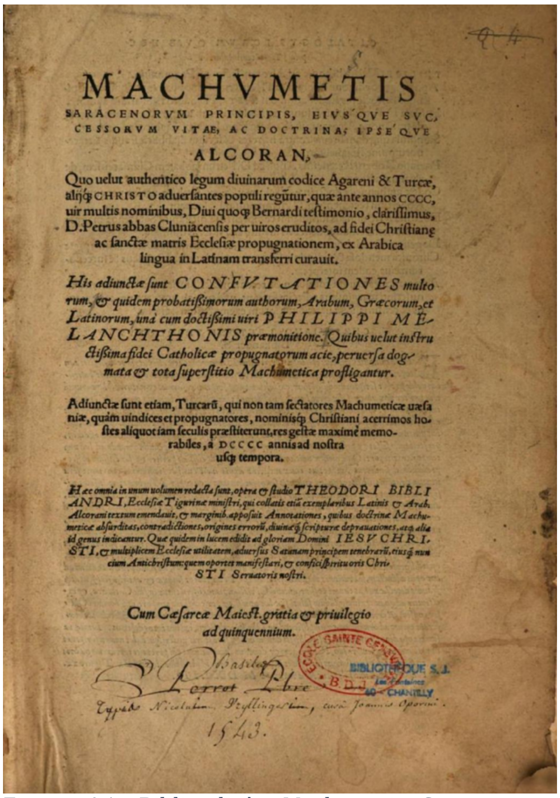
[722] About this license to print, see Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an,* pp. 35-6.
[723] Although it has been argued that this Catholic censorship was the result of an apparent 'non-conformist' danger in the paratext, rather than in the Qur'an text itself. See Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an,* p. 35. Also see Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an*, p. 6; Tommasino and Den Boer, 'Reading the Qur'an', p. 473; H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*, p. 267.
[724] For an English translation of the Ten Rules, see the *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*: http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/trent-booksrules.asp (Visited 18-07-2017).
[725] Ibid..
[726] Tommasino and Den Boer, 'Reading the Qur'an', p. 472.
[727] P. M. Tommasino, 'Giovanni Battista Castrodardo Bellunese Tradutorre dell'Alcorano di Macometto', *Oriente Moderno,* vol. 88, no. 1, 2008, pp. 15-40.
[728] Ibid., p. 473. He did not only possess such views, but he also expressed them through his links with Venetian evangelism and Italian reformers. See: Tommasino and Den Boer, 'Reading the Qur'an', p. 473.
[729] Burman, 'European Qur'an translations 1500-1700', p. 34.

publishing these, Hartmut Bobzin writes that the prohibition of the *Alcorano* resulted in the work being highly scarce. Pier Mattia Tommassino, however, has argued that it was, in fact, a widespread and widely read publication. Today, copies of the work are held in at least nine libraries in the United Kingdom, France and Italy.

It makes it all the more remarkable that Salomon Schweigger was able to publish his *Alcoranus Mahometicus* without the intervention of political or religious authorities. Not only was it published without an accompanying refutation, but it also appears to be the first European Qur'an publication to openly state the names of the author, the publisher – Simon Halbmeier – and place of publishing on the title page. Even Schweigger's workplace is mentioned, thus directly connecting the 'Frawen Kirchen in Nürnberg' to this German Qur'an. That the religious and secular municipal authorities seem to have been comfortable enough to be connected to a Qur'an publication is especially noteworthy in the context of the contemporary process of Lutheran confessional consolidation. In this process, in which Lutheran cities and authorities tried to establish uniform lines of Lutheran orthodoxy, the 'Rechtgläubigheit' of Nürnberg was long questioned.[730] The city found itself in a difficult position, being ruled by the Catholic Habsburg Emperor while at the same time being one of the advocates of the Protestant Reformation. In order for the city to maintain its privileges, it had to make sure not to do anything that could potentially upset the Habsburg authorities. At the same time, the city council had to avoid alienating the other evangelical cities in the Empire. As will be discussed in more detail later, the city was doing everything in its power to suppress all non-conformist beliefs under the watchful eye of the cities like Jena and Wittenberg, which were considered the bulwarks of Lutheran orthodoxy.

One of the ways in which the authorities tried to ensure a status quo was by closely monitoring publishing activities, from scholarly books to pamphlets.[731] This did not mean that controversial works could not at all be printed, but the Nürnberg city council did take measures of precaution. In fact, Schweigger's publisher Simon Halbmaier became the subject of such measures in the years following the publication of the *Alcoranus Mahometicus.* In 1618, he was shortly imprisoned after publishing a protestant 'Diskurs' that questioned the Duke of Bavaria's acceptance of the title of prince elector.[732] This did not stop Halbmaier's apparent desire to publish political and controversial works. In 1621, he obtained permission to print an (anti-Habsburg) apology of the Bohemian Revolt. The city council insisted, however, that the place of

[730] H. C. Brennecke, 'Orthodoxie und sozinianische Häresie in Altdorf', in: H. C. Brennecke, D. Niefanger, and W. W. Schnabel (eds.), *Akademie und Universität Altdorf. Studien zur Hochschulgeschichte Nürnbergs,* Cologne, 2011, p. 152.
[731] L. Sporhan-Krempel and T. Wohnhaas, 'Simon Halbmaier (1587-1632), Buckdrucker in Nürnberg', in: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, Band 6, 1966, p. 901.
[732] Ibid., 907-8, also: M. Estermann and R. Wittmann (eds.), *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens,* Band 43, Frankfurt am Main, Buchhändler-Vereinigung GmbH, 1995, pp. 68-9.



MACHVMETIS
SARACENORVM PRINCIPIS, EIVSQVE SVC-
CESSORVM VITAE, AC DOCTRINA, IPSEQVE
ALCORAN,

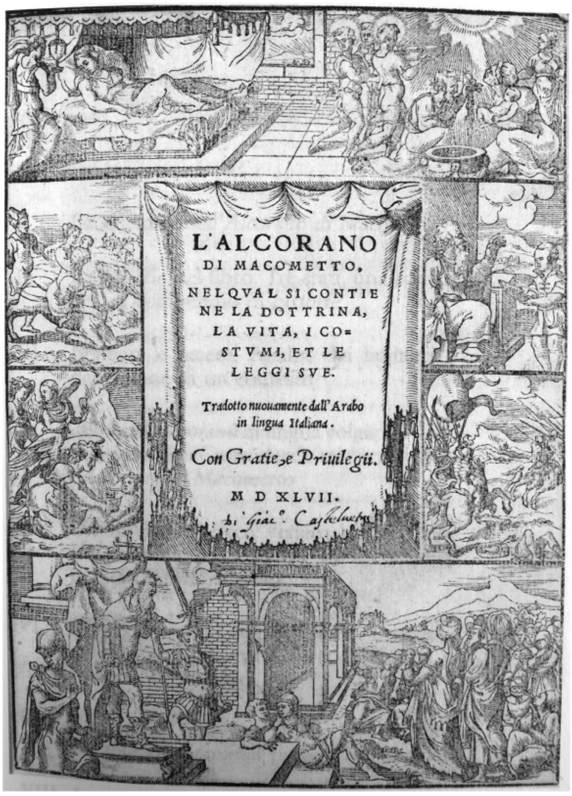
Quo uelut authentico legum diuinarum codice Agareni & Turcæ, aliiq; CHRISTO aduersantes populi reguntur, quæ ante annos CCCC, uir multis nominibus, Diui quoq; Bernardi testimonio, clarissimus, D. Petrus abbas Cluniacensis per uiros eruditos, ad fidei Christianę ac sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ propugnationem, ex Arabica lingua in Latinam transferri curauit.

His adiunctæ sunt CONFVTATIONES multorum, & quidem probatissimorum authorum, Arabum, Græcorum, et Latinorum, unà cum doctissimi uiri PHILIPPI MELANCHTHONIS præmonitione. Quibus uelut instructissima fidei Catholicæ propugnatorum acie, peruersa dogmata & tota superstitio Machumetica profligantur.

Adiunctæ sunt etiam, Turcarũ, qui non tam sectatores Machumeticæ uæsaniæ, quàm uindices et propugnatores, nominisq; Christiani acerrimos hostes aliquot iam seculis præstiterunt, res gestæ maximè memorabiles, à DCCCC annis ad nostra usq; tempora.

Cum Cæsareæ Maiest. gratia & priuilegio ad quinquennium.

Figure 4.1: Bibliander's *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* (1543) printed without name of publisher and place of publication.



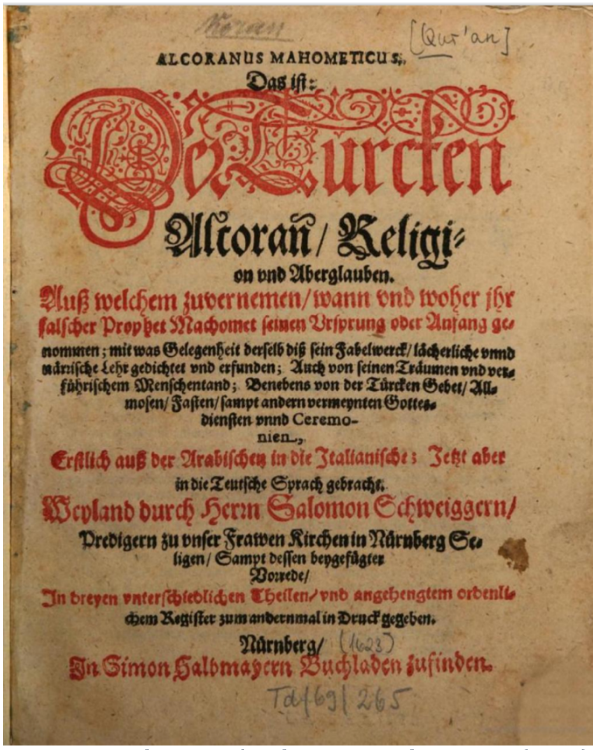
L'ALCORANO
DI MACOMETTO,
NEL QVAL SI CONTIENE LA DOTTRINA,
LA VITA, I COSTVMI, ET LE
LEGGI SVE.

Tradotto nuouamente dall'Arabo in lingua Italiana.

Con Gratie, e Priuilegii.

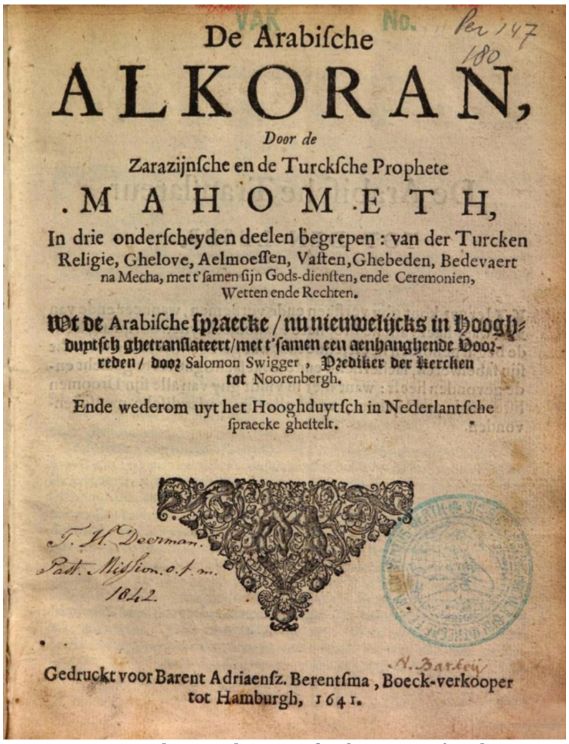
M D XLVII.

Figure 4.2: Arrivabene's *L'Alcorano di Macometto* printed with 'license to print', but without name of publisher and place of publication.



ALCORANUS MAHOMETICUS,
Das ist:
Der Türcken
Alcoran / Religion vnd Aberglauben.
Auß welchem zuvernemen / wann vnd woher ihr falscher Prophet Machomet seinen Vrsprung oder Anfang genommen; mit was Gelegenheit derselb diß sein Fabelwerck / lächerliche vnnd närrische Lehr gedichtet vnd erfunden; Auch von seinen Träumen vnd verführischem Menschentand; Benebens von der Türcken Gebet / Allmosen / Fasten / sampt andern vermeynten Gottesdiensten vnnd Ceremonien.
Erstlich auß der Arabischen in die Italianische; Jetzt aber in die Teutsche Sprach gebracht,
Weyland durch Herrn Salomon Schweiggern / Predigern zu vnser Frawen Kirchen in Nürnberg Seligen / Sampt dessen beygefügter Vorrede /
In dreyen vnterschiedlichen Theilen / vnd angehengtem ordentlichem Register zum andernmal in Druck gegeben.
Nürnberg /
In Simon Halbmayern Buchladen zufinden.

Figure 4.3: Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* (1616) printed **with** names of author and publisher, and place of publication.



De Arabische
ALKORAN,
Door de
Zarazijnsche en de Turckſche Prophete
MAHOMETH,
In drie onderscheyden deelen begrepen: van der Turcken Religie, Ghelove, Aelmoessen, Vasten, Ghebeden, Bedevaert na Mecha, met t'samen sijn Gods-diensten, ende Ceremonien, Wetten ende Rechten.
Wt de Arabische spraecke / nu nieuwelijcks in Hooghduytsch ghetranslateert / met t'samen een aenhanghende Voorreden / door Salomon Swigger, Prediker der Kercken tot Noorenbergh.
Ende wederom uyt het Hooghduytsch in Nederlantsche spraecke gheftelt.

Gedruckt voor Barent Adriaensz. Berentsma, Boeck-verkooper tot Hamburgh, 1641.

Figure 4.4: Dutch translation of Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* (1641), printed with false name of publisher and place of publication.

publication would not be shown, and that their permission would remain a secret.[733] It shows how the Nürnberg authorities tried to balance between their Protestant agenda and their allegiance to the Holy Roman Emperor, and had to be cautious not to upset or provoke either party.

Nothing seems to indicate, however, that the publication of Schweigger's Qur'an translation was a controversial or contested matter. The fact that Halbmaier appears to have been granted the necessary permission to publish the work *as well as* to reveal the place of publication suggests that the text was not expected to challenge Nürnberg's allegiance to either the Lutheran cause or the Catholic Habsburg authorities, despite the presumed 'heretical' nature of the Qur'an. Indeed, two further editions published in 1623 and 1629 - both printed by Simon Halbmaier, who reset the work but did not make any alterations – seem to confirm that, even after its initial publication, Schweigger's Qur'an translation did not meet with any resistance. Moreover, these editions suggest that, once the *Alcoranus Mahometicus* was published, its public demand only grew. In 1659, an adaptation of the work was published by Johan Andreas Endter and Wolffgang Endter the Younger in Nürnberg. This publication, which will be discussed later in this chapter, was reprinted in 1664, again attesting to the longevity of Schweigger's German Qur'an in the public domain.

Schweigger's original *Alcoranus Mahometicus* (including its two reprints) would, however, remain the only descendent of Robert of Ketton's Qur'an to be openly published without a polemical framework. In 1641, the German text was translated into the Dutch language by an anonymous translator. Like Schweigger's original work, it was published without a polemical framework – and even without any annotations or index – by a publisher identified as Barent Adriaensz. Berentsma, a Dutch bookseller working in Hamburg. A facsimile edition of Dutch book trade catalogues compiled and published by Broer Jansz in Amsterdam, however, mentions a Dutch Qur'an that was published at this printing house in the 1640s.[734] As no other Dutch Qur'an is known from this time period, it seems likely that this was, in fact, the 1641 translation of Schweigger's publication.[735] This also suggests that the real publisher, Broer Jansz, saw reason to hide his involvement in the work. Again, the reason seems to have been the official laws of censorship by the religious and secular authorities. During the Synod of Dordt, which was held from 1618-1619 in the city of Dordrecht, the Dutch authorities and leaders of the Reformed Church had condemned the publication and circulation of 'heretical texts' that would challenge

[733] Sporhan-Krempel and Wohnhaas, 'Simon Halbmaier (1587-1632)', p. 902.
[734] H. W. de Kooker (ed.), *The catalogus universalis : a facsimile edition of Dutch booktrade catalogues compiled and published by Broer Jansz Amsterdam 1640-1652*, Utrecht, HES Publishers, 1989.
[735] This is also suggested by the fact that several copies of the Dutch Qur'an have been bound together with two other works related to Islam that were published by Broer Jansz – one a history of the life of Muhammad and one on 'Oriental Prophecies' and the Ottoman Empire. One of these 'bundles' is held at Princeton. See: https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9486705 (accessed 6 January 2020).

the orthodoxy as it has been established during the same synod. In the acts, the Qur'an is specifically mentioned as being a 'slanderous and heretical'[736] book, together with 'Arian, Samosatenian, Socinian, Pelagian, and other such books'. As the authorities argued, the suppression and condemnation of such books, despite restricting the freedom of publishers and booksellers, would 'add to the dignity of the magistrate, while also benefitting the Dutch Church'. Accordingly, they ruled that 'all copies of such works that can be found with printers and booksellers should be suppressed, and public placards should strictly forbid their public as well as private spread'.[737] In this context, it would not be surprising if the publisher was indeed trying to hide his actual identity. Moreover, it has been suggested that the Dutch translation of the Qur'an had been initiated by anti-trinitarians, although no evidence is provided to support this claim.[738] Regardless of who translated and published the work, however, the Dutch Qur'an seems to indicate that laws of censorship did not eliminate the popular demand for prohibited works. Moreover, these laws did not outweigh the publisher's commercial gain of answering to such demand. Indeed, the fact that the Dutch Qur'an was a word-for-word translation from the German original, without any changes or additions, suggests that the publication was primarily a quick commercial enterprise. As such, the publication of *De Arabische Alkoran* in 1641 seems to have been the result of an interplay between a public interest in reading the Islamic book in the Dutch language, and the commercial interests of the publisher.

A contemporary 'Anti-Alkoran'

As the above demonstrates, Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* was a clear break with the Christian tradition of Qur'an translations and publications, despite the fact that the translator shared the negative sentiments with regard to the Islamic religion. That Schweigger was able to free himself and his publication from the traditional polemical framework is especially remarkable when looking at another publication related to the Qur'an, which was created in a similar context, although closer to the frontlines, by someone with a similar educational background, but which nevertheless turned out almost the polar opposite of Schweigger's Qur'an. In 1614, the Czech reformer Václav Budovec z Budova (1551-1621) published a work titled *Antialkorán*. Unlike Schweigger's German Qur'an, the work had faced several years of censorship

[736] ("lasterlijk(...) en kettersch(...)". Donner J. H., and S. A. van den Hoorn (translation), *Acta of Handelingen der Nationale Synode, in den Naam onzes Heeren Jezus Christus, Gehouden door autoriteit der Hoogmogende Heeren Staten-Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden te Dordrecht, ten jare 1618 en 1619*, p. 50. Available through: http://kerkrecht.nl/sites/default/files/Nationale%20Synode%20te%20Dordrecht%201618-1619.pdf (accessed 23 December 2019).

[737] "[dat] men alle exemplaren van zoodanige boeken, die men bij de drukkers en boekverkoopers vinden kan, onderdrukke, en, bij publieke plakkaten, strengelijk verbiede, dat de exemplaren van zoodanige boeken, noch heimelijk, noch openlijk hier en daar gestrooid worden". *Acta of Handelingen der Nationale Synode*, p. 50.

[738] See: Bobzin, 'Von Luther zu Rückert', p. 15.

for unknown reasons, thus delaying its publication.[740] Budovec's persistence demonstrates his dedication to nevertheless publish his adaptation of the Qur'an. The author had been inspired to write this text during his stay in the Ottoman Empire, where he had worked as a *Hofmeister* in the Habsburg Embassy in Constantinople from 1577 to 1581 – indeed, in the same years as Schweigger.[741] Budovec was born into family belonging to the lower Czech nobility of landowners (*Grundherrn*) in Bohemia, which had been under Habsburg rule since the Battle of Mohács. During his studies, which he enjoyed mostly in Prague, he spent time at the University of Wittenberg and in Switzerland. Himself coming from a Brethren background, Budovec became influenced by a variety of Protestant theologians including Luther and Calvin not only through his studies, but also through his subsequent travels in the Netherlands, France, England, Denmark, and Italy.[742] In 1577, he was employed as *Hofmeister* by Joachim von Sinzendorff. During his three-year stay in Constantinople, the Bohemian Lord further developed his theological views, became interested in Turkish history and the Islamic religion, and even learned both Turkish and Arabic.[743]

Although they were from a different familial and national/ethnic background, Schweigger and Budovec shared a similar theological education and interest in travel, spent the same years in the same environment in Constantinople, and even lived in nearly the exact same time - they were both born in 1551, and Schweigger passed away exactly one year after Budovec.[744] During their employment in Constantinople, both gentlemen seem to have engaged in religious conversations both with each other and with the local population. Presumably, Budovec had even brought a copy of Bibliander's 1550 Qur'an edition with him to the Ottoman Empire so that he could discuss its contents with Ottomans and converts.[745] In addition, he maintained an intensive correspondence with the Lutheran reformer David Chytraeus in Rostock, who, like his colleagues in Tübingen, showed great interest in Eastern Christianity.[746]

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[740] Lisy-Wagner, 'Antialkorán', and 'Václav Budovec z Budova', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500-1900*. Available from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9537_cmrii_COM_27596 (accessed 21 December 2019)

[741] He is listed in Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* as Wentzel von Budowitz. *Reyßbeschreibung,* p. 5.

[742] He had a broad network of (Czech and non-Czech) influential Protestant friends, such as Comenius and Karel of Žerotín, David Chytraeus, and Theodor Beza. See: J. Soucek, 'Venceslaus Budovetz de Budov (First Protestant Missionary to the Mohammedans)', *The Moslem World,* vol. 17, no. 4, 1927, p. 401; O. Odložilík, 'Bohemian Protestants and the Calvinist Churches', *Church History,* vol. 8, no. 4, 1939, pp. 347-8; N. I. Matar, 'The Comenian Legacy in England', *The Seventeenth Century,* vol. 8, no. 2, 1993, p. 213.

[743] Evans, 'Bohemia, the Emperor and the Porte', p. 101; L. Lisy-Wagner, 'Antialkorán', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500-1900*. Available from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9537_cmrii_COM_27597 (accessed 21 December 2019).

[744] Budovec was, in fact, one of the 27 revolting Lords that were executed by the Habsburg authorities at the Old Town Square in Prague on 21 June 1621. See: *A True Relation Of the bloudy Execution, lately performed by the Commaundmet of the Emperours Maiestie, vpon the Persons of some Chiefe States-men, and others; in* Prague *the chiefe Citie of the Kingdom of* Bohemia*. The 11. Of* Iune *1621. With the manner and proceedings therein obserued.* Faithfully Translated out of the *Dutch Copye*, 21 July 1621, and Odložilík, 'Bohemian Protestants and the Calvinist Churches', 348.

[745] Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity, and the Making of Czech Identity*, p. 78.

[746] Soucek, 'Venceslaus Budovetz de Budov', p. 401.

For Schweigger, his involvement and exchange with Muslim culture and religion inspired him to publish an authentic, and 'objective' translation of the Qur'an in German. While this publication was still aimed at the refutation of the Islamic religion, the author's anti-Islamic stance is almost absent from the text. For Budovec, however, his experiences in the Ottoman capital made him "the staunch advocate of an extreme anti-Turkish position…",[747] which found expression in his most well-known work about the Ottomans, the *Antialkorán*. As the title indicates, this was work of fierce anti-Islamic and anti-Qur'anic polemic, "fully in the spirit of Bible-thumping evangelical onslaughts on the infidel creed popular since Luther himself"[748]. In many ways, and quite literally in the title, Budovec's *Antialkorán* is the polar opposite of Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus.* Schweigger outspokenly – though unsuccessfully – distanced himself from the Christian tradition of Qur'an texts and commentaries, and instead aspired to publish 'the real text of the Qur'an'. Budovec, on the other hand, heavily relied on Bibliander's publication, including the medieval polemical texts that it contained. This is not only reflected in the author's highly polemical tone – echoing traditional images of the 'Turkish tyrant and Antichrist' – but also of his repetition of medieval myths about Islam such as that of the Arian monk Sergius.[749] In addition, Budovec includes his own experience with Muslim culture in his *Antialkorán*, thus deviating even further from Schweigger's insistence on the sole use of authentic, Islamic sources in the study of the religion.

The *Antialkorán* consists of three parts. In the first, Budovec claims to offer a 'summary' of the Islamic religion by providing definitions of its basic religious terms (such as 'God', 'Heaven', and 'Paradise'), summarizing the contents of the individual 124 chapters of the Qur'an[750] as well as the *Fabulae Saracenorum*[751], and by recounting the contents of Georgius of Hungary's *De moribus, religione, conditionibus ad nequitia Turcorum* (which was also included in Bibliander's publication). Needless to say, this exposition of Islam is not unbiased, but is a condemnation of what Budovec viewed as deliberate lies by Muhammad. In the second part, the author's aversion to Islam is even more outspoken, as he presents what he argues to be the '*true* essence' of the religion. One of the main aims of this section seems to be to refute the authority of the Qur'an, while at the same time establishing that of the Bible. The third part, finally, centres around a

[747] Evans, 'Bohemia, the Emperor and the Porte', p. 101.
[748] Ibid., p. 101. NB: Evans writes that, in this respect, Bubovec's work is very similar in style to Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mohameticus.* This suggests that Evans may only have read Schweigger's preface to the work, in which he contextualizes his publication in the fight against heresy and Islam. For, as this chapter has demonstrated, the Qur'an text itself is entirely unpolemical.
[749] Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity, and the Making of Czech Identity*, p. 75.
[750] The number 124 follows Bibliander's Qur'an publication, which contained 124 rather than the original 114 surahs.
[751] See: Lisy-Wagner, 'Antialkorán'. As we have seen, the *Fabulae Saracenorum* were the source for the first book of the Italian *L'Alcorano di Macometto*. As such, Budovec's *Antialkorán* was based on the same texts as Schweigger's *Alcoranum Mahometicus* – that is, the 124 chapters of Bibliander's Qur'an and the three texts of the *Fabulae Saracenorum*.

comprehensive account of Christian doctrine and the author's eschatological views. The subject of Islam fades into the background as Budovec outlines true Christianity, inspired by the models of Luther, Calvin, and Erasmus of Rotterdam, and shifts his polemical focus to Christian heresies such as Arianism and Socinianism. The text of the *Antialkorán* is supplemented with illustrations, some of which contain the traditional Christian views of Islam. The frontispiece, for example, contains an illustration of the Battle of Gog and Magog,[752] depicts Mecca as the Devil's lair, and shows Muslims as worshipping Babylon.[753] Several other images in the work itself visualize the Islamic religion as a literal wolf in sheep's clothing.[754]

The difference between Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* and Budowitz's *Antialkorán* is especially noteworthy considering that both publications served the same, dual purpose. They were meant to strengthen and protect Christianity by demonstrating the errors of Islam and by distinguishing false belief from true, Christian faith so that the latter could be maintained and defended. As is clear, however, the tone of both authors is entirely different. Budowitz's fierce polemics have been explained by the fact that the author wrote his work in response to the recent outbreak of war between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. With the Ottoman frontier drawing closer, his *Antialkorán* was meant to ensure that his fellow-countrymen would understand the differences between Christianity and Islam, and that they would not be tempted to convert to the latter.[755] If Budowitz, like he claimed, had indeed discussed Bibliander's Qur'an with the Islamic inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, he must have been aware that its contents were far removed from the original text as it was read by Muslims.[756] Moreover, the author presumably knew Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, and should therefore have been able to at least compare the original text with its European counterparts.[757] It makes it all the more remarkable that Budowitz relied exclusively on Bibliander's Qur'an, as well as on its accompanying Christian polemical texts. In the contemporary climate, in which the Ottoman advance provided an imminent threat to the Bohemian reader, he may have considered traditional anti-Islamic polemics more effective than an authentic translation and exposition of the Qur'an – despite that fact that he shared Schweigger's view that "when people read and understand the Qur'an, it is manifestly clear that

[752] The Turkish threat was often linked to the prophecy of Gog and Magog in the Book of Revelation. See: Colding Smith, *Images of Islam,* pp. 69-74.
[753] The place of evil, and "the mother of prostitutes and abominations of the world", mentioned in the Book of Revelation (Revelation 17:5, NIV). In traditional anti-Islamic polemics, (Ottoman) Muslims were more often depicted as worshipping the Whore of Babylon. See: Colding Smith, *Images of Islam,* p. 38.
[754] This is a visualization of the idea that Muhammad deliberately incorporated Christian elements in his religion in order to give it credibility and make it appeal to Christians. As such, Islam was seen as a false religion under the disguise of Christianity. This argument is repeated by Budovec.
[755] Lisy-Wagner, 'Antialkorán'.
[756] Ibid..
[757] Ibid.. Arabic Qur'an manuscripts were already available in Europe in the Middle Ages, and were mentioned and used, for example, by Nicolas of Cusa and Riccoldo da Monte Croce.

it is wrong, so that knowledge of the book itself will arm the believer against the seductive piety of Muslims".[758]

One cannot escape the impression, however, that the biggest enemy in Budowitz's *Antialkorán* is not Islam itself, but is rather Christian apostacy and heresy. Even in the title of the work, the author points his arrows at Arian anti-Trinitarianism as the foundation of Islam: 'Against the Qur'an, which is the powerful and unvanquished explanation that the Turkish Qur'an came from the devil and was originally Arian and with conscious blasphemy against the Holy Spirit'.[759] Indeed, two important motifs in the text are the ideas that Islam was created by Christian apostates, and that the apparent outward piety of Muslims and their good deeds might lead Christians astray.[760] Moreover, the most lengthy of the three parts that comprise the *Antialkorán* is the last, which centres around Budowitz's own eschatological worldview. In this part, he lays out what he considers to be the Christian truth and the right path to salvation, and discusses the grave issue of conversion to Islam. More generally, Budowitz's polemic against Islam provided the author with a platform on which he could criticize other Christian confessions and sects with similar passion while communicating his own religious identity.[761] As such, his work on the Qur'an should be seen as an instrument in his own programme of confession building. In order to further aid this process, Budowitz argued for the translation of the Qur'an text itself in the vernacular, so that it could be used as a negative example.[762] Although it may not be clear at first sight, Schweigger seems to have published his non-polemical German Qur'an translation from a very similar point of view – as useful tool in the Lutheran process of confession building.

[758] Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity, and the Making of Czech Identity*, p. 78.
[759] This English translation is provided by Lisy-Wagner in her article 'Antialkorán' in *Christian-Muslim Relations.*
[760] Lisy-Wagner, 'Antialkorán'.
[761] Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity, and the Making of Czech Identity*, p. 95.
[762] Lisy-Wagner, 'Antialkorán'.

4.3 Devilish heresy or Divine punishment? The Qur'an in confessional polemics

The lack of interpretative framework or accompanying texts in Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* makes it difficult to trace the translator's personal views and motives with regard to publishing the Qur'an in this particular form. The only addition that was made by the author himself, apart from the marginal summaries, is a brief, seven-page preface. Although Schweigger uses this text to characterize the Islamic religion as well as the Qur'an, and identifies the usefulness of the latter for the Christian reader, he mainly does so by repeating traditional and very general anti-Islamic polemical arguments: Islam is presented as a false religion, Muhammad as an impostor, and the Qur'an as a book filled with fables and false beliefs. There is, however, another element to the preface which may be more revealing about the context in which Schweigger published his German Qur'an. This is the connection of the text to the issue of heresy within the contemporary Christian church.

The preface starts with a Biblical allegory, in which Schweigger identifies the Qur'an as the flying scroll that was seen by the prophet Zechariah in one of his nightly visions[763]: "The Holy Prophet reports of a long flying scroll, which he saw in the face of Zachariae, of 30 cubits square, namely 20 cubits in length, and 10 cubits in width. Through this *volume* or scroll, all false doctrine is generally identified, which spread wide and far, and slowly consumes many peoples and countries, and which does not stand still, but rather brings its curse from one place to another. I reckon, however, that this title or designation of a flying scroll should be attributed, for convenience sake, to the blasphemous Turkish, Mahometan, Saracenic, or Agaran Ismaelite religion, namely to the cursed Alcoran".[765] Although the exact meaning of the flying scroll has been (and still is) disputed, Schweigger interprets it as a 'letter containing all false beliefs that were spreading over many peoples and many countries'.[766] Following the reference to Zechariah, he identifies the Qur'an as 'such a letter'[767] containing false beliefs ("ein Lesterbrieff"), which has gradually consumed a great number of people and countries such as 'Hungary, Croatia, Greece,

[763] See: Zechariah 5.1-4 (NRSV).
[765] "Der heilig Prophet thut meldung eines langen fliegenden Brieffs / den er im Gesicht Zachariae hab gesehen / der selb hab inn der vierung gehabt 30. Elen / nemlich 20. Elen in die lenge / und 10. Elen in die breite. Durch diß volumen oder Brieff wird ins gemein alle falsche lehre angedeutet / die sich in die lenge und in die breite weit außbreitet / und gleichsam viel Völcker unnd Länder bedeckt / der nicht still stehet / sondern von einem ort ins ander fleucht. Ich halte aber darfür / daß diser Tittel oder attributum eines fliegenden Brieffs / der Gottlästerlichen / Türckischen / Machometischen / Saracenischen oder Agarenischen Ismaelitischen Religion von billigkeit wegen zugemessen werden soll / nemlich dem verfluchten Alcoran". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* xii r.
[766] For an overview of scholarly interpretations of Zechariah 5, see: A. R. Petterson, 'The Flying Scroll That Will Not Acquit the Guilty: Exodus 34.7 in Zechariah 5.3', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, vol. 38, no. 3, 2014, pp. 347-361.
[767] "Alcoran ein solcher brief", Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* xii r, second annotation.

Asia Minor, Syria, Persia, Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, Barbaria, etc.', as well as many of the Mediterranean islands.[768]

As Schweigger writes, the 'Lester' of Islam - sent by God upon the people - had only spread amongst those Christians who are "poorly grounded in the Christian religion".[769] Just as he did in his *Reyßbeschreibung*, the author describes the Islamic religion as God's punishment for false elements within Christianity. In his Qur'an preface, however, Schweigger locates this sinfulness specifically within false theological beliefs and concepts, rather than in sinful behaviour - in other words, he connects the spread of Islam to Christian heretical thought. This connection between Islam and heresy is not unambiguous: On the one hand, the Islamic religion itself is described as a (Judeo-)Christian heresy, and the Qur'an as a collection of 'pre-Islamic' heresies which were taken by Muhammad from both Judaism and Christianity. At the same time, it is characterised as a *consequence* of heresy. As Schweigger writes, Islam rears its ugly head "when the people grow bored of the truth of the Gospels, and when their ears start itching for new teachings".[770] According to the author, it was in order to deceive these wavering Christians that Muhammad included the figure of Christ, as well as his immaculate conception and his Gospels, in his religion, so that they would be tricked into believing that his invented religion was, in fact, a Christian one.[771] Regardless of its exact relation to Christianity and Christian heresy, the key to keeping the Islamic 'Lester' and tyranny outside of the German lands and 'Nation' - which had so far been spared - was in the maintenance of Christian 'Rechtgläubigkeit': "that it [the German people] persists in Christ's confession and faith, and maintains this until the end".[773] In this sense, Schweigger's Qur'an translation was not as much concerned with the Islamic religion itself, but was rather a call for the cleanse and protection of Christian - in his eyes: Lutheran - orthodoxy and the banishment of heretical thought.

Islam as a Christian heresy?

The relation between Islam and Christianity had been a topic of great contention ever since Christians started to discuss and write about the 'religion of Muhammad', and the exact interpretation of this relation changed over time and according to the circumstances. Traditionally, 'outsiders' to Christianity were categorised as either heretics, Jews, or pagans by canonical law. Lacking proper knowledge about the Islamic religion, Christian authorities in the

[768] Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, xii r and v.
[769] "in der Christlichen Religion ubel gegrundet". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* xiiii v.
[770] "wann die Leut der Warheit deß Evangelii überdrüssig werden / und ihnen die Ohren jucken nach einer neuen Lehre". Ibid., xv r.
[771] Ibid., xiiii r and v.
[773] "daß er dieselbigen im Glauben und Erkanntnuß Christi bestendig biß ans End wolle erhalten". Ibid., xv r.

first centuries after the emergence of Islam often regarded Muslims as pagans who worshipped Muhammad as an idol.[774] This view was especially prominent amongst those who were not directly confronted with the religion: Spanish Christians and crusaders, for example, often knew enough about Islam not to present it as idolatry.[775] In the twelfth century, when the Qur'an was translated into Latin and knowledge about the Islamic religion and culture increased also in the Christian west (often under the influence of Spanish and Eastern sources), Islam was increasingly characterised as a Christian heresy by Latin writers who were faced with the Christian elements contained in the Qur'an: As they came to realise, the Qur'an text referred to God as the Creator, to Jesus as the son of Mary, and to Mother Mary herself. Despite the fact that these passages closely approximated Christian revealed religion, the Christological doctrine of the Qur'an was understood to contain the greatest error possible. As the annotator of the Robert of Ketton's Qur'an wrote: "Note that he [Muhammad] everywhere says *Christ, son of Mary*, against the Christians - as if he said, *son of Mary, not Son of God*; which is the sum of all this devilish heresy".[776] It was seen as evidence that Muhammad took several 'sound things' from the Bible, but that he mixed these with heretical teachings.

The most obvious way to relate the Islamic religion to Christianity in a way that would account for both error *and* truth was thus by characterising Muhammad as a heresiarch, and his followers as heretics.[777] Muhammad was put directly into the heretical tradition of Eastern Christendom by identifying the Christian monk Bahira - who, according to the hadith, recognized the future prophet in the young Muhammad - as an Arian or Nestorian heretic who taught Muhammad his heretical Christian doctrines. In order to account for the great success of Islam, Muhammad was described to have performed a number of false miracles, meant to deceive the people and to turn them away from true faith.[778] It was common practice to describe the Islamic religion as a culmination of all ancient heresies, carefully constructed by Muhammad with elements that he took from (heretical) Christianity and Judaism.[779] In Peter the Venerable's *Summula,* Islam is described as "regurgitating almost all the dregs of ancient heresies which, infected by the Devil, he [Muhammad] had swallowed (...)".[780] The denial of the concept of the Trinity, for example, was led back to Sabellius, while the rejection of the divinity of Christ - a

[774] D. M. Freidenreich, 'Muslims in Canon Law, 650-1000', in D. Thomas et al. (eds.), *Christian Muslim-Relations: A Bibliographical History,* vol. 1, Leiden, Brill, 2009, pp. 90-91.
[775] Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 134.
[776] English translation from Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 191.
[777] See: Tolan*, Saracens,* pp. 135-169; Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades,* p. 98.
[778] Such an account of the origins of Islam can be found in a number of twelfth-century polemical biographies of Muhammad. See: Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 135-169.
[779] E. Colombo, 'Western theologies and Islam', in U. L. Lehner, R. A. Muller, and A. G. Roeber (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600-1800,* New York City, Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 485.
[780] Daniel, *Islam and the West,* p. 210.

denial of the Trinity in itself - was thought to be taken from Arianism and Nestorianism. The 'return' of all ancient heresies was interpreted as a plot by the Devil within the grand scheme of salvation history: the things that were "first sown by Arius, and then advanced by this Satan, that is, Muhammad, would indeed be wholly completed by the Antichrist, according to the diabolical intention".[781] In this sense, the Islamic religion was not just taken as *a* heresy, but as the ultimate culmination of *all* heresy. Accordingly, Muhammad was often presented as the 'arch heretic', despite the fact that he had never been a part of the Church - and thus never 'left' - to begin with.[782]

The characterisation of Islam as a heresy seems to have become more prominent in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. In his interpretation of the place of Islam in salvation history, Bibliander followed the views of John of Damascus (d. 749), who had been one of the first writers to characterise the Islamic religion as a Christian heresy. In his apology, Bibliander argues that the Qur'an contains many doctrines that have previously circulated among other heretics, and that the book should therefore be placed among the heretical doctrines.[783] In order to support this argument, he then lists a number of Christian heretical movements which had similar views on the drinking of wine, circumcision, polygamy, the Holy Trinity, and the nature of Christ.[784] The survival of such views, however, does not suggest an unbroken chain from the Middle Ages into the sixteenth century in which Islam was consequently seen and presented as a Christian heresy. Indeed, images of Muslims as pagan worshippers and of Muhammad as the Antichrist remained common in both 'popular' and 'learned' culture, and different approaches to Islam and Muhammad were not mutually exclusive.[785] Even in one and the same work or person, and depending on the context, the emphasis could shift from one specific interpretation to the other. Characterizations of Islam as a heresy would thus resurface especially when questions of heresy were occupying the religious discourse in general.[786]

Indeed, the sixteenth and seventeenth century had seen the rise of a multiplicity of Antitrinitarian movements, often grouped together under the term 'Radical Reformation'. As a consequence, both secular and religious authorities expressed great anxiety over the strength of religious and political stability in Europe, and sought to both account for and counter the spread of the Antitrinitarian teachings. In this context, the Islamic religion was brought into the religious discourse not only as a collection of heresies, but also as a direct consequence of Christian

[781] Daniel, *Islam and the West,* p. 210.
[782] According to the canonical position, heresy was only that what left the church and acted against it. Heretics, in turn, had been baptized and were liable to penalties for leaving the Church. See: Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 212-3.
[783] Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, pp. 27-8.
[784] Ibid., p. 28.
[785] Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 136-7
[786] As John Tolan argues, the portraying of Muhammad as a heresiarch and false preacher, rather than as the Antichrist or as someone who claimed to be the messiah, in a number of twelfth-century texts "show[s] how much [they] are preoccupied with the issues of reform and heresy closer to home". *Saracens*, 136-7.

heretical views.[787] Indeed, both Theodor Bibliander and Salomon Schweigger warned that the spread of anti-Trinitarian ideas would create fertile ground for the subsequent spread of Islam, as had previously been demonstrated in the Near East and, more recently, in the eastern parts of Christian Europe.[788] As Schweigger writes, it had initially been the 'abominations' of the Arian church, which were approved by the Byzantine Emperor, that had opened the door to other 'positions and vices, and to arrogance and lechery', and, as such, had 'paved the way for Islam'.[789]

In his preface, however, Schweigger does not make the traditional connection between the heresy of Islam and the Devil or the Antichrist. Although he does characterize the Islamic teachings as 'Devilish', he argues that these are sent by God upon His people as a punishment for their ungratefulness. By identifying the Qur'an as a 'flying scroll' such as the one described in the Bible, he characterized the Islamic religion as a particularly *Christian* heresy, not only because it was spreading amongst previously Christian regions and peoples, but also because it was doing so at God's demand. As we have seen in the previous chapters, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Turk and their religion were often interpreted or presented as a scourge of God. However, this narrative was mainly aimed to account for the military successes of the Ottoman Empire and for Christian suffering under Islamic rule. As such, it ignored the uncomfortable reality of the simultaneous spread of the Islamic religion in previously Christian areas. Schweigger's preface, however, addressed this 'theological threat' - of not only losing one's own faith but of falling into heretical beliefs - by similarly presenting it as a divine punishment for Christian ungratefulness.

In Schweigger's view, heretical beliefs - if not nipped in the bud - thus inevitably led to more heretical beliefs, which were sent upon the people by God and were contained or collected in 'flying scrolls' such as the Qur'an. In a way, this also irrefutably established the Qur'an's falsity, as it was sent by God as a (theological) punishment for wrong beliefs. In order to avert this theological punishment, the key was thus to recognize these heretical beliefs. In this sense, the Qur'an, as God's 'flying scroll', could serve not only as a scourge, but also as a warning: it contained those heretical beliefs which should be avoided. As such, studying the Qur'an, in its original state,

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[787] The connection that was made between contemporary anti-Trinitarian movements and Islam was not merely a polemical and rhetorical strategy. As scholars like Martin Mulsow, Justin Champion and Nabil Matar have demonstrated, interactions between Islamic sources, anti-Islamic polemics, and Christian heterodoxy did, in fact, take place. See: M. Mulsow, 'Socinianism, Islam and the Radical Uses of Arabic Scholarship', *Al-Qantara,* vol. 31, no. 2, 2010, pp. 549-586; J. Champion, '"I Remember a Mahometan Story of Ahmed Ben Edris": Freethinging Uses of Islam from Stubbe to Toland', *Al-Qantara,* vol. 31, no. 2, 2010, pp. 443-480.

[788] A commonly heard polemical argument was that the schismatic divisions of Eastern Christianity had caused or at least facilitated the rise of Islam. Colombo, 'Western theologies and Islam', p. 486.

[789] "… sonderlich die Kayser den Arrianischen Greweln Beyfall gaben / dardurch dem Mahometischen Lugenmaul den Weg gemacht / unnd die Thur geoffnet haben / von andern Standen und Lastern / Hoffart und Wollust …". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* xv r and v.

would be beneficial in identifying false belief, which, in turn, would help to establish true Christian orthodoxy.

Altdorf Socinianism and Lutheran orthodoxy in Nürnberg

The question of heresy and orthodoxy was, in fact, a pressing one in Nürnberg at the time of Schweigger's Qur'an publication. A year earlier, in 1615, two Nürnberg fellows from the nearby Academy of Altdorf - Joachim Peuschel and Jakob Vogel - had been accused of heretical, Socinian activities, and had been reported to the city council and clergy by the Jenaer professor and orthodox Lutheran Albert Grauer.[790] The accusations were not unfounded: both Altdorf and Nürnberg had a longer history of local Socinianism, which had its roots with the Altdorf professor of medicine and physics Ernst Soner. Soner had been attracted towards the Socinian teachings during his study time in Leiden, and upon his employment in Altdorf he became the leader of a local antitrinitarian movement also referred to as 'Photinianism'.[791] Although Soner personally managed to hide his religious affiliation by publicly joining Lutheran ceremonies and celebrations, the existence of a Socinian community in a small town such as Altdorf could not escape the attention of the authorities. Indeed, occasional investigations regarding heretical and even blasphemous activities already took place before the accusations from Jena in 1615.[792]

The events in 1615 seem to have been seized as an opportunity by the Nürnberg authorities to once and for all clear the name of the city and the academy, and to put themselves on the map next to Jena and Wittenberg as orthodox Lutheran strongholds. Vogel and Peuschel were ordered to respond to Grauer's accusations with a written statement in which they responded to twelve theses regarding the difference between the Lutheran and the Socinian teachings. These statements were subsequently closely reviewed by two members of the Nürnberg clergy - Johann Fabricius from the St. Sebald Church and Johann Schröder from the St. Lorenz Church - who concluded that they had "found in those that the students were sadly committed to Photinianism".[793] The apparent presence of Socinianism within its jurisdiction was seen as a serious threat to the - already weak - reputation of Nürnberg, and in order to proof that it would not tolerate such heresy the Nürnberg council instigated a large-scale investigation in Altdorf to localise the roots of these ideas. It requested the arrest and extradition of Joachim Peuschel and Jakob Vogel, and both were heavily interrogated by theologians from Jena and

[790] See: K. Braun, 'Der Socinianismus in Altdorf 1616', *ZBKG,* vol. 8, 1933, pp. 65-81 and pp. 129-150; H. C. Brennecke, 'Orthodoxie und sozinianische Häresie in Altdorf', in H. C. Bennecke, D. Niefanger, and W. W. Schnabel (eds.), *Akademie und Universität Altdorf. Studien zur Hochschulgeschichte Nürnbergs*, Köln, 2011, pp. 151-166.
[791] This was after the antitrinitarian heretic Photin of Sirmium, who had been convicted during a number of synods in the fourth century. See: Brennecke, 'Orthodoxie und sozinianische Häresie in Altdorf'.
[792] Braun, 'Der Socinianismus in Altdorf 1616', p. 71.
[793] "darinnen befunden, daß er leider dem Photinianismus zugetan". Ibid., p. 74.

Wittenberg together with a number of other suspicious students from Altdorf. During the investigations and interrogations, it came to light that Altdorf was not only home to students with Socinian sympathies, but that the academy housed an actual Socinian community which had met in one of the student dorms for the Socinian celebration of the Eucharist.[794]

Once the investigations had been completed, all Nürnberg fellows in Altdorf were ordered to sign a document containing fifty 'anti-Socinian' aphorisms. Not only did this rid those particular students from the suspicion of heresy, but it also cleared the name of the city council by demonstrating the 'Rechtglaubigkeit' of its fellows. Furthermore, on the 29th of June 1616 the council organised a public burning of all text containing Socinian heresies that had been found during the investigations in Altdorf. During the event, a proclamation by the council was read out loud to the audience. In the proclamation, the council condemned the fellows who had endorsed the old, Photinist heresy - which had been condemned by multiple church councils throughout history - and had thereby brought shame – both in 'Aus- und Innland' – upon the academy, the city of Nürnberg, and the Nürnberg evangelical orthodoxy.[795] The city's response to Albert Grauer's accusations, as well as its ultimate settling of the matter, obviously served to clear the city and the city council's name by demonstrating that it did not tolerate the presence of heresy within its own jurisdiction. In this sense, the council's actions against both the Altdorfer students and the academy's professors were primarily an outward political statement, rather than just an attempt to solve a local conflict. In the course of the events in Altdorf, Nürnberg thus profiled itself as a strong German power that operated along the lines of the Peace of Augsburg.

For the clergy in Nürnberg, too, the Socinian question in Altdorf provided an opportunity to demonstrate its 'Rechtglaubigkeit', and to strengthen the boundaries of local Lutheran orthodoxy. While they were ordered by the city council to stay away from the investigations in Altdorf - likely to avoid the suspicion of involvement in any form or heretical activities that might be revealed during the process - they were responsible for the preparation of the fifty anti-Socinian aphorisms that had to be signed in agreement by all Nürnberg fellows in Altdorf. Mainly focussing on the doctrine of the Trinity, ecclesiology, and eschatology, the document could indeed be considered not just as a refutation of anti-Trinitarianism, but also as a concise orthodox Lutheran 'Dogmatik'.[796] Interestingly, the document also included a condemnation of the Reformed Eucharist as a heretical practice. As such, the Socinian controversy in Altdorf seems to

[794] This was the student dorm of the later-renowned Socinian Martinus Ruarus. See: M. Schmeisser, *Sozinianische Bekenntnisschriften. Der Rakówer Katechismus des Valentin Schmalz (1608) und der sogenannte Soner-Katechismus,* Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2012, p. 58.
[795] A print of the (German) "Proklamation des Nürnberger Rates" can be found in: Braun, 'Der Socinianismus in Altdorf 1616', pp. 147-8.
[796] Braun, 'Der Socinianismus in Altdorf 1616', p. 155.

have been seized by the Nürnberg clergy as an opportunity to take a clear stance not just against Socinianism, but against false - i.e. non-Protestant - beliefs and practices in general.

The Islamic religion was a common scapegoat in contemporary anti-Socinian polemics – or, more generally, in polemics against anti-Trinitarians. Budovec's *Antialkorán,* for example, explicitly 'used' the Qur'an in order to polemicize against Socinianism and anti-trinitarianism. The author even wrote that Socinians "actually are the family of Muhammad and [are] almost worse than Muhammad".[797] That anti-Trinitarian sects were similar to or even allied with Islam was also argued by other contemporary writers such as the Englishman Thomas Calvert, who wrote that "If any Christians turne Mahometans … they begin with Arianisme, and Socinianisme, and then Turcisme is not so strange a thing".[798] The Qur'an, too, played a part in these polemics against Anti-Trinitarians. The *Racovian Catechism*, for example, which was the nontrinitarian statement of faith of the Polish Brethren, was described by Francis Cheynell (1608-1665) as the "Rancovian Alcoran".[799] The connection between Islam and Anti-Trinitarian thought was not only made by polemicists, but also by anti-trinitarians themselves. They could present Islamic monotheism as a proof of the accuracy of their interpretation of the Scripture and their rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity.[800]

Schweigger's Qur'an as a compendium of heresy

While there is no evidence to suggest that Schweigger was directly involved in the Socinian question in Altdorf, his Qur'an translation can be placed within this specific context - especially considering the fact that it was published at the height of the events in 1616, and by the same printer and bookseller who in 1617 also published a work titled *Photinismus à Johanne Vogelio & Joachimo Peuschelio,* which contained the public recantation of the Socinian beliefs by Johann Vogel and Joachim Peuschel. In the light of the Socinian investigations, heretics and heretical beliefs had to be clearly defined in order for them to be persecuted and convicted. Not only could this be done by outlining Lutheran orthodoxy, as was done in the fifty aphorisms, but also by defining and outlining heresy itself in order to make it more easily recognizable. Throughout Europe, the perceived threat of Christian sectarianism had led to the publication of so called heresiographies, aimed - like Qur'an translations in that period - at the collection of knowledge about the religious enemies. To a certain extent, Schweigger's Qur'an translation can be seen in the same light as these heresiographies.

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[797] Budovec as quoted in Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity, and the Making of Czech Identity*, p. 95.
[798] T. Calvert, *The Blessed Jew of Marocco: or, A Blackmoor Made White … by Rabbi Samuel, A Jew turned Christian … to which are annexed a diatriba of the Jews sins*, York, T. Broad, 1648, p. 215.
[799] Ibid., p. 48.
[800] For a discussion of the historical connections between Christian anti-trinitarianism and Islam, see Mulsow, 'Socinianism, Islam and the Radical Uses of Arabic Scholarship'.

As we have seen, Schweigger presented his Qur'an translation as a book containing all heresy. By stripping Arrivabene's work of its introduction, which was primarily a historical account of the Islamic religion based on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *Turcica*, Schweigger also stripped the Qur'an of its historical and geographical context. Instead, it was centred around the figure of the heretic - the prophet Muhammad - and the Qur'an text itself as a universal, timeless collection of heresy which, when identified as the Biblical Flying Scroll, was even designed by God.[801] If Schweigger's sole aim would have been to characterise the Islamic religion as a heresy, he might have spared himself the trouble of translating the whole Qur'an by just focussing on the more well-known Qur'anic passages about the nature of God and Christ. The fact that, instead, he insisted on publishing the *whole* Qur'an text suggests that the objective was not merely to demonstrate the presence of heretical thought within the Islamic religion. While Bibliander had attacked and refuted Islam by comparing it with other Christian heresies, Schweigger instead may have aimed to attack heresy in general – and perhaps even Altdorf Socinianism in particular – by pointing towards the Qur'anic origins of many heretical beliefs.[803]

As we have already witnessed in Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung*, the Islamic religion lent itself well to religious comparisons in which different confessional groups could position both their own religion as well as that of their opponents in relation to Islam, thus articulating their own beliefs and doctrines and explicitly refuting those of others – traditions that have been termed 'Calvinoturcism' and 'Turcopapism' in modern scholarship.[804] In 1543, Guillaume Postel (1510-1581) published his *Alcorani sue legis Mahometi et Evangelistarum concordiae liber*, in which he likened the origins of Islam to those of the contemporary Lutheran 'heresy'.[805] The Lutheran Matthias Hoë von Hoenegg (1580-1645), in turn, published a *Manifest Account of how the Calvinists Conform in ninety-nine Points with the Arians and the Turks* (Leipzig 1621). Rainolds's *Calvino-Turcismus* and Sutcliff's riposte *De Turcopapismo*, too, focussed on the similarities between Islam and the religion of their confessional opponents.[806] Variations of

[801] The historical neglect in Qur'an scholarship, even up to this date, of the question of the Qur'an's historicity and its relation to the traditions of the adjacent cultural groups has been stressed by Angelika Neuwirth in her article 'Orientalism in Oriental Studies? Qur'anic Studies as a Case in Point', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies,* vol. 9, no. 2, 2007, pp. 115-127.

[803] In similar fashion, the English anti-heretical polemical writer Ephraim Pagitt (1574-1646) attacked heretics as being akin to Catholics in his *Heresiography* (1645), whereas in his earlier *Christianographie* (1635) he made the same comparison in order to attack Catholicism. It shows how even similar polemical strategies could serve different goals, depending on the religious and political context. See: R. J. W. Mills, 'Alexander Ross's *Pansebeia* (1653), religious compendia and the seventeenth-century study of religious diversity', *The Seventeenth Century*, vol. 31, no. 3, 2016, pp. 294-5.

[804] See: M. E. H. Mout, 'Calvinoturcisme in de zeventiende eeuw: Comenius, Leidse oriëntalisten en de Turkse bijbel', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis*, vol. 91, 1978, pp. 576-607'; 'Calvinoturcismus und Chiliasmus im 17. Jahrhundert', *Pietismus und Neuzeit,* vol. 14, 1988, pp. 72-84.

[805] Postel, *Alcorani sue legis Mahometi et Evangelistarum concordiae liber,* Paris, 1543.

[806] It was from these two works that the terms 'Calvinoturcism' and 'Turcopapism' were taken to describe the tradition of comparing the confessional opponent with Islam. See: Mout, 'Calvinoturcisme' and 'Calvinoturcismus'.

'Calvinoturcism', serving to refute competing Christian confessions, were thus found in a variety of works. Not only could they serve as the main topic of such texts, as was the case with the previous examples, they could also form smaller elements of works that were primarily about the Islamic religion. As we have seen, implicit and explicit comparisons between Islam and Catholicism were also present in Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung*. Another clear example of 'Turcopapism' in a work centred around Islam can be found in a 1659 publication by the Lutheran Johann Ulrich Wallich (who will be briefly discussed later in this chapter), titled *Religio Turcica: Mahometis Vita. Et Orientalis cum Occidentali Antichristo Comparatio*.

As knowledge about Islam and Islamic history improved, such knowledge could subsequently form an important polemical weapon.[807] Especially with the first printing of Robert of Ketton's Qur'an in 1543, comparisons between Islam and the religion of 'Christian enemies' could gain a more strongly theological dimension. Not only were theological comparisons made within the realm of scholarly theology strictly, but such comparisons could also be used within vernacular polemics. This is illustrated by Heinrich Leuther's *Alcoranus Mahometicus. Oder: Türckenglaub / auß deß Mahomets eygenem Buch / genant Alcoran unnd seinen 124. darinn begrieffenen* Azoaris, *in ein kurtz* Compendium *zusammen gebracht*.[808] As the title already indicates, Leuchter's *Alcoranus* only presents a summary of the Islamic text, rather than an integral translation. The author's objective was to reveal the anti-Christian doctrines that were contained in the Qur'an, and to refute those in the light of 'the Scriptures of Moses, the Prophets, and the Gospels'. As such, the work was written to offer proper instruction and solace to "all the god-fearing who are burdened today either with the Turkish sword or in the Roman Empire with a [Turkish] tax"[809], and was thus a clear response to the Ottoman threat to the Holy Roman Empire. In two 'Testimonia Sacræ Scripturæ', the Turkish threat is linked to the Biblical prophesies of Daniel 7 and Apocalypse 9, and, as such, given a place in salvation history as a precursor of the end of times.[810]

In a total of 144 pages, Heinrich Leuchter presents a short account of Muhammad's life, and a summary of what he considered to be the most important teachings of the Qur'an (at least in the light of Christianity), both based on Theodor Bibliander's 1543 corpus. In the margins next to Leuchner's "Compendium Oder Kurzer Begrieff der Hauptpuncten / so im Alcoran verfasset seyn" ('Compendium or summary of the main points that constitute the Qur'an'), runs a

[807] About the use of 'precise information about Islam' in confessional polemics, see: M. J. Heath, 'Islamic Themes in Religious Polemic', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol. 50, no. 2, 1988, pp. 289-315.
[808] H. Leuchter, *Alcoranus Mahometicus. Oder: Türckenglaub / auß deß Mahomets eygenem Buch / genant Alcoran unnd seinen 124. darinn begrieffenen* Azoaris, *in ein kurtz* Compendium *zusammen gebracht*, Frankfurt, Nicolaus Hoffman, 1604.
[809] "Allen heutiges Tags von Türcken mit Schwerdt und sonst im Römischen Reich mit Geltstewer beschwerten frommen". Leuchter, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, title page.
[810] Ibid., p. 10.

"ADDITAMENTA ex alijs scriptoribus" – an ‘additional [summary] by other writers’. The latter summary, however, is only found on the odd-numbered pages of the work. Running parallel on the even pages are a 'Short response to Muhammad's Qur'an' by the author, as well as - and what is perhaps more interesting - a marginal text titled "Hæreses et Hæretici quibicum facit Mahomet in suo Alcorano" in which Leuchter reveals and refutes the heresy and idolatry of the 'Bapsten'. Although Catholicism is not explicitly compared to Islam, the inclusion of a refutation of the 'Popish religion' in a Qur'an refutation does put both Islam and Catholicism on the same level - that of an anti-Christian, false religion. Both Muhammad and the Pope are characterised as heretics, and their teachings as heresy.

Especially within the context of confessional polemics, the Qur'an needed to be characterized on the one hand as a collection of heresies, but should at the same time be 'authoritative' in order to serve as a source for the systematic refutation of competing Christian thought. This may have been the reason for Schweigger to locate the origins of the Qur'an in the Biblical flying scroll - an allegory that does not seem to have been common or at all present in earlier and contemporary Christian publications of and on the Qur'an. By identifying the Islamic scripture as this flying scroll, Schweigger characterized Islam not only as the military and worldly 'scourge of God', but also as a *theological* punishment. In this capacity, the Qur'an was presented as a collection of heretical thoughts that was sent by God as a retribution for Christian error. This endowed the Qur'an text with a certain divine authority, which also may have strengthened its polemical force. Whereas polemical comparisons could previously be disregarded by rejecting the Qur'an text itself, or, on the other hand, the heretical nature of the Qur'an's teachings could be questioned by more 'radical' thinkers, Schweigger's characterization of the text turned it into an authoritative and universal source on the basis of which to identify heretical teachings.[811] As such, it could become an integral part of the theological discourse concerning true Christianity and false belief.

A similar thing had already happened with Robert of Ketton’s Latin Qur’an translation. Thomas Burman has demonstrated how, at least in its earliest (known) manuscript, the text was provided with a framework typical for scholastic textbooks.[812] As such, it was integrated into the “grand project of the scholastic movement”, which was meant to formulate and defend an orthodox Latin-Christian worldview against heretics and unbelievers from both inside and outside of Latin Christendom.[813] While this meant a mainly polemical usage of the Qur’an text, it also inevitably granted a certain authority to it: “the Qur’an became one of the canonical

[811] As Heath argues, in the sixteenth century the Qur'an came to represent an "unimpeachable source of error and perversion". Heath, ‘Islamic Themes’, p. 291.
[812] Burman, *Reading the Qur’an in Latin Christendom*, p. 63.
[813] Ibid..

textbooks on the basis of which proper Christian doctrine could be established. The heretical scripture of Christendom's principal rival thus became an authoritative source of arguments against that very rival".[814] Schweigger similarly presented the Qur'an as an authoritative source in the fight against heresy and unbelief. As a Lutheran, however, he subjected the text to the principle of *sola scripture*. Rather than providing it with traditional commentary, interpretations, and polemics, he let the text speak for itself, and left it to the reader to select and interpret the useful passages in the light of his Biblical knowledge.

The theological purpose and usefulness of Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* are also reflected in the fact that it was provided with an extensive index. Indexes by topic and word were generally used as research tools - often found in the scholarly books of scholastic readers such as pocket Bibles, where they were known as 'concordances' - which helped readers to quickly find those parts of the text that they needed to cite or reference.[815] As such, the addition of an index to his *Türcken Alcoran* seems to indicate that Schweigger meant for his publication to be used as a reference work. This is also reflected in the index itself - rather than being purely 'alphabetical', containing references to specific names and terms, the entries in the *Register* also include many 'topics' which are distilled by the author from the Qur'an text (and which, in turn, are alphabetically listed). The entry "Gute Werck" ('good works'), for example, refers to a passage which instructs the people to 'pray diligently, pay the tenths faithfully, give alms on God's behalf, and you will be richly rewarded. When we pray to God, he is gracious and merciful to us'.[817] The words 'good works' are absent from the actual text, and rather reflect Schweigger's interpretation of the passage's core topic. At other times, the entries refer to specific instructions or prohibitions which are not explicitly stated in the text, but which can be distilled from it, such as 'evil desire if prohibited' or 'one should do good to the poor'.[818] The thoroughness with which Schweigger compiled the index to his Qur'an translation demonstrates his commitment to providing a Qur'an text that could be *used*. In its eighteen pages, the *Register* contains no less than 774 entries. Most of these are single references, but some also contain a number of 'subtopics', thus driving up the total number of entries even further. The entry on "Christen" (Christians), for example, contains the subtopics 'Christians want to extinguish the truth', 'have been overcome', 'have their own law', 'they recognize the truth', 'are the unbelievers in the Qur'an', 'shall not be the judge over Turks',

[814] Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*, p. 63.
[815] Ibid., p. 93.
[817]"Liebe Leut betet fleissig / reychet den Zehenden treulich / gebet Almosen umb Gottes willen / es wird euch solches reichlich belohnet werden / wann wir Gott bitten / so its er uns auch gnedig / und barmhertzig". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, p. 252.
[818] "Böse Lust wird verbotten", Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* page 11 of index. This refers to a passage on page 183 in the German Qur'an which states that Muslims should 'pray hourly to God and not lay their eyes on another woman if she is beautiful, for God will grant those who fear him an even more beautiful wife'; "Armen soll man guts thun", Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* page 3 of index.

and ‘are inclined to the Alcoran’.[819] Moreover, a large number of entries refer to more than one page, while other entries contain cross-references. The entry "Traum Pharaonis" (‘The Pharao’s Dream’), for example, refers to the entries on "Pharao" and "Joseph".[820] It shows that Schweigger went thoroughly through the text, distilled from it *all* - in his eyes - relevant topics, terms, names, and statements, listed and sometimes compressed these, and then referred to all pages on which information related to these topics could be found. This effort is also reflected by the fact that the entries are more than an alphabetical list of the marginal annotations. Although in many instances Schweigger's marginal 'summaries' are, indeed, copied into the index, in other instances they do not correspond: the entry "Menschen haben mancherley Farben" (‘Humans have many colours’) refers to the first paragraph of page 2, the annotations to which read "Warauß der Mensch geschaffen" (‘From what man was created’) and "Unterschied der Völcker" (‘Distinction between the peoples’).[821] These phrases, in turn, are not included in the index. In yet other instances, the phrasing of the original annotation is altered to allow for easier searching: "Gottes Thron geschaffen" (‘God’s Throne created’), for example, is changed into "Thron Gottes geschaffen" (‘Throne of God created’) in the index.

Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* seems to have been the first printed Qur'an translation provided with such an index. While the Qur'an is accompanied by many texts in Bibliander's publication, an index or list of contents is not one of them, and Arrivabene's Italian Qur'an ends abruptly after the last 'capitolo'. In fact, until the publication of Ludovico Marracci's *Alcorani Textus Universus Arabicè et Latinè*, European Qur'ans generally do not seem to have contained any indices. Thomas Burman, however, does describe a thirteenth-century Parisian manuscript of Robert of Ketton's text which is accompanied by a fourteenth-century index on a separate folio. It is alphabetically arranged, and the entries contain phrases, short sentences, and the occasional single words - very similar to Schweigger's index. As Burman argues, this addition reveals the intended usage of the Qur'an: it was not only meant to be read, but also to be studied and referenced.[822] The intended study was, however, not a neutral or objective nature. Rather, the index was designed as a research tool to help the apologetic or polemical writer to quickly find the most useful passages in the Qur’an.[824] As Burman puts it, "[i]f one read through all the passages singled out by this index, one would have a fairly extensive knowledge of Islam, though one notably slanted toward a Christian polemical and apologetic interpretation of it".[825]

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[819] "Christen wollen die Warheit außleschen", "sind überwunden", "haben ihr Gesetz", "sie erkennen die Warheit", "sind die Unglaubigen im Alcoran", "sollen nit Richter bey den Türcken seyn", and "sie sind dem Alcoran geneigt". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, page 4 of index.
[820] Ibid., page 16 of index.
[821] Ibid., p. 2.
[822] Burman, *Reading the Qur'an*, pp. 94-6.
[824] Ibid., p. 96.
[825] Burman, *Reading the Qur’an,* p. 96.

The extensiveness of Schweigger's index suggests that, for him, essentially *all* Qur'anic contents were of (potential) polemical or apologetical importance. Like Martin Luther, he seems to have viewed the Qur'an as a reference work for all possible heretical beliefs – as an 'anti-Bible' – which should therefore be available for use in its entirety. Although the publication of Schweigger's German Qur'an reflects strong links to the contemporary context, which at the very least may have accounted for the time of publication, the compilation of such a detailed index once more illustrates Schweigger's determination to provide the German reader with an accurate, authentic, and 'ultimate' Qur'an text that could replace the older ones, and that could serve as a source for theological debates and treatises of all kinds. Not only would the index help the reader to quickly find the Qur'an passage denying Christ's divine nature ("Christus sey nit Gottes Sohn/143.") or the Islamic views on the punishment of 'unbelievers' ("Straff der Unglaubigen/81/110/114/126/203") - topics of particular interest in the context of anti-heretical and anti-Islamic polemics - but it would also refer those interested to the Qur'anic narrations of specific Biblical stories or to seemingly trivial topics such as the 'clothes in Paradise'. Schweigger's Qur'an publication thus went beyond the contemporary discourse in Nürnberg strictly. Rather, the work seems to have been an encouragement for others to consult the Qur'an text on a wide variety of topics, and to use it in theological debates concerning heresy and true belief. As such, it seems to have aimed at a further integration of the Qur'an into the Lutheran religious and confessional discourse.

4.4 Adapting the Qur'an: the 1659 and 1664 editions of Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus*

That Schweigger's Qur'an translation could be used in different (polemical) ways, depending on the circumstances, is demonstrated in the 1659 edition of the work (and its 1664 reprint).[827] The work was published by Johan Andreas Endter and Wolffgang Endter the Younger in Nürnberg, under the title *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum: Das ist / Der Türcken Religion / Gesetz / und Gottslästerliche Lehr / Mit einer schrifftmässigen Widerlegung der Jüdischen Fabeln / Mahumedischen Träumen ; närrischen und verführischen Menschentands : Dabey zum Eingang deß Mahumeds Ankufft / erdichte Lehr / und Ausbreitung derselben : Darnach die Gesetz und Ceremonien deß Alkorans ; samt dem erdichteten Paradeiß : Endlich ein Anhang von der jetzigen Christen in Griechenland Leben / Religion und Wandel : Benebenst einem nothwendigen Register / zufinden*.[828] Schweigger's name is not explicitly included on the title page, but a look at the text shows that this is clearly a reworking of his *Alcoranus Mahometicus* (and not, as has sometimes been argued, a translation by Johann Andreas Endter)[829]. Moreover, Schweigger is mentioned as the translator on page 554. To present the work as 'no more than a reprint of Schweigger's Qur'an publication', as has been done by Hartmut Bobzin, however, does not do enough justice to the new framework in which the Qur'an text was placed. Provided with a thorough refutation and supplemented with two additional texts, the work was shed of its original 'non-polemical' character.[830]

The Endter family publishing house was a well-known name in the printing business. Under the leadership of Wolffgang Endter the Elder (1593-1659), the firm had superseded the great publishers in Wittenberg and Leipzig and was even able to compete with those in Holland.[831] The publishing house had a strong Lutheran character: In 1641, Wolffgang acquired the privilege to print and publish the so called 'Kurfürsten-Bibel', which became one of the most widespread Protestant Bible editions, and his publishing house increasingly became the centre of

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827 Only the reprint of 1664 is listed in Hartmut Bobzin's *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*. Brill's *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, however, does include the first edition of 1659.

828 *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum: Das ist / Der Türcken Religion / Gesetz / und Gottslästerliche Lehr / Mit einer schrifftmässigen Widerlegung der Jüdischen Fabeln / Mahumedischen Träumen ; närrischen und verführischen Menschentands : Dabey zum Eingang deß Mahumeds Ankufft / erdichte Lehr / und Ausbreitung derselben : Darnach die Gesetz und Ceremonien deß Alkorans ; samt dem erdichteten Paradeiß : Endlich ein Anhang von der jetzigen Christen in Griechenland Leben / Religion und Wandel : Benebenst einem nothwendigen Register / zufinden,* Nürnberg, Johann Andreas and Wolffgang Endter, 1659, title page.

829 See: Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*, p. 272 f638.

830 "nichts anderes als eine (...) Neuauflage von Schweiggers Koranausgabe". Ibid., p. 273. In Brill's *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, the publications are listed as "Koran. German. Schweigger. 1659." and "Koran. German. Schweigger. 1664.", which gives the unfair impression that they are, indeed, no more than new editions of Schweigger's original Qur'an.

831 C. Petzsch, 'Endter, Wolfgang', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 4, 1959, p. 498. Available from: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd122177649.html#ndbcontent (accessed 6 January 2020).

other Lutheran 'Gebets- und Andachtsliteratur'.[832] Under the leadership of Johann Andreas and his brother Wolfgang (the Younger), the Endter publishing house seems to have maintained its religious interest, albeit in a slightly different form. Amongst their publications were not only strictly Lutheran works, but also works about 'unchristian' or 'heretical' religions. Not only did they publish a new edition of Schweigger's Qur'an translation in 1659, but they also published a German translation of an English work by Alexander Ross, titled *Unterschiedliche Gottesdienste in der gantzen Welt. Das ist: Beschreibung aller bewusten Religionen / Secten und Ketzereyen / So in Asia / Africa / America / und Europa / von Anfang der Welt / biß auf diese gegenwertige Zeit / theils befindlich / theils annoch gebräuchlich*.[833]

Catalogues of religion such as Ross's *Pansebeia*, recorded the rites and ceremonies of historical as well as contemporary religion, and, as such, they tried to identify the origins and spread of false religion.[835] They shared this aim with another seventeenth-century genre in the study of religion, namely the histories of idolatry. The latter, however, focused on the 'fall from monotheism' in the years immediately after the Noachite period, and they usually adopted diffusionist models to explain both the spread of true religion and that of heathenism. The 1659 edition of Schweigger's Qur'an can be viewed as similarly occupied with the question of true and false religion, although it does not seem to completely fit into the category of either a catalogue of religion or a history of heresy. It roughly consists of two parts, the first of which is a refutation of Islam - as a 'false religion' - on the basis of the Qur'an and in light of the Christian Scripture. Apart from a brief account of "Muhammad's arrival, his teachings, and their spread"[836], it leaves little space for a historical account of the origins and spread of Islam. The second part of the *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum* is an account of Greek Christianity, based on contemporary travel accounts and studies of Greek history. Like histories of idolatry and catalogues of religion, it is focusses on the question of true and false religion, and its ultimate aim seems to be to demonstrate that the foundations of true religion have never disappeared amongst the Greeks since the time of Noah - even amongst the 'pagans' of Greek antiquity.

A new polemical context: the publisher's preface

The *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum* opens with a 'Zuschrift' written by Johann Andreas Endter, in which the publisher justifies his publication. In traditional fashion, the Islamic religion is given a

[832] Petzsch, 'Endter, Wolfgang', p. 498.
[833] A. Ross, *Unterschiedliche Gottesdienste in der gantzen Welt. Das ist: Beschreibung aller bewusten Religionen / Secten und Ketzereyen / So in Asia / Africa / America / und Europa / von Anfang der Welt / biß auf diese gegenwertige Zeit / theils befindlich / theils annoch gebräuchlich*, Heidelberg, Joh. Andreas and Wolfgang Endter, 1668.
[835] Mills, 'Alexander Ross's *Pansebeia*', pp. 285-286.
[836] "Mahumeds Ankunfft / erdichte Lehr / und Ausbreitung derselben". *Al-Koranum Mahumadanum,* title page.

place in salvation history as a punishment of Christian sin, and the Turks are identified as the Biblical Gog and Magog. As the author writes, they conquer the Christian world 'one bulwark after the other until they will see their time and chance and will come over us like a flood from the Orient, thereby dampening the Christian teachings'.[837] The message is clear: the Islamic threat should not be seen as targeting only the eastern parts of Christianity, but should also be felt in the West - or more specifically, in Germany. According to the author, the only way to stop the Islamic 'flood', is to ban all sinfulness from the Christian world, and to return to true Christianity. While the Turkish threat was more frequently used in order to urge for reform, Endter adds a specifically ecumenical message to his call. As he writes, reform and repentance should not only take place amongst Christians in the western parts of Europe, but true Christianity should also be preached and established in the East.

Instead of blaming the heretical nature of Eastern Christians for the spread of Islam – as was often done by Christian theologians in western Europe – Endter writes that even amongst the ancient 'pagans' there had been many good people, who in their 'natural law' closely approximated the law that God had given to Noah (Endter names Pythagoras as the most famous example of such 'gelehrten Leuten'). Similarly, he argues, Greek Orthodoxy contains many traces of the one, true religion. With the rise of Islam, however, many 'Greeks' – a term used by Endter for both the ancients and Greek Orthodox Christians – had been seduced by Muhammad's religious 'patchwork', 'half from Judaism, half from wrong Christianity, and also partly from the Pythagorean junk'. [838] As a consequence, they had lost all credibility in the eyes of Christians in the west – either as the cause for the successful spread of Islam or as one of the sources of the Islamic religion.[839] Endter, however, argues that 'the seed of the Divine Word has not yet been wiped out amongst the Greeks, and that the previously well-ordered and well-planted churches can still be helped, if only enough zeal is shown to offer them a guiding hand'.[840] In other words, the Orthodox Greek could still be led back to true Christianity with the help of the Christian west. The latter, however, Endter complains, has been too preoccupied with its internal conflicts to pay

[837] "biß er dermal eins seine Zeit ersehe / und wie eine Fluth aus *Orient* auf uns ankomme / und die Christliche Lehr gar dämpffe". *Al-Koranum Mahumadanum*, page 2 of 'Zuschrift'.
[838] "halb aus den Judenthum / halb aus dem verkehrten Christenthum / auch zum Theil vom pythagorischem Tand". Ibid., page 3 of 'Zuschrift'.
[839] Indeed, the religious deviance and heretical tendency of the Christian East was often blamed for the origins and spread of Islam. As Guibert de Nogent (c. 1055-1124) already wrote in the twelfth century: "The faith of Easterners, which has never been stable, but has always been variable and unsteady, searching for novelty, always exceeding the bound of true belief, finally deserted the authority of the early fathers". Guibert as cited in: Tolan, *Saracens,* p. 144.
[840] "der Saame deß Gottlichen Worts bey den Griechen noch nicht ausgetilget ist / und daß denen zuvor so wohl bestellten und gepflantzen Kirchen noch werde zu helffen seyn : wann nur der Eiver sich sehen ließ / ihnen die rechte Hand zu bieten". *Al-Koranum Mahumadanum*, page 4 of 'Zuschrift'.

attention to what is happening in the east, and has therefore given the Turks free reign in its 'front yard'.[841]

According to Endter, the fate of the Greeks should show the reader that the Turkish religion should be suppressed by all means. In the first place, this should be done by refuting the Islamic religion on the basis of the Qur'an – as was done in the current publication. Secondly, the spread of Islam should be stopped through the strengthening of true Christianity itself. As Endter writes, internal conflict in the Greek church was what had led to the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, and the current situation in western Christianity was dangerously similar: 'our actions in Europe compare themselves to the disintegration of the Greeks, who fought such bitter war amongst themselves that the Turks were called in for help by one of the parties themselves'.[842] What was thus needed was repentance as well as the reunification of the Christian world under true Christianity. Not only should this involve the western part of Europe, but also the eastern ('Greek') part. As the 'Vorhöffe' of the Occidental church, the strengthening of true Christianity in the eastern parts of Europe would push back the Turkish threat, and would create a 'buffer zone' for western countries such as Germany. The timing of the Endter publication was no coincidence: in 1645, the Ottoman threat had once again resurfaced with the outbreak of the Cretan War, also known as the Fifth Ottoman-Venetian War, to which Johann Andreas also refers in his 'Zuschrift'. Having been unable to reach Germany through Hungary and Poland, the publisher writes, the Turks have now shifted their attention to Crete and Italy. While the Venetians are doing everything in their power to resist the Ottomans, however, 'most potentates of Christianity' ignore the situation, and rather wage war against each other.[843] As such, Endter's preface could be read as a direct call to the Christian princes for military action against the Ottomans in order to protect the Christian world.[844]

Endter's polemical and apologetic adaptation of the Qur'an

In the light of the acute Islamic threat that was facing the Christian world, the refutation of the Islamic religion gained renewed importance. The reason why Schweigger had not taken up writing a Qur'an refutation himself, but rather just provided a translation on the basis of which such a refutation could be made, might have simply been that the specific situation in which his Qur'an was first published did not require this. With regard to contemporary heresy, especially

[841] "Vorhöffe". Endter, *Al-Koranum Mahumadanum*, p. 4.
[842] "Denn unser Thun in Europa vergleicht sich den Zerrüttungen der Griechen: die so bitter gegeneinander gekrieget / daß der Türck von der einen Parthey selbst beruffen worden (...)". Ibid., page 5 of 'Zuschrift'.
[843] "die meinste [sic.] Potentaten der Christenheit". Ibid., page 1 of 'Zuschrift'.
[844] More specifically, the preface was dedicated to Jobst Christoff Kress von Kressenstein the younger, who was a member of the Nürnberg City Council and a member of the same family as Johann Wilhelm Kress von Kressentein, who has been mentioned earlier in this chapter.

in a region that was already considered to be part of the Lutheran orthodoxy, the Qur'an was mainly used to present the reader with beliefs that fell outside of orthodox thought. In this sense, the initial purpose of Schweigger's Qur'an translation was primarily to indicate *what* was false. The 1659 edition, however, was more concerned with *why* these beliefs and doctrines were false. In the context of the military and spiritual threat of Islam, the Qur'an was used to refute the Islamic religion - in order to prevent both eastern and western Christians from conversion and/or collaboration with the Ottomans - while at the same time these refutations showed them the way to true Christianity.

As the title page already indicates, Johann Andreas Endter's 'Zuschrift' is followed by the first book of the *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum* containing an account of Muhammad's 'arrival' and the spread of his teachings, and a second and third book containing 'the law and ceremonies of the Alkoran'. Together they make up the vast majority of the work, namely 802 out of 934 pages (excluding the 'Zuschrift' and a 47-page index). These three books correspond to the three books of the Qur'an as they can be found in both Arrivabene and Schweigger's works, and they contain the text of Schweigger's German translation. In the first book, Schweigger's original 13 chapters are further divided into 48 chapters, by breaking them down and by occasionally combining shorter chapters. In the second and third book, the structure of Schweigger's original chapters is followed. In the *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum*, the reader is thus presented with 'the three books of the Qur'an' in a total of 144 chapters. These are not presented on their own, contrary to Schweigger's original German Qur'an. Every chapter opens with a 'summary' of the text to come, after which generally follows a transcript of (part of) a Qur'an chapter, which is then immediately followed by a new refutation or 'Censur' based on the Bible.[845]

The first sentence of the Qur'an passage is sometimes changed slightly in order for it to make sense and to refer back to the previous passage. "[A]ls diser auff die Welt kam …"[846], which is part of a previous paragraph and even sentence in Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus,* for example, is changed into "Als Abraham auff die Welt kam …"[847] in order to form the start of a new paragraph. On a few other occasions, Schweigger's Qur'an text is changed in order to stress the false nature of the Qur'an. The passage "So that it will be known and revealed to the whole world, so we will begin with Adam and Eve, and describe Muhammad's ancestors orderly and one after the other, as it is taught by his *Præceptor* or master *Kabelmedi*, so it begins" [848], for example, is

[845] On the first fifty pages, the chapters start with an introductory 'Censur', which is then followed by the Qur'an citation and another 'Censur' in which the author responds specifically to the Qur'an text.
[846] Schweigger, *Alcoarnus Mahometicus,* p. 7.
[847] Endter, *Al-Koranum Mahumadanum*, p. 53.
[848] "Damit nun der gantzen Welt solches kundt unnd offenbar werde / so wollen wir von Adam unnd Eva anfangen / unnd deß Machomets Vorfahren / ordentlich nach einander beschreiben / wie solches sein *Præceptor* oder Meister *Kabelmedi,* beschreibet und lehret / es fangt aber also an". Schweigger, *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, p. 4.

changed into "So that **this work of lies** is known and revealed to the whole world, so describes and teaches *Kabelmedi*, Muhammad's *Præceptor*, of Muhammad's arrival and ancestors from Adam and Eve with these words".[849]. Otherwise, Schweigger's German Qur'an text is generally left intact. The distinction between Qur'an citation and its following refutation are clearly indicated by the words 'Alcoran' and 'Censur', and even the specific Qur'anic chapters from which the citations are taken are consistently identified by book and chapter number. The first Qur'an citation, 'Alcoran lib. I. cap. I.' can be found on page 30 of the Endter *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum*, only after a lengthy discussion of Biblical prophecies and salvation history. Everything is set up in order to present Muhammad as a false prophet and his Qur'an as a book of lies, and to identify the Islamic 'empire' as the Biblical Gog and Magog.

The 'Censur' is generally much longer than the actual Qur'an citation to which it responds. On the basis of numerous references to the Bible, both from the Old and the New Testament, the author directly comments on and refutes the contents of the Qur'an passage. Qur'anic statements and doctrines are compared to – often numerous – Biblical passages about similar topics (all referred to by book and chapter) and whenever there is a discrepancy the superiority of the Christian doctrine is presupposed. On the one hand, this lengthy Qur'an refutation seems to answer the calls from people such as Martin Luther to refute the Qur'an in a comprehensive, consistent, and convincing manner, purely in the light of the Christian Scripture. While Schweigger presented his Qur'an in its pure form as a collection of 'false' teachings, the *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum* immediately places these false teachings next to the 'true' ones to which they are correspond. As such, the work can also be seen as a detailed exposition and apology of Christian doctrine. In addition to the authority of the Bible, the author also makes an appeal to human reason in order to refute the contents of the Qur'an. When he discusses the war against the 'unbelievers', for example, the author writes that it is 'incomprehensible' that Muslims accept the truth of the Gospel, while at the same time they persecute those following it as if they were infidels.[850] The deep concern for Christian theology is also reflected in the 47-page index that is added to the work. Not only does it refer to names and terms that can be found in the text, but it also 'dissects' its contents into a great number of theological and doctrinal topics. As such, the *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum* can also be seen as a detailed exposition of Christian doctrine.

The extensive way in which the 'Censur' uses the Bible demonstrates thorough Biblical knowledge from the author, whose identity is never made explicit in the *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum*. It could be suggested that Johann Andreas Endter himself was responsible for

[849] "Damit nun der gantzen Welt **solches Lugenwerck** kund und offenbar werdt / so beschreibet und lehret *Kabelmedi,* deß Mahomets *Praeceptor*, deß Mahomets Anfang und Vorfahren von Adam und Eva mit folgenden Worten". Endter, *Al-Koranum Mahumadanum*, p. 41.
[850] Endter, *Al-Koranum Mahumadanum*, pp. 497-8.

writing the 'Censur'. The *Deutsche Bibliographie* describes him as an 'evangelische Vater', thus indicating a theological background, despite the fact that his professional activities mainly seem to have taken place in the field of publishing.[852] As an educated Lutheran, Johann Andreas Endter would have possessed good knowledge of the Scriptures, and his 'Zuschrift' showed a deep concern for the spread and protection of true Christianity in the face of the Islamic threat. If this concern was enough for him to compile what must have been a time consuming Qur'an refutation, is another question. There is no conclusive evidence that Johann Andreas was involved in the printing business as more than a publisher. At the same time, no other source for the 'Censur' is known. Identifying its author would require more additional research.

Table 4.2: Structure of Endter's *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum* compared to its predecessors

Arrivabene/Castrodardo (1547)	**Schweigger (1616)**	**Endter (1659)**
Three books, containing 137 chapters, preceded by an introduction: • Lengthy introduction on Islamic and Ottoman history, based on 15th- and 16th-century *turcica*, polemical works, and historiography • "**Book One of the Qur'an**": summary of the Islamic doctrines based on the *Fabulae Saracenorum,* in 13 chapters • "**Book Two of the Qur'an"**: condensed version if Bibliander's surah 1-28 (now called 'chapters') • "**Book Three of the Qur'an**": condensed version of Bibliander's surah 29-124, now numbered 1-96	Three books, containing 137 chapters, preceded by a short preface and supplemented with a detailed index: • Seven-page preface and justification • "**Book One**", chapter 1-13 • "**Book Two**", chapter 1-28 • "**Book Three**", chapter 1-96 • Index (18 pages)	Three 'books of the Qur'an', in which passages from Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* are alternated with a Biblical 'Censur': • Preface by the publisher • **"Book One"**, chapter 1-48 (originally 13 chapters in Schweigger) • **"Book Two",** chapter 1-28 • **"Book Three",** chapter 1-96 • Text on the Greeks (preface + 49 chapters, incl. commentary) • Short travel account by Johann Ulrich • Detailed Index (47 pages)

[852] Johann Andreas Endter does not have a dedicated biography, but he does have a reference page on the website of the *Deutsche Biographie*: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz13246.html (accessed 6 January 2020).

The Greek question

Added to the Qur'an text and its refutation is a 125-page 'appendix' ('Anhang') about the "State and ceremonies of today's Greeks under the Turks".[853] Contrary to those of Schweigger's Qur'an, the origins of this text are not specified by the editor of the *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum*, nor have they been identified in modern literature. It can be established, however, that the text was a 'pirated' German translation of a Latin translation (1655) of Christophorus Angelus' *Enchiridion de institutis Graecorum*.[854] Interestingly, this text had itself originally been intended as an apology for the Greek Orthodox Church. It consisted of a brief description of the organization and ceremonies of the Greek church, with a clear emphasis on its persecution by the Turks. The author, Christophorus Angelus, was a monk from Peloponnesus who came to England in the seventeenth century as one of the many Greek refugees fleeing the Ottoman expansion, after having been falsely tried and convicted by the Ottoman authorities for being a Spanish spy.[855] In England, Angelus wrote a number of works, presumably to elicit parochial aid from the Anglican church.[856] Among these were a short biographical essay (first published in 1617), focussing mainly on Angelus' trial his escape to England, and a work in which the author demonstrated that the prophet Muhammad was the Antichrist.[857] Like the *Enchiridion de institutus Graecorum*, both of these publications were "clearly intended to play on Western dislike of the Turk and Islam" while at the same time demonstrating suffering of Greek Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans.[858]

In its German translation, Angelus' text on the 'state and ceremonies of today's Greeks' opens with an eight-page 'Vorrede' in which the author compares the Greeks who live under Turkish rule to the Biblical martyrs: "How, just like the martyrs, the modern day Greeks endure the many challenges and temptations from the Turks, and suffer patiently only through their love

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853 "Zustand und Ceremonien der heutigen Griechen unter den Türcken". Endter, *Al-Koranum Mahumadanum*, p. 803ff.

854 I am very grateful to Prof. Bernd Roling and Dr. Nikolas Pissis for their help in identifying this text. See: É. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique. Ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle,* Paris, Alphonse Picard et fils, 1894, pp. 133-140, esp. pp. 137-8; A. Hamilton, 'Angelus, Christopher (d. 1638)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford, 2004. Available through: https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-548 (accessed 8 January 2020).

855 E. Mitsi, 'Angell in Oxford: The Travails of a Greek Monk in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Greece in Early English Travel Writing, 1569-1682,* London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 18-19.

856 Mitsi, 'Angell in Oxford', p. 28.

857 The English translation of Angelus' autobiography was titled *Christopher Angell, a Grecian, who tasted of many stripes and torments inflicted by the Turkes for the faith which he had in Christ Iesu*, Oxford, 1618. The second publication was titled *Labor Christophori Angeli Graeci de apostasia ecclesiae, et de homine peccati, scilicet Antichristi,* Oxford, 1624. Also see: *Hamilton*, 'Angelus, Christopher'.

858 Hamilton, 'Angelus, Christopher'.

of Christ, as has been experienced by the author himself".[859] The argument is similar to that in Schweigger's preface to Johann Wild's captivity narrative – strengthened by their faith in Christ, these Christians would be able to endure even the gravest scourge. As long as they maintained their trust in Christ, the author writes, these Greeks would receive God's grace as members of the true church. This apologetical element is also visible in a brief discussion of the Biblical seven pillars of wisdom, in which the author assigns pious Greek Orthodox Christians a place in the Church of Christ.

The preface is provided with a four-page commentary by an anonymous author, possible the same as the one who wrote the Qur'an refutation, in which he comments on some of the theological issues discussed by Angelus. Not only does he correct several Greek 'misinterpretations' of the Bible, but he also makes an effort to clearly distinguish Greek Christology from that of early modern heretics such as Sozzini. Rather than characterizing the Greek Orthodox Church as schismatic or as a direct descendent of the ancient heresies, the editor argues that, generally, pious members of the Greek Orthodox Church have always maintained their faith in the divinity of Christ and the Holy Trinity. As such, he adopts Angelus' apologetical arguments and reintegrates the history of the Greeks and of Greek Orthodoxy – which had been 'tainted' in the light of the recent resurfacing of ancient heretical thought – into that of the true Christian church.[860]

In the rest of the book about the Greeks, the author similarly interacts with the text by adding 'footnotes' or 'endnotes' in which he comments on specific issues. This commentary takes a slightly different form than the one on the Qur'an. Rather than interrupting the text, the presence of an endnote is indicated with a letter in brackets. The actual notes follow at the end of each chapter, thus maintaining the integrity of the original text. In his commentary, the author either agrees or disagrees with the contents of Angelus' text on the basis of other consulted sources to which he explicitly refers - not only the Bible, but also historical texts such as David Chytraeus' *De statu ecclesiarum hoc tempore in Graecia, Asia, Ungeria Boemia [...]* (1574), Martin Crusius' *Turco-Græcia* (1584) and Johannes Löwenklau's *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum* (1591).[861] In 'Das I. Capitel', for example, Angelus writes how the Greeks interpret the Gospel of John as stating that all things that happen, happen for a reason. For this reason, they did not fight the Turks when they conquered their lands, which eventually yielded the Greeks a favourable position within the Empire. Based on examples from history, the anonymous commentator

[859] "Wie dann auch die Martyrer / so wol als die Griechen heut zu Tag sehr viel Anfechtung von den Türcken erdulden / und allein aus der Liebe zu Christo gedultig leiden ; welches der Author selbst hat erfahren". *Al-Koranum Mahumadanum*, p. 803.
[860] Ibid., pp. 807-810.
[861] A reference to the *Turco-Græcia* can be found on page 812, and on page 814 the editor refers to "Deß Löwenklauen Türckischer Histori".

responds to this statement by arguing that this nonviolent attitude was not merely passive or opportunist, but that it - in fact - secured the survival of the Greek Christian community within the Ottoman Empire. Although the author's comments do not tell us anything about his identity, it does reveal two things: First of all, he was not the original author of the book about the Greeks (on which he merely commented), and, secondly, he was clearly someone who had thorough knowledge not only of matters of theology, but also of history.

The original text about 'the conditions and ceremonies of the contemporary Greeks under the Turks' is largely a discussion of the Greek religion and ceremonies. Fourteen out of the forty-nine chapters, for example, concern the Greek fasting practices, which supposedly total four periods of forty days a year. Other chapters focus on issues such as the Eucharist, Greek prayer, confession, and baptism. Especially controversial elements, such as the Greek idea of transubstantiation, are discussed more thoroughly by the editor on the basis of additional sources in order to determine their nature and their relationship to other Christian traditions.[862] Throughout the discussion, the Greek church and ceremonies are compared to that of the 'Moscoviten' of the Russian Orthodox Church.

As we have seen, Schweigger also wrote about the Greek Orthodox Church in his *Reyßbeschreibung*. Whereas Schweigger's account of the religion was meant to indicate the differences between Greek orthodoxy and 'true Christianity', however, the appendix in the 1659 Qur'an edition seems to have aimed at the opposite: to show that the roots of true Christianity had not (yet) been lost within the Greek church. It called for the unification of the Christian world, both in the East and in the West, in order to resist the Turkish threat as one front. The attempt for rapprochement with the Greek Orthodox Church reminds of the search for a Lutheran-Greek Orthodox alliance by the Tübingen theologians. In this light, the theologians sought to demonstrate to the Greek patriarchs that Lutheranism and Greek Orthodoxy, in fact, shared the same roots of true religion. Schweigger, like Gerlach before him, had been endowed with the task of further tying the bonds between the Lutherans in Tübingen and the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire. His critical remarks on the Greek Christians in his *Reyßbeschreibung*, however, suggest that the similarities between Lutheranism and Greek Orthodoxy were not necessarily heartfelt, but were rather 'invented' as a strategy to urge for a future alliance. Whereas Schweigger's mission had thus been to convince the Greek Christians of an existing religious bond between them and the Lutherans in Germany, the section on the Greeks in the 1659 Qur'an publication was aimed to convince Christians and Christian authorities at home of this bond between 'Occidental' and 'Oriental' Christianity. Moreover, while the Tübingen theologians were aiming at an alliance with the Greeks against the Roman Catholic Church, the *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum*

[862] See especially chapter XXV about 'banned Greeks' and salvation, p. 854ff.

seems to have urged for the universal reconciliation of Christianity against the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, it shows a continued Lutheran interest in the Greek Orthodox Church, which - just like the Christian interest in the Islamic religion - could change according to the religious and political context.

The anti-Ottoman sentiments of the *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum* are also reflected in a second, shorter appendix to the Qur'an. This is a six-page review or critical study of Johann Ulrich von Wallich's *Religio Turcica*,[863] focussing on the author's description of the Turkish religion.[864] A recurring theme in this description is the Turkish condemnation of and war against Christianity, as well as the different interpretations of the Scriptures and salvation history. The last addition to the *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum* is what the editor calls a 'essential index' ("einem nothwendigen Register") on the title page. With its 48 pages, it is more extensive than that of Schweigger's original Qur'an (18 pages – although with a smaller font), and it contains a great variety of topics and references. The Christian, anti-Islamic bias of the publication is clearly reflected in the index, which refers both to passages in the Qur'an text and in its *Censur*. Contrary to Schweigger's index, for example, it contains an entry for the 'Drey-Einigkeit', despite the fact that this concept is absent from the Qur'an itself. The un-Christian nature of the Islamic religion is immediately clear from entries such as "Drey-Einigkeit verläugenet" ('The Holy Trinity denied') or "Christi Empfängniß und Person geschändet" ('Christ's conception and person desecrated') .[866] Another entry refers to the "fall of the Qur'an and extermination of the other hypocrites after the Reformation".[867] Altogether, the polemical sentiments of the editor of the *Al-Koranum Mahumedanum*, which were likely stimulated by the contemporary political and military climate, caused him to create "the most comprehensive exposition of Christian anti-Islamic polemical

[863] J. U. von Wallich, *Religio Turcica: Mahometis vita. Et orientalis cum occidental antichristo comparatio*, Stade, typis Holvinianis, 1659.

[864] Johann Ulrich von Wallich (1624-73) was a Saxon jurist who accompanied a Swedish embassy to Constantinople in 1657/8. On the basis of this journey he wrote his *Religio Turcica*, which consists of three parts. The first is a German translation of a Latin description of Islam by Albertus Bobovius (1610-1675), provided with polemical annotations on the basis of additional literature – including Salomon Schweigger's works. The second part is a summary of the life of Muhammad, compiled from the narratives of different authors. The third and final part is an extensive discussion of the alleged similarities between Catholicism and Islam, and between the Sultan and the Pope, which once more demonstrates the usage of Islam in early modern confessional polemics. About the *Religio Turcica,* see: G. Kármán, 'Religio Turcica: Mahometic vita. Et orientalis cum occidental antichristo comparatio', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500-1900*. Available from: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-ii/religio-turcica-mahometis-vita-et-orientalis-cum-occidentali-antichristo-comparatio-COM_27032 (accessed 9 January 2020).

[866] Endter, *Al-Koranum Mahumadanum,* page 11 of 'Register'.

[867] "[Alcoran] sein Fall und Vertilgung der übrigen Heuchler nach der Reformation". Ibid., page 3 of 'Register'.

literature published in German throughout the 17th century" on the basis of Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus*.[868]

Schweigger's German Qur'an thus became exactly what the author had intended for it to be – an authoritative source for new (anti-Islamic) polemical and apologetical texts and arguments. At the same time, it left a certain 'legacy' with regard to knowledge about the Islamic religion in the German-speaking world. Although his motives had been mainly polemical, Schweigger had provided the German public with a valuable source about the Islamic teachings and doctrines. While it may not have been a very accurate representation of the original Qur'an, it was at least a great improvement in comparison to other German publications. Moreover, Schweigger was the first one to not just acknowledge the importance of a German Qur'an translation, but to actually put significant time and effort into providing such a translation in its most useful form. In fact, the *Alcoranus Mahometicus* remained the main source of information about Islam and the Qur'an in the German language until it was superseded by the German translation of André du Ryer's *L'Alcoran de Mahomet* in 1688.[869]

[868] S. Schreiner, 'Al-Koranum Mahumehadum: Das ist / Der Türcken Religion / Gesetz / und Gottlästerliche Lehr', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500-1900*. Available from: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-ii/al-koranum-mahumedanum-das-ist-der-turcken-religion-gesetz-und-gottslasterliche-lehr-COM_31024?s.num=1&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.christian-muslim-relations-ii&s.q=schweigger (accessed 9 January 2020).

[869] J. Lange, *Vollständiges Türckisches Gesetz-Buch, Oder Des Ertz-betriegers Mahomets Alkoran*, Hamburg, 1688. This translation was not made on the basis of the French original but rather on the basis of Jan Hendricksz Glazemaker's Dutch translation of 1658. See: Burman, 'European Qur'an Translations, 1500-1700', pp. 36-7.

Afterword: Lutheran confessional interest in the Ottoman Empire

Schweigger's publications and activities demonstrate that the relations between the peoples of Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire were more complex than they have often been presented, and that interactions were not all centred around religious controversy. At the same time, where religious controversies and debates *did* play a role, they were by no means confined to Christian-Muslim polemics. More importantly, they were not a sign of a so-called of 'clash of cultures'. Rather, religious debates and controversies – between Christian confessions and 'heretical' sects, between confessions themselves and even between Christians *within* the same confession, and between Christians and non-Christians – generally formed a "determining factor in the final consolidation of the confessional churches",[887] also at home. Indeed, Schweigger put his experiences in and with the Ottoman Empire and its religions at the service of the Lutheran quest for confessional identity and unity. As has been demonstrated, the minister showed interest in the Ottoman Empire and its peoples and religions for a variety of confessional and pastoral reasons. Through works like Schweigger's, used as tools of confessionalization and aimed at the Lutheran reader, the general public was instructed in matters of religion and religious identity, while at the same time presented with knowledge about the Ottomans and their religion.

In his *Reyßbeschreibung*, Schweigger used his experiences and empirical observations in the Ottoman Empire in support of his views on the organisation of Christian life in all three estates – both in freedom and in a more hostile environment. More generally, the work presents the Ottoman Empire as an integral part of God's worldly creation in which important religious lessons are manifested, and which should therefore be observed and known. Schweigger's activities and writings concerning Lutheran inhabitants (permanent or temporary) of the Ottoman Empire, at the same time, showed that the latter was also part of the *Lutheran* world. In order to ensure the maintenance of faith, as well as the safety, of these Lutherans, initiatives were taken by individuals like Schweigger – supported by the Duke of Württemberg as part of a Lutheran ecclesiastical program – to provide them with various forms of pastoral care. The spiritual wellbeing of members of the Lutheran diaspora was not only important for their individual salvation, but also for the prosperity of the Lutheran community as a whole. Moreover, it could be essential to the local community to which these individuals could potentially return. As such, the fate of the Lutheran diaspora in the Ottoman Empire was intertwined with that of the Lutheran community of believers at large. At the same time, its trials were presented as an example for other Lutherans, providing important religious lessons in suffering and endurance.

[887] Dingel, 'The Culture of Conflict', p. 15.

Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, in turn, demonstrates how the search for confessional orthodoxy could stimulate the construction and diffusion of 'objective' knowledge about Islam. The author translated what he (wrongly) perceived to be the most authentic non-Arabic translation of the Qur'an and stripped it of all its non-Islamic additions so that it could be used in the Lutheran fight against false teachings. This pursuit of knowledge was not done in isolation. As Schweigger's other writings show, the minister discussed the Islamic religion with the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire during his stay in Constantinople. Moreover, these discussions demonstrate that differences in religious views did not stand in the way of friendly interaction and attempts at mutual understanding. The same is true for Schweigger's engagement with members of the Greek Orthodox Church. As a product of his interactions with Ottoman society and religion, Schweigger's *Alcoranus Mahometicus* found its way to the larger public in Germany, where it was integrated into the vernacular discourse. In all the above ways, the Ottoman Empire thus became an integral part of the German reader's experience and understanding of reality, and of German thoughts and discourses on Lutheran religion and identity.

That Schweigger's writings, above all his travel account and Qur'an translation, had a wide reach is suggested by their multiple reprints and editions. After its initial publication in 1608, the *Reyßbeschreibung* was reprinted in its entire form in 1613, 1619, 1639, and 1664. A shorter version – 'Kurtzer Auszug' – was printed in 1660 and 1664. In addition, parts of the work were used by other authors, and integrated into their own works. The description of Schweigger's pilgrimage was included in Sigmund Feyerabend's *Bewehrtes Reißbuch deß Heiligen Lands,* which was published in 1609 and 1659, and his description of the Greeks was used in a work titled *Abbildung der alten und neuen Griechischen Kirchen (Dritter Teil)* printed in 1711. More generally, Schweigger's *Reyßbeschreibung* served as a source and inspiration for other (contemporary) travel accounts such as that of Reinhold Lubenau.[888] Schweigger's Qur'an translation, in turn, was printed in its original form in 1616, 1623, and 1629, and, as has been discussed in chapter four, formed the basis for a lengthy commentary that was printed in 1659 and 1664. As such, the *Türcken Alkoran* was the main source of knowledge about the Qur'an in the German vernacular until the publication of a German translation of André du Ryer's Qur'an in 1688.[889] In addition to Schweigger's vernacular publications, his observations in the Ottoman Empire, as he shared them in his (German) letters to Tübingen, were also monumentalized and diffused in Latin (humanist) culture through the works of Martin Crusius. They were an important source for Crusius'

[888] W. Geier, *Südosteuropa-Wahrnehmungen: Reiseberichte, Studien und Biographischen Skizzen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert,* Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006, p. 80.
[889] Hofmann, 'German Translations of the Holy Qur'ān', p. 88.

Turcograecia, as well as his *Aethiopicae*.[890] While the original letters seem to have been lost, copies have survived the ravages of time in both of these publications as well as in Crusius *Diarium*. In addition, two letters from Crusius to David Chytraeus, in which the former discusses Schweigger's experiences and cultural exchange in the Ottoman Empire, are printed in a *Sammlung vermischter Briefe* from 1774.[891] It demonstrates that Schweigger's engagement with the Ottoman Empire spread within the Republic of Letters even before and outside of his own publications.

Schweigger is reported to not only have written, but to also have eagerly talked about 'Turkish matters'.[892] Nevertheless, it is hard to establish the extent to which the minister's views on the Ottoman Empire found their way into the oral culture of Lutheran Germany.[893] Only two of his sermons have survived in print, both of which were written for special occasions: one funeral oration for Ehefrau Dorothea zu Burgmilchling, the widow of Schweigger's former employer in Wilhermsdorf, and one set of two sermons on the institution of matrimony in honour of the recent wedding of Schweigger's niece (respectively published in Nürnberg in 1593 and 1609).[894] While these sermons touch on similar topics as Schweigger's 'Turkish' publications, such as human weakness and Christian suffering, only one of them contains a brief reference to the Ottoman Empire. In his sermons on matrimony, Schweigger talks about marriage as an important element of – and maybe even a prerequisite for – the Godly organization of the regiment of the household. Not only does he support this argument with references to the Bible, but also with examples of the omnipresent 'unions' in God's creation. One of these examples is taken from his time in Egypt. As Schweigger writes, he was told there that date trees rely on the proximity of other date trees for their fertilization. Unless their tops are touching, the trees will remain unfertile and wild. According to Schweigger, this demonstrates the importance of marital union as a 'fertilizing' and 'disciplining' or 'taming' institution. Although it is only a minor

[890] Ben-Tov, '*Turco-Graecia'.*
[891] Stockhausen, *Sammlung vermischter Briefe*, vol. 3, pp. 157-168 and pp. 169-189.
[892] "Er sprach gerne von Türkischen Angelegenheiten, zumal er 3 Jahre Hofprediger des Gesandten Kaisers Rudolph II. an dem Hofe des Türkischen Kaisers zu Constantinopel gewesen." F. L. Freiherr von Soden, *Kriegs- und Sittengeschichte der Reichsstadt Nürnberg*, vol. 2, Erlangen, Theodor Bläsing, 1861, p. 193.
[893] Despite the importance of the printing press in the spread of the Reformation, scholars of the Reformation have primarily characterized it as an "oral event", and "first and foremost a powerful preaching revival". Nevertheless, the preaching culture of the Reformation is an understudied field which has been largely neglected in favour of print culture. See: M. J. Haemig and R. Kolb, 'Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits in the Age of Confessionalization', in R. Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture: 1550-1675*, Leiden, Brill, 2008, p. 117.
[894] S. Schweigger, *Ein Predig Gehalten Bey der Leich weylund der Wolgebornen Frawen Dorothea Freifraw zu Burgmilchlingen unnd Wilhermsdorff,* Nürnberg, Nicolaum Knorrn, 1593; S. Schweigger, *Zwo schöne Predigten, Oder Christliche vermanung und Lehr vom Ehestand, warumb Gott denselben eingesetzt, und wie sich Eheleut gegeneinander verhalten sollen …,* Nürnberg, Johann Lantzenberger, 1609.

reference, it shows how Schweigger was able to use his experiences in the Ottoman Empire in support of his religious views.[895]

Generally, Schweigger was known as a polemical preacher. In Wilhermsdorf, where he worked as a court preacher before his employment in Nürnberg, he came into disgrace with his master because of his 'sharp sermons against the Sacramentarians and Calvinists, to whom he referred in all his sermons and for whom he warned his listeners'.[896] In Nürnberg, too, Schweigger got into trouble for his polemical sermons. In response to a 'Monatpredigt' in which Schweigger proposed to 'give the Papist and Calvinists in a bunch to the Devil', the city council reprimanded the minister for potentially endangering the religious peace, and urged him to *only* preach about the Lutheran doctrines.[897] The minister's polemical tendency is also reflected in his sermons on matrimony. The examples of 'unions' in nature – including that of the Egyptian date tree – were not only used to support his own, Lutheran views on marriage and partnership, but also to refute those of others. As Schweigger argues, they show how especially the Catholic view on the 'sinfulness' of marriage has no foundation in either the Bible or in God's creation as it can be observed in the world. He fiercely rejects the 'Papist' contempt of Holy matrimony, and writes that it is more culpable than, for example, the 'blindness of the pagans', considering that the latter did not have access to God's Word.

There is no further evidence that the Ottoman Empire was a subject of Schweigger's polemical sermons, but considering how his experiences there fit in with his religious views, confessional polemics, and efforts of Lutheran confession building – as is illustrated in his writings – it would not be surprising if his alleged inclination to talk about the Turks also found expression in his sermons. If anything, the Turks may have been a useful scapegoat when the minister was no longer allowed to aim his polemics at other Christian confessions. Crusius writes, for example, that Schweigger could not stop talking about the bad characteristics and morals of the Egyptians he met during his pilgrimage.[898]

If Schweigger indeed spoke about his experiences in the Ottoman Empire in his sermons, it may have significantly contributed to the integration of the Empire and its peoples and religions into the experience and reality of German Lutherans at a local level. As the *Kriegs- und Sittengeschichte der Reichsstadt Nürnberg* reports, Schweigger enjoyed great popularity as a minister in the imperial city, where he also received 'many guests' – thus suggesting that his sermons had a far reach. That he was highly appreciated for his pastoral activities is reflected by

[895] Schweigger, *Zwo schöne Predigten*, folio Dij verso.
[896] "seiner scharfen Predigten wider die Sacramentirer und Calvinisten, deren er in allen Predigten erwähnte un dseine Zuhörer vor ihnen warnte". Freiherr von Soden, *Kriegs- und Sittengeschichte*, p. 192.
[897] "… die Papisten und Calvinisten auf einem Bündelein dem Teuffel zu geben". Freiherr von Soden, *Kreigs- und Sittengeschichte,* vol. 1, p. 175, also Braun, 'Der Socinianismus in Altdorf'.
[898] Stockhausen, *Vermischter Briefe,* pp. 175-6.

the fact that, as a token of gratitude for his services, he was gifted a house in Nürnberg by a nobleman from Oettingen.[899] When Schweigger died on the 21st of June, 1622, his funeral was attended by no fewer than 222 women and 330 men, amongst whom the entire city council and a total of 23 priests. As such, his legacy – including his knowledge of and experience and concerns with the Ottoman Empire – may have extended beyond the written word into the oral culture of early seventeenth-century Lutheranism. In any case, it is clear that his stay in the Ottoman Empire remained a central part of Schweigger's identity, and even followed him into the grave. At the *Rochusfriedhof* in Nürnberg, Schweigger's tombstone still reminds passers-by that the minister had "sich brauchen lassen für ein Prediger bey der Kaiserliche May: Gesanden nach Constantinopel" and "volgends ein Rai [hat] gethan nach Egypten. Alexandria. Jerusalem. Syria [and] Damasco".[900]

[899] Kriebel, 'Salomon Schweigger', p. 177.
[900] Ibid., pp. 177-8.

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Declaration

I declare that I have referenced all resources and aids that were used and assure that the paper is authored independently on this basis.

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