Cross-Cultural Contact in Sixteenth-Century Tübingen: Martin Crusius (1526-1607) and his Greek Guests

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In the early morning of 23 January 1581, Katharina Vetscher called her husband down from his study. Accustomed to the help and care of his third wife, Martin Crusius (1525–1607) appeared immediately, only to find three men waiting on the stairs: two Greek pilgrims and their interpreter from Leipzig. The two foreigners, originally from Santorini, had been forced to flee their island after Ottoman corsairs had raided one of its castles in 1577. Their subsequent travels had brought these two men, Andreas and Lucas Argyrus, to various places, including Rome, Paris, Trier, Mainz, Augsburg, and Munich. Although their particular route was probably not predetermined, their arrival on Crusius's doorstep was most certainly not accidental either. The goal of their journey had been to collect alms to ransom family members, whom — as their papal letter of recommendation asserted — certain Ottomans kept hostage in Tripoli, present-day Lebanon. A hefty sum was needed to guarantee the captives' freedom. Crusius, a professor of Latin and

Bulletin of the German Historical Institute 69 (Fall 2021 / Spring 2022): 53-78

Greek at the University of Tübingen, recorded this interaction in minute detail in his notebooks, describing the length of their stay as well as the conversations they shared.[1]

Encounters such as this one do not generally appear in our accounts of the Holy Roman Empire. These two Greek Orthodox Christians were nevertheless by no means an anomaly. Between 1579 and 1606 over sixty Greek men and women made their way to Tübingen. Crusius fed these travelers, offered them beds for the night, arranged permission for them to collect alms at the local church, wrote them letters of recommendation, and subjected them to lengthy interviews about their life and language, their religion and culture. In return, these Greeks helped him read and understand his sizeable collection of vernacular Greek books and enabled him, over time, to gain a good command of the language they spoke. They clarified the manuscripts, letters, and written documentation that Crusius's other informants, who resided in Istanbul, had sent to Tübingen. And they told their host — frequently over lunch or dinner — about the complexities of Greek life under Ottoman rule. All this information, so diverse in nature, presented Crusius with an astoundingly broad portrait of Ottoman Greek society, full of color and perspective, rich in details and experiences.

These encounters are the subject of this article. Needless to say, full details of all visits are too numerous to be listed, let alone discussed in any substantial detail. Instead, the focus here is on using a few exemplary cases to uncover a set of general patterns and to grasp how a single early modern individual experienced one of the period's many flows of people. Not only does such a historical excavation help us recover the lives of a group of itinerant Greek Orthodox Christians whose adverse circumstances had forced them onto the road but whose movements rarely appear in our archival records. It also teaches us something about the global dimensions of sixteenth-century Lutheran Germany: the social conglomeration, or *Gemeinschaft*, that emerges from Crusius's documents is one that is

1 Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen (hereafter UBT) Mb 37, fol. 85, GH57–76. Crusius specifically kept this manuscript for recording and archiving documents and other evidence related to contemporary Greek civilization. The notes on the Greeks ("Graeci Homines") who visited Crusius are found after page 85 with a separate pagination. These pages will hereafter be referred to by the abbreviation GH.

heterogeneous and permeable, open to the world, and part of the great tidings of its time. Examining Crusius's *Nachlass* also affords new insight into the ways in which early modern scholars studied cultural and religious difference. Knowledge in Crusius's Tübingen home was made by examining books and other objects; through moments of collaborative reading; through listening and hearing attentively; through observation and other forms of visualization; and even by tasting. Crusius may have been a classicist by profession, but he was an ocularcentrist by conviction and one who valued highly trained ears as well. His was a "hybrid hermeneutics", to borrow the words of Lorraine Daston, a method in which practices of observing and reading, first- and second-hand experiences, merged.[2] But such forms of knowledge-making were, as we will see, possible only because of the particularly gendered organization of his household. The silent labor of its female members enabled Crusius to receive so many informants for so long and to reap the fruit of their conversations.

2 Lorraine Daston, "The Sciences of the Archive," *Osiris* 27.1 (2012): 156-187 at 156.

My dissertation and current book project, upon which this article is based, traces Crusius's investigation of the lives and languages of the Ottoman Greeks in greater depth. It not only examines the conversations he had in his gendered household with this otherwise undocumented group of Greek Orthodox Christians but also studies an unlikely and ultimately unsuccessful exchange of letters between scholars in Tübingen, including Crusius, and none other than the Greek Orthodox Patriarch himself. It reconstructs how Crusius read books about Greek Orthodox Christianity and all periods in Greek history, from antiquity all the way to the Ottoman period. It illuminates how the symbiosis of scholarship and sociability in early modern Tübingen offered Crusius the resources and manpower needed to develop his ideas. And it analyzes how Crusius, not without difficulty, brought his findings into print in his *Turcograecia*. This important though now largely forgotten work offers a penetrating vision of Ottoman Greece that stood at the cradle of what has been called the "tyranny"

of Greece over German culture: the admiration for an imagined Greek past and present that has enthralled generations of writers and scholars to this day, including, most famously, the nineteenth-century philhellenes.[3] Tracing how this one scholar, from the comfort of his Tübingen home, and without ever traveling, studied a single culture that was not his own thus allow us to see how some of early modernity's most transformative changes — from religious turmoil to dramatic globalization and forced mobility — permeated all layers of society and in the process fundamentally expanded the horizons of those experiencing them: to travel, the case of Crusius suggests, one need not traverse vast distances. Encountering the other could take place simply sitting at home in a corner of your study, waiting for a visitor.

I. Martin Crusius: Lutheran Philhellene

Martin Crusius was born in 1526 in Grebern near Bamberg, in present-day Bavaria, to Maria Magdalena Trummer and Martin Kraus.[4] He came of age in a divided world: his father, a minister who had embraced Lutheranism after hearing Luther speak in Wittenberg, was compelled to relocate his family often during the unsettling early decades of the Reformation. Eventually, the family set up home in Württemberg, after Duke Ulrich (1487-1550) had officially introduced the evangelical movement there. In 1540 Crusius enrolled at the local grammar school in Ulm, a free imperial city, and started learning Greek. Five years later he was sent to Strasbourg, where he received the most cutting-edge humanist education in Northern Europe at the famous Protestant gymnasium of Johannes Sturm. In 1554 he accepted the vacant position of rector at the Latin school in Memmingen, a position he left in 1559 to become a professor at the University of Tübingen. Crusius stayed in Tübingen until his death in 1607. He married three times and had fifteen children, only one of whom outlived him. His Latin and Greek grammars for pupils were published in the 1550s and 1560s. The aforementioned *Tur-*

3 Eliza Mariam Butler, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany: A Study of the influence exercised by Greek art and poetry over the great German writers of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (New York, 1935).

4 No modern biography exists. For the fullest account of Crusius's life, see: UBT Mh 443 (his history of his family), UBT Mh 466 (his nine-volume diary) and Veit Müller, *Oratio de vita et obitu … Martini Crusii* (Tübingen, 1608), which is largely based on the diary and the family history.

cograecia was printed in Basel in 1584 and was followed by the *Germanograecia* (1585), a sample of the fruits that Greek studies, according to Crusius, had borne in Germany. Another work that he is known for today is the *Annales Suevici* (1595–96), a massive history of Swabia, in three parts, that continues to be one of the main sources for the sixteenth-century history of this region. Crusius himself considered the sermons he collected in the *Corona Anni* (1602–03) his main contribution to the world of print.

Greece was Crusius's lifelong obsession. He taught Greek grammar and poetry for nearly fifty years and apparently with tremendous success: his explications of Homer were so popular that the university had to break down a wall of the lecture room at some point to accommodate all enrolled students. He also innovated. Crusius was by his own account the first to teach the Greek vernacular in Germany. His library, of which nearly 700 items have survived, contained texts from all periods in Greek history, from ancient tragedies to Byzantine histories, from the writings of the Greek Church Fathers to medieval saints' lives. Every bit of news about the Eastern Mediterranean that reached Tübingen was systematically recorded in his diary, as were the receipts of objects from those regions, including coins, paintings, and other gifts. Crusius exchanged dozens of letters with high-ranking Greek Orthodox ecclesiastics living in Venice and Istanbul — and he cherished these interactions with an affection that was all his own: his daughter Theodora was named after one of the Greeks from whom Crusius learned a tremendous amount. He commemorated the day of the Fall of Constantinople, despite being unsure in which year it had occurred, as often as he enthused about his self-professed philhellenism: "I could rightly," he once wrote, "be said to be drunk with love for Greek affairs."[5]

Ulrich Moennig has determined that Crusius also owned one of the largest and most important collections of vernacular Greek books and manuscripts north of the Alps.[6] In many of these books, which he often acquired through Lutheran con-

5 UBT Mh 466, volume 1, fol. 642.

6 Ulrich Moennig, "On Martinus Crusius's Collection of Greek Vernacular and Religious Books," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 21 (1997): 40-78.

7 UBT Mb 37 fol. 85, GH9.

tacts living in Venice or nearby Padua, Crusius spun a dense web of marginal annotations, enriching them with detailed traces of his scholarly practice. It was after the battle of Lepanto in 1571, in which so many Christians lost their lives, that Crusius first began reading these vernacular Greek texts with great determination. Making productive use of them, however, was hard, not least because Crusius could not read them. His first attempt at working through some of them was unsatisfactory: the specific meaning of many words escaped Crusius, leaving one to guess what he made of the texts themselves. So how did this sixteenth-century professor working in a small German university town eventually master the Greek vernacular?

The solution presented itself serendipitously: on 21 February 1579 an individual from Cyprus by the name of Stamatius Donatus found his way to Tübingen. Crusius invited him into his home and for the next seven days used him as his own living "lexicon."[7] Day after day Crusius asked Donatus to explain more and more vernacular Greek words, eventually filling up no fewer than forty-seven pages of his notebook with his guest's explications of the Greek vernacular. This did not happen only through conversation. Together the two men marked their way through precisely the vernacular Greek books that had baffled Crusius earlier: they read his copy of the 1546 vernacular Greek edition of the *Flower of Virtue*, originally a widely-read fourteenth-century Italian anthology of vices and virtues; the 1564 edition of the *Apollonios*, a hugely popular folk epic that recounts the trials and adventures of Apollonius, prince of Tyre; the 1526 vernacular Greek paraphrase of the *Iliad*; and the *Tale of Belisarius*, a medieval text on Emperor Justinian's celebrated general. It had taken Crusius years to study these books on his own. Now, in a week, Crusius took down an impressive total of more than 2600 vernacular Greek words and phrases.

Evidently Donatus was exactly what Crusius was looking for. Little did he know, however, that Donatus was only the first

of a string of Greek Orthodox Christians who would help him read his Greek books and develop his command of the Greek vernacular. Nearly every one of Crusius's visitors explicated words from the Greek books in his collection: in January 1581, for example, Andreas Argyrus guided Crusius through at least four modern Greek chapbooks; in April 1582 Alexander Trucello helped Crusius understand another book in his library. In June of that year Crusius read no less than ten books and some manuscript letters with Calonas. Darmarius explicated words from another four of Crusius's vernacular Greek books. With Johannes Tholoitis from Thessaloniki Crusius poured over another three works in 1585. Later that year Mauricius glossed at least four of Crusius's books.[8] One of Crusius's guests even gave him an outline of a vernacular Greek romance he had heard of but did not yet own.[9] On a basic level, then, these encounters were centered around one or more of the many vernacular Greek books in Crusius's possession and erected on multiple collaborative reading sessions.

The margins of some of these texts reveal immense determination in the pursuit of knowledge. Let us consider the 1546 edition of the *Flower of Virtue*, in which Crusius discovered the mysterious Greek word τὸ ναέλην. A first investigation of its meaning paid no dividends: "None of the Greeks who was with me in 1582 knew this [word]," Crusius noted sourly in the margin. Four years later Donatus, who had come back after his first visit, told him it referred to a stork. A year after that, in 1587, Gabriel Severus suggested it was some sort of greyish bird. Finally, in 1589, another one of Crusius's guests, Damatius Larissaeus, suggested yet another rendering: eagle.[10] This was knowledge-making as practiced in Crusius's household: over the course of seven years Crusius approached a single page, even a single word, again and again with the same purpose in mind, always hoping that a new, yet similar, reading of the same text with another glossator might unlock its lexicographical mysteries. Sadly, which translation Crusius decided

8 Moennig, "On Martinus Crusius's Collection of Greek Vernacular and Religious Books," 67-69.

9 UBT Mh 466, volume 3, fol. 674.

10 Andreas Kunades, *Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων* (Venice, 1546), UBT DK I 6 4°, 10.

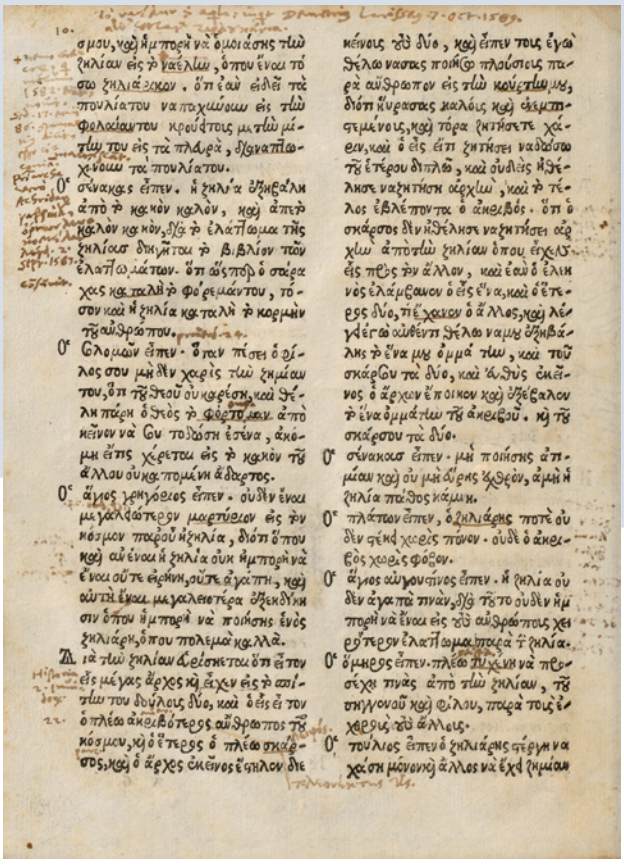

Figure 1. In a copy of one of his Greek books, Crusius recorded the different translations that his Greek guests gave for an unknown Greek word. UBT DK I 6 4°, page 10.

to accept cannot be inferred from the marginal notes. He compiled explanations with concentration and determination, but often without further comment.

The bookish nature of these interactions should not obscure the fact that this was often a deeply oral process. Donatus — as Crusius duly noted in his description of his guest — "could not read or write" and knew only a few words of German. His illiteracy meant that he and Crusius had to interpret texts through a motley mix of languages, including Italian, Latin and German, rather than translating from one language into the other. Crusius noted that Donatus would often use "gestures, his hands, and paraphrases" to elucidate specific words and sentences.[11] Similarly, the nearly three hundred words that Andreas Argyrus explained to Crusius in January 1581 came from the texts that he and Crusius read together, and their explication often involved "examining the context" in which they occurred.[12] On this occasion, too, more than one

11 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH51.

12 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH68.

language and form of communication was used: if they did not talk in Italian, Crusius spoke ancient Greek, Andreas a Greek vernacular. That this was not always opportune is suggested by the presence of an interpreter, Johann Friedrich Weidner, who occasionally greased the wheels of communication. This young man from Leipzig spoke Italian with the Greeks and then turned to Latin or German when he spoke to Crusius, trying to ensure that nothing was lost in translation.[13]

Sometimes these collaborative reading sessions went far beyond the material book. It seems that any object in Crusius's house could be brought to bear on his interests in the social history of the Greek language: at one point, the lyre that stood in his study set off a conversation about musical terminology; at another, Crusius took Donatus by the hand, guided him through the house, and recorded the vernacular Greek names of particular parts of the house and of individual domestic items that Donatus translated. In this way, Crusius learned of the vernacular Greek equivalents for the stables, a chandelier, a flour cabinet, an oven, a grater, and numerous other objects.[14] Crusius learned thousands of Greek words and phrases through these collaborative reading and question-and-answer sessions. Topics of conversation ranged from orthodox theology to household items, from dress to topography, from subjects that made his guests blush, to stock phrases about the amount of attention women paid to their appearance.[15] The knowledge of the Greek vernacular that he acquired over the years was thus incredibly extensive, perhaps unparalleled for the period. But it was also serendipitous and by no means comprehensive: Crusius had to make do with what his guests knew and told him.

Just how important mastering the Greek vernacular was to Crusius is also indicated by the way he recorded what his Greek guests told him: he not only took down these words in the margins of his vernacular Greek chapbooks and in two separate manuscripts — his diary and a notebook that he specifically kept for recording Greek testimonies — but at some

13 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85 GH61.

14 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85 GH49.

15 UBT Mb 37 fol. 85 GH11.

point he also decided to organize this material in the margins of his copy of Aldus Manutius's 1496 *Thesaurus cornu copiae*, itself a great lexicographical work. Beginning in April 1579, a few months after the first Greek had visited Crusius in Tübingen, he arranged the very same words that he had copied down in conversation in four neat alphabetical lists of vernacular Greek words and kept updating this record as time passed. Crusius thus enriched his copy of Manutius's *Thesaurus* with nearly 18,000 vernacular Greek words and phrases.[16]

However, it was not just the sheer quantity of words that mattered to Crusius. Engaging his guests in conversation also made him more attuned than he would otherwise have been to the heterogeneity of the Greek language. Crusius, perhaps aware of the inability of print to communicate the sound of the Greek vernacular (and of language in general), truly hung on his guests' every word. He wrote down words and phrases precisely as he heard them being pronounced and thus gained insight into the Greek language in ways that simply listing words could not. Hearing Donatus speak in 1579 and Trucello in 1582 made him realize, for instance, that these Greeks "pronounced the theta as a phi in the Cypriot way."[17] Probably at Crusius's request, Donatus also elaborated on "the great variety of the Greek language" and other languages spoken on the island: Greek, Albanian, Turkish, Italian, and Armenian were all spoken there and influenced one another. The Cretan language was difficult to understand even for other Greeks (not, Crusius realized, unlike Flemish for Germans).[18] In rural areas, Donatus explained, farmers added unusual prefixes and suffixes to common nouns and spoke what Crusius called "a more corrupt" language.[19] In other cases, Crusius labeled specific words as Turkish loanwords or showed that he knew that some Greeks called their language romanika.[20] Ever the meticulous observer, he thus connected language and geography.

It is evident that Crusius could acquire this type of information only through his Greek guests. Not only did they bring to life

16 For the lists, see: Aldus Manutius, *Thesaurus cornu copiae* (Venice, 1496). Crusius's copy is currently in the Beinecke Library: BEIN Zi +5551, copy 3. For an analysis of this document, see: Panagiotis Toufexis, *Das Alphabetum vulgaris linguae graecae des deutschen Humanisten Martin Crusius (1526–1607): Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der gesprochenen griechischen Sprache im 16. Jh.* (Cologne, 2005).

17 UBT Mb 37 fol. 85 GH10.

18 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85 GH10, 18.

19 Martin Crusius, *Turcograeciae libri octo* (Basel, 1584), 209. See also: UBT Mb 37, fol. 85 GH13.

20 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85 GH10.

books that would otherwise have remained mute but they also, by virtue of being native speakers, testified to the diversity of vernacular Greek spoken in the Ottoman Greek Mediterranean. Yet it is not immediately apparent from the material examined here that Crusius actually *spoke* vernacular Greek and, if he did, to what degree of fluency. Nowhere in his documents have I found evidence of him speaking primarily vernacular Greek with his guests. Most likely, Crusius's communication with his guests resembled "the more mundane, quotidian reality of communication" in the early modern Mediterranean, in whose complex linguistic ecosystem most individuals had not mastered languages to perfection. Instead, according to Eric Dursteler, to ensure effective communication individuals "developed an ability to bridge ... linguistic differences well enough" by learning languages phonetically.[21] Communication in Crusius's home thus approximated polyglot exchanges in Mediterranean ports where merchants from different linguistic backgrounds tried to express themselves in a shared language, the *lingua franca*, to facilitate communication.

Crusius's situation was also emblematic of how many individuals in the early modern period learned foreign languages, a process as conversational as it was textual, as oral as it was aural. In the early modern classroom, students learned Latin and ancient Greek by listening to their teacher explicate texts, by taking notes, and by asking questions about the books that were prescribed as course materials. Such explications of books, though supposed to be done all in Latin, often switched into the vernacular for part or all of a sentence and then switched back. Those who, like Crusius, sought to inform themselves about other cultures often started their inquiries by mastering a language in the way Crusius had: Jesuit missionaries to China — such as Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci — attempted to acquire fluency in the Chinese language by listening attentively as their Chinese teachers explained basic grammar and vocabulary from the schoolbooks and language primers that they had acquired.[22] The Franciscan

21 Eric Dursteler, "Speaking in Tongues: Multilingualism and Multicultural Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Past & Present* 217 (2012): 47-77 at 76.

22 Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit mission to China, 1579-1724* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), 244, 246.

friar Bernardino de Sahagún similarly recruited a group of knowledgeable elderly men from the Nahuatl community of Tepeapulco to explain their pictorial form of writing to him and to educate him about their culture and history.[23] Perhaps most comparable to the case of Crusius and his guests were the Moriscos who, after their expulsion from the Iberian peninsula, taught Arabic throughout early modern Europe — a particularly well-documented case being that of Ahmad ibn Qasim Al-Hajarī, who taught Thomas Erpenius some Arabic by reading a set of books with him.[24]

One final snippet of evidence illustrates how these aural and oral encounters offered Crusius penetrating insights into the Ottoman Greek world and its languages. In 1593 a Greek Orthodox woman by the name of Antonia arrived in Tübingen with her husband Andreas. At some point, for reasons left unspecified, she composed a Greek lament — in political verses and addressed to Crusius — about the many hardships she had suffered in her life. While accompanying herself "skillfully and pleasantly," this Greek woman "passionately" performed the song twice, even though she had spent three years in captivity, where "her teeth had been beaten out of her mouth."[25] Such performances evidently brought the contemporary Greek world to life in a way that hearing his other Greek guests speak could not. On other occasions Crusius talked about Greece's musical traditions with his guests and learned that in some places women engaged in singing competitions — in other words, he was interested in folksongs long before they became a common way to learn about a people and a culture.[26] Songs like Antonia's brought this musical world, this snippet of Greek culture, directly into his home. Her performance afforded a rare opportunity to hear in Tübingen some of the sounds and rhythms that characterized everyday life in Greece. Antonia, then, made audible what Crusius could otherwise only know through oral inquiry. It is telling that he reproduced the song — in full and with a detailed note about Antonia's performance — in one of his publications.

23 Miguel León-Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagún, first anthropologist. Trans. Mauricio J. Mixco* (Norman, OK, 2002).

24 Gerard Wiegers, "A Life between Europe and the Maghrib: The Writings and Travels of Ahmad b. Qâsim al Hajarî al-Andalusî," in Geert Jan van Gelder and Ed de Moor, eds., *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges* (Amsterdam, 1992): 87-115. For the role of *moriscos* in teaching Arabic beyond the Iberian Peninsula, see: Gerard Wiegers, "Moriscos and Arabic studies in Europe," *Al-Qantara* 31 (2010): 587-610.

25 Martin Crusius, *De Imperatore Romano Friderico Ahenobarbo Vel Barbarossa Oratio* (Tübingen, 1593), unpaginated appendix. I would like to thank Janika Päll for bringing this book to my attention.

26 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85 GH19.

II. Virtual Witnessing and Forms of Visualization

Given the nature of these encounters, and the nature of language learning in this period, it should hardly come as a surprise that listening attentively was perhaps Crusius's single most important tool for expanding his understanding of the Greek language. Nevertheless, Crusius's encounters were not only about language or about listening attentively to sounds and their differences. Over the years his guests informed him about other aspects of the Ottoman Greek world as well. Conversation could quickly turn from explications of the Greek vernacular to discussions about Greek Orthodoxy, the Greek archipelago, or the demographics and religious landscape of specific islands and cities. For these topics, too, Crusius harnessed his skills as a listener, but in an altogether different way. Even though conversation played a key role, his guests went to great lengths to help him visualize the early modern Greek world. In answering the questions Crusius put to them, they directed the mind's eye to the Hellenic world he was so profoundly interested in but had never visited. For all their glitches and complexities, these exchanges enabled Crusius to *see* the Ottoman Greek world, as it were, through the eyes of his guests.

In this case, too, the process of knowledge-making often started with a book. One of the most complex vernacular Greek texts in Crusius's collection was a nautical book that contained the roads and distances between different Mediterranean ports. This *Portolanos*, as such books are known, had been printed in Venice in 1573 and had been acquired by Crusius on September 6, 1580 through an acquaintance of his named Hieronymus Vischer. This short booklet was essentially an encyclopedic list of Mediterranean ports and their surroundings, a sort of *vademecum* for navigators. It was also a remarkably complex text, written in an idiom that was both technical and idiosyncratic. When he first read it, Crusius could not understand it. Neither was his contact in Venice of much help in this respect: Crusius wrote to Vischer, request-

ing more vernacular Greek books and attached a list of words from the Portolanos "that some Greek [in Venice] should interpret." Even if the response that Crusius received may not have been unexpected, it was certainly disappointing: Vischer told Crusius that not even Gabriel Severus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, could understand the text. In fact, Vischer specified, the "dialect of this Portolanos is only known to sailors."[27] How, then, would Crusius ever be able to peruse this book?

His opportunity came in the summer of 1587, when a man from Chania, by the name of Joannes Dondis, stayed in Tübingen for no fewer than fifty-four days. Dondis "had been a sailor for years" and thus offered exactly the type of expertise that the Portolanos required. (He even showed Crusius the wounds he had suffered at the Battle of Lepanto.) This man made the book speak to Crusius in ways the latter could not have imagined. As they pored over the book, Dondis informed his host about several Venetian islands, often appealing to standards of direct observation: as they went over the entry on the Gallipoli peninsula, Dondis told Crusius he had seen the Dardanelles Strait "very well."[28] Crusius also recorded that Dondis himself had been in Tripoli and on the island of Djerba, off the coast of Tunisia, where he had been held captive. Unsurprisingly, Dondis had few positive things to say about Djerba: the water was not good, there were no mountains, and the people were barbaric.[29]

In different parts of the book these conversations appear in strikingly visual form. There is a map of Crete, a drawing of the port of Lisbon, and an image of one of Menorca's ports.[30] None of these are very elaborate, but in their simple form they did make intelligible a text that was linguistically complex and, in its orthography, heavily influenced by the contemporary pronunciation of Greek. Dondis even gave Crusius an aid to visualize the distances between different places and to understand their internal connections: on the first page of the book Crusius copied out a compass, which in Greek "is called a *bousoula*" and without which "it is impossible to nav-

27 UBT Mh 466, volume 2, fol. 334.

28 *Πορτολάνος* (Venice, 1573), UBT Fa 16a, 55.

29 *Πορτολάνος*, UBT Fa 16a, 139.

30 *Πορτολάνος*, UBT Fa 16a, 16^{b}, 19^{v}, and 105^{e}.

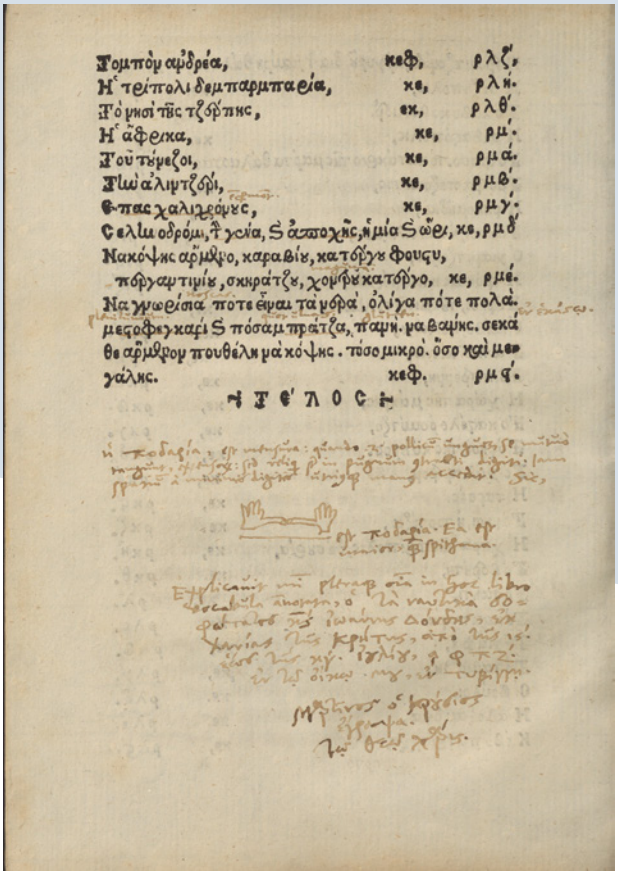

Figure 2. One Greek guest explained to Crusius what a *podaria* was and how one could use this unit of measurement. Crusius left a drawing of the sailor's explanation in the back of this *Portolanos*. UBT Fa 16a, page 55.

igate far." It was "[made of] paper [that had been] enclosed in glass."[31] On the final page of the book Crusius reproduced Dondis's explanation of the units of measurements that were current in the Greek-speaking world. The Greeks used the so-called *podaria*, Crusius noted, which equals the length one gets when "the nails of two extended thumbs touch each other."[32]

Dondis's attempts at communicating what he knew about the geography of the Mediterranean, straightforward though they may seem, offered Crusius an invaluable tool to unravel the intricacies of a book. In the process, he also greatly enriched Crusius's knowledge of the Greek vernacular and made visible to him different parts of the Mediterranean's rich topography. Other conversations were aimed at acquiring similar information about the geopolitical and religious landscape of the Mediterranean and involved similar forms of visualization.

31 *Πορτολάνος*, UBT Fa 16a, 1.

32 *Πορτολάνος*, UBT Fa 16a, final unpaginated page.

From Donatus Crusius learned that "in the whole of Cyprus there are fifteen thousand cities and villages", that "the capital ... is Nicosia" and that "its second city ... Famagusta."[33] He also described to Crusius what was left of ancient Troy: "[Donatus] says he has even seen the ruins of Troy which is [a] white land, close to the sea. Not far away is the island of Tenedos. There are still many walls. But the rest has been destroyed. Constantinople is a bigger city. Not far from Troy and Tenedos is a small island called Archistrategos."[34] In a sense, what Donatus is doing here is guiding Crusius through the remnants of ancient Troy, not unlike an early modern travel writer, comparing it with better-known places (Constantinople) while also offering his audience specific clues (Tenedos, Archistrategos) to locate this ancient city on the map of the Greek world.

Not surprisingly, as a professor of Greek, Crusius was particularly eager to hear what his Greek guests knew about contemporary Athens: he asked nearly all of his visitors for details of the city's schools and churches, its inhabitants and physical contours. In 1582 Trucello told Crusius "he had seen Athens and that the lower city had been destroyed. The upper city, however, was around three times the size of Tübingen."[35] Two years later, at Crusius's instigation, the Greek copyist Andreas Darmarius shared what he knew about Athens as well as Corinth, Sparta and other Greek cities and places.[36] After yet another two years, in May 1586, a priest named Michael made his way to Tübingen and described to Crusius some of the cities that he knew: Athens was "a city bigger than Augsburg"; Thessaloniki, "big, like Paris"; Corinth, "about the same size as Augsburg," with "many olive gardens"; and Constantinople had "a hundred and one gates" and a "circumference" of "eighteen Greek miles."[37] Still later, when the archbishop of Ohrid and his party stayed in Tübingen, Crusius learned that Athens "was still a big city" with several churches.[38] It is striking how often Crusius's informants also tried to make this form of visualization easier by comparing Greek cities

33 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH9.

34 UBT, Mb 37, fol. 85, GH17.

35 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH 90.

36 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH135-136.

37 Mh 466, volume 3, fol. 369-370.

38 UBT Mh 466, volume 3, fol. 592.

to places he knew or may have known better: Trucello compared Athens to Tübingen; Michael compared it to Augsburg. Through comparisons such as these, however elemental, Crusius could better comprehend the sizes of places he had never witnessed firsthand.

These conversations reflected the kind of inquiries that early modern antiquaries and cartographers conducted: Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1386-1430), for instance, sailed the Mediterranean seas and offered detailed descriptions of the Greek ports and islands that he visited, illustrating many of them with celebrated sets of drawings. Fra Mauro (c. 1400-1464) relied on the testimonies of a host of Italian sailors and merchants for his monumental map of the world. Peter Gillis, whose descriptions of Istanbul and the Bosporus Crusius owned and read, became a model of this type of quantitative interest in cities and places. Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, famously, mobilized a whole network of merchants, ship captains, and other informants to send him exact measurements of Mediterranean port cities, shipping patterns, and much more.[39] Obtaining exact measurements, then, whether through conversation or firsthand observation, was evidently one hugely important way in which Crusius and his colleagues sought to understand places. This was a kind of examination that had deep roots: the ancient authorities Strabo and Ptolemy, whose works Crusius annotated with great care, had already advocated the art of describing the world's many regions. But it was in the late medieval and early modern periods, influenced by the rapid rise of antiquarian studies, that the scholarly engagement with landscapes and places, and their past and present lives, really started to flourish.

Crusius could thus build himself a mental image in Tübingen, one piece at the time, of the Greek Mediterranean and of Athens in particular, not unlike what his travelling colleagues did for other places in and beyond the Mediterranean. But it is important to emphasize that such forms of knowledge-making were not solely the product of Crusius's

39 On Buondelmonti, see: Benedetta Bessi, "Cristoforo Buondelmonti: Greek Antiquities in Florentine Humanism," *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 9 (2012): 63-76. On Fra Mauro, see: Piero Flachetta, *Fra' Mauro's World Map: a History* (Rimini, 2013). On Peiresc, see: Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, MA, 2015).

prowess as a listener or the result of his inquisitorial line of questioning. In no small part, the descriptions that Crusius's guests provided were much more than just descriptions. They were attempts at making visible something that lay beyond what was directly discernable for Crusius and could be considered what Steven Shapin has called "virtual witnessing": the images that Crusius's interlocutors painted of places in the Mediterranean Greek world enabled him to create a sort of mental image of these places, even though he had not directly witnessed them.[40] The very precise Latin terminology that Crusius used to record his interactions suggests that his guests went to great lengths indeed to actually visualize the cities that they were describing. Sometimes he noted that his guests "painted" (*depinxit*) the cities they were talking about — as Johannes Tholoitis did for Thessaloniki, and Platamon and Mauricius for Corinth and Athens.[41] No actual drawings of these places survive in Crusius's records. Instead, it seems that Crusius's specific choice of words reflects the vividness (*enargeia*) with which his guests verbally described these places. They created what ancient rhetorical standards would have considered verbal paintings. In theory such images were so powerful that they recreated these Greek places in words, almost as if Crusius saw them with his own eyes.[42]

In at least one case actual drawings and maps played an important role in the conversations between Crusius and his informants. In September 1585, Crusius diligently subjected Daniel Palaeologus to his customary interrogation: Palaeologus, Crusius learned, was originally from Athens, where his father worked as a merchant. In time, he had become a monk at the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos, the single most important site of Greek Orthodox monasticism. At Crusius's instigation, Palaeologus clarified a few dozen vernacular Greek words from the books in his study.[43] Crusius also asked his guest for a description of Athens. Even though the monk initially con-

40 Steven Shapin, "Pump and Circumstance: Robert Boyle's Literary Technology," *Social Studies of Science* 14.4 (1984): 481-520.

41 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH147 and UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, 159.

42 For the use of *depingere* and *pingere* in this context, see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge/New York, 1998), 133ff.

43 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH163.

fessed to "hardly being able to write his own name" and thus certainty incapable of "painting" (*depingere*) his hometown, he agreed to do so in the end.[44] Athens, Palaeologus revealed, had a citadel and a city around it. It had "many good springs" and was surrounded by olive trees. The Ottomans held its castle. Greek Orthodox churches defined the skyline of the city, including, close to the ancient marketplace, "the big church of Saint Anne." There were fifteen female monasteries, but no male monasteries — male monastics lived "outside the city in the wilderness." Many powerful and rich Byzantine families had moved to Athens after the fall of Constantinople, including the Palaeologi and the Comneni, who could both claim an impressive imperial lineage. According to Paleaologus, local Ottoman magistrates feared some of these families, even though Greeks and Ottoman Turks lived largely in separate parts of the city. Some Greek inhabitants, Palaeologus went on, had become rich through commerce. The circumference of the ancient city was "eighteen Italian miles." The current city, however, was almost five times smaller and there were no walls anymore.

It is striking how precisely Palaeologus located the buildings of the city: the Church of the Holy Nikodemos, for instance, was placed to the east, as were, outside the city, the "eight columns" that were left of the ancient Academy. The castle in the citadel was "three Italian miles away from the sea."[45] It was this level of precision that allowed Crusius, once Palaeologus had finished talking, to draw a map of the city in his notebook with the help of an acquaintance of his called Simon Eisen.[46] It depicted nearly all locations mentioned by Palaeologus and paid close attention to the orientation of both the map and the buildings. Once Palaeologus started describing Athos, the process was repeated. Even though the notes that Crusius took on Athos are not as elaborate as those on Athens, they did suffice to create a map of the peninsula. In this case, too, Crusius carefully located and numbered each and every

44 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH161.

45 UBT Mh 466, volume 3, fol. 299-301.

46 UBT Mh 466, volume 3, fol. 299.

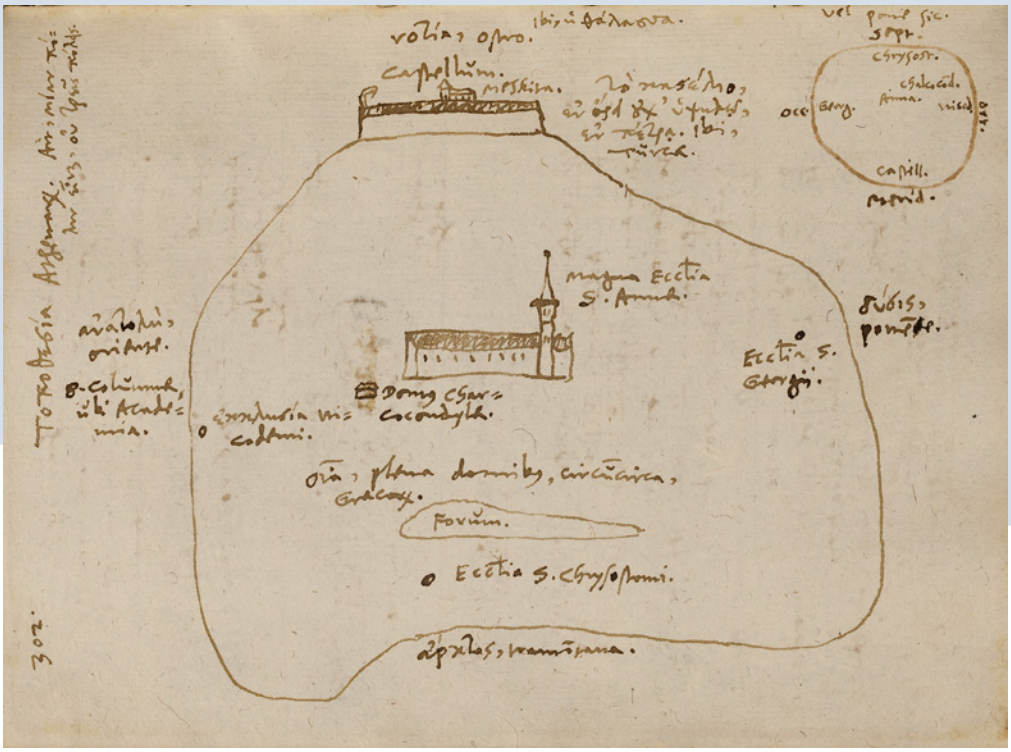

Figure 3. With the help of one of his amanuenses, and based on the information given to him by Daniel Palaeologus, Crusius drew a map of Athens UBT Mh 466, volume 3, page 314.

monastery that Palaeologus talked about — a practice that mirrored the burgeoning urban cartographical work of antiquaries and mapmakers of the period, who sought to compile ever more complex and detailed plans and measurements of cities and landscapes.[47]

It is evident, then, that through conversation Crusius managed to see a great deal of the Greek Mediterranean in his mind's eye. In some cases, he and his guests also talked about actual images of the Ottoman Greek world. In December 1578 Crusius had received a set of images that depicted the wide variety of people living in these regions: in addition

47 For the case of Rome, a city that stimulated such cartographical and antiquarian work like no other, see: Ian Verstegen & Allan Ceen, eds), *Giambattista Nolli and Rome: Mapping the City before and after the Pianta Grande* (Rome: Studium Urbis, 2014); Jessica Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined: Early Modern Maps of the Eternal City* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015); Pamela O. Long, *Engineering the Eternal City: Infrastructure, Topography, and the Culture of Knowledge in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Chicago, 2018), 113-162.

to images of a Turkish soldier and a Turkish priest, Crusius received paintings by an otherwise unknown Frenchman of a Greek Orthodox monk, a Greek citizen, a Greek woman, a Greek girl, a noble Greek, and even the Greek Orthodox Patriarch. Objects such as these derived from a stock set of images that foreigners could acquire in the Ottoman Empire and are found in numerous costume books that have survived from the period. It is clear that the numerous details of the various types of clothing intrigued Crusius greatly. When Donatus was in Tübingen Crusius asked his guest to clarify and translate the names of the garments of these various individuals. In a series of notes as precise as they were elaborate, Donatus not only explained what individual pieces of clothing were called, but also specified how they were worn and by whom: "the dress that Greeks wear in the city differed little or nothing from that of a Turk" apart from the color of their hats. The hoods that Greek monks used to cover their head were not attached to their habit. And Greek women, according to Donatus, had certain "golden ribbons" hanging down from their dresses and wore necklaces made of beads.[48]

Conversations such as these reveal exactly how in the early modern period images from costume books, which emerged from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, could be studied. Ulrike Ilg has shown how these books, a popular form in which antiquarianism and ethnography converged, not only portrayed the full diversity of the world's peoples as visible in their appearance, but also advanced specific and complex classifications of the human race. Costume books were connected to the cartographic impulse to map the globe and exhibited that "preference in the sixteenth century for organizing knowledge in an encyclopedic manner."[49] They offered certain ethnographic clues to character and culture. Their illustrations of clothing and individual appearance informed the way Crusius and his contemporaries understood the peoples portrayed, not unlike the ethnographic illustrations on maps and in travel books. By carefully observing and considering these

48 Crusius, *Turcograecia*, 188.

49 Ulrike Ilg, "The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in Catharine Richardson, ed., *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650* (Aldershot, 2004), 29-47 at 33.

objects with Donatus, Crusius thus acquired valuable lexicographical details, but also ethnographic information about the appearance of Greek women, the attributes of the Byzantine Patriarch, and the garments of a Turkish soldier.[50] In that sense, Crusius's Greek visitors, oftentimes clothed in traditional attire, offered another occasion for Crusius to see the world he never saw in person.

So whether Crusius was in conversation with his Greek interlocutors, perusing one of his many books or objects, or both at the same time, the eye, in the words of Bill Sherman, served "as an instrument of apprehension," even when this process was premised on Crusius's competency as a listener.[51] The forms of visualization and *enargeia* that defined these encounters demonstrate how Crusius's Greek interlocutors made him see their world through their eyes and how their descriptions offered Crusius substitutes of the journeys that his interlocutors had actually undertaken.

III. Embodied Encounters

For Crusius there was no way to predict when people might appear on his doorstep. Sometimes years separated the departure of one Greek from the arrival of another. Lucas and Andreas Argyrus, for instance, arrived nearly two years after Donatus, and it would take over a year before Trucello, the next pilgrim, knocked on Crusius's door. Most of his guests stayed in Tübingen for only a few days before they continued their journeys: in 1581 Lukas and Andreas Argyrus visited Tübingen for just two days, as did Trucello in 1582, Daniel Palaeologos in 1584, and Jonas Taritzius in 1592. Johannes Tholoitis remained not much longer. Neither did Andreas Darmarius in 1584, even though Crusius "begged" this knowledgeable scribe to extend his stay.[52] Johannes Constantinus Paraskeva would stay for just a single day. It is not always clear how these men and women divided their time in Tübingen, but we may very well assume that they dedicated much of it

50 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH10-13.

51 William H. Sherman, "The Reader's Eye," *forthcoming*.

52 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH142.

to collecting alms from the local population. Time was scarce and therefore always of the essence.

If this were not already frustrating enough, the full teaching load that kept Crusius occupied during term time — he repeatedly complained about being up to his ears in work and about having to correct his students' many papers — limited time for conversation even further. In August 1589 Crusius could only give a Cypriot from Famagusta some money because, much to his own displeasure, his "occupations" prevented him from talking to the man properly.[53] Similarly, when the Greek copyist Darmarius was in Tübingen, Crusius had to set exams and attend the wedding of his godchild Barbara Hailand. Even though he brought Darmarius to the wedding and helped the scribe sell some of his books to the Duke, he nevertheless complained that "many things prevented [him] from using [Darmarius] to explicate [his] vernacular Greek books" to satisfaction.[54]

Knowing that time was limited and that the string of visiting Greeks might break, Crusius thus tried to make the most of their precious time together. His determination to hear them out simply jumps off the pages of his notebooks. Crusius confessed that he had not given Donatus, for instance, who himself had been a very eager talker, a single moment of rest.[55] During the four-day visit of Calonas, "who spoke very fast" and "was lisping" in such a way that "he was incredibly hard to understand," Crusius got so carried away that his "head was full of Greek and was buzzing with it," while he had to admit that his interrogation had tired his guest considerably.[56] Even as Calonas was departing, Crusius would not leave the man alone. He followed him to the gates of the city, pen and paper in hand. As Calonas "read" the city, pointing out and translating individual objects, Crusius eagerly scribbled these items on his Greek wordlist — writing so hastily, as Panagiotis Toufexis has noted, that he blotted the pages of his notebook.[57] In that respect, whether it was day or night, early morning or late evening, mattered less than the potential harvest that could be gathered: it was the dead of night when

53 UBT Mb 37, fol. 84**v** .

54 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH137 and UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH140.

55 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH51.

56 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH100, 120.

57 Toufexis, *Das Alphabetum*, 239.

Crusius, together with Stephan Gerlach, had first sat down to record Calonas's tragic testimonies about his life and travels. Crusius and his guests really burned the midnight oil.

Even meals did not interrupt his interrogations, but rather offered new topics of conversation: when Lucas and Andreas Argyrus had dinner with Crusius, they talked, appropriately, about tableware.[58] Next to a short note about some sort of Cypriot side dish of roasted meat with vinegar and saffron, mentioned by Donatus in 1579, Crusius recorded excitedly: "we had this for dinner!" Crusius also listed, with great precision, the vernacular Greek names of the individual ingredients of the dish — a powerful reminder that he learned about the contemporary Greek world through taste as well.[59] Interestingly enough, it was not only the food that appeared on the table that encouraged conversation. Sometimes what was *not* eaten was talked about as well. Many of the Greeks who shared Crusius's table were fasting. For two days in late June, 1582, Calonas, for instance, abstained from "eggs, meat and other dairy products."[60] In these cross-cultural conversations, then, whether Crusius was tasting Greek dishes and recording the vernacular names of its ingredients or whether he observed his guests' religious practices, the dinner table was as much a site of knowledge-making as the study.

Taken together these small vignettes gesture at something much broader: conversation in Crusius's home was a deeply embodied way of making knowledge. To ask how Crusius made knowledge out of interpersonal encounters is to realize that knowledge was from many points of view an interpersonal affair. It was the confined space of Crusius's home, combined with the limited amount of time for conversation, that made these encounters intellectually intense and physically demanding. Even though these Greek Orthodox Christians spent significant amounts of time collecting alms — and sometimes lodged not with Crusius but in one of Tübingen's inns — they and Crusius nevertheless spent hours in each other's presence. This goes some way toward explaining the eagerness with which Crusius subjected

58 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH75.

59 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH12.

60 UBT Mb 37, fol. 85, GH103.

his visitors to systematic interviews and the undivided attention that he devoted to making the most of his guests' sojourns in Tübingen. Opening his home to these Greeks and serving them a hot meal was evidently worth his while.

But showing forms of hospitality was possible in no small part because of the particularly gendered organization of Crusius's scholarly household. Only with a supportive wife and a hospitable table could he have received so many Greek informants for so long. Only relatively recently had this particular household arrangement become a viable model. Gadi Algazi has shown that from the fifteenth century onwards marriage — preferably to an affluent party — and maintaining a family became an increasingly attractive option for organizing a scholarly life. This refiguring of the scholarly habitus prompted a similar reorganization of the domestic space. While scholars' wives took charge of household affairs, their husbands could dedicate their energies to activities that guaranteed social recognition and a salary: scholarship.[61] This new gendered organization of the domestic sphere, with its social and hospitable dimensions, evidently formed the bedrock of Crusius' scholarly practices.

One bit of evidence can illuminate just how important Crusius's wife was in welcoming Greeks into their home: in January 1581, two Greeks stayed with them for just two days. In his notebook, Crusius complained that they did not stay longer. Nevertheless, he also noted that their departure was probably for the better, because his wife had already a lot of laundry to do.[62] I caution against dismissing this as a petty detail. This kind of work, so often overlooked or taken for granted by historians, was vital for creating opportunities for company and intellectual exchange. Crusius's scholarly world was, like those of numerous other early modern scholars, "not a world without women but a world *among* women," to stress a point made by Deborah Harkness.[63] And conversation, in that sense, was no more Crusius's work than it was the product of the silent labor of his wife and the other female members of his household.

61 Gadi Algazi, "Scholars in Households: Refiguring the Learned Habitus, 1480-1550," *Science in Context* 16:1-2 (2003): 9-42.

62 UBT, Mb 37, fol. 85, GH67.

63 Deborah Harkness, "Managing an Experimental Household: The Dees of Mortlake and the Practice of Natural Philosophy," *ISIS* (1997): 247-262, at 251.

Conclusion

The story of Crusius and his Greek guests is as much a story about Lutheran Germany as it is a story about Mediterranean mobility and about the production of knowledge in the early modern world. Crusius's records reveal in great and granular detail how conversation enabled scholars like him to make knowledge out of interpersonal encounter. The movements of the Greek Orthodox Christians studied here also afford us another opportunity to revisit the purported provincialism of the Old Reich. Clearly, Crusius's world was one imbricated in the global texture of the period and shaped by geopolitical developments far beyond its borders. In that sense, the case of Crusius and his Greek guests can help us think about what a chapter in the global history of Lutheran Germany would look like — and how this would be very much an entangled history that reveals how the period's most transformative phenomena, including the globalization of Christianity, inflected small-town German life. Crusius's conversations with his Greek Orthodox guests thus act as a powerful reminder that global lives of the kind that historians are now tracing need not be lived on a global scale. Local cases like that of Crusius, stories of people who were deeply rooted in their communities, were never fully separated from events taking place in worlds away.

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