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Embattled Towns – Images of the Balkans in Descriptions and Travelogues of the 17th and Beginning 18th Centuries

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The Balkans have been part of different dominions with orientations towards various religions from the 16th to 18th centuries. Some of them, like Ragusa, were independent city-states for a long time. Another like Dalmatia sometimes were part of Venice, at another time of Hungary and later on of the Habsburg state. Others as Bosnia partly belonged to the Ottoman Empire. But all of them have one very fundamental property in common: they were located at the travel routes from Vienna to Constantinople, and were therefore addressed in travelogues as well as in reports on topographical and geographical, historical and political issues. In the late 17th century the number of these reports rapidly increased because of the Ottoman Wars. They contain a remarkable amount of maps and illustrations, which can be used to explore the means of visualization in regard to urban image construction. These images were presented as a sequence of recurring visual icons such as elevations of most admirable buildings, or the constantly imparted views of embattled towns. In spite of all these towns in the Balkans giving evidence of a long-range and quite valuable intercultural exchange in architecture and all other fields of cultural, economic, political and religious communications, the direction of mobility through the Balkans was of such importance for Northern European nations that one of them – moving southwards – was seen in the context of knowledge acquisition and commercial relations, the other one – going northwards – was put on a level with hazard and destruction. In regard to images of towns in the Balkans in the late 17th and beginning 18th centuries, the *Thesaurus Exoticorum* by Eberhard Werner Happel as an example of reporting actual incidents provides access not only to the different forms of visualizations, but to interactions of pictorial genres in text illustrations and to interactions of pictorial material and texts in different genres of literature and medias as well.

Keywords:

Images of Balkans' towns
Images of the Ottoman Wars
Illustrations in travelogues and descriptions on the Balkans
Interactions of pictorial genres in text illustrations
Interactions of pictorial material and texts in different genre of literature and media

In 1688, the German author and publisher Eberhard Werner Happel released a comprehensive collection of reports on foreign countries. The *Thesaurus Exoticorum. Oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichten wohlversehene Schatz-Kammer* contains several parts; altogether, more than thousand pages of texts are presented.¹ As the first report, the “Kurtze Vorstellung aller Nationen und Königreiche in Asia, Africa und America” – a brief introduction to all nations and kingdoms in Asia, Africa and America – is announced. It is used, as the publisher writes in his preface, to inform about manners and the state of affairs on those continents. Among them might be “Blumen” below “rauhem Disteln” and “lieblich riechende Rosen” amongst “stechenden Dornen” – flowers below harsh thistles and lovely smelling roses amongst piercing thorns – as phenomena of a holy world made by God.² Foreign countries are identified with an unknown outland, which represents the minor, partly dubious and reprehensible issues, but might offer possibilities to reflect the complete conception as part of a theological discourse. The frontispiece of this publication therefore shows the allegories of these continents represented by people in customary clothing as well as by maps on steps beneath an arch of columns framing Pax. She is presented as a naked goddess with a palm branch in the one and a phoenix above flames in the other hands. Mercury, the God of trade, and Chronos accompany her. Above Fama, the goddess of fame and glory as well as of rumours, is flying and playing trumpet to illustrate the act of announcement. A banner which demonstrates the title of the publication is affixed on her trumpet. This title as well as this frontispiece suggest a balanced reporting on different continents.

¹ Eberhard Werner Happel, *Thesaurus Exoticorum. Oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichte Wohlversehene Schatz-Kammer* (Hamburg: Wiering 1688).

² Happel, *Thesaurus*, Preface (2).

On the contrary, most of the pages are filled with reports on Hungary and Turkey, they discuss topographical and geographical, historical and political, commercial as well as social and religious issues and belong by their extent to a number of reports on the Balkans in the late 17th century. In addition, a closer look at the different parts of this publication brings to mind, that in these different parts articles by several authors, partly from years ago, are compiled. Lots of maps, tables and illustrations in copper or wood engraving are added, exemplifying the treatise on different regimes such as the Hungarians and Ottomans by several plates with portraits of kings and sultans. What is more, the descriptions of the regions' history include acts of war by maps with narrative cartouches and the portrayal of male and female figures as representatives of the people or religious, status and professional groups, showing their clothing and work tool in detail. An even closer look at this pictorial material of different genres clarifies that those engravings are compiled as well, lots of them had been created already in the late 16th century by Melchior Lorck, a draftsman and engraver, who had visited Constantinople in the 1550s.³ His engravings are used in the *Thesaurus Exoticorum* to illustrate the description of foreign countries – in this particular case Persia in the “Kurtze Vorstellung aller Nationen und Königreiche in Asia, Africa und America”, – as well as to visualize the “Speciale Beschreibung der Musulmänner oder Türcken” – a special description of the Moslems or the Turks – or to represent the city of Constantinople by a remarkable number of views on buildings in that city, which was conquered by the Ottomans in 1453.⁴

The *Thesaurus Exoticorum* has been underestimated in scientific research for a long time because of this compiled character of the texts as well as of the illustrations; it was suggested that Happel's publication just supplied material to satisfy curiosity,⁵ not reflecting that the discourse on curiositas – partly regarded to be problematic in theological contexts, partly honoured as a means of generating knowledge – had been of utmost importance in the scientific communities in 16th and 17th centuries.⁶ Lately Happel's publications are valued by scientific research on the history of media and publishing, which demonstrate Happel's most important part in the device of periodicals and the circulation of contemporary knowledge.⁷ Happel augmented the *Thesaurus Exoticorum* by the *Relationes Curiosae*, early periodicals, in which reports by other authors are compiled or reprinted.⁸ For this paper Happel's work is quite important, too, because it can be used as an example of a quite remarkable process of interconnecting different genres of texts as well as of illustrations in order to create a new synopsis of knowledge with relevance for the contemporary situation. Regarding images of towns in the Balkans in the late 17th and beginning 18th centuries the *Thesaurus Exoticorum* provides an access not only to the different forms of visualizations, but to interactions of pictorial genres in text illustrations and to interactions of pictorial material and texts in different genre of literature and media as well. This publication is therefore of utmost interest for the history of science precisely because its content is reprinted or compiled, for the different forms of compiling offer new approaches to understand the shaping of opinions, references and prejudices as a precondition of collective memory.

Based on the methodology of historical discourse analysis and reflecting the comprehensive scientific research on urban image construction and mapping as well as on shaping of identities, this paper aims to demonstrate the part of pictorial material in the process of leaving recognizable, memorable, and long-lasting imprints, while taking descriptions and illustrations in reports on the Balkans at the edge to the 18th century as an example.⁹ These imprints are connected with the Balkans as a region of transition into territories associated with hazard and foreignness in regard to Ottoman governance and religion, customs and clothing as well as to the shape of towns and their

³ Erik Fischer, *Melchior Lorck*, 4 Vol. (Copenhagen: Vandkunsten Publ. 2009), here Vol. 1, 65-140.

⁴ Happel, *Thesaurus*, part I „Vorstellung aller Nationen“ and part VI „Beschreibung der Musulmänner“.

⁵ Maria-Magdalena Müller-Haas, „Ein Künstler am Bosphorus: Melchior Lorck“, in Gereon Sievernich and Hendrik Budde (ed.), *Europa und der Orient 800-1900*, Exhib.-Cat. Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin (Gütersloh et. al.: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag 1989), 241-244 and Kat. Chapter 10, 794-798, here 243.

⁶ Klaus Krüger, *Curiositas: Welterfahrung und ästhetische Neugierde in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Wallstein 2002); Michael Schilling, „Curiositas: Buchmarkt und Literatur in der frühen Neuzeit“ in Jan Standke and Thomas Düllo (ed.), *Theorie und Praxis der Kulturwissenschaften* (Berlin: Logos-Verlag 2008), 130-146.

⁷ Uta Egenhoff, *Berufsschriftstellertum und Journalismus in der Frühen Neuzeit: Eberhard Werner Happs „Relationes Curiosae“ im Medienverbunde des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bremen: Ed. Lumière 2008); Flemming Schock, *Die Text-Kunst-Kammer: populäre Wissenssammlungen des Barock am Beispiel der „Relationes Curiosae“ von E. W. Happel* (Köln et al.: Böhlau 2011); for Happel's work as a novelist see Gerhild Scholz Williams, *Mediating culture in the Seventeenth-Century German novel: Eberhard Werner Happel 1647-1690* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2014).

⁸ Eberhard Werner Happel, *Größte Denckwürdigkeiten dieser Welt: Oder so genannte Relationes curiosae*, 5 Vol. (Hamburg: Wiering 1683-91).

⁹ Cesare de Seta (ed.), *Città d'Europa. Iconographia e vedutismo dal XV al XVIII secolo* (Napoli: Electa Napoli 1996); Lucia Nuti, *Ritratti di città. Visione e memoria tra Medioevo e Settecento* (Venezia: Marsilio 1996); Cesare de Seta and Daniela Stroffolino (ed.), *L'europa moderna. Cartographia urbana e vedutismo* (Napoli: Electa Napoli 2001); Daniel Dorling and David Fairbairn, *Mapping: ways of representing the world* (Harlow: Longman 1997); Klaus Niehr, „Das Bild der Stadt – die Stadt im Bild“ in Klaus Niehr (ed.), *Historische Stadtansichten aus Niedersachsen und Bremen 1450-1850* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag 2014), 13-19; Palmira Johnson Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: sovereignty, territory, and identity in the early modern Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2015); Eckhard Leuschner and Thomas Wunsch (ed.), *Das Bild des Feindes: Konstruktionen von Antagonismen und Kulturtransfer im Zeitalter der Türkenkriege. Ostmitteleuropa, Italien und Osmanisches Reich* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 2013).

architecture.¹⁰ The paper will show that images of regions in regard to the shaping of identities in this particular case are founded on a long-lasting use of identical or sparsely modified verbal and pictorial topoi, which were discussed in diverse contexts on the one hand, but tapered in heated-up situations of hazard in the Ottoman Wars, especially during the time of the successfully repelled off siege of Vienna in 1683.¹¹ The direction of mobility through the Balkans was therefore of such importance for Northern European nations that one of them – moving southwards – was seen in the context of knowledge acquisition and commercial relations, the other one – going northwards – was put on a level with hazard and destruction because of the attempts of the Ottomans to capture Vienna. Seen northwards, they were shown as armed and embattled towns able to resist charges at any time. In descriptions and travelogues of the 17th and beginning 18th centuries those images were presented as a sequence of recurring visual icons such as elevations of most admirable buildings, or the constantly forwarded views of embattled towns.

The Balkans have been part of different dominions with orientations towards diverse religions from 16th to 18th centuries.¹² Some of them, like Ragusa, were independent city-states for a long time. Another like Dalmatia sometimes were part of Venice, at another time of Hungary and later on of the Habsburg state. Others as Bosnia and Hungary partly belonged to the Ottoman Empire. It has to be emphasized that several of these towns in the Balkans did not only change their affiliation to a country, partly for several times, but also constantly had to fear to become part of those regions of foreignness in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, all of them have one very fundamental property in common: they were located at the travel routes from Vienna to Constantinople. Towns in the Balkans as well as customs and clothing, geographical and botanical as well as commercial issues therefore had been items in pilgrims' reports of their travel via Constantinople to Jerusalem since the Middle Ages.¹³ They were supplemented by reports of re-migrants that had to live as prisoners of war or slaves in the Ottoman Empire for some time.¹⁴ In the 16th and beginning 17th centuries the quantity of reports and the forms of media increased, as constant diplomatic relations enabled better circumstances for trade and motivated travels of delegations, that were often accompanied by merchants, scientists and physicians such as Hans Jakob Ammann, or artists, who later on published their verbal or pictorial materials on the journey.¹⁵ Melchior Lorck was one of those artists, he travelled in the delegation of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, who was commissioned by Ferdinand I., emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq represented this empire diplomatically at the Ottoman Porte for several years.¹⁶

Furthermore, the technique of printing allowed not only an increased quantity of different forms of publications, but a widespread circulation of knowledge. Travelogues were published by scientists as well as by merchants in countries not involved in military acts, but focussed on commercial relations such as the Kingdom of Great Britain or the Kingdom of France.¹⁷ In addition, publishers in the Northern European centres of publishing like Leiden in the Netherlands, Venice in Italy or Nuremberg in Germany,¹⁸ released comprehensive reports of geographical and topographical or political and historical issues; they were spread in translations in several countries soon after they had been first published. Besides, small forms of publications such as leaflets, which were often decorated with illustrations, were then used to spread updated daily reports on occurrences.¹⁹ They are qualified by rhetoric argumentations and were used for propaganda issues. This also holds good for the so called *Türkenlieder* and *Türkenbüchlein* – songs and books about the Turks – genres, which represent the mastery of fear as well as the

¹⁰ Robert Born and Andreas Puth (ed.), *Osmanischer Orient und Ostmitteleuropa: Perzeptionen und Interaktionen in den Grenzregionen zwischen dem 16. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2014); James G. Harper (ed.), *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye 1450-1750. Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, (Farnham/Surrey: Ashgate 2011).

¹¹ Boleslaw Klimaszewski, „Der Entsatz von Wien in der europäischen Literatur des Jahres 1683“ in *Studia Austro-Polonica* 3 (1983), 111-135.

¹² Istvan Hiller, „Ungarn als Grenzland des christlichen Europa im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert“ in Ronald G. Asch et al. (ed.), *Frieden und Krieg in der Frühen Neuzeit: Die europäische Staatenordnung und die außereuropäische Welt* (München: Fink 2001), 561-576; Maria Baramova et al. (ed.), *Power and Influence in South-Eastern Europe 16th – 19th century* (Zürich/Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013); Ana Foteva, *Do the Balkans begin in Vienna? The geographical and imaginary borders between the Balkans and Europe* (New York et al.: Peter Lang 2014).

¹³ Kresimir Kuzic, „Pilgrims and the plague on the Eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea from the 14th to the 17th century“ in Marco Katic (ed.), *Pilgrimage and the sacred places in Southeast Europe: history, religious tourism and contemporary trends* (Münster: Lit 2014), 49-63.

¹⁴ Ulrike Ilg, „Bebilderte Reiseberichte aus dem Osmanischen Reich in deutscher Sprache (16. bis 17. Jahrhundert)“ in Leuschner and Wunsch, *Bild des Feindes*, 55-75, here 56-57.

¹⁵ Hans Jakob Ammann, *Reiß in das gelobte Land von Wien auß (...) auf Jerusalem* (Zürich: Hardmeyer 1618).

¹⁶ Barnaby Rogerson, „A double perspective and a lost rivalry: Ogier de Busbecq and Melchior Lorck in Istanbul“ in Gerald M. MacLean (ed.), *Re-orienting the Renaissance: cultural exchanges with the East* (Basingstoke et al.: Palgrave Macmillan 2005), 88-95.

¹⁷ Palmira Johnson Brummett, *The book of travels: genre, ethnology, and pilgrimage, 1250-1700* (Leiden et al.: Brill 2009); Ulrike Ilg, *Reiseberichte*.

¹⁸ Wolfgang Adam, *Handbuch kultureller Zentren der frühen Neuzeit: Städte und Residenzen im alten deutschen Sprachraum* (Berlin et al.: De Gruyter 2012).

¹⁹ Sonja Neubauer, „Sieg oder Niederlage? – Das Ende der osmanischen Belagerung Wiens 1683 auf zeitgenössischen Flugblätter“ in Gabriele Haug-Moritz and Ludolf Pelizaesus (ed.), *Repräsentationen der islamischen Welt im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit* (Münster: Aschendorff-Verlag 2010), 55-74.

manifestation of enemy images.²⁰ They were invented after the first siege of Vienna in 1529 and were still published and spread in the 17th century. As leaflets, they were used as means of propaganda in the age of Reformation. An enemy stereotype had been established in that time, qualified by topoi such as arbitrary dominion, cruelty against Christians, women and prisoners of war as well as perverted customs.²¹ In order to strengthen one's identity, enemy stereotypes are quite useful, but the images on the Ottomans were much more differentiated than it may seem at the first glance.²² Adaptions of music and parades and collections of Turkish arms and clothing were used as illustrative material at courts and provoked frisson and admiration at the same time.²³

In the late 17th century the interest in the proceedings on the Balkans steadily increased because of the Ottomans' attempts to conquer territories; besides the Holy Roman Empire, several other nations were engaged in bloody conflicts. This development evokes the printing of a number of maps to demonstrate the current affairs such as the map *Regni Hungariae et regionum* by the Dutch engraver, cartographer and publisher Frederick de Wit; it was released in the *Atlas Hungaricus* in the 1680s.²⁴ Such maps were also used as illustrations in political and historical reports, for example in the *Memorie historiche e geografiche della Dalmazia* by the French-born Italian historian and Benedictine monk Casimir Freschot in 1687.²⁵ Only a year later this publication was released in a German translation with an extensive subtitle announcing a description of the Kingdom as well as of the deeds of Kings and of towns in Dalmatia, ceasing with an argument why the Holy Roman Empire in alliance with the Republic of Venice "Recht und Ansprüche auff diesem Reiche haben" – do have the right and charges for this region.²⁶ The map shows in the "Golfo di Venezia" the winged Venetian lion with a raised sword dispersing the enemy troops on the right. A peace dove with a palm branch in its mouth is bearing a scroll which pronounces "Hoc regnum nostrum est" – this kingdom is our kingdom. The map shows the whole area of the former conflict, but the book itself, in contrast, is entitled *The kingdom of Dalmatia*. The term Dalmatia had become a synonym of what is shown as a "Prospera bella" – as a prosperous warfare under the leadership of "Christo duce". Freschot's publication – as several publications at that time – is divided into a historic and a geographic part, the latter containing brief descriptions of the towns in Dalmatia. These towns can be found on the map, as well; sometimes the map complements the towns' designation with small visual abbreviations of architecture, e.g. in the case of Segna – Senj – and Ragusi – Dubrownik. But these little icons cannot be regarded as documental illustrations of buildings; on the contrary, they just mark the importance of a town for the region or in the occurrences. Thus urban image construction at that time is primarily connected with the visual demonstration of the geographical placing in combination with political issues; these are represented in descriptions of the genealogies of dynasties in combination with reports on current historical incidents.

As other forms of reports, travelogues were translated or reprinted soon after their release. In 1634 the English landowner, traveller and author Henry Blount had published *A Voyage into the Levant*, an travelogue about his journey to "Venice, into Dalmatia, Sclavonia and Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, ..., Rhodos and Egypt".²⁷ The title of this publication particularly promised to provide "... observations concerning the modern condition of the Turks, and other people under that Empire". Thirty years later this travelogue was already released in a fifth edition. The book was published to inform the Christian inhabitants of northern European countries about "... the customs of men, (and) ... their natural disposition" in a region "... being now possessed by the Turks, who are the only modern people great in action and whose empire hath so suddenly invaded the world". This argumentation has the purpose to define conditions of living and merchandising by means of differentiation. Blounts especially wanted to investigate the different ethnic groups in south-eastern regions, "... that live under the Turks, such as Greeks, Armenians, Freinks ..., but especially Jews", because, as he wrote, they are quite different in "nature and institution". His superior pursue was to reflect on the "... customes of men, (which) are much swayed by their natural disposition, which are originally inspired and composed by the Climate, whose air(e) and influence they receive". Blount's publication had the purpose to investigate, if "... the Turkish way appears absolutely barbarous, as we are given to understand, or rather another kind of civility, different from ours, but no less pretending". Five decades after the first publication of Henry Blount's *Voyage into the Levant* this book was translated in German and released 1687 under the title *Morgenländische Reise durch Dalmatia* and supplemented with "Bedencken über diese Betrachtungen, worinnen zugleich die Ursachen des itzigen Fals dieses mächtigen Reichs gesucht werden" – a comment on Blount's text as an explanation of the demise

²⁰ Bertrand Michael Buchmann, *Türkenlieder zu den Türkenkriegen und besonders zur zweiten Wiener Türkenbelagerung* (Wien et al.: Böhlau 1983); Thomas Kaufmann, *Türkenbüchlein: Zur christlichen Wahrnehmung „türkischer Religion“ in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2008).

²¹ Martin Wrede, „Die ausgezeichnete Nation: Identitätsstiftung im Reich Leopold I. in Zeiten von Türkenkrieg und Türkenrieg, 1663-1699“ in Leuschner and Wünsch, *Bild des Feindes*, 19-31, here 20.

²² Leuschner and Wünsch, *Bild des Feindes*, Einleitung, 11-15.

²³ Ralf-Martin Jäger, „Der türkische Orient in Musik und Musikforschung. Zu den Diskursen zwischen 1550 und 1740“ in Haug-Moritz and Pelizaes, *Repräsentationen*, 150-167. For one of the representative collections see Ernst Petrach (rev.), *Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute: die „Türkische Kammer“ des Markgrafen Ludwig von Baden-Baden; die „Türkischen Curiositaeten“ der Markgrafen von Baden-Durlach* (München: Hirmer 1991).

²⁴ Frederick de Wit, *Regni Hungariae et regionum, quae ei quondam fuere unitae* (Amsterdam: de Wit 1688).

²⁵ Casimir Freschot, *Memorie historiche e geografiche della Dalmazia* (Bologna 1687).

²⁶ Casimir Freschot, *Des Königreichs Dalmatien historische und geographische Vorstellung* (Leipzig: Gleditsch 1688).

²⁷ Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (London: Crooke 1636); following quotations edition 1650.

of this mighty Ottoman empire.²⁸ This edition was motivated by radically changing political conditions: the Ottomans had failed with their attempt to capture Vienna in 1683, a turning point of the conflicts between European countries and the Ottomans.

In the 1670s Blount's travelogue was complemented by the report on a four-decade journey to the Near East countries Turkey, Persia and India by the Swiss merchant Jean-Baptiste Tavernier.²⁹ Again, this publication was reprinted and translated several times, for it contained the newest information on foreignness and was therefore of utmost interest in times of conflicts. The frontispiece of the 1681 released German translation shows a wealthy dressed man with a turban discussing with two purely dressed coloureds offering him a bowl of bast fibre.³⁰ In the background behind a palm tree, we can see a caravan loaded with commodities while leaving a town. A city wall and two uncommon looking buildings evoke the impression of a foreign country: a repeatedly stepped tower and a central-plan building. A look on these illustrations demonstrates that visual abbreviations of architecture were used firstly to define a significant image of a region or town, which can be invented or refer to an actual building. Astonishingly enough, at that time both virtual and material types of buildings had to form an analogy with known prominent models of architecture, especially with the Temple of Jerusalem, reconstructed according to the description in the bible.³¹ Thus the means of illustrations in these reports are most important. As icons of politics, history and morality they transmit what had been of interest.

Furthermore, political, historical and geographical reports were released in several editions with modified content adapted to the current situation. Especially their pictorial material could be complemented or rearranged at a suitable opportunity. The publication *Der Donau-Strand mit allen seinen Ein- und Zuflüssen* by the German scientific and writer Sigmund Birken can be considered to be a significant example of this phenomenon.³² It was firstly released in 1664 on occasion of the Ottoman Wars and contains descriptions of towns alongside the river Danube. These descriptions of towns in such publications were more detailed as the ones in travelogues by Blount, for instance, and they were accompanied by views of these towns, partly in remarkable extent and quality of artistic elaboration. The visualization of towns did not only depend on the preferences of writers and artists, but on a context of interest in political or historical important situations respectively on the assumed prosperity of the publisher. The Ottoman Wars were therefore a means of appreciation which manifests itself in printed views on those towns at the river Danube. Therefore, the subtitle emphasises that the publication is presented "... samt kurzer Verfassung einer Hungarischen und Türkischen Chronik und heutigen Türken-Kriegs" – containing a brief chronicle on Hungary and Turkey including the Ottoman Wars. Birken's *Der Donau-Strand* was released in more than 20 editions in the late 17th century, and, was spread all over Europe.

The first edition of the *Donau-Strand* did not contain plates; the second edition, released only one year later, was supplemented by a register, and the edition of 1684 lastly delivered not only the updated daily information on the Ottoman Wars, but complemented the texts with "... XL Figuren der vornehmsten Städt und Vestungen an der Donau" – 40 (!) views on the most prominent towns and fortresses alongside the Danube.³³ This supplement seems to be possible because of the reinforces interest in this region in regard to the siege of Vienna one year before. The plates show towns such as Sissek or Varaviza – today Sisak and Virovitica, both in Croatia – in cavalier projection ingrained in a mountainous landscape with the river Danube in the foreground or nearby. Numbers on the views are explained in a key beneath. They demonstrate the primal historical foundation of Sissek indicated by a church outside the city as well as the actual appearance, which was characterised by a fortification. At Varaviza several steeples with crescents last to demonstrate the affiliation to Ottoman Empire; the key elucidates Nr. 1 to be "La Gran Moschea hora S. Maria". Varaviza is shown surrounded by a fortress, too. The distance between Sisak and Virovitica is not more than approximately 120 km, but those crescents made all the difference. This example demonstrates the bond of urban image construction partly with historical, but predominant with current political issues. Some travelogues such as Jacob Spon's *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece et du Levant*, firstly released in 1678-80, actually demonstrate a principle scientific interest – in this case an interest in ancient inscriptions – and contain illustrations of buildings such as Diocletian's palace in Spalato, but they are exceptions.³⁴ Most of the publications were focussed on historical and political issues in the late 17th century and offered pictorial material in the context of current activities. So secondly,

²⁸ Henry Blount, *Morgenländische Reise durch Dalmatien, (...) worinnen zugleich die Ursachen des itzigen Fals dieses mächtigen Reichs gesucht werden* (Helmstädt: Gerlach 1687).

²⁹ Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier (...) en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes* (Paris: Gervais Clouzier 1676).

³⁰ Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Vierzig-Jährige Reise-Beschreibung*, 3 Vol. (Nürnberg: Hofmann 1681).

³¹ Werner Oechslin, „Das Geschichtsbild in der Architektur in Deutschland: Jerusalem-Idee und Weltwunder-Architektur“ in Ulrich Schütte (rev.), *Architekt und Ingenieur: Baumeister in Krieg und Frieden*, Exhib.-Cat. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek 1984), 127-154.

³² Sigmund von Birken, *Der Donau-Strand mit allen seinen Ein- und Zuflüssen, angelegenen Königreichen, Provinzen, Herrschafften und Städten (...) samt (...) Verfassung der Hungarischen und Türckischen Chronik und heutigen Türken-Kriegs* (Nürnberg: Sandrart 1664).

³³ Edition 1684. In the same year a Italian translations was released, see Sigmund von Birken, *L'origine del Danube* (Venetia: Albrizzi 1684).

³⁴ Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece et du Levant, faits 1675 & 1676* (Lyon: Cellier 1678-1680); German translation *Italiänische, Dalmatische, Griechische und Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, 2 Vol. (Nürnberg: Hofmann 1681), Vol. 1, 22.

we have to consider that urban image construction at that time depended on such contexts; they partly refer to previous publication as historical models and partly show additional materials in regard to current incidents.

An analogous phenomenon can be found in Johann Christoph Wagner's *Delineatio Provinciarum Pannoniae et Imperii Turcici in Oriente*.³⁵ Only one year later, a new edition with the title *Christlich- und Türkischer Staedt- und Geschichts-Spiegel* was released in four volumes and every new edition contains additional or different parts, announced in the subtitles, as well as more or different plates.³⁶ Later on Wagner published a *Neu-eröffneten Ottomanischen Pforten Fortsetzung*,³⁷ a compilation of the publications of French, Italian and Dutch reports such as *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire. Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politic, the most material Points of the Mahometan Religion*, published for the first time in 1668 by the Huguenot British historian Paul Rycaut.³⁸ It was available in its 6th edition and in several translations at the time of Wagner's publications in the mid-1680s. The register in Wagner's *Christlich- und Türkischer Staedt- und Geschichts-Spiegel* reveals that all of the 20 illustrations in this 1687 publication show towns in the Holy Roman Empire and in Hungary or during battles.³⁹ A look on the pictorial material in Rycaut's *Ottoman Empire* reveals that Wagner's images of battles alongside the routes to Constantinople have nothing in common with Rycaut's images of Sultans and the Ottoman people representing customs. This aggravation of the pictorial material in Wagner's publications is even enhanced by the construction of perspectives in different forms. This range of illustrations enables the observer to take part in the incident. Some of the plates in the different editions such as the "Abbildung der berühmten Stadt ... Griechisch Weißenburg oder Belgrad" – a view of the famous town of Griechisch-Weißenburg or Belgrad – even combine a close view of the embattled town with a remote depiction seen from the contrary point of view, both constructed in bird's eye perspective, and a scheme of the besieger's line-up.⁴⁰ On the top of the plate Maximilian II. Emanuel, electoral prince of Bayern, is shown in a locket, opposite at the right a cartouche shows his name and class. He was one of the participants of the finally successful of the battle of Belgrad in 1688.⁴¹ Such combinations of pictorial materials on one plate had already been used in the 16th century, for example in the *Theatrum Europaeum* by the Merian family. These examples do not only represent the relevance of compiling in the 17th century in order to interpret current incidents in a radically unilateral perspective, but, in addition, direct the attention to the dynamics new editions as well as newly compiled pictorial material were exposed to. Furthermore, the different attitudes towards the Ottoman Empire in European countries seems to be quite informative. Whereas British scholars were focussed on travelogues to achieve intercultural communication, scientists or publishers in the parts of the Holy Roman Empire were fully concentrated on the establishment of the foreign threat.

Astonishing enough, Eberhard Werner Happel's *Thesaurus Exoticorum. Oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichten wohlversehene Schatz-Kammer* brings together not only lots of verbal and pictorial material, but also the different forms and traditions of texts and visualizations.⁴² The cover of this publication was printed in two colours and contains two characters in the term "Schatz-Kammer" – treasury – the S and the K. These characters are integrated in small square images, one showing a European sovereign in front of a castle, the other presenting a Turkish man with turban, a dromedary and a mosque. Obviously this treasury of knowledge is organised in an analogy formation. The characteristic division of publications in travelogues and reports on geographical or historical and political facts and circumstances at that time is represented by the different parts of the *Thesaurus Exoticorum*. A brief introduction of these different parts is useful in order to elaborate the interactions of texts and images.

The "Kurtze Vorstellung aller Nationen und Königreiche in Asia Africa and America" – a brief introduction to all nations and kingdoms in Asia, Africa and America – as the introduction with 120 pages and more than 50 illustrations substitutes travelogues with their common pictorial material of people in traditional costume. Next up a "Kürzte Beschreibung der gantzen Türckey" – a brief description of the entire Turkey – is presented on 83 pages with 6 illustrations, all as a genealogy of Ottoman sovereigns. This part as well as the following one, a "Genauere Beschreibung des ungarischen Königreichs" – a detailed description of the Kingdom of Hungary – with 112 pages and 12 illustrations, are focussed on political issues, but contain current incidents as well; these parts present maps, too. A "Fürstellung des Venetianischen Türcken-Kriegs in Morea und Dalmatien von anno 1684 biß anno 1688" – a demonstration of the Ottoman Wars with the Republic of Venice – on 166 pages with eight plates follows. This part

³⁵ Johann Christoph Wagner, *Delineatio Provinciarum Pannoniae et Imperii Turcici in Oriente* (Augsburg: Koppmayer 1684).

³⁶ Wagner, *Delineatio Provinciarum Pannoniae*, advanced edition, 2 Vol. (Augsburg: Koppmayer 1685-89).

³⁷ Johann Christoph Wagner, *Der Neu-eröffneten Ottomanischen Pforten Fortsetzung oder: Continuirter Historischer Bericht*, 2 Vol. (Augsburg: Wagner 1700).

³⁸ Paul Rycaut, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire: containing the maxims of the Turkish politie, the most material points of the Mahometan religion* (London: Starkey and Brome 1668).

³⁹ Johann Christoph Wagner, *Christlich- und türkischer Staedt- und Geschicht-Spiegel: Vorweisend eine eigentliche Beschreibung aller der vornehmsten Städte, Vestungen und Schlösser der Christenheit und Türckey*, 4 Vol. (Augsburg: Koppmayer 1685-91).

⁴⁰ Wagner *Staedt- und Geschicht-Spiegel*, edition 1687, Anhang *Königreich Ungarn*, plate between 108 and 109.

⁴¹ Lorenz Seelig, „Aspekte des Herrscherlobs – Max Emanuel in Bildnis und Allegorie“ in *Kurfürst Max Emanuel. Bayern und Europa um 1700*, Vol. I-II, Exhib.-Cat. Schloss Schleißheim, ed. Hubert Glaser (München: Hirmer 1976), Vol., I, 1-29; Ulrike Seeger, „Herkules, Alexander und Aeneas. Präsentationsstrategien der Türkensieger Prinz Eugen, Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden und Max Emanuel von Bayern“ in Christoph Kampmann, *Bourbon – Habsburg – Oranien: Konkurrierende Modelle im dynastischen Europa um 1700* (Köln et al.: Böhlau 2008, 182-195).

⁴² Happel, *Thesaurus*.

contains a map with the title “Neue Landkarte des Papstlichen und Spanischen Italien” – a map of the pontifical and Spanish, that means Habsburg Italy.⁴³ This map does not show marked borders and coloured territories and therefore seems to transport an impartial statement at first glance. But the omission of facts seems to be as politically motivated as the emphasis of facts, especially when protestant people such as the Hamburg author Happel release issues about a territory under catholic rule. Furthermore, at the bottom around an inscription the controversies are characterized as battles on land and battles on sea. The predominant purpose to demonstrate issues as analogies on one side and as contradictions on the other side is represented on the map as well. In the middle, a group of men in front of spears and banners are shown. A man with Turkish clothing and turban is bowing in front of the victorious warlord of the holy league. In addition, a putto is handling a compass below. Such maps not only contain multiple perspectives and descriptive illustrations, but, in addition, often reproduce facts about the governance of areas not in the factual historic manner, but in a form, which is requested by one of the opponents. The plates are concentrated on combined visualizations of ground-plans and views of towns in bird’s eye perspective densely populated by soldiers fighting. Turkish tents are shown at the sidelines. A “Speciale Beschreibung der Musulmänner oder Türcken” – a special description of the Moslems or the Turks – takes up 288 pages in which 144 (!) illustrations are integrated; this part, referring to the tradition of travelogues as well, is the most prominent one of the publication because of those illustrations by Melchior Lorck.⁴⁴ As a last part the *Thesaurus Exoticorum* offers a translation of the “Vollständes Türkisches Gesetz-Buch” – a complete Turkish legal code.

This description of the different parts in the *Thesaurus Exoticorum* already suggest that this compilation of texts and images is not a mere assemblage, but, on the contrary, achieves its virtue by the interactions of texts and images of all parts. Of course the portrays of Roman Emperors as well as of the Kings of Hungary in lockets as genealogies in the description of the Kingdom of Hungary should be compared with the analogous genealogy of the Sultans in the previous chapter on the description of the Turkey, and suggest long-lasting state sovereignty by referring to the ancient Roman emperors.⁴⁵ Together those Christian sovereigns might manage the challenges of conflicts with the Ottomans – this seems to be the message of those illustrations of the genealogies in comparison. One of the illustrations included in the chapter on the “Musulmänner oder Türcken” shows several insignia as isolated parts of the military equipment of the Ottomans on a plate, which has to be unfolded.⁴⁶ This combination of visually isolated signs with the outsized dimension of the plate turns out to be quite impressive when remembering all the illustrations of battles in the previous chapter on the history of Hungary;⁴⁷ that chapter contains not only such a history, but, in addition, a war report on the current incidents taking place in the territories of the Kingdom of Hungary. The insignia therefore achieve a threatening character. This account of the “... annoch währende bluthige Türcken-Krieg” – the current battles of the Ottoman Wars – is included in a historical report on of Leopold I., emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.⁴⁸ A plate in this chapter shows Ernst Rüdiger Graf von Starhemberg, town major of Vienna, as a very huge trooper in front of the city of Vienna during the battles in 1683 – in the history of portrait an unambiguous sign of unassailable sovereignty.⁴⁹ Images therefore are a quite important part of the arguments and can amplify their imprint in special contexts.

Finally, the most remarkable example of interaction in regard to urban image construction shall be presented. The chapter on the Kingdom of Hungary contains a huge plate; with a width of 160 cm it must be unfolded twice to each side to reveal its content.⁵⁰ This plate shows 54 towns mostly in Hungary and, at the bottom left, some towns in Croatia such as Sissak, too. They are arranged alongside the travel route from Vienna – top left – to Constantinople – bottom right. Views and ground plans of fortifications are combined. The predominant visual statement of this plate is obviously the extent of fortification in all these towns, but only one of them – Fünfkirchen at the bottom left – is demolished, all others demonstrate their prosperity and power, using the cavalier and the bird’s-eye perspective to give an overview. In addition, we can find a continuous change of the town’s silhouettes from the castles to the mosques in reading direction. In the *Thesaurus Exoticorum* the commonly used construction of perspective to represent buildings in travelogues can be studied by considering Melchior Lorck’s engravings of buildings in Constantinople.⁵¹ Such images are often seen from a low angle shot. In addition, a look on previous views on Balkans’ towns, e.g. in *Ungarische Chronica*, which was released by Wilhelm Schäfer (gen. Dilich) in 1606, gives evidence that a modified observer’s perspective changes the utterance of the pictorial material totally; even embattled towns

⁴³ Happel, *Thesaurus*, part V „Fürstellung des Venetianischen Türcken-Kriegs”, map after title page.

⁴⁴ Fischer, *Lorck*, Vol. 3.

⁴⁵ Happel, *Thesaurus*, part II „Beschreibung der gantzen Türckey“, plates between 8 and 9, 12 and 13; part III „Beschreibung des Ungarischen Königreichs“, plates between 152 and 153, 156 and 157, 168 and 169, 180 and 181.

⁴⁶ Happel, *Thesaurus*, part V “Musulmänner oder Türcken”, plate between 64 and 65.

⁴⁷ Happel had already experimented this impact on the observer when arranging another print of insignia by Melchior Lorck together with the image of a Tartar in *Türkischer Staats- und Kriegsbericht* (1653).

⁴⁸ Martin Wrede, „Türckenkrieger, Türckensieger. Leopold I. und Ludwig XIV. als Retter und Ritter der Christenheit“ in Kampmann, *Bourbon – Habsburg – Oranien*, 149-165.

⁴⁹ Happel, *Thesaurus*, “Leopoldi I. Lebens-Lauff”, plate between 30 and 31.

⁵⁰ Happel, *Thesaurus*, part III “Beschreibung des ungarischen Königreichs”, plate between 98 and 99.

⁵¹ Fischer, *Lorck*, Vol. 4.

does then not demonstrate their fortification in an assertive way.⁵² However, all those fortified towns on the plate in the *Thesaurus Exoticorum* are seen in the cavalier and the bird's-eye perspective and demonstrate a distinct statement of superiority not only because of the fortifications, but because of the ability to overview a situation and to draw inferences from several information as well. Finally, the plate reveals that all these fortified towns are not shown in a present state to document their topographical position e.g. nearby the river Danube or to give evidence of the current situation. Corresponding with the texts, especially in the chapter on Hungary, this plate is presented as a historical topography of previous and current incidents in Ottoman Wars; they partly took place already in the 16th century, partly decades ago and partly they just happened. Thus all these 54 towns are combined to give a historical chronology in analogy of the genealogies of sovereigns in the same publication. Such towns became signs of triumph or at least a symbol of resistance.

Summarizing the hitherto observations, the previously treated examples had shown that firstly the production of a large number of views on towns in the Balkans at the end of the 17th century has been motivated by the Ottoman Wars. They were arranged in sequences in reports with either topographical and geographical or historical and political issues. Not only the reports, but also the images in such reports were compiled or reprinted in an amazing number. In addition, they were rearranged and supplemented by newly produced pictorial material, which show a distinct reaction on current incidents using means such as the construction of perspectives. A look on these illustrations demonstrates, that visual abbreviations of architecture were used firstly to define a significant image of a region or town. In addition, urban image construction at that time depended on political, religious, social and commercial contexts, for there were preferences in preferring the different forms of reporting depending on whether a country is involved in political conflicts or whether an author belongs to the protestants or the catholics. Furthermore, images of towns were partly used not to document the present state, but to demonstrate historical models or territorial claims of one of the parties in a conflict. The exact form of visualizations acts a most important part in the communication of messages, their combination motivates interactions with remarkable capacity of shaping imprint on a conscious and unconscious level. At the end of the 17th century such a message was given: the Balkans' towns were shown armed and embattled, able to resist charges at any time.

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⁵² Wilhelm Schäfer (gen. Dilich), *Ungarische Chronica darinnen ordentliche, eigentliche kurtze Beschreibungen des Ober und Nieder Ungern* (Kassel: Wessel 1606). See Horst Nieder, *Wilhelm Dilich (um 1571-1650): Zeichner, Schriftsteller und Kartograph in höfischem Dienst* (Lemgo: Weserrenaissance-Museum Schloß Brake 2002).